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T The language background of children referred to the remedial teacher for language teaching: a socio-didactic study of a selected sample of children in Indian Schools in Natal.

By

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2. REMEDIAL TEACHING

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P R E A M B L E

The potential use of language is one of the most fascinating things about a tiny baby. When will he start to talk? A letter from my niece mentions her amazement at the speed with which her twenty-month old son is learning to talk. He is starting to enter the magical and powerful world of words, and the light in his eyes shows his excitement and eagerness to learn all about the world. Not all children, even at twenty months, learn that language can be fun, and that it can be used to manipulate the environment and monitor behaviour. Some grow up with limited opportunities to explore the possibilities of language, and may enter school to discover that how they talk is not held in much regard by their teachers. For these children, school may be difficult, and "learning" something divorced from the familiar. Many researchers have explored the development of language and the discrepancies between school and home expectations, and this study does not attempt to make any great revelations. What I am concerned with, is looking at the language backgrounds of children who have particular difficulty in school, even after help, and perhaps drawing the attention of their teachers to the realities of a situation which is theirs, immediate and around them, not in some distant community.

I have adopted the convention of using feminine pronouns for remedial teachers and masculine pronouns for their pupils. It is easier to differentiate

between them in the text if different gender pronouns are used. There is no implications that all children with language difficulties are boys, although they do tend to be in the majority. Similarly there are many male remedial teachers, but possibly more women. It would be useful if pronouns for adult and child were coined, but this may not be the place to start, and meanwhile I shall attach gender to age.

Since I started writing this thesis, the status of people mentioned might have changed. I have not made an alteration in the text.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

"... every man is a peece of the continent, a part
of the maine"

John Donne 1573 - 1631

I am indebted to the H.S.R.C.; Mr Fenske of the Library of the University of Durban-Westville; the Director of Indian Education who gave me permission to approach the schools; the Psychology Department of the Department of Internal Affairs; the principals of the schools I visited; the remedial teachers employed by the Department, and my students, remedial teachers in training, who have given so much of their time to help me. Many of the remedial teachers were ex-students, and I was greatly moved by their immediate interest and willingness to help, despite the burden of work which fell on them. I owe them a great deal. I also wish to thank my 1983 and 1984 Diploma in Specialised Education (Remedial Education) students who somehow found time to collect data for me too. I can only hope that they all gained something useful for themselves. The names of teachers and students follow, as this thesis is partly for them and the children they teach: Mrs D. Appalsamy, Mrs P. Bachan, Mr S.M.Badat, Mrs S Charles, Mr J. Chetty, Mr J. Ebrahim, Mrs M. Gounden, Miss A. Govender, Mr D. Govender, Mr M.K. Govender, Mrs T.A.N. Govender, Mrs R. Govender, Mr M.C.H. Khan, Mrs A.K. Krishna, Mr I. Maharaj, Mr R.M. Manidutt, Mr T. and Mrs S. Markandan, Mr A. Mohanlall, Mrs M. Moodley, Mr S. Munsamy, Mr N. Nadesan, Mrs S. Naidoo, Mrs S.R. Naidoo, Mrs V. Naidoo, Mr D. Nandkishore, Miss J. Padayachee, Mrs K. Pillay, Mr M.N. Pillay, Mrs V. Pillay,

Miss L. Rahiman, Mr N. Ramdeo, Mrs N. Reddy, Mr K.A. Reddy, Mr D. Sacoor, Mr P. Sew, Mrs A.D. Singh, Mrs S. Singh, Mr V. Singh, Mr S. Sirputh.

There are others; friends and colleagues who have been patient, long-suffering and helpful. Amongst these are Professor John Butler-Adam, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of Durban-Westville; also Miss Lorna Geils, a remedial teacher, who helped to transcribe the tapes and showed an interest in what I was doing.

By name too I must thank my neice, Catharine Henry, who cheerfully deciphered an untidy scrawl and worked forwards, backwards and even round corners, to produce a first typescript that I could work on; and Sue Montgomery who, unhesitating as ever, undertook to type the final copy of this thesis, and thereby relieved me of any anxiety about its final appearance.

Lastly, because he was there at the beginning of this study and will be there at the end, I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor R.W. (Alec) Jardine for his critical support, his suggestions and his willingness to meet my demands for time and an ear, whether it was convenient or not.

A B S T R A C T

This study seeks to throw light on the language background of fifty-nine primary school children in schools for Indian South Africans in the Durban area of Natal. The schools were all under the control of the Department of Internal Affairs. At some time before February 1982, each child had been referred to the remedial teacher employed at his school, and had subsequently received help in language, specifically reading, for at least the period from February 1982 - November 1983. Even after that time, the children were not considered able to achieve satisfactorily in the "normal" class without further help.

Data were initially collected by remedial teachers who interviewed the adult considered most significant in the child's life, using scheduled interviews. In addition they collected information from the child and the school and filled in personal questionnaires.

After the first school term of 1984, Diploma in Specialise Education (Remedial Education) students at the University of Durban-Westville visited the homes of twenty children in the study and tape-recorded unstructured interviews with the adults. Three of these tapes are used in this text.

The data collected is used to show that despite the poverty many families experience, the reason for the child's language difficulties is caused less by lack of material possessions than by parental ignorance of how best they can encourage language development and help close the gap between the spoken language of home and

both the spoken and written language the children meet in school.

The inefficiency of questionnaires as research tools became increasingly apparent as the project progressed, and that there is a real need for a thorough qualitative investigation into the language background of pupils-in-need is clear.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH TOPIC

The intention of this research is to gather information about the language background of certain Indian South African children who have experienced difficulty in meeting normal classroom requirements and have been referred to a remedial teacher for help. These children come from the Durban area of Natal. It is not intended that anything should be proved statistically, but that the gathering of data will add to teachers' knowledge of the realities of their task as teachers, not only of language but also of cognitive, personal, and social behaviour which is so closely bound up with language and how it is used. Creber reminds us that "language-style results from living-style and in turn determines learning style." (1972, p45) In looking at language, then, it is necessary to look at the social context in which it develops.

This has been collected on selected children in schools controlled by the Department of Indian Education. The children are representative of those in the "normal" class who experience great difficulty with their school work. While one must be cautious in making any generalisations from the data collected, this study will also serve to show whether findings elsewhere in the world have some relevance here.

1.2 IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Before children start school, they have learnt a great deal. Most of this learning has taken place informally and there has been no question of passing examinations or tests which result in a finding such as "This child can now walk". This piece of information, however, can hardly be considered of less vital importance to both child and parents, and is certainly far more precise, than the announcement that he has "passed" a spelling test, or has "satisfied the requirements for standard II", since these tasks do not result in a demonstrable and indispensable skill.

Be that as it may, a child enters school with society's good wishes and stated intention that he will continue to learn. He enters school with many other children; all of whom have unobtrusively engaged in their own learning and are not necessarily ready to place this in the hands of other people, intent on achieving a number of aims only one of which is each child's learning.

The diversity of a school's aims may well be why, as Frank Smith points out (1982, pp207,208), focus on the learning of individual children is often submerged in organisational planning. In many schools, the question of whether a day has been successful is answered by an assessment, not of what each child has learnt, but of whether there were disruptions in the smooth running of classes and events. It is not surprising, then, if children who disturb the even tenor of the day should stand out as problems.

There have always been children who have not fitted neatly into the pattern of the "normal school". Some children have been unable to learn what the school requires of them owing to a serious impairment of sight or hearing, or some other severe physical limitation. Such children are easily recognised. It is equally easy to decide that the "normal

school" is not equipped to teach them, and refer them to appropriate special schools.

Another group who worry teachers are those who are physically intact, but appear to be intellectually incapable of following average class-room instruction. Their removal to a special class once again solves the teacher's problem, if not the child's. Yet now another source of disturbance is thrown into relief. There are children who do not have an obvious physical barrier to learning; they face many problems of life intelligently; yet they are not coping with school-work. Classroom teachers feel inadequate. They see their task as preparing lessons for the majority of the class, asserting that they do not have time to look after the few who are not doing as well as they should. In recent years a new source of help has appeared and such children may be sent to the remedial teacher, who has time to cater for individual styles of learning, and is used to unresponsive faces, or disruptive behaviour.

It is the remedial teacher's responsibility to see that the child's learning does come first. At times this might involve a disruption in the running of the classroom and keeping of records, but acceptance of this may be necessary if the school's policy is focused on the learning of each child.

The remedial teacher sees the child for a limited period during the school week and the best she can do for him when he is not with her is to arouse the awareness of other teacher to the cause of his difficulties and what they can do to help. There is an increasing awareness on the part of class-room teachers that the remedial teacher can and will help them to focus on the learning of each child rather than on teaching a subject. Jones fore-saw an increase in the "advisory function of remedial teachers involved with class teachers at primary and subject teachers at secondary (level)" (1979,p62), and reports come from remedial teachers in both Indian and White schools in Natal that their advice is being sought.

The role of the school must constantly be under review, if schools are to serve the communities which support them. Such people as Postman and Weingartner (1969), and Alvin Toffler (1971), remind us that schools were designed for an industrial society and no longer have the same relevance, now that the computer presents new social challenges and the majority of children in the 1990s will not be working under factory discipline in a nine-to-five society. Emphasis needs to be placed not on teaching a child to conform, but on promoting thinking and questioning and the ability to use sources of information efficiently. This inevitably involves a greater awareness of language both oral and written. Schools in their present form have to change, but will probably be with us for some time yet, even if they share space with some other education system for a decade or two more. Meanwhile, educational planners need to examine the extent to which schools take responsibility for each child's learning.

We do not know the exact relationship between language and the ability to think, but there is little doubt that they are very closely intertwined (Herriot, 1971, p52). We therefore need to know as much as possible about the language use of children coming into school in the junior classes, in order to base teaching on this. Our aim should be to move each child towards becoming a thinking, concerned, creative human being, with the ability to use language flexibly with intelligence, understanding, humour and originality.

Although a great deal of work has been done in England, the U.S.A. and other countries on the language of children, their parents and teachers (Rosen, 1967; Barnes, Britten, Rosen and the LATE, 1969; Blank and Solomon, 1969; Labov, 1969; Luria and Yudovich, 1971; Bernstein, 1972; Rosen and Rosen, 1973; Barnes, 1971, 1976; Berry, 1980; Wilkinson et al, 1980; Halliday, 1982; Tough, 1976, 1977, 1982;), the unhappy fact remains that in the 1980s we are still not meeting the educational needs of all children who enter schools using language which differs from the generally accepted standard.

In South Africa a unique situation exists. Children from different racial groups attend separate government schools and are almost entirely taught by teachers from their own racial group. This means that Indian South African children are taught by teachers who belong to the same broad community. This may sound ideal, but in practice the "Community" is made up of people from five major language backgrounds (Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Urdu and Gujerati) and three main religious groups (Hindu, Islam and Christian). With this, the range in socio-economic status is extreme. As in all communities, the degree of religious fervour varies, but it remains a strong social influence in most lives. The original Indian languages are either lost to current state school-children, or are spoken by them in the limited circumstances of so-called vernacular schools, or, increasingly rarely, at home. Concern over the disappearance of these languages has led to the appearance of specific language lessons in the primary school curriculum from 1984. The effect of this is yet to be seen. At present it is only possible to assume that the cultural practices associated with the original languages form backgrounds to the child's school learning, rather than seeing them as part of an active means of communication. Side by side with these practices are those current in the peculiar blends of Afro-European-American cultures at large in South Africa.

Teachers come from their own unique backgrounds, which may be close to those of some of their pupils, but certainly not all. They need to know about the language environment of their pupils. Research into this may well give them pointers towards the areas they need to consider in planning for each child's learning.

Education for Indian South Africans has been fully compulsory only since 17 February 1979 (Government Regulation 276). Since then there has been a substantial increase in school attendance and the number of students who subsequently attend university. Lecturers in the Faculty of Education of the University of Durban-Westville have seen appreciable but

largely unresearched changes in the ability of students to handle language and to come to terms with academic demands. There are, of course, too many factors involved to make a facile connection between a growing confidence in the use of language and a higher standard of academic thinking, not least being the approach of lecturers concerned, but that the two are connected is unlikely to be challenged. General education and a changing political scene, are making it essential for teachers to look critically at their pupils' learning and become aware of the factors influencing their language background, both before they enter class I and during their subsequent school years.

I believe that a greater awareness of the language and conceptual difficulties facing children who are not coping in the normal classroom is particularly necessary for remedial teachers. In Indian South African schools there has been an emphasis on the teaching of formal grammar, "correctness" of standard English pronunciation, accurate oral reading of written texts and the acquisition of "skills", which has focused teachers' attention away from language as a tool for personal growth. Teachers need to extend children's awareness of the potential power of this tool, starting from the ability they have to use it when they enter school. Singh points out the difficulty of learning English when the child's cultural background is Eastern rather than Western. "A conscious and systematic bridge-building is essential if the child's patterned universe is to be an harmonious blending of the Western and Eastern," (1977, p80). The remedial teacher is in a good position to form this bridge. She needs to appreciate how the child's unique language, developed in his home, can help him to deal with the demands of the Western orientated use of language in school. To do this, the remedial teacher needs to know about the factors affecting the development of language both before and during a child's school years. This research seeks to throw light on the language background of a sample of children with difficulties severe enough to impede their progress in school.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY USED AND A DESCRIPTION OF REMEDIAL WORK IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

The language environment of a child consists of all the language he has experienced since his first awareness of his surroundings. It is impossible to describe the whole of this, and it can only be sampled by pinpointing specific, identifiable influences, and attempting to assess their effect. Language is closely tied to culture, so some reference to the cultural background is included in thinking about language.

In the schools controlled by the Department of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs, all remedial teachers have a first teaching diploma and practically all have a qualification in remedial teaching. In addition several have degrees, but this is not an essential requirement. There are three main sources of certification for such a remedial teacher in Natal. The University of Natal offers a Diploma in Remedial Education which involves one year of full-time study. The University of South Africa and the University of Durban-Westville offer two-year part-time diploma courses. The remedial teachers who qualify at the University of Durban-Westville, which so far has supplied the biggest number of teachers, are required to set up remedial rooms in the primary schools to which they are posted during their second year of study. During this year they each work in their school full-time, with pupils referred to them for help in language and mathematics. Since remedial classes were only started in 1977 and the first students of the current Diploma in Specialised Education (Remedial Education) at the University of Durban-Westville passed their final examinations at the end of 1979, the service is not as yet very wide-spread. The majority of remedial teachers both in training and newly qualified, have found themselves in schools unfamiliar with the presence of a remedial teacher and uncertain about her role. There is consequently a great deal of blurring at the edges as to what constitutes a remedial teacher's work, and whom she teaches. The children in the schools controlled by the

Department of Internal Affairs benefit from this fuzziness, because the class teachers tend to refer many children who might be excluded from a list based on rigid criteria, laid down by an educational directive. The question is simple: who should be referred to the remedial teacher? The answer is not so simple. So long as the description of children who should be referred to the remedial teacher is less than clear it remains with the remedial and class teachers to decide who will benefit from the service. They are in a better position to judge than anyone else.

In 1969 the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children with Minimal Brain Dysfunction produced a report which bears the name of their chairman, Dr C.H.de C. Murray. The Committee had been given nine terms of reference which included inquiry into the characteristics and number of white children with so-called minimal brain dysfunction, current remedial services for them and the criteria used for admission, and to what extent and how, further provisions should be made. The Committee's first task was to define the term "minimum brain dysfunction". They found this difficult, and were not completely satisfied with the term. They decided to use it, however, and to extend their consideration of children in need of help beyond the limits imposed by the term and the definition they accepted. I quote from the Introduction and Summary of the Recommendations

- "(A) This report deals with children who for some reason incomprehensible to the layman are unable to make progress at school. They are intelligent, and there is apparently nothing wrong with them, but they are unable to learn to read
- (B) Some of these children are suffering from a condition known as minimal brain dysfunction. Others, again have a learning disability not caused by minimal brain dysfunction. Since these children are so closely connected, especially as regards the problem of learning and the use of the appropriate

teaching methods at school, the Committee was obliged to take into consideration the wider group of children with learning disabilities when formulating recommendations regarding the provision of adequate facilities for remedial reeducation by the education departments."

In the Report, (1969, piii) the Committee gives their definition of children with minimal brain dysfunction, as follows:

"Children with minimal brain dysfunction have average, or above average intellectual ability, and the motor function, vision, hearing and emotional adjustment are adequate, but they manifest specific learning disabilities or behavioural disabilities which are associated with deviations of the function of the central nervous system. Dysfunction of the central nervous system manifests itself in different ways and in various combinations of the deviations mentioned below:- impairment, namely, of perception, conceptualisation, language, memory, control of attention, impulse and motor function." (1969, p7).

This definition is imprecise and virtually impossible for an untrained teacher to apply. To start with, how does she recognise the child with "average or above-average intelligence? Does recognition depend on the result of a test? There have always been academics and teachers who have strong reservations about the relationship between intelligence and so-called intelligence tests. Now there is an increasingly vocal expression of dissatisfaction with the use of formal tests to assess the elusive concept "intelligence" (Farman, 1983).

Many teachers are concerned with maintaining an orderly class, and tend to see behaviour disabilities in terms of class discipline disruption, rather than child-learning disruption. That teachers often miss defective vision and hearing and over-look clumsiness is well-known. It is hardly surprising if they fail to see that a child's emotional state is not

"adequate", unless he stands out as a behaviour problem. Yet time and again my own experience and that of many remedial teachers I have spoken to, show that the vast majority of children who are referred for help have unrecognised emotional problems. The work of Lawrence on the positive effects of counselling is not without significance here (1973).

If a teacher decides a child fulfils the first half of the definition, a decision which involves a questionable premise in the case of emotional adjustment, she must tackle the second half. She requires a thorough understanding of perception, conceptualisation, language, memory, attention, impulse and motor-function before she can begin to decide if a child does indeed "deviate" in any of them. To consider only one of these terms, "perception": will a teacher know if the child's blank expression reveals an inability to "perceive" something in the subject matter, boredom caused by the fact that he has leaped far ahead in his thinking, or preoccupation with the social events of the previous week?

If the definition of minimal dysfunction is difficult for remedial teachers to use, what guidance do they have? Mr P.B.Singh, Senior Psychologist in the Department of Indian Education, said in private conversation that for practical purposes he favoured the following definition:

"Remedial Education is part of education which is concerned with the prevention, investigation, and treatment of learning difficulties from whatever source they may emanate and which hinders the normal development of the student."

This is very wide and reflects the liberal outlook I have found generally expressed by British remedial teachers, but the word "normal" presents difficulties. Once again a remedial teacher may find her interpretation of the word in only partial agreement with those of other authorities, in the case of a particular child.

The question of intelligence is not mentioned here, and this is an issue the Psychological Services of the Department of Indian Education is considering with some care. Psychologists in the Department of Internal Affairs do currently give intellectual assessments, using mainly various sub tests of the ISISA, (Individual Scale for Indian South Africans). No cut-off point has been rigidly applied, and intellectual assessments are intended to give remedial teachers some indication of strengths and weaknesses rather than to categorize the children tested. In general it is probably true to say that remedial teachers are applying criteria no more stringent than those of whether there is a vacancy on the time-table which the child with learning difficulties can fill, and whether in her judgement, this child's needs should be met rather than that one's.

The Psychological Services encourages remedial teachers to work with younger rather than older children, in the belief that the sooner a child receives help, the easier it is to satisfy his needs, and therefore the greater the number of children who can be helped. This belief rests on the idea that once the learning gap is closed, the child will be able to achieve, if not his potential, at least to the satisfaction of the class teachers. If this is true, it suggests two possibilities. Either that the child's learning lag was caused simply by his not mastering his school-work, not by an inherent inability to do so, or he has learned to recognize his own specific weakness in a learning process, and found a way of learning in spite of it. It is the opinion of Mr. Singh and of myself, having worked in this community for some years, that the former applies in Indian South African schools very much more commonly than the latter.

When the remedial service was started in Indian South African Schools in 1977, it was decided that remedial teachers should be attached to a single school and draw children from that school. This has very real advantages. The remedial teacher is one of the school staff with opportunities to work with the other teachers, and the chance to see her pupils in

different circumstances. She can arrange the number of lessons during which she will work with each child, on a reasonably flexible basis. On rare occasions a particular child may spend a large part of the day with the remedial teacher who works towards the time he can benefit from spending all day in the normal class. The presence of one child in the remedial class during the lessons of others may not seem ideal, but his possible gains have to be balanced against possible disadvantages to other children.

1.4 SUMMARY

A current concern in the Department of Education of the Department of Internal Affairs is the establishment of special services for children who are not able to pass school tests and examinations, yet are generally considered to be free of physical, intellectual and emotional barriers to learning. Most of such children are referred to remedial teachers working in the "normal" schools. The children are withdrawn from their classrooms and given lessons individually or in small groups, often on a daily basis. Since language plays a significant part in children's learning, this study inquires into the language background of children who have had two years of help or more, but, in the opinion of the remedial teachers, are still not able to cope with classroom work without further help. It is emphasized that there are no clearly defined criteria for selecting the children whom the remedial teacher works with, or for withdrawing this help. Decisions are made largely by the remedial teachers in consultation with class teachers and school psychologists.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1.1 LANGUAGE - With particular reference to South African Indian use of English.

A great deal of research has been done on the language of children both before and during their first years of school, much of it stimulated by the obvious reality that not all children succeed at school. Of the various factors held responsible, language both verbal and non-verbal, is a major one, since it is the predominant means of communication in face-to-face interactions such as exist in the classroom. There has been considerable awareness of the difficulties experienced by children who do not come from so-called traditional English-speaking backgrounds, as well as those whose culture, although undeniably English, differs from that which forms the background of the schools they attend. In addition, there are children who have not developed language to the extent that they would be expected to, owing to factors outside their language environment. If we accept with Halliday (1967) that "Teaching in the context of the school, can be defined as the use of language to assist learning", then our focus inevitably will be on the use of language and how it can assist and not hamper learning.

Although many South African Indian children name their home language as English and do not usually speak anything else, their heritage is not English, and their forebears of one or two generations back spoke an Indian language to their families. Inevitably the language evolved is not the same as Standard English, ill-defined South African English, or one of the other variations spoken by Black South Africans and immigrant European groups. English as a replacement

for Indian languages has been learned of necessity in Natal, where English is the main language of the dominant culture. Few listeners would have difficulty in identifying an unseen speaker as Indian, but although the language they heard has been described, it is not usually listed as a separate dialect. One of the difficulties of doing this is that the five most prevalent languages which the Indian immigrants brought with them: Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Gujerati and Urdu, have not had a uniform influence on spoken English. A dropped English "h" for instance suggests a Tamil or Hindi background. The sound patterns which have given rise to the caricatured "Indian English" are less apparent in the English of a child whose grandparents spoke Gujerati (Naidoo, Bell and Hermann, 1969).

Children in South African Indian schools are taught by teachers of this community who attended schools in which teachers were one degree closer to the original family language. It would be surprising if they all handled English with the degree of subtlety and creative awareness one would wish for in a teacher, and the reality is a distance from the ideal. Reproduction of her exact words protects an uncertain teacher and enables struggling pupils to rely on their memories to pass examinations, whatever their ability to apply "knowledge" so learned. Teachers' words therefore have had more respectability than pupils', and pupil language has not always been encouraged.

This is not unique to this community. Not long ago Barnes, Britten, Rosen and L.A.T.E. (1969) turned a spotlight on the use of language in the classroom in England. The teachers who feature in the typescripts in their book are presumably English-speaking, yet they, too, lack awareness of pupil understanding of the language they use. Influenced by this research, in the last seven years, Loureiro of the University of Durban-Westville has required students to tape-record lessons as part of a consideration of classroom learning. His work shows a similar barrier between teachers and pupils

(Loureiro, 1983). Teachers are frequently oblivious of the sterility pupils face in memorizing terms and forms of language which they cannot relate to the language they already have. Frank Smith reminds us that "What we already have in our head is our only basis for both making sense and learning more about the world." (1978, p78).

In 1971 Bernstein wrote Social class, language and socialization, in which he gathered together some of the threads of previous work. Bernstein had a seminal influence on educators in the field of speech and language, and stimulated a great deal of argument. In this article, he makes it clear that his concern is with speech rather than language. Speech is language performance and "performances are culturally specific acts, they refer to the choices which are made in specific speech encounters." Bernstein takes the view that

"... the code which the linguist invents to explain the formal properties of the grammar is capable of generating any number of speech codes, and there is no reason for believing that any one language is better than another in this respect. On this argument, language is a set of rules to which all speech codes must comply, but which speech codes are realized is a function of the culture acting through social relationships in specific contexts."

(1972, pp103, 104)

It is the connection between the speech produced by a child and the society in which he grows up, which has been of particular interest to educators trying to understand why so many children were gaining little from the years they spent at school. Defining the term "Socialization" as "the process whereby the biological is transformed into a specific cultural being", Bernstein writes that

"... the process of socialization is a complex process of control, whereby a particular moral, cognitive and affective awareness is evoked in the child and given a specific form and content.

Socialisation sensitizes the child to the various orderings of society as these are made substantive in the various roles he is expected to play. In a sense, then, socialization is a process for making people safe." (1972, p104)

Bernstein goes on to make the point that it is through the agencies of family, peer group, school and work, and their relationship to each other that socialization occurs. This point cannot be over-emphasized and places a responsibility on the shoulders of the school which takes on the role of foremost educator. Many children today enter school with well-established patterns of behaviour and speech which differ considerably from those expected by the school. The question of the aims of the school has to be settled before teachers can find the answers to how they ensure that children do not find school alien, but instead a place which offers them the pleasures of learning as an exciting mental challenge. Herbert Kohl in 36 Children (1967) demonstrates how a teacher who was deeply concerned with what his aims should be, struggled to find the answers. Consistent school demands which make children less "safe", to use Bernstein's word, are bound to help set up conditions for the breakdown of the society which gave birth to them. Yet, theoretically, schools are places which make available to all, the accumulated learning of the best brains in society, and offer opportunities to children from any social level to find out what they are capable of achieving.

To Bernstein we owe the terms "elaborated" and "restricted" codes. Restricted codes he saw as being used in more immediate contexts, where meaning is tied to the particular. Elaborated codes give users greater possibilities of abstract thought,

the use of rationality and a degree of objectivity. Children whose use of language tends to be in the "restricted" code only, may find difficulty in the unfamiliar world of the classroom, where more universalistic viewpoints may be expected.

Emphasis on the use, rather than the form of language, has been instrumental in reducing the place of formal grammar in some school syllabi. Halliday is well known for his work in this field (1982).

In all probability man developed spoken language because he needed to: whether to enable him to exchange information in a more precise manner than gesture makes possible, or to give vent to his emotional - creative impulses through intelligible sound. In a close study of a child's language therefore, the analyst will learn as much about the child's ability to control his environment by examining the uses to which he puts language, as by focusing on the way in which he says something. Halliday's work is extremely important for directing attention to different uses of language, whether or not his classification is accepted as final. He isolated six different models: instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic and imaginative. Halliday points out that "the determining elements in the young child's experience are the successful demands on language that he himself has made, the particular needs that have been satisfied by language for him" (1982, p40). If this is the case, then it would appear to be vital to discover first of all what uses a child is putting language to. The development of language after that will depend on whether needs can be created in a child in order for him to start using language to meet these.

Luria and Yudovich's striking experiment with the five-year year old twins, Yura and Liosha, (1971) was a land-mark in the area of language study, and additionally shows that language affects cognitive development. In his Introduction to the English translation of Luria and Yudovich's book,

Britton quotes a highly significant passage from Chapter 6:

"With the appearance of speech disconnected from action it was to be expected that there should arise the possibility of formulating a system of connections transcending the boundaries of the immediate situation and of subordinating action to these verbally formulating connections."

One of the important factors that this study illustrates is that language development does not proceed normally where the incentive to use speech is insufficient to make the effort worth-while. The twins were largely left to themselves and were satisfied with each other's company. They developed their own private method of communicating. Therapists working with them provoked a need to use language, firstly by separating them. When the twins could no longer rely on each other's presence for social comfort and stimulation, they gradually came to find it necessary not only to listen to those people talking to them, and make sense of what they heard, but also to respond verbally themselves. Once the twins began to be aware of language, rapid development occurred "... not only the vocabulary of their speech but also its function now became radically different" (1971, p62). After three months, substantial change was noted both in language use and "in the structure of their conscious activity, built up on the basis of verbal speech." (1971, p107).

Luria and Yudovich's work as well as Blank and Solomon's (1972) and Joan Tough's, (1973, '76, '77, '82) support the idea expressed by Lenneberg (Aitchison, 1976, p73): "Between the ages of three and the early teens the possibility for primary language acquisition continues to be good." Aitchison quotes the case of Isabelle, (1976, p72) who was discovered without language at the age of six and a half years, having had no opportunity to learn. Two years later, it appears, she had caught up the majority of children her age. Since children are usually in school for most of this critical

childhood period, it would seem clear that much can be done by concerned and knowledgeable teachers. Like Luria and Yudovich, Blank and Solomon saw a close link between language deficiency and "the lack of a symbolic system for thinking." Blank and Solomon (1972, p178). They therefore planned to teach language to enable the child "to organise thoughts, reflect upon situations to comprehend the meaning of events, and to choose among alternatives." In their paper How shall the disadvantaged child be taught?, they give type-scripts of part of two sessions between a four-year old girl and the teacher who was trained to use their principles, and one session between the child and a nursery school teacher who was a visitor. She agreed to teach "a cognitively oriented lesson appropriate for this child." Blank and Solomon analyse the exchanges to show that not all contact with a sympathetic adult is likely to move a child towards their objectives. (1972, p186)

This conclusion might appear to conflict with the finding of Lawrence (1973) that counselling children with reading problems enabled them to make greater improvement in reading than an equivalent amount of time spent on the teaching of reading. It is not appropriate to draw parallels between these studies, however, as Lawrence's concept of reading allowed him to use the Schonell Word Recognition test in order to measure gains in reading. This test, as Stibbs points out (1979, p41) is really a "recoding" test. In practice this gives no indication of ability to "read", if reading is to be defined as "a complex organization of patterns of higher mental processes" which "can and should embrace all types of thinking, evaluating, judging, imagining, reasoning, and problem-solving" (Gates in Stauffer, 1969, p9). There would therefore seem to be a wide difference between Blank and Solomon's aims for the development of oral language, both receptive and expressive, and Lawrence's aims for the development of the more receptive of the written forms (reading).

Joan Tough has done extensive work for the Schools Council Communications Skills in Early Childhood Project in Britain. Giving full credit to Halliday's classification, Joan Tough (1982) puts forward her own view of language uses, distinguishing two different kinds of functions, the relational, which is concerned with the relationship between the speaker and listener, and ideational, which is concerned with the content of what is said. For the most part the relational is combined with the ideational function. Tough uses excerpts from a tape recording of the talk of two three-and-a-half year old boys to illustrate these.

Under the heading of ideational functions, are listed the self-maintaining, the directive, the interpretive and the projective. This last is divided into the predictive, imaginative and empathetic functions. In her conclusion to the paper Children's Use of Language, Tough explains that the classification was not intended to be exhaustive, but was useful for comparing the language of three-year-olds with whom she was working. She studied children whose parents were described as skilled or semi-skilled manual workers, or professional. Her results showed that there was a marked difference between the two groups, "... it would seem that not only have children by the age of three established particular social orientations, but at the same time they have acquired markedly different cognitive orientation towards their experiences and set markedly different meanings on them." (1982, p62). This result, she found, becomes even more marked by five and seven years, and inferred that: "The differences between the groups seem to lie in the different models of reality through which the child processes his experience (1982, p61). This seems to be very important indeed for the teacher not only of language, but of every school subject. Dewey remarked:

"Without insight into the psychological structure and activities of the individual, the educative process will, therefore, be haphazard and arbitrary."

(1964, p428)

Perhaps the particular importance of Joan Tough's work is that she was actively involved in the promotion of language in young children, not by a series of formal organised lessons, but by creating the situation in which children need to "search for an adequate expression for communicating about something which arises from their own interest and involvement" (1973, p123).

Provided children are not inhibited by the belief that it is unacceptable to use an incorrect word order or faulty agreement, they can learn to use language in a variety of ways which will give them confidence to gain facility. This is applicable where a child comes to school using a dialect, whether recognised as such or not, which differs from that used by the teachers in the school.

The effect of creating a need for children to use language in a variety of situations in order to encourage language development, is by no means limited to "home-language" uses. Many adults have found an unexpected ability to make themselves understood in foreign language surroundings, when faced with an urgent problem, and similarly find that the unintelligibility of a speaker's actual words is irrelevant where the situation makes meaning clear (Donaldson 1978, p37).

The matter of whether a child with school language difficulties has a real language deficit, in the sense that he is not able to use any language effectively in a variety of circumstances, or a school language deficit combined with a well-developed language system recognisable in circumstances outside the classrooms, is one which the American Labov brought sharply to mind (1972). He focused on children from Negro urban ghetto areas, pointing out that the conclusions reached by various investigations about the poor verbal capacity of these children were often based upon tape-recorded interviews which were not merely artificial but virtually guaranteed to produce non-verbal behaviour. Labov argues that in familiar surroundings the situation is very different, and that such

children have indeed considerable local incentive for their use of spoken language (1972, p202). He further demonstrates that the language that ghetto children learn at home may have a clarity of expression not always found in the careful pronouncements of middle-class speakers, who are capable of producing impressive-sounding sentences with very limited meaning; a situation all too familiar to some lecturers and academics. (Jardine, 1983, p21). In the case of a child who is not using language effectively in the classroom, the first task of the teacher is to discover whether the child is not using language per se, or whether he is not using the language which he perceives as demanded by the school. The two situations will need to be handled in different ways, although the ultimate aim of the teacher, to enable a child to use language to his maximum capacity, is the same.

There are some parallels between Labov's children and the children in Indian South African homes, but the situations although comparable are not identical. The socio-cultural backgrounds of the children are different, as is the society in which they will one day make a living. South African Indian children compete against children from their own racial group in school and are taught by teachers who are not only in the community themselves, but in some cases have family or neighbourly links. While the majority of Indian South African children do not live in surroundings accurately described as rural, few live in environments which resemble a central urban ghetto, with the resultant heavy pressures and constant need for clever use of language.

Awareness of the pressures of contemporary society and the changing needs of people living in it has brought a demand for a close look at what is happening in schools. If they are to play the role of educating children, we need to be very sure about what education means. If it includes the idea of preparation for the future, then it follows that we need to examine future trends with enormous care and determine

what are the eternal values to be maintained, and what are conventions of a passing era. One would like to be sure that current concern with the development of spoken language spring from an eternal value. This can only be so if we teach child to consider carefully how they use the power which the spoken word can give. Such power is not new, and has always been recognised. Socrates after all, was forced to drink hemlock because his words were judged to corrupt the youth of Athens. It was a privileged youth at a time when learning included an ability to debate. The practice did not move down the centuries or radiate out from Greece to all the countries of the world. In English there was no word for the ability to listen to and use the spoken word until 1965 (Wilkinson 1982, p64). The word "oracy" was coined, and since then has become widely known. Wilkinson proposes three reasons for the neglect of the spoken word in English education; practical, social and psychological. As he reminds us, practical difficulties, although very real, tend to fall away if society demands something. In reality, says Wilkinson, English society did not see a need for the development of oracy in schools until the second half of this century. The part played by spoken language in mental development had not previously been explored, and generally children were expected to be passive absorbers of adult wisdom rather than to have active, enquiring minds. Rapid technological and environmental changes have made it imperative that children growing up in such society learn to assess good and bad, lasting and ephemeral, for themselves. They can not depend on the older generations having all the answers, since many of the questions are different.

No longer do people expect to remain in the area within a few miles of their birth, as a matter of course. Inevitably children move and mix. They may very likely meet people from different backgrounds in a variety of circumstances before they are out of primary school. They may themselves move to quite unfamiliar surroundings and possibly travel to non-English speaking countries. They need, therefore,

to gain confidence in a variety of language situations inside school; not merely in artificial circumstances created by the English teacher. School curricula need to be devised in which the emphasis is on the appropriate use of language to deal with particular subject demands.

There have been workers this century who have questioned the contribution which schools make in the education of their children, and wondered if they will not be replaced. (Illich, 1977). Margaret Donaldson (1978, p13) proclaims that she is not one of them. While she does not have any delusions about the school system in Britain, she believes that there is much which can be done at school to help children "who are least prepared for school learning." (1978, p96). Recognizing the close link between cognitive development and language, Donaldson looked closely at the work of Piaget. She questioned his inference that young children cannot see the world from someone else's point of view, and by describing experiments carried out by her own students, demonstrates that this is not the case. Such a finding has important implications. If a child has this facility then he has a wider base for making sense of his environment, and "...it is the child's ability to interpret situations which makes it possible for him through active processes of hypothesis-testing and inference to arrive at a knowledge of language." (Donaldson, 1978, p38).

Donaldson is quite clear about the value of language awareness in the teaching of reading, which she sees as one important way to "enhance the child's reflective awareness" (1978, p99). This will only be the case if reading is taught as a thinking process (Stauffer 1969, Smith 1978). She stresses the importance of reading matter within his language ability:

"A child will have the best chance of starting to consider possibilities of meaning if he is reading a coherent text which contains the right sort of balance between words he already knows well and

words he is not sure about, and if, further, the known and familiar parts of the text are so constructed as to guide him towards a manageable set of options when the unknown is encountered." (1978, p98)

Donaldson adds to this a belief in the necessity of a close relationship between the grammatical structures of a text, and the child's own language use. Jessie Reid showed this too in her research on children's ability to make sense of what they were reading (1977, p382). One of the major weaknesses of many approaches to the teaching of reading lies in the inability of the teacher to make a connection between a child's own language and that used in books he is expected to read. Breakthrough to Literacy (Mackay, Thompson and Schaub, 1970) was devised as a way to give teachers support in using children's own language to create reading material. It was first introduced to Indian South African schools by Pienaar of the University of Durban-Westville, whose research in 1973 sufficiently impressed the Inspectorate of the Department of Education to persuade them to adopt the scheme as the customary approach to the teaching of reading in all junior primary schools. It is a good scheme, but every scheme is dependent on the thorough understanding of and adherence to the principles on which it is based. All too often teachers may be seen treating the core words of the scheme as a body of flash-cards to be memorized. Margaret Donaldson comments "the 'flash-card' technique not only tends to deprive the child of time - it deprives him of another pre-requisite for the thoughtful consideration of possibilities. For this can take place only where there is a situation with enough structure in it to reduce the possibilities to some manageable set" (1978, p98).

Herbert Kohl remarked, "There is no reading problem. There are problem teachers and problem schools" (1973, p9), a terse remark probably calculated to shock teachers into a reconsideration of where the responsibility for reading failure should lie. Herbert Kohl found that "the more learners play with

language, modify sentences and descriptions, write crazy things, the easier and more natural reading other people's writing becomes." (1973, p69). This emphasis on seeing language as a whole which includes reading as one part of it, been very much a theme of current attitudes to reading. These are to some extent crystallised in the Bullock Report (1975, p). It is this uncomplicated reaction to reading as another natural form of language that has enabled some children to learn to read without formal teachers. Jane Torrey gives a case study of a four-year-ten-month old Negro boy she calls John, who taught himself to read without, apparently receiving any help (1973, p150). John was interested in words and numbers and became absolutely absorbed in television commercials which he often memorized. He enjoyed printing words and numbers which he saw on television and on cans in the kitchen. Interestingly, John was not disturbed by the lack of correspondence between Standard English spelling and his own pronunciation, but read in a way that suggested "he read, not the words, but the meanings, and then expressed that same meaning his own way." (p154).

Margaret Clark (1976) decided that an investigation of the background of children who read fluently before they went to school would throw light on what factors might help a child to learn to read and, importantly, "...lead to greater caution in assuming that certain strengths are essential pre-requisites for success in reading - or equally important, that particular weaknesses inevitably lead to failure." (1976, pX).

Again, there is a reminder here to teachers to avoid easy acceptance that a child's inability to read is caused by factors outside their control. Clark used a number of standardised tests to measure achievement in different areas including intelligence, but was cautious in drawing conclusions from her findings. Of particular significance here, is the information she collected about the children's early experience and home background (Chapter V, p39). Parents were interviewed

on two occasions; at the time of the first testing and several years later. Clark found great diversity in a number of areas (p40) but notes that "... the age of the mother on the birth of the fluent reader was higher than normal."

(p41) This she linked to a notable warmth of interest in their children's development, and commitment to it. "... the mothers all expressed interest in their child's progress and found the children stimulating companions. Few had worked even part-time, while the children were of pre-school age - or had sent their children either to a nursery school or play group." (p42) Keeping the children at home was caused not by lack of respect for education in general, but by a feeling that nursery school was not necessary, largely because the children were happy as they were. "... many of these children seemed well able to absorb themselves in activities with a high level of concentration and although they welcomed children's company on occasion, they were self-sufficient enough to occupy themselves in its absence." (p42)

The mothers "welcomed rather than rebuffed attempts at verbal inter-action by the children and provided them with a variety of interesting materials with which to occupy themselves." (p42). If the child needed help with a word in a book, then it was willingly supplied. Mothers too were ready to "take part in play with their children even at the expense of delaying their other activities." (p45) This involvement with their children and contentment with their role as mother was commented on by interviewers as factors which made contact with mothers a pleasure. Perhaps the most striking point is the respect the parents of these children had for family life: "The absorption of these parents in their home life and their shared family experiences is all the more interesting when one considers that some of the mothers had previously followed careers which they ... showed no signs of resuming. Where both parents were interviewed, this same enthusiasm for home life as an exciting experience was equally clear." It is notable that financial consideration

were apparently not seen as the most important factor in deciding whether the mother should work.

The presence of books in the home is often thought to be influential in the amount of interest children show in reading. Not all the homes of the children in Margaret Clark's study had a big supply of purchased books, but, where this was not the case, "there was extensive use of library facilities" (p45). The point is made that "These homes were providing rich and exciting experiences within which books were indeed an integral part " (p45), but that this factor in itself should not be stressed over and above other language experiences. "It was difficult in the interviews to separate the book experiences from the rest of the pre-school background of these children."

It would seem abundantly clear that a great deal can be done in schools to ensure that all children have the opportunity to grow into the language which is generally accepted as a norm for scholastic and academic success. Where there is a significant discrepancy between the child's language and the expectation of the teacher, considerable subtlety is needed to close the gap. The remedial teacher is uniquely situated to be able to focus on an individual child, since she can arrange her lessons according to his needs, not according to the pressures of completing a syllabus, which so many class-room teachers see as their major concern. What is necessary is a constant awareness of the factors affecting the language each child brings to school, an acceptance of each child's family life as the foundation on which language develops, and a sensitivity to the constant confusions which a child faces. This last is well known in most homes, but is often over-looked at school. Giving an example more amusing than is the case for many children, Margaret Donaldson quotes an incident from Laurie Lee's book Cider with Rosie.

"I spent the first day picking holes in paper, then went home in a smouldering temper.

'What's the matter, Loll? Didn't he like it at school then?'

'They never gave me the present.'

'Present? What present?'

'They said they'd give me a present.'

'Well now, I'm sure they didn't.'

'They did! They said: "You're Laurie Lee, ain't you? Well, just you sit there for the present." I sat there all day but I never got it. I ain't going back there again!"

(1978, p17)

My own childhood frustration is still remembered from an incident on the coast of North Devon, England. The youngest of four children I had to know what the family was looking at so intently. "Whales." I searched the sea anxiously and in vain for the great spouting mammals. No doubt the creatures looked for were similarly unaware of the land mass bearing the same name, just a few miles away.

In 1979 Moon and Wells published an account of their research on The influence of home on learning to read. They collected data from three sources over a period of several years; parental interviews, regular tape recordings of conversations at home, and assessments of reading at 5 and 7 years. Looking at work carried out by a number of researchers, Moon and Wells separated this into two main areas. They saw one as pointing to "the child's apparent intrinsic interest in literacy" and the other as "relating to parental interest in and promotion of literacy." (1979, p56) They collected a large amount of data and from these derived 16 indices. These were tabulated and correlations between the scores were calculated. Surprisingly, Moon and Wells did not find any relationship between "the child's own interest in literacy and future reading attainment." They do, however, question the accuracy of this finding.

Sadly, for the children who do not start well in school, Moon and Wells found that "the evidence suggests that there is not a significant change in the relative order of attainment amongst children: those who enter school knowing most about literacy are the ones who have the greatest reading attainment at the age of seven." The most relevant finding is as follows:

"The parental effect was found to be the most crucial and this effect was brought about by active encouragement of literacy activities and the provision of reading and writing materials in the home. Taken together with the quality of maternal verbal interaction, it could be said that children's success or failure in learning to read largely depends on parents who care enough for their children to spend time with them, and within that time, to lay the foundations of knowledge about, and positive attitudes towards, books and reading."

(1979, p61)

An interesting piece of research on The family and the development of literacy skills and values was carried out in New York by Denny Taylor (1981). She distinguished between "the specific learning encounters that are characteristic of reading instruction in schools," and the more diffuse and/or covert learning experiences that are characteristic of family life." (p94) She studied six families, in each of which one child was thought by the parents to be learning to read and write successfully. Data was collected on a broad basis to start with, and focus on the subjects of reading and writing avoided. Notes were made of the activities of the children and their families, and conversations were tape recorded over a period of several years.

Six families is not a large number and Taylor is cautious in making claims of the universality of her findings. The

data, however, pointed to the conclusion that "the parents have developed distinctive learning styles relating to the transmission of literacy skills and values ..." She continues "... it has been suggested that these styles are grounded in the parents' personal experiences of learning to read, and that these styles have evolved as the individual needs and interests of their children have been accommodated." She found little evidence that the parents "taught" their children to read systematically. Indeed, the picture is rather different; "... the thread that unites the families is their recognition that learning to read takes place on a daily basis as a part of every-day life." Taylor quotes Leichter's comment "Ironically, some parent education programs place such a heavy emphasis on the need for explicit didactic procedures on the part of parents that they may unwittingly undermine the 'natural' and 'exploring' educational initiative of the child." It raises a very important question for anyone wondering if and how parents can be successfully instructed in how to help their children.

2.1.2 SUMMARY

The literature indicates that if a child is to be well equipped to deal with the language he will meet in school, then the parents, or those who look after him, will show strong interest in and awareness of all language activities. It is extremely important that the child meets situations which promote in him the need to use language in a variety of ways. Reading is just one of these, and is not successfully isolated from language as a whole.

2.2.1 SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CHILDREN

During the nineteenth century Natal became colonised by British and Boer settlers. This was an uneasy process, involving conflict between both themselves and the Zulu people. The three groups eventually stopped fighting, but they did not merge into one nation. Instead they kept apart, and the government of South Africa eventually enforced this separateness by law. Natal is a fertile province and agriculture was an obvious choice of employment. Different crops were tried and sugar was found to be successful. Sugar needs labourers, however, and this created a problem. Where were the labourers to come from? Work on the cane fields did not appeal to the Zulu and there were simply not enough white settlers. The solution which is far from unique, was to bring in people from elsewhere. So, in 1860, the first Indians arrived as indentured labourers. They came from various castes all over India and spoke Tamil, Telegu, or Hindustani. Most were Hindus, but there were Moslems and Christians among them. Soon this source of cheap labour was used in other areas as well as the cane fields; on the railways and in domestic service, for example. Conditions might have been far from ideal, but they proved sufficiently attractive to ensure further arrivals on the same system until 1911, when the British - Indian government intervened. They were disturbed by the status and lack of rights of the labourers, particularly when they had finished their service, and the government stopped further recruitment.

In addition to the indentured labourers, a group of "passenger Indians, largely Gujerati - speaking, Moslems and Hindus, came to Natal. They were primarily interested in trade and commerce and they were not welcomed by the white settlers. In 1913 the Immigration Regulation Act controlled the entry of immigrants on economic grounds. This reduced the number of Indians coming to South Africa, but it was not until 1956 that a total ban on immigration became effective.

A repatriation scheme was instigated in 1914 in order to induce Indians to return to their native land but this failed, and was discontinued in 1953.

Since Indian immigration has not occurred on a major scale during the twentieth century, the majority of South African Indian children come from families who have lived here for three or four generations. As with the other groups of people in Natal, the Indians have been seen as a separate community, and it might possibly have been expected that they would weld together in a fairly homogeneous group. This has not happened to date. The traditional caste system of India supported separation of groups. Desai (1983) maintains that caste was " ... a democratic social institution which allowed its members to retain what was sacred to their own cultural heritage." This institution prevailed in the new environmen

Although work demands led to the learning of other languages, particularly English, attendance at school was not fully compulsory until 1979, and most children were brought up in homes where the original languages were spoken, and there was adherence to the culture of the family group. The first state schools in Natal, opened in Pietermaritzburg in 1849 and Durban in 1850, accepted enrolment from all races, despite objections from some white parents. Behr and Macmillan (1971, p132) remark " ... the continued increase in the number of private schools was attributed in part to the unwillingness of some parents to have their children attend schools to which non-whites were admitted." There is a striking irony here. Today private white schools accept children of other races. State schools do not. In 1869 the government granted aid to the Reverend Ralph Scott to open the first school for Indian children, where English was the medium of instruction. Only boys attended, as Indians considered school unsuitable for girls, and it would seem that, generally, the Indian community placed little emphasis on education in formal schools (ibid, p383).

Despite this, the first English-speaking state school for Indians was opened in 1883. Alongside this were a few state-aided schools, the number of which increased rather faster than that of the state schools. In 1893, two state schools had 340 pupils; 24 state-aided schools had 2249 pupils. Now there were not enough teachers and funds were insufficient to develop schools quickly enough to meet the need. In 1909 the number of girls was some 10% of that of boys (ibid p384). This small number of girls who were introduced to Western ideas at school, may be significant, since it is generally the mother who carries on the traditions and culture of the home.

The growth of Indian education was slow, particularly at post-primary level, but in the 1940s, the demand for schools had led to the platoon and double shift systems. In the platoon system, two groups had the use of the same classrooms. While one class was sitting in the classroom with a teacher, the other class would be outside with another teacher. Both had the use of the room for half the school day. In the double-shift system, one class occupied the room in the morning and another class used the same room in the afternoon. This meant that twice as many children could attend a school as it had classroom space for. In recent years an extensive building programme has overcome the problem of accommodation and now each enrolled child has his place in a classroom.

The problem of staffing schools with suitably qualified teachers has gradually decreased, although until about 1955, training facilities were very limited. In 1951 the Springfield Training College for Indians was established and offered professional courses for teachers. A university college for Indians was opened on Salisbury Island, Durban, in 1961, under the academic control of the University of South Africa. A Department of Education was set up in the Faculty of Arts and in 1965 this became the Faculty of Education. The university college gained status as a full University for Indians in 1969, albeit under state control. It became autonomous in 1984.

In 1979, 90,6% of the Indian teachers at Indian schools and Colleges of Education had a professional qualification. Of these 20,8% had degrees. Another 8,4% of teachers had degrees, but no professional qualification. (Behr, unpublished, 1984). In 1984, the Department of Education employed 400 teachers who were unqualified and according to a senior official, they will be phased out as from 1985.

Concern with the possible loss of the Indian languages led to the setting up of so-called "vernacular" schools after "normal" school hours, but not all children attend these. Recently, now that education is compulsory, and the numbers of Indian South Africans who complete standard 10 and go on to further study has increased considerably, there is a movement in religious institutions to persuade young people to learn the language of their Indian origin. State schools are offering classes in certain languages as part of the school curriculum, for the first time in 1984. It would seem that there is a growing awareness that specific cultural traits are becoming lost, along with the languages which children no longer absorb at home, and in common with nationalist groups elsewhere in the world, certain societies are seeking to stem the tide of change.

In 1964 Rocher studied how a group of Tamil-speaking Hindus had moved away from their traditional customs. He compared the current attitudes of mothers and daughters to traditional Hindu customs, in the belief that it is the task of the mother to promote the religious and cultural life of her family (1966, p41). The daughters were all students at the University College, Durban, and likely to represent the group having experienced most influence from other cultures, particularly Western. Rocher concluded that "a gradual decline in traditional Hindu thought and practices is taking place" (p46). Since 1979 education has become compulsory, television sets and recently, video-machines have become familiar to most children. There is greater affluence, greater freedom of movement and increased

job opportunity. Another research project is unlikely to show that the trend has halted.

2.2.2 SUMMARY

The Indian "community" is not homogeneous, but a collection of peoples who came from different castes, different racial, different ethnic and differing religious groups, and from different parts of India. They remain aware of their separateness. There appears to be a decline in the adherence to cultural tradition, and the original languages are not learnt by most children. Although not quick to embrace school education, particularly for girls, Indian South Africans came to appreciate the value of this. Since 1979 education has been compulsory and from 1985, unqualified teachers will be phased out.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

(See Appendices (i) and (ii))

In order to gain information about the language background of children who were referred to a remedial teacher, it was decided to focus on those children who had spent two years or more with a remedial teacher working on language, but were still thought to be unready to return to the "normal" class without support.

With the permission of the Director of Indian Education, I approached all the schools in the Durban area in each of which a remedial teacher had been working for at least two years. Each teacher was asked if she had on her register any children who answered the above description. Decisions about the need for further remedial teaching were made by the remedial teachers, who saw each child in relation to his progress in the "normal class", as assessed by herself and his classroom teachers, guided by the outcome of classroom tests and examinations.

It is recognised that selection of children using these criteria is likely to result in a group of children with uneven performance. Different teachers have different expectations for their pupils and standards vary from school to school. The reality of the situation is, however, that class tests and subjective criteria are used in schools, and formal tests not standardized for this population, while of interest, would not add information of practical value, in the selection of a sample of children. No limits of age or sex were given to the teachers.

Two important influences on the outcome of remedial teaching need to be mentioned; those of personality match and teacher ability. There is little doubt that the personalities of both teacher and child will affect their relationship and the achievement of a child both in the classroom and in the more personal remedial room. It is possible that the children in the sample may have fared differently with another remedial teacher of similar ability, but different personality. This we cannot know, but it may well be an even more important factor than that of teacher ability. It is obvious that there is a great difference between the imaginative and creative teacher, and the one who qualified by the skin of her teeth and had difficulty in seeing the relationship between theory and practice. It is a hard fact of life that few of us have ideal teachers throughout our school careers and unfortunately, this remains true even in circumstances designed to compensate for less than perfect opportunities to learn. Other unevennesses in the teaching of these children is the length of time spent with the remedial teacher, and whether each child had lessons alone or in a group.

None of these factors have been taken into account in selecting the sample. The essential point is that all the children have been referred for help in language, mainly because of difficulty in reading, and therefore, they represent a group about whose language background we need to know more.

Data were collected in two ways:

1. By remedial teachers through the use of scheduled interviews and a questionnaire,
2. by Diploma in Special Education (Remedial Education) students through taped unstructured interviews of the most significant adults in the lives of some of the children.

3.1 SCHEDULED INTERVIEWS AND A QUESTIONNAIRE

The scheduled interviews and questionnaires were set out on forms as follows:

- A1. a summary of information about the members of the household to which the child belongs;
- A2. information on physical details of the household;
- B. information from the adult who had the most significant influence on the child;
- C. information from the remedial teacher working with the child;
- D. information from the child.

Data were gathered by fourteen qualified remedial teachers, one partially qualified remedial teacher, seven students in training, and one teacher who started studying for the Diploma in Special Education (Remedial Education) in 1984. i.e. 22 teachers in all, all of whom had first teaching qualifications. The choice of such teachers to collect data was deliberate:

- 3.1.1. They were working with the children and therefore knew them well. This considerably reduced the possibility that the children might respond to questions in the way they anticipated was required.
- 3.1.2. They were working in the same schools as the children, and had ready access to classroom teachers and school records. They were able to see the children outside the remedial room in other school contexts.
- 3.1.3 They belonged to the same community as the children and understood the cultures from which they came. It was easy for the teachers to approach parents, the majority of whom are already known to the teachers.

3.1.4. The remedial teachers are most closely concerned with the information gathered, and the use of such scheduled interviews was judged to be valuable to them in gaining information about the particular children they were teaching. Most of the teachers approached gave this as an explanation for their readiness to assist in gathering data.

Data on Schedules A1, A2 and B were obtained by each teacher, who was asked to visit the child's home. In some cases this involved evening and weekend visits if parents were working during the day. Schedules C and D were filled in at school.

The names of the children who made up the original sample came from 23 schools. The number from each school differed, without any obvious pattern. The biggest number was 9, and the smallest, one. Of the 23 teachers who agreed to take part, only one, with 3 children, failed to send me the promise data. One or two children had been transferred to schools without remedial teachers before the filling in of the schedules. A very few children who would otherwise have qualified had recently been referred to the new remedial school which opened its doors in April 1983. None of the children who attended this remedial school, full-time, was included in the sample. It is possible that some children who were not included in the sample should have been, but it would seem that the 83 children for whom data was collected, constituted a high proportion of all the children identified by the teachers. Unfortunately, when the data were examined, it was found that some children were wrongly selected, since they had had less than two years' help. Another problem was that for certain items, no responses were recorded. Since this is not a statistical study, it was decided to include the children for whom data were incomplete, but exclude the children who did not fulfil the original conditions. The final number of children included in the study, then, was fifty-nine.

The data collected depended largely on the responses made to questions put by the remedial teachers. In an effort

to secure uniformity in interpreting the questions, I went through the schedules with the remedial teachers, individually and attention was focused on possible sources of varying interpretation. The teachers were asked to consult me if they had any doubts about questions, and also to use their knowledge of both child and family to keep a rough check on the probable accuracy of the information obtained. Should they lack confidence in a response, they were asked to indicate this on the schedule. The majority of teachers felt that they knew the family well enough for this to be unlikely. This confidence in their relationship with parents supported my choice of the teachers actually working with the children to collect data.

Each child was given a number for anonymity and data were tabulated according to the schedules.

3.2 TAPED INTERVIEWS

It was decided to collect samples of the language spoken by the most significant adult in the lives of some of the children. Twenty first- and second-year students studying for the Diploma in Special Education (Remedial Education) in 1984 visited the home of a child in the sample. Selection of homes was made on the basis of convenience for the students and tended to be within reasonable distance of their own homes. Choices were made by the students using addresses and the numbers given to children and only two students knew the families they visited. In some cases, it proved impossible for the student to make the visit originally intended and other children had to be substituted. Two families could not be found; one father refused to allow the interview to take place; two children lived in a rural area which the husbands of the students concerned considered too dangerous for their wives to visit. These children came from the only isolated school, some distance from a town. Three of the twenty children whose homes were visited, were later excluded from the study, because they had not been given help for the full two years. Again, it was felt that the students would be more readily acceptable in the homes than a white interviewer, since they belonged to the same racial group, and held the status of school teachers, which was familiar to the families. For some students, the interviews were revealing, since they themselves lived in conditions markedly different from the ones they saw. Perhaps the most unexpected factor for a few was the degree of over-crowding and lack of privacy in some homes. It may be that reduced size of families is one of the most notable signs of greater affluence

Students were requested to encourage the person interviewed to talk freely and were given information about the family to serve as possible prompts. No particular structure was given to them, but they had been advised on the conducting of such interviews by a lecturer in Psychology who subsequently

studied the tapes to advise the students further. Some students found the interview very difficult, feeling nervous and uncomfortable, but practically all were able to obtain the samples. The one who did not manage it, unfortunately went to the interview armed with a tape-recorder which needed to be plugged into the main supply of electricity. The plug did not fit the wall socket and as no double-adaptor could be found, the interview was not recorded. The student still made her own observations, and these were interesting in themselves.

The tapes and the students' general comments about the homes and parents proved to be of considerable interest, both in illustrating the language used in these particular homes and throwing further, sometimes contradictory, light on the responses made in the first interview. Three tapes are used to give a glimpse of the home lives that lie behind the scheduled interviews.

CHAPTER 4

DATA COLLECTED FROM THE SCHEDULED INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Eighty-three children and their parents were interviewed by remedial teachers who listed these children as fulfilling my requirement; namely, that they had received at least two years of help from the remedial teacher, but were considered not yet able to manage in the normal class without further help. Examinations of the data collected showed that some of the remedial teachers had not adhered rigidly to this stipulation. It was decided to exclude any child for whom the dates of February 1982 (or earlier) to November 1983 were not given. This left a total of fifty-nine children. Since eighty-three was supposedly the whole population, it was felt that fifty-nine gave a fair representation of this group of children.

It was also found that certain items of information were missing from a large number of returns. The items differed, and were apparently accidentally omitted by the remedial teachers. It was decided to accept this. No statistical support was being sought, and a small variation in the number of returns for each item would have little effect on the general picture being drawn.

More serious is the conviction that the data collected are not completely reliable. Despite time spent with each remedial teacher going through the questionnaire, and scheduled interviews, and my request that teachers should go through the papers again carefully, and contact me if they were not completely sure how to interpret the questions or record the responses, there were very few queries indeed. There are, however,

indications that interviews were not identical and that some bias exists in the recording of responses. Various ambiguities and minor flaws recognized later in a few items, were not questioned. Besides this, there is the factor of respondent interpretation, both of the questions and the situations which gave rise to the answers. This could not have been eliminated even if one person had carried out all the interviews.

Probably the respondents did answer as well as they were able, and felt comfortable with the interviewers, most of whom were known to the families. Despite the imperfections, not entirely absent from any research project involving the behaviour of human beings, I believe that the data collected do show something of the reality the study seeks to find.

In this chapter I shall merely record the information from the fifty-nine returns. In the next chapter I shall attempt to draw together items I see as related, and interpret the significance of the responses made.

The fifty-nine children were in school standards ranging from class ii to Standard IV. There were thirty-seven boys and twenty-two girls, and their ages ranged from nine to fifteen years.

4.2 SCHEDULE A. HOUSEHOLD TO WHICH THE CHILD BELONGS

4.2.1 Religion (A1)

The three major religious groups were represented. There were 39 Hindu, 10 Christian and 6 Islamic households. Two households were mixed: one Hindu-Christian and the other Hindu-Islamic. One response was confused and one was not given.

4.2.2 Cultural/ethnic group (A1)

Twenty-eight returns were left blank. Of the rest, 22 households were Tamil, 4 were Hindi, one was Telegu, one Urdu. There were 2 mixed Tamil/Hindi households. One return was confused.

4.2.3 Living conditions (A1)

4.2.3.1 Composition of families (A1)

In 10 families there was no father, but in 4 of these, other adult males were present. Two children had foster-fathers and one had a step-father. The age range for natural fathers at the time of the child's birth was 24-62 years. Natural mothers were present in all but 4 households, and there were 2 foster-mothers. 43 of these women gave their occupation as house-wives and only 11 went out to work. The ages of the mothers at the time of the children's births ranged from 16 - 47, most women being in their twenties or thirties.

4.2.3.2 Number in the household (A1)

The number of persons in the households varied from 3 - 16. 5 households had more than 9 members and in all cases these were extended family groups, including uncles, aunts, nephews, neices and grandparents. In all, 22 households consisted of the nuclear family and other close

relatives. This applied to 1 of the 2 foster family households too. 20 households consisted of a maximum of 5 persons. The number of siblings of the child in the study varied from 6 to 0. A few were married and brothers- and sisters-in-law had joined the households. In addition there were cousins, and nephews and nieces of the study child present in 12 cases. Two grandparents were present in 5 families, and grandmothers alone lived with 9 families. The youngest of these was 43 years.

4.2.3.3 Dwellings (A2 items 3 and 4 58 returns)
40 families did not share their dwelling, but 10 were shared with one other, 3 with 2 others and 5 with more than 2 other households. 31 families lived in houses with gardens; 19 occupied rooms in a house; 3 lived in outbuildings, 2 in flats, and one lived in a basement. There was no information about 2 families.

4.2.3.4 Family income (A1, A2 item 2)
The range of family income was from R100 in the case of 2 families to R1 500 in the case of one. Income per head varied from R16,60 a month in a family of 6 with a total income of R100, to R300 in a family of 5 with a total income of R1 500. 17 households had less than R62 per head per month to live on, and 14 families were living on combined total incomes of less than R310 per month.

4.2.4 Occupation of mothers (A1)

44 mothers gave their occupation as housewife and 11 went out to work. Mother was missing from 4 households.

4.2.5 Distance from shopping centre (A2 item 5)

31 children lived within ten minutes' safe walk from the nearest shopping centre. A further 21 lived within half an hour's safe walk. 3 lived within ten minutes walk, but it was considered necessary for them to be accompanied. It is interesting to note here that all 3 of these children were 11 years old (2 girls and 1 boy). One 10 year old girl who lived within half an hour of a centre, similarly had to be accompanied. Of the remaining 3, one lived within an easy bus ride, one lived too far away to walk and there was no convenient bus; for the third there was no information.

4.2.6 Distance from a public library (A2 item 6. 58 returns 26 children lived within half an hour's safe walk of the public library, and 12 of these could walk there within ten minutes. A further 13 lived just as close, but parents felt they had to be accompanied. 15 children could reach the public library by an easy bus ride. One was too far away to walk and the bus journey was difficult. 3 could reach the library only by car.

4.2.7 Education standards in household (A1. 58 returns)

12 mothers had had no schooling. 2 mothers and a foster mother had class ii and 2 mothers had standard 1. 13 had completed standard II, III or IV, and 3 had complete standard V. 14 mothers had passed standard VI only, and 6 had either standard VII or VIII. One mother had passed standard X. There was no mother in 4 families and the only woman in one house, the grandmother, had not been to school.

Two fathers had had no schooling. They were the oldest at 61 and 74 years. One father had class ii and one standard I. 6 had completed standard II, III or IV. Four natural and one step-father had standard V and 16 had standard VI. 11 fathers had completed standard VII or VIII. Two had standard IX and 4 had standard X.

There were no fathers in 10 households, but in 2 of these the uncle had standard VI. No parents, except 1 father who had standard X, had any post-school education.

4.2.8 Presence of a radio, television set, telephone, tape recorder and record player in the home (A2, items 7,8,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58 returns)

All households except 6 had a radio, and of these one had a colour television set. 23 other households had colour sets and there were 19 black and white sets. 15 households had no television set. 35 households had telephones, 38 had record players and 35 had tape recorders. Only 10 had neither, and of these 10, only 2 had neither television nor radio.

4.2.9 English newspaper, magazines and books (A2 items 9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58 returns)

27 families had a newspaper every day and 11 took one on a week. Another 11 had one sometimes; 2 very rarely and 6 never. In 9 households there were more than 10 books of a mixture of fiction, "information" and religious matter. In 8 there were less than 10, also mixed. In 2 there were more than 10 works of fiction and in 12 fewer than 10. One home had more than 10 "information" books, and 3 had fewer than that. 4 households had only religious books, 3 had a few religious books and up to 10 works of fiction. There were 2 homes which had some religious books and up to 10 "information" books only. 14 homes had no books. 27 homes had no magazines. 31 did.

4.2.10 Family meals (A2 item 13. 58 returns)

17 families had most of their meals together. 21 shared some meals but not regularly, and in 20 cases people usually ate at different times.

4.2.11 Transport (A2 item 14. 58 returns)

22 households had one car, although in 2 cases, they were out of order. 6 households had 2 cars. 30 had no cars.

4.3 SCHEDULED INTERVIEW B FOR ADULTS WHO HAVE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE ON THE CHILD

4.3.1 Introduction

Questions were intended to find out something about the adult who had the greatest influence on the child's day-to-day life. It is, of course, difficult to be sure who this is in a family, but it is generally assumed to be the mother. This was given to be the case in 38 families and one foster family. Father was named in 10 families, aunt in 3, brother in 1, grandmother in 2. For 4 families this is not known. It will be recalled that the mother was not present at all in 4 households.

4.3.2 Religious influence (B items 4, 5, 6)

13 adults did not attend religious meetings, and therefore did not take the child with them. 16 adults went on special occasions, and then 3 of the children always accompanied them. Of the other 13, one child usually went too; 7 sometimes did, one rarely and 4 never. 14 adults attended religious meetings occasionally, and then only one always took the child and 2 usually did. In 9 families the child sometimes went, in one rarely. One adult never took the child. 2 adults attended religious meetings 1 - 3 times a month, one sometimes taking the child, and one never. 14 adults attended once a week or more often. 3 of them never took the child and 2 always did. 6 children usually went and 3 did sometimes.

CHILDREN ACCOMPANYING ADULTS

	ALWAYS	USUALLY	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER	TOTAL
NEVER					13	13
ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS	3	1	7	1	4	16
OCCASIONALLY	1	2	9	1	1	14
1-3 TIMES A MONTH			1		1	2
ONCE A WEEK		1	2			3
SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK	2	5	1		3	11
TOTAL	6	9	20	2	22	59

TABLE 1: Adults and children attending religious meetings

14 adults often took part in traditional religious ceremonies and 29 did so occasionally. 8 took part rarely and 7 never. In one case there is no information.

In 14 cases the religious meetings were conducted entirely in English and in 17 only Tamil was used. In 5 Urdu was used, in 4 Telegu, in 2 Hindi and in 1 Gujerati. A mixture of English and Tamil was used in 7 cases, English and Urdu in 3. It would seem that a mixture of Tamil, Telegu and Hindi was used in one case. Although 13 adults said they did not attend religious meetings, only 5 of them did not give the languages in which such meetings were held.

4.3.3 Language adult speaks (B Items 8, 9)

4.3.3.1 To child

49 adults usually spoke to the child in English. 5 spoke English and Tamil, one spoke English and Telegu, one English and Urdu, and one English and Gujerati. Two adults usually spoke an Indian language to the child, although they spoke English to occasional visitors. One adult used Hindi, the other Tamil.

	(a) TO THE CHILD	(b) TO OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS
English only	49	32
English/Tamil	5	9
English/Telegu	1	2
English/Urdu	1	2
English/Gujerati	1	1
English/Hindi	-	3
Tamil only	1	4
Urdu only	-	3
Hindi only	1	2
English/Tamil/ Telegu	-	1
TOTAL	59	59

TABLE 2 : Languages spoken by the adult

4.3.3.2 To other members of the household and visitors
32 adults spoke only English to other members of the household, but 14 of these spoke additional languages to occasional visitors. 11 spoke Zulu. 18 adults spoke English and one or more languages to other people at home. 9 adults spoke only Indian languages to other members of the household. (See Table 2.)

4.3.4 Reading and reading materials

4.3.4.1 Adult reading at home (B Item 11)

6 adults were unable to read, and 10 did not read anything at home. 7 read only religious material, and 7 read only bits of the newspaper. 12 said they read personal and/or library books in addition to other reading matter. 4 said they read "information" books in addition to casual material, but no other books. One person read only secular magazines. The remaining 12 read a mixture of bits of the newspaper

mailed advertisements, recipes and, in 5 cases, secular magazines.

4.3.4.2 Books from the Library (B Item 14)

53 adults did not bring books home from the library, 4 did so rarely, one fetched books 2-3 times a month and one visited the library every week.

4.3.4.3 Time spent reading (B Items 15, 16)

4.3.4.3.1 From Monday - Friday

20 adults did not read at all during the week, 15 spent less than half-an-hour reading and 6 less than an hour. 4 read for up to 1½ hours and 3 up to 2 hours. 11 read for more than 2 hours.

4.3.4.3.2 On Saturday and Sunday

36 adults read nothing over the weekend. 9 read for less than half-an-hour, and 6 for less than one hour. 4 read for less than 1½ hours, one for less than 2 hours and 3 for more than 2 hours.

4.3.4.4 Reading to the child (B Items 17,18)

4.3.4.4.1 Before he started school

34 adults did not read to the children before they started school. 13 read story books, 2 religious texts, and one nursery rhymes only. 5 read both books and rhymes and 2 read story books and religious texts. 2 mothers read a variety of material to their children.

4.3.4.4.2 At present

37 adults did not read to their children now they were at school. 5 did rarely, 15 did sometimes and 2 did often. Both of these two, one father, one mother, had read story books to the child before school.

4.3.5 Radio programmes

4.3.5.1 Adult listening to radio programmes (B Items 19
12 adults did not listen to radio programmes. 8 did so rarely. 16 listened sometimes and 23 often. 23 adults listened only to the Indian programmes broadcast in English; 2 listened only to the sports programmes in English and one only to the news. 15 listened to the news and other programmes as well. One adult appeared to listen only to the Zulu programmes. She did not claim to speak Zulu, however, and was illiterate. 4 adults listened to two or more programmes which did not include the news. For one adult, who said she sometimes listened to the radio, there was no information about the programmes chosen.

4.3.5.2 Listening to radio programmes with child (B Item 21)

36 adults did not listen to the radio with their children. One did rarely, 14 did sometimes and 4 said they often did. 4 said they did listen but did not specify how often. This may have been due to confusion caused by an error in the format of the question.

4.3.6 Watching television (B Item 23)

13 adults said a television set was never switched on. There is a discrepancy between this response and the responses to question 7 on Schedule A, which indicated that 15 households had no set. In 16 households the set was switched on all the time programmes were broadcast and in 3 all the time English programmes were broadcast. In 11 households the set was switched on most of the time. In 7 households the set was used only for particular English programmes, and in 7 it was used only for particular programmes in any language. In 2 cases the responses conflict with other information. 13 adults watched

no television but they are not exactly the same adults who did not have a set. 2 people with sets did not watch, and 2 people without sets did, presumably at a neighbour's house. 12 adults did not know how much time they spent watching television. 20 adults spent up to one hour watching, and 8 up to two hours. 2 spent up to the three hours and 6 more than 3 hours. In the case of one of these 6, the set was supposedly on only for particular English programmes, but there can be little selection since only \pm 4 hours of English are broadcast each weekday, and \pm 6 hours over weekends.

4.3.7 Visitors and the child's behaviour (B Items 27, 28. 58 returns)

30 households often had friends and relations as visitors 21 sometimes did and 6 rarely. 2 households did not receive visitors. When the visitors came, 34 of the children played with the visiting children, 7 disappeared alone, and 5 disappeared with other friends. 2 sat silently with the adults and 6 joined in the general conversation. 2 played with visiting children and also sometimes disappeared alone.

4.3.8 Adult's opinion of how children should behave (B Item 29. 58 returns)

The adult was asked how children should behave when adults were present. 29 responded that children should talk only when spoken to. 6 thought that children should never disagree with their parents, and for 3 adults both of these applied. 10 said that children should be free to talk when they wish. 2 said that children should be free to talk when they wish, but in addition they should never disagree with their parents. 7 said that children should be free to give their opinions. One foster mother considered that the child should not be present with adults.

4.3.9 Helping with homework and listening to the child reading aloud (B Item 30, 31. 58 responses)

4 adults helped their children with homework most days, and 6 did so often. 11 helped sometimes and 5 only if they were asked. The remaining 32 for whom a response was given, did not help; 19 said they were not asked to help and 13 said they had no time. 3 adults listened to their children reading nearly every day. 3 did so often. 21 listened sometimes and 8 rarely. 11 said they were not asked to and 12 said they had no time. One was not interested.

HELPING WITH HOMEWORK			LISTENING TO READING				
Most days	Yes	4	Nearly every day	Yes	3		
Often			6			Often	
Sometimes			11			Sometimes	21
Only if asked			5			Rarely	8
Never asked	No	19	Never asked	No	11		
I have no time			13			No time	12
Not interested			-			Not interested	1
		58			59		

TABLE 3 : Adult help

4.3.10 Adult's writing (B Item 32)

10 adults said they could not write and 20 said they did not write at home. 24 did such things as filling in forms, writing phone messages or short notes and making shopping lists. In addition to these, 5 wrote letters.

4.3.11 Child's pre-school writing and preparation for school (B Items 33, 45)

30 adults did not try to teach the child to write his name before he entered school. 13 tried unsuccessfully and 14 said they had done so successfully. One child

was taught by her cousins. One foster mother did not know what had happened to the child.

10 adults told the children nothing about school before they started. 8 told the children school would teach them to behave well, and 5 told them they must work hard and do well. One said that teachers were nice and would help the child to understand. 2 said that school was fun and the children would enjoy it. 6 said that the teachers would teach them to read and write. 25 adults told them more than one thing, and there are a number of combinations. 7 included the idea of fun and enjoyment, and 5 which did not have this, advised that teachers were nice. 8 of the combinations mentioned, included the information that the children would be taught to read and write. This was also present in 11 other cases. This means that in 25 cases in all, adults said they told the children they would be taught to read and write. In addition to the 5 adults who told their children only they must work hard and do well, there were 14 others who added this advice to other comments. In one case the adult apparently told the child a variety of things, but did not specify them. One foster mother did not know if anything had been said.

Nothing	10
School would teach him to behave well	20
Teachers would teach him to read and write	25
Child must do everything he was told	14
Teachers were nice and would help him to understand	9
School was fun and he would enjoy it	9
He must work hard and do well	19

TABLE 4 : What parents told children about school

4.3.12 Child's conversations on the telephone (B Item 35)
18 children did not use the telephone. 35 used the telephone at home, 3 used the neighbour's phone and 3 used the public phone.

4.3.13 Child's playing of tapes and records (B Item 36)
14 children did not play tapes and records of their own choice; 21 often did, 19 sometimes and 5 rarely.

4.3.14 Expeditions to public places (B items 37,38,39,40,41)

4.3.14.1 Going to English language films
(B Items 37, 39. 58 returns)

39 adults never took the child to see English language films. 3 children went rarely and 8 children occasionally with family or friends. 7 children went to the cinema accompanied 1 - 4 times a month, and one child was accompanied to the cinema more than once a week.

48 children never went to an English film alone, 3 went rarely and 5 occasionally. One child went alone 1 - 4 times a week and another child went more than once a week.

4.3.14.2 Going to Indian language films (B Items 38,4
58 returns)

38 adults never accompanied the children to Indian films. Occasionally or rarely 11 adults went with the children, 7 children were accompanied 1 - 4 times a month. 2 children were taken to see a film more often than once a week.

50 children never went to see a film alone, 8 occasionally or rarely went alone.

4.3.14.3 Going to watch sports' matches (B Item 41)
 37 children never went to watch sports' matches. 4 went sometimes with relatives, 3 often with relatives. 5 sometimes went with friends, and 7 often went with friends. For 3 children, two combined responses were given. One child sometimes went alone and often with friends; one sometimes went alone and sometimes with friends, and a third sometimes went with friends and sometimes with relatives.

4.3.15 Adult talk with child (B Items 12,13,21,22,25,26)

4.3.15.1 General talk (B Item 26)

11 adults said that they did not specially talk to the child. 7 said they spoke only with the purpose of giving directions, 4 spoke only to reprimand and one adult did both. 14 said they talked to the children about their school work. 13 said they spoke about a variety of subjects. 9 said they spoke about school work and otherwise only for the purpose of giving instructions and/or reprimanding the child.

No, not specially	11
Yes, only to give instructions	7
Yes, only to reprimand him	4
Yes, only about school work	14
Yes, to give instructions and to reprimand	1
Yes, about school work and to give instructions or reprimand the child	9
Yes, about a variety of subjects	13
	59

TABLE 5 : Adult talk to child

4.3.15.2 Talk about material read by the adult

(B Items 12, 13. 55 returns)

30 adults did not talk to their children about anything they had read, and 4 talked only about religious works. 10 said they talked about newspaper articles only, 4 about newspaper articles and religious works, 2 about newspaper articles and magazine articles. One talked about newspaper articles and books for relaxation, and another added mailed advertisements to these two. One talked about religious works and books for relaxation, and another about religious works, mailed advertisements and magazines. One mother talked about books for relaxation.

Those 18 who talked about newspaper articles gave more details: 11 talked about news stories, one added personal stories and advertisements, one added personal stories and sport, one added just sport, and one added comics. Two adults talked about the headlines and a third added sport to that.

4.3.15.3 Talk about radio programmes (B Item 22)

35 adults did not talk to the child about the content of radio programmes. 16 said they did sometimes and 5 did so rarely. One, the child's aunt, said she did, if the child asked. One said she often spoke about radio programmes, but as she also said she did not listen to any there must be a question mark over this. One other said she often did.

4.3.15.4 Talk about television programmes

(B Item 25. 58 returns)

34 adults did not talk to their children about television programmes, 5 did so rarely and 13 sometimes. 4 talked about programmes if the child asked. 2 often talked about programmes.

4.4 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REMEDIAL TEACHER (C)

4.4.1 Introduction

Although the remedial teacher had no part to play in the development of language before the child came to school, and during the first years at school, she had worked with the child for a prolonged period. I felt it was important to find out something of how the remedial teachers saw these children. Many of them knew the parents, the siblings and friends of the children.

4.4.2 Child's friends (C Item 7. 58 returns)

21 children were described as having many friends and 14 as having some. 20 children had one or two special friends. Only 2 were rarely seen with anyone. One child was described as missing her brother very much. He was currently living in the Transvaal.

4.4.3 Child's general appearance (C Item 14)

7 children were described as often dirty and untidy and 5 as sometimes in this state. 6 children were poorly dressed but clean. 29 were usually clean and neat and 12 always clean and neat.

4.4.4 Child in the classroom (C Items 8,9,10)

4.4.4.1 Child's behaviour with class teacher (C Item 8. 57 returns)

4 children were described as disruptive and reluctant to work and 4 as completely uninterested and listless. 18 children behaved passively but attempted to do what they were asked. 22 were seen as co-operative but not managing and 8 as co-operative and managing. One child's return had the comment "lacks full interest."

Disruptive and reluctant to work	4
Completely uninterested and listless	4
Passive but attempts to do as he is asked	18
Co-operative but not managing	22
Co-operative and managing	8
Keen and doing well	0
	56

TABLE 6 : Child's behaviour with class teacher

4.4.4.2 Change in child's behaviour in the classroom
(C Item 9. 58 returns)

Despite the somewhat negative picture drawn in the responses to the previous item, 40 class teachers found that the child fitted into the classroom better now than before. 18 teachers saw no change in the child's behaviour.

4.4.4.3 Change in child's language work in the classroom
(C Item 10. 58 returns)

4 teachers found the child's language work much better, all round. 32 saw some general improvement. 7 teachers saw improvement in reading only. 14 teachers saw very little change and one found no improvement.

4.4.5 Child in the remedial class (C Items 11 - 13, 15 - 21)

4.4.5.1 Child's behaviour with remedial teacher
(C Item 11. 58 returns)

4 children were described as clinging to the remedial teacher whenever possible. 8 responded without much enthusiasm. 20 were seen as keen, co-operative and outgoing, 22 were friendly but quiet, one also being described as reluctant to attempt anything. 2 other children were seen as reluctant to attempt anything alone and 2 saw their pupils as disruptive and distractable. Both these 2 were similarly described by the class teacher.

Child clings whenever possible	4
Responds without much enthusiasm	8
Keen co-operative and outgoing	20
Friendly but quiet	22
Reluctant to attempt anything alone	3
Disruptive and distractable	2
	59

TABLE 7 : Child's behaviour with remedial teacher

4.4.5.2 Child's reaction to remedial lessons

(C Item 12)

24 teachers felt the children were keenly interested in the lessons they prepared. 32 said the children showed some interest and 3 little interest. Given the option, no teacher expressed the idea that the child had no interest in the lessons prepared.

4.4.5.3 Problem with Mathematics (C Item 13)

10 children had severe problems with mathematics and 31 a marked problem. 11 children had a slight problem. 7 children were described as having no maths problem.

4.4.5.4 Child's attendance at lessons (C Item 15)

27 teachers found the children came very promptly and regularly to lessons and 21 said they usually did. 4 children often had to be called, 6 usually did and one always did.

4.4.5.5. Child's visit to remedial class to read in spare time (C Item 16)

19 children never visited the remedial class in their spare time, 8 did so very rarely, 23 went occasionally and 9 often went.

4.4.5.6 Child's recitation to remedial teacher

(C Item 17)

35 children did not offer to recite anything learnt in the regular classroom. 2 often did, 14 did sometimes and 8 rarely.

4.4.5.7 Child's chatter about home events (C Item 18)

8 children never spoke about events at home, 5 rarely, 10 sometimes and 13 often. 9 children talked about home events reluctantly when prompted and 14 freely, when prompted.

4.4.5.8. Child's talk about TV or radio programmes

(C Item 19)

4 children often talked about TV or radio programmes and 24 did sometimes. 7 did so rarely and 12 never did. 6 children did so reluctantly when prompted and 6 freely when prompted.

4.4.5.9 Child's talk about school and classroom events

(C Item 20)

6 children often talked about school events, 28 sometimes 3 did rarely, 7 never did. 8 children talked reluctantly when prompted, 7 freely when prompted.

4.4.5.10. Request for help with classroom difficulties

(C Item 21)

2 children often asked for help, 26 sometimes did, 10 rarely and 12 never. 5 asked reluctantly when prompted and 4 freely when prompted.

4.4.6 Remedial teacher's feeling about child's reading difficulties (C Item 22)

34 teachers saw the problem as predominantly one of inadequate language. 11 of these added that conditions at home did not help and one added that the idea of reading frightened the child. 3 gave as a third factor that the child saw no purpose in reading, and one gave

as a third factor that the child's parents expected too much. 3 other teachers thought the idea of reading frightened the child, one of these adding that the child saw no purpose in reading and conditions at home did not help. 12 other teachers believed that the child's problem was only because conditions at home did not help. One other said the parents were expecting too much, and one other that the child saw no purpose in reading. 4 teachers could not see any reason for the child's difficulties. 4 teachers gave other reasons. 2 said the child's difficulty was with oral reading, one that the child could not concentrate and one unexpectedly, that the child read very well.

Predominantly a language problem (a)	34
Conditions at home do not help (b)	23
Idea of reading frightens him (c)	4
Child sees no purpose in reading (d)	5
Parents expecting too much (e)	2
No reason (f)	4

TABLE 8 : Teacher's feeling about children's reading difficulties

(Note: some teachers gave two or more reasons)

4.5 SCHEDULE D : FOR THE CHILD

4.5.1 Introduction

To get as rounded a picture of the children in the study as possible, I thought it important to enquire into certain matters related to school, and to find out directly from each child how he responded to questions similar to those which the adults were asked. People do not always interpret an event in the same way, nor are they equally objective. Since the child and the factors influencing his language development are at the focus of this study, it seemed obvious that his point of view should be included.

4.5.2 Physical defects and their correction

(D Items 8, 9. 58 returns)

49 teachers said the child had no obvious physical defects, 2 children had defective vision which had been corrected. 2 had uncorrected speech defects. One had a hearing and speech difficulty. This had been partially corrected. One still had difficulty with fine motor control. One child had had several unsuccessful operations on his lower lip to remove a growth. One had an ear infection which had been treated, but the infection persisted. One was "grossly obese".

4.5.3 Absence from school (D Items 10, 11, 12)

38 children had not often been absent during the two year period they had received help. 13 had been absent because of their own ill-health, and 6 had been playing truant. One child was absent because of ill-health and truancy. For one child there was no information.

42 children had not suffered from a major physical ailment or been involved in a family move, which caused absence from school. 12 had missed up to 2 weeks because of such a major event and 2 children up to 4 weeks

One child missed up to a term and one up to 6 months. One return was confused.

4 children had missed no days during 1983 and 29 had missed no more than 5 days. 13 children had missed up to 10 days. 4 children missed up to 15 days, 4 up to 20 and 3 up to 25. One child had missed more than 5 weeks of school days. For one girl there was no information about absence in 1983.

- 4.5.4 Pre-school and school history (D Items 13, 17 - 22)
16 children went to "pre-school" and 39 did not. For 4 children there was no information. 43 children had attended only one school. 9 children had been to 2 schools, 4 to 3 schools. One child had been to 4 schools and another to 5. There was no information about one child.

8 children were in the appropriate class for their age. 27 had dropped back one year, and 20 were 2 years behind. 2 children had repeated 3 years of work. 2 children had both spent 3 years in a special class (for mildly mentally retarded) before returning to the main stream. Both had so far spent 9 years in school. One, the 15 year old boy who was the oldest in the study, was currently in Standard III, the other, a 14 year old girl, was in Standard IV.

5 children each had had one teacher in the junior primary classes i and ii. For one child there was no information. 27 had had two teachers. 19 children had had 3 teachers, one child had had 4. 3 had had 5. One child had had 7 teachers, and two children had had 8. In one case, 4 of these 8 teachers were unqualified. Similarly, 4 of the 7 teachers one child had had were unqualified.

Unfortunately, the data on whether teachers were qualified or not proved difficult for some remedial teachers to obtain and for this item, there were only 47 returns. These show that 26 children were taught only by qualified teachers. 16 children had one unqualified teacher. 3 of the 5 teachers one child had in this phase were unqualified.

In 2 cases, the total number of class teachers a child had had exceeded the number of years each child had been at school by 4. For one child, the number was 5, for one more than 7, for one more than 9 and for one girl, more than 10. The other 51 children for whom there were data had 3 or fewer more teachers than number of years at school.

4.5.5 Results of I.Q. Tests (D Item 16)

Most of the children had been seen by a school psychologist who assessed their intelligence using sub-test of the ISISA (Intelligence Scale for Indian South Africans). Only 14 were given total scores of 100 or more, the highest being a boy with 110. 31 children scored 90 - 99, 12 scored 80 - 89. The girl who had been in a special class was rated at 78 and a boy in class ii at 61.

7 children scored 100 or more on the verbal scale, the highest being 110. 4 of these 7 children had higher verbal than total scores, including the girl with 110. 35 had verbal I.Q.s of 90 - 99, 16 between 80 and 89. The girl with a total of 78 scored 72 on the verbal scale and the boy with a total of 61 scored 63. 16 children scored 100 or more on the performance scale, the highest score of 116 coming from the boy with a total of 110. 27 children scored 90 - 99 and 15 children scored 80 - 89, the class ii boy scored 66.

VERBAL		NON-VERBAL		TOTAL	
100 - 110	7	100 - 116	16	100 - 110	14
90 - 99	35	90 - 99	27	90 - 99	31
80 - 89	15	80 - 89	15	80 - 89	12
70 - 79	1	70 - 79	0	70 - 79	1
60 - 69	1	60 - 69	1	60 - 69	1

TABLE 9 : Results of ISISA Sub-tests

4.5.6 Vernacular classes (D Items 23, 24)

Certain parents who are anxious to maintain the tradition of their specific cultures, arrange for their children to attend so called "vernacular" classes after school hours. Of the parents of the study children, however, 49 did not. Regularly once a week, one child attended Tamil classes, and one child attended Urdu classes, 5 went to Urdu classes more than twice a week, 2 went to Tamil and one to Arabic.

4.5.7 Home languages (D Item 25)

Although the adults had been asked about the languages they spoke at home, this question does not contradict that, since the focus here is on the child, and obviously the children had a number of other family members to talk to. All the children spoke English at home. 25 spoke nothing else. 6 spoke Hindu as well, 22 spoke Tamil, one Telegu, and 4 Urdu. One girl said she spoke Tamil, Afrikaans and Zulu at home as well as English.

4.5.8 Approach used for the teaching of reading class i
(D Item 26)

51 children had used Breakthrough to Literacy in class i. 8 children had been taught through a phonic approach.

4.5.9 Borrowing of books (D Items 27,28,29,30,31)

Every school had a library or resource centre, but 15 children did not have access to it. 44 children could borrow books once a week.

In 27 cases, there was no class library, but in only 4 of these schools was there no access to a school library as well. 19 children could borrow books from the class library, two or more times a week, and 7 children once a week. 4 more children had access to a class library but the frequency was not given. 36 children were allowed to take books home. 21 were not. For 2 children, there was no information. 14 children never did borrow books, whether they might or not; 4 did so rarely, 29 did sometimes and 11 often. In one case, books were apparently distributed by the class teacher, but it is not clear whether the boy read the books he was given. 37 children did not borrow books from a public library. 6 borrowed books once a week, and 6 did so "often". 10 borrowed books sometimes or rarely.

4.5.10 Sleeping arrangements (D Items 32, 33. 58 returns)

6 children usually went to bed between 18h00 and 19h00. 29 were usually in bed by 20h00 and 20 by 22h00. 3 went to bed between 22h00 and 23h00 and one at anytime. 5 children had a bedroom to themselves and 18 shared with one other person. 19 shared with 2 others, 11 with 3 others and 2 with 4 others. 3 children shared a room with more than 4 people.

4.5.11 Study arrangements and help for school work

(D Items 34, 35, 36, 37, 38)

10 children never had somewhere undisturbed to study, 7 rarely did, 17 sometimes, 14 usually and 11 always. 15 children had a particular time set aside for study and 44 did not.

No one regularly helped 13 children with their homework. 12 children said their parents helped. Other relatives helped 10 children and other members of the household helped 22 children. 2 children got help from friends.

17 children said no one checked whether they had done their homework. 22 said a parent checked, 19 children said another relative or member of the household checked and one said a parent or other member of the household checked. 30 children said no one at home listened to them reading aloud, 13 children read to parents and 16 to other relatives or members of the household.

Nowhere to study undisturbed	10	Always somewhere to study undisturbed	11
No particular time to study	44	Time set aside to study	15
No regular help with homework	13	Help with homework	46
No check on homework done	17	Check on home work done	42
No one listening to reading	30	Someone listening to reading	29

TABLE 10 : Homestudy arrangements

4.5.12 Books owned by and given to the child (D Items 39,40)
45 children had no books of their own. 14 owned up to 10 books. 54 children had never been given a book as a present. 2 had once been given books but apparently no longer owned them. 3 children had rarely or sometimes received a book.

4.5.13 Material child reads at home (D Item 49)
8 children read nothing at home. 8 said they read only their school work. One child added the newspaper to school work and 2 added magazines. 6 children read school work and library books, and 10 only library books. 3 children read the newspaper and library books, and one the newspaper and recipes. One read library

books and advertisements. The remaining 19 children read a variety of material which included library books in 13 cases, school work in 17, the newspaper in 13 and magazines in 9.

Nothing	8
Schoolwork	34
Newspaper	18
Library books	32
Magazines	11

TABLE 11 : Reading at home

4.5.14 Talk about books read (D Item 41)

32 children never talked about a book they had read, or heard read, outside school. 4 did so rarely, 19 sometimes and 4 often.

4.5.15 Radio and television programmes (D Items 42,43,45,46, 47,48)

14 children did not listen to any radio programmes. 6 children listened only to programmes for Indian listeners broadcast in English, 14 listened only to pop music and 7 to both these two. One child said she listened only to Afrikaans programmes and one listened only to sport. The other 17 children listened to 2 or more different programmes. Among them were 14 children who listened to the news in English and 5 who listened to plays. 5 children listened to sports commentaries and one to quizzes. 42 children did not talk about radio programmes at home. 4 did on rare occasions, and 11 did sometimes. 2 children said they often did.

4 children did not watch television at all. One very rarely watched. 18 watched sometimes and 36 watched often. 12 children watched every possible minute and

hence any programmes that were on. 4 children watched programmes selected by the parents and 30, programmes chosen by themselves. 8 children watched for a set time, whatever happened to be on.

No programmes	14
English news	14
English plays	5
Sports commentaries	5
Programmes for Indian listeners	19
Pop Music	34
English quizzes	1
Afrikaans programmes	1

TABLE 12 : Radio programmes listened to

There was no information about programmes watched by the boy who very rarely saw television. Presumably the question of selection did not arise.

8 children watched only English serials and/or plays and films. In addition to these, one watched quizzes and interviews. 5 watched the news, 4 watched sport, one watched programmes in an African language and 4 watched Afrikaans programmes. 2 children watched the news and sport. Of the remaining 30 children who watched television, one looked at an unspecified variety and 2 watched any programme they could. 4 watched all the programmes. A further 19 watched the news. 23 watched serials and/or plays and films, and 21 watched sport. One said he watched quizzes and interviews.

English news	30
English serials English plays and films	52
English quizzes and interviews	8
English sport	32
Afrikaans programmes	25
African language programmes	15
No programmes	4

TABLE 13 : Television programmes watched

23 children who watched television did not talk about the programmes at home, 3 did so rarely, 24 sometimes and 5 often.

4.15.6 Listening to tapes and records. (D Item 44)

15 children said they did not listen to tapes and records at home, 22 said they did so often, 20 sometimes and 2 rarely.

4.15.7 People at home when child returns from school

(D Item 50)

4 children found nobody at home when they returned from school. 22 nearly always found their mothers there and 4 sometimes. Although mother was not at home, one father was sometimes there and one father was nearly always. 10 children nearly always found another relative at home. In 10 cases the mother and another relative were nearly always there, and in 5, the mother sometimes, with father or another relative. One child would not find his parents but there was nearly always another relative at home. One child would find someone but it was not specified who it would be.

Nobody	4
Mother nearly always	32
Mother sometimes	9
Father nearly always	5
Father sometimes	4
Other relatives nearly always	20
Other relatives sometimes	3

TABLE 14 : People at home

4.5.18 Sharing meals (D Items 51, 52. 58 returns)

22 children came from families which never had breakfast together. 4 families had breakfast together every day. 22 families always or sometimes had breakfast together on Sundays, and 7 sometimes during the week. 4 families sometimes or usually had breakfast together during the week and sometimes or always on Sunday.

13 families never had an evening meal together, and 11 did every day. 22 usually or sometimes did during the week and 7 usually or sometimes on Saturday and Sunday. 4 families sometimes ate together during the week and sometimes over the weekend, and one family sometimes did during the week and usually on Saturday and Sunday.

4.5.19 Watching video-tapes (D Items 53, 54)

22 children never watched video-tapes in English, 10 rarely did and 12 occasionally. 4 watched once a week or more often and 9 once - three times a month. 2 children watched video-tapes in English but the frequency was not given. 15 children never watched videos of Indian language films. 10 did so rarely and 17 occasionally. 8 children watched once a week or more often and 7 children once to three times a month. 2 children watched but details of how often were not given.

4.5.20 Talk about video-tapes (D Item 55)

Of the 46 children who saw video-tapes, 18 rarely or never talked about them. 12 did sometimes and 16 usually or always did.

4.5.21 Expectations about school before starting

(D Item 56. 58 returns)

Before they started school, 4 children's only expectation was that school would be fun. 2 merely expected it would be hard work. 6 were frightened by the idea of school and had no other ideas about it. 11 children thought the teachers would be nice and helpful. One thought that teachers were there to see work was done and one that teachers were there to be obeyed. 10 children had no idea what to expect at school. 7 children expected that school would be fun and teachers nice and helpful. One of these children also believed that teachers were there for him to talk to, one that school would be hard work, and one that teachers were there to be obeyed. 2 other children thought school would be fun, one combining this with the idea that teachers were there to talk to and the other adding to these two, the expectation that teachers would be nice and helpful.

8 other children expected school would be hard work, 2 combining this with a feeling of fear, and 3 with the idea that teachers were nice and helpful. 2 combined the thoughts that school would be hard work and that teachers were there to see work was done and to be obeyed.

4 children were frightened by the idea of school and believed teachers were there to be obeyed, one adding that teachers were there to see work was done. One child was frightened and had no idea what to expect. One child said he could not remember.

School would be fun	13
School would be hard work	11
School was frightening	14
Teachers would be nice and helpful	21
Teachers were there to see work was done	5
Teachers were there to be talked to	2
Teachers were there to be obeyed	9
No idea	11

TABLE 15 : Children's expectations about school

4.5.22 Child's feeling about school at the time of the study
(D Item 57)

5 children did not like school, 2 because they would rather be at home, 3 because they could not do the work required. 7 enjoyed school because they liked being with their friends. 9 children said they liked the lesson and one said he liked most of the teachers. 30 children gave 2 or 3 reasons why they did enjoy school, 25 saying they liked being with their friends, 23 saying they liked the lessons, and 23 that they liked most of the teachers. 5 children had mixed reactions. 3 of them said they liked being with their friends, but negative responses included not being able to do the work, and not liking the teachers. One child said he enjoyed school because he wanted to learn to read and write. For one child no details were given.

He enjoyed school:	company of his friends	35
	he liked the lessons	34
	he liked most teachers	27
Did not enjoy school:	he couldn't do the work	5
	did not like most teachers	3
	preferred to be at home	2

TABLE 16 : Children's reaction to school

CHAPTER 5

CONSIDERATION OF RESULTS IN CHAPTER 4

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is necessary to tie up the various pieces of data which have been collected, in order to obtain a picture of the home and language background of the children in the study. The following headings will be used: physical home conditions, adherence to the traditions and language of Indian cultural groups, home behaviour patterns and the influence of school.

5.2 PHYSICAL HOME CONDITIONS

In Born to Fail Wedge and Prosser remind us that "The standard of accommodation considered tolerable for growing children will vary" (1973, p14). One must be wary of easy judgements about the inadequacies of physical conditions. If other members of a community, in which he is living, have much the same as he has, then man will accept a wide range of variation in living conditions. Nevertheless there is little doubt that some conditions are less likely to encourage interest in mental and intellectual activity than others. One factor is the degree of crowding in the household. A child who is one of a large household is not likely to be given much individual attention by his parents, yet parents are usually the most significant adults in his life. There is certainly the possibility that many people are more likely to be stimulating than a few, and a child in a large family has a good chance of finding someone who is particularly compatible. This should not be overlooked, but there may be a cut-off point where the advantages of the activity caused by the many is overwhelmed by the disadvantages of the corresponding pressures. Wedge and Prosser (1973, p14) regard as inadequate "those homes where the family

was living at a density of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room." In this study, seven of the fifty-nine families might not be considered over-large, with a maximum of five persons living by themselves in a house with a garden. Indeed twenty-one families in all lived alone in a house with a garden, so at least there was a chance of escape for children even in some of the larger families. Not all of the other families fared as well. Perhaps the most crowded was a family of sixteen people who shared a house and garden with two other families. Only two children lived in flats. The horrors of large impersonal tenement blocks are not a part of the lives of these children, however cramped the living space is for some of them. (4.2.3.2. and 4.2.3.3)

Perhaps the opposite of over-crowded conditions is the empty apartment. Returning from school to find no-one at home is not an experience likely to make children feel safe and cared for. Forty-four of the children had mothers who described themselves as "housewives" (A1), and it therefore does not seem impossible for them to arrange to be at home at this time. Indeed only four children found no-one at home when they arrived. Households which lacked a mother, usually had a father or other relative at home (4.5.17), and in an extended family system, it would seem that the bonds between mother and child expected in a nuclear family may be less close.

Physical over-crowding can have a direct influence on sleep and the possibilities of undisturbed study. Each one of us varies as regards the number of hours sleep we need, and our ability to sleep or concentrate through noises around us. Again, these are factors to which some conditioning probably takes place but for some children, insufficient sleep and noisy surroundings are problems. Thirty-five of the study children were usually in bed by eight o'clock and a further twenty by ten. Unfortunately an error on the schedule meant that the two hour period between eight and ten was not divided into one hour periods, and it is not known how many children were in bed by nine o'clock. It does seem that some children were

rather late in going to bed, and that once there, sleep may not have been completely peaceful. Only five children had bedrooms to themselves. Most children shared with two or three other people, while a few slept with four or more others in the same room, and had to contend with the lights and noise at different times, which this implies. (4.5.10)

Where many people are using the same rooms, it will obviously be difficult for a child to settle down with his homework, or with a book and it is perhaps encouraging that the number of ten is not higher for children who never had somewhere undisturbed to study. At the other end of the scale, eleven children always did, so this in itself is not a critical factor in a child's school success. In the middle are the majority of children. Forty-four children did not have a particular time set aside to study, but while this might suggest that not a great deal of importance was attached to homework, forty-four parents or other relatives helped the child with it, and forty-two said someone checked whether it was done. (4.5.11)

All the parents had been informed that their children were being given remedial lessons, mainly because of reading problems, and half of the children read aloud to them or to other relative (4.5.11). This suggests some concern for the child's progress at school, in these families, at least.

A child who makes frequent moves from school to school is often at a disadvantage, since he has to adjust to different teachers, classmates and teaching methods. It is difficult for him to settle down, or perhaps to come to terms with his surroundings since these may be temporary in any case. One thing that is noticeable about this group of children is their stability. This does not necessarily reflect the over-all pattern of the Indian community since a number of families have moved, particularly from Chatsworth and the Springfield Gardens area ("Tin-Town") to the new housing development in Phoenix. Since the remedial service is comparatively new, a child leaving a school with a remedial teacher might have entered a school

which does not have one, so lessons would stop, even though he might still need help. That does not alter the fact that the children in the study had moved very little. Forty-three had attended only one school, and nine had been to two. (4.5.4) Undoubtedly teachers and principals had come and gone, and forty seven children were not with the group of children they had started school with, but most of them had escaped the shock of changing schools in the primary years. (4.5.4)

Most of the dwellings in which the children lived were in built-up rather than rural areas, and the children were not generally isolated from shops. Fifty-two children lived within half-an-hour's safe walk of a shopping centre, and most of these were very close. (4.2.5) Public libraries were not so convenient for all the families, but thirty-nine children were within half an hour's walk and could reach one either alone or accompanied, as the parents saw fit. If another sixteen children wanted to visit the library some expense would be involved, since bus journeys were necessary. (4.2.6) In practice, it appears that thirty-seven children never borrowed books from the public library. The remaining twenty-two did so with varying regularity; some rarely. (4.5.9) It is hardly surprising to find this in a group of children with difficulty in reading and perhaps one should see the figures in a positive light, since fifty-three of the adults did not bring books home from the library. (4.3.4.2) The increase in the number of people who brought home books from the library in this generation over the last, is some 27% and this represents a positive increase in the number of people who see books as a normal part of living.

It is commonly expected that children who come from over-crowded, not very well-to-do homes, may not always be clean and tidy at school. Such was the case for twelve children (4.4.3), although the opposite was apparently the case for another twelve, who were described as always clean and neat. In between were the majority of the children. It does seem

that many parents encouraged concern for personal appearance, and the general respect for themselves and the schools which goes along with this.

5.3 ADHERENCE TO THE TRADITIONS AND LANGUAGE OF INDIAN CULTURAL GROUPS

A population which stems from an old and continuing culture is bound to have conflicts in meeting new and strong influences from alien societies. The Indian community is by no means a homogeneous group, but members of it have in common the problem of accepting or rejecting the so-called "Western" styles of the dominant cultures of South Africa. Religious toleration means that each person is free to maintain the practices of the Hindu, Islamic or Christian faith which he acknowledges, but in a time when people generally are influenced by materialism rather than spiritual considerations, it is, perhaps, to be expected that most Indian families in South Africa are less close to the religious practices of their original branch of Hinduism, or the demands of Islam, than their grandparents were. Along with religion goes language and the difficult to define "culture" of a people. If these are not actively maintained, their influences fade, leaving room for something else to develop. It is interesting to note that although all but two households were clear about the name of their religious group (4.2.1), difficulties arose in identifying the cultural or ethnic group to which the family originally belonged. A local school principal in private conversation told me that he always had difficulty in establishing what the language backgrounds of his pupils were, so I had avoided the troublesome question: "What is your original home language?" I had hoped that the remedial teachers who interviewed the parents would be able to explain what was implied by "cultural/ethnic group". None of them suggested that there was difficulty in interpreting the question, or would be in eliciting the answer, yet twenty-eight returns were left blank. (4.2.2)

There is obviously the possibility that the question was obscure, but there is another explanation which should not be entirely rejected.

Consciousness of the cultural language group from which they came may not be a strong feature in the lives of a number of Indian families. This in itself may not be held to have much impact on the children's use of the English language. It might be argued that the weakening of traditional cultural ties and lack of encouragement of the language appropriate to them, fosters the growth of English as replacement language. On the other hand decreased concern for traditional practices might indicate that the more immediate concerns of day to day living, absorb most of the time and energy of these families. It should be held in mind that at least twenty of the twenty-eight families who gave no response to this question, had combined incomes of R600 or less.

As far as the attendance at religious meetings was concerned, thirteen adults never went. The others went on special occasion or more regularly, but not all of them took the children with them. According to the returns, twenty-two children never went, and those who did, went less often than their parents. (4.3.2) This does not mean that there is as much of a discarding of religious practices as appears, however, since only seven adults never took part in religious ceremonies. The others did so with varying regularity, and at least the children would be aware that such things were regarded as a part of life. No direct questions were asked about the frequency of praying. Yet this does occur in a place set aside for it in certain Indian homes.

The languages used in religious meetings appear to be changing, since in fourteen cases adults said only English was used, and in ten more, English was used with another language.

5.4 HOME BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS

It has been seen that not many of the adults brought home library books. (4.3.4.2) This might be a clear indication of the amount of reading they did, but there are other sources of reading matter, and further probing is necessary to get a fair idea of the extent to which parents use reading either for gaining information or as a leisure activity.

It appears that sixteen adults read nothing at home, six of these being unable to do so. These six might have had a less serious impact on the children concerned. A parent who chooses not to do something that he is able to do, devalues it in the eyes of a child, in a way that someone who lacks that ability in the first place, does not.

Twenty-six of the adults said they read religious material, bits of the newspaper and various oddments such as recipes. None of these choices would be likely to inspire a child with the idea that reading is an immensely pleasurable activity, but at least it would be seen as something adults do. (4.3.4.1) More likely to give the idea that reading is something to be enjoyed, were the twelve parents who included personal or library books in their reading, but it would seem that little time was actually spent on reading by any one. (4.3.4.3) It might be expected that time for reading was limited during the week and although disappointing, the finding that forty-one adults either did not read at all, or spent less than an hour reading from Monday to Friday, was not surprising. What is, perhaps, more important, is that thirty-six read nothing over the weekend, and fifteen read for less than an hour. Only eleven adults said they read for longer than two hours during the week, and three read for more than two hours over the weekend.

With these figures in mind, it is no surprise to find that thirty-four adults did not read to the children before they started school. Indeed it is more surprising that as many as twenty-three did read some story books and/or nursery rhymes. This does indicate an awareness of the value of reading to young children, which is a positive factor for these children. What is unknown is the time spent in such reading, the quality of the material read or the degree to which this was a shared or imposed activity.

It is relevant to look at the findings of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (University of Durban-Westville) on adult literacy among Indians in the Durban Metropolitan area (Watkinson, 1981). Among other things, this research set out to:

"Determine the linguistic proficiency of those designated illiterate or semi-literate"

and

"Ascertain the degree of interest shown by the interviewees in improving their reading and writing skills by attending a literacy programme."

87% of the sample were married, widowed or divorced, so presumably many were parents and would influence their children's behaviour. Table 17 shows what reading and writing they did at home.

READING		WRITING	
None	37%	None	57%
Advertisements, signs, posters, numeracy skills	5%	Brief notes	23%
Parts of the newspaper, letters	24%	Letters	8%
Books, newspapers, religious texts	35%	Official and public forms	13%

TABLE 13 : Adult reading and writing at home

It would seem that as many as 84% expressed their interest in learning to read and 87% wanted to learn to write. Despite this, none had done anything to improve their literacy skills up to that time and many foresaw difficulties in attending classes.

Once children start going to school, many parents who did so before, stop reading to their children: some because the children prefer to read for themselves. For this study group of children who got little from books, parental reading might have been profitable, and to twenty-two children this experience was not unknown. It is interesting that two parents, a father and a mother said they often read to their children and apparently had done the same before they started school. Clearly this activity per se, is not a guarantee of a child's reading success. Again there is a question-mark over the quality of the material and the circumstance of the readings.

What is apparent is that there were few books of any sort in most of these households. Fourteen homes had none at all, and only eleven had more than ten books, which included a mixture of fiction, "information" and religious books. (4.2.9) It seems books were not generally regarded as essential to home life. Rather more families felt that a newspaper was important, and thirty-eight had one at least once a week. Only six never had one. Presumably, most children in the study were accustomed to seeing a newspaper as a part of the normal living environment.

According to J.F. Potgieter (November 1983), the lowest housing subsistence level for Indians in Durban in 1983 was R310 a month for a household of five persons. Although the costs vary with age and sex, this sum averages at R62 per head. It includes only food, rent, transport to and from work, fuel and electricity, and household cleaning materials. Seventeen of the families in the study lived on less than R62 per head per month and fourteen families lived on total

incomes of less than R310, (4.2.3.4) yet all but two of these fourteen had radios, five had black and white television sets and one had a coloured television set. Four of these families owned cars as well.

Of all the households in the study, only six did not own a radio. Forty-two had television sets, thirty-five had telephones and only ten did not have either a record-player or a tape-recorder. (4.2.8) This is a pointer to the way twentieth century technology has become a normal part of living, and the relative inexpensiveness of it, yet many households must be in financial difficulties. What is apparent is that for the majority of families, pecuniary considerations do not prevent the acquisition of articles which they really want, except in the direst of circumstances.

Thirty of the households had no car (4.2.11). Since a car is necessary in most cases if people wish to go out at night, this may have some bearing on the relatively small number of children who went out to see films in either English or an Indian language. (4.3.14.1, 4.3.14.2) The surge of interest in video-tapes in the community as a whole, is seen to some extent in this group of families, and more children watched tapes than went out to films. (4.5.19) Outings to watch sports matches, usually held during the day, were also not common. Thirty-seven children never went. Of those who did, seven went with relatives.

Eight households did not receive or rarely received visitors. (4.3.7) The other fifty-one had friends and relations calling sometimes or often. So the children had opportunities to meet other close adults and children, and learn appropriate behaviour. As might be expected, most of them played with the visiting children and some chose to go off with other friends, or alone. Of the eight who stayed with the adults, six joined in the general conversation.

What is of particular interest is the adult's opinion of how children should behave when adults were present. (4.3.8) Forty-one parents had definite feelings about the subservient position of children in the household, and did not encourage questioning or disagreement with what adults said. An attitude which insists on the unquestionable authority of adults is not likely to develop in children a readiness to consider carefully and critically what they hear in school, or equally autocratic institutions, or encourage the request for further explanation of something a teacher has said. There were, however, seventeen parents who expressed more liberal attitude to their children's behaviour, and if these are accurate descriptions, then at least some of the children in the study did not have this disadvantage.

Perhaps the feeling about how children should behave is linked to what parents told their children about school before they started (4.3.11). Ten did not tell their children anything, but eight of these children obviously found other sources of information, since only two of them said they had no idea what school would be like. (4.5.21) Nine other children said they had no idea, so it would seem communication between adult and child in those cases was not very good. Table 4 indicates that fewer than half the children were told by the adult that they would learn to read and write at school, whether they had clear ideas of these mysterious activities or not. The weight of information appears to have been on the side of insistence on hard work, obedience and good behaviour, rather than on the pleasures of institutionalised learning.

Attendance at infant school is sometimes thought to be very valuable as a preparation for school, although there was limited enthusiasm for nursery school shown by the parents of Margaret Clark's fluent readers, who proved admirably that home can do everything necessary for language development (1976, p42). The quality of so-called "pre-schools" varies markedly and for sixteen children in the study who said they

attended "pre-school", this did not prove to be a preventative for later difficulties with written language. (4.5.4) What is unknown is the extent to which these "pre-schools" focused on language, or whether they were merely intended to take care of children for families who could not do this themselves

That there was some parental interest in the "school" activity of writing is shown by responses to the question "Did you try to teach your child to write his name before he started school?" (4.3.11) Twenty-seven adults said they had tried and fourteen of these claimed success. How the children who did not manage, felt about writing, is not known, but it seems likely that most of the study children had little awareness that spoken language could be represented in writing. Thirty adults said they did not write anything at home (4.3.10), ten of these because they were unable to do so, but the rest, presumably, because they found no need for writing. The rest of the adults did little more than fill in forms, and write short notes or shopping lists. Only five said they wrote letters, so even that supposedly essential activity would be rarely seen by this group of children.

It is important to look at the educational level of the parent in thinking about the reading and writing that they did at home. "All that we have seen of development in infancy suggests that his parents' education will continue to be an important influence on a child's cognitive growth." (Lewis, 1963, p113) (4.2.6) Two fathers who were over sixty and twelve mothers had not attended schools. In one household where the father was over seventy and the mother over fifty, both were illiterate, but there were other members of the family who probably were not. Only twenty-one mothers had passed Standard VI, and of these four had continued to the end of Standard VIII and one said she had matriculated. Fathers were rather better educated, as a whole. Thirty-three had completed Standard VI. Of these, seven had gone on to Standard VIII, and four had passed Standard X. One father with Standard X had three

years of post school education, and an uncle who lived in the same household had four. In another household two cousins who had Standard X, had accumulated five years of post-school education between them. Apparently no other adult had had any formal education after leaving school. It is therefore perhaps understandable that literary pursuits would not feature prominently as leisure activities in these homes. Besides this, the lack of an adult who had experienced the problems of studying at home, may make it difficult for families to appreciate the needs of school children who might want to read or study a book, instead of joining in with family chores or social activities.

With active participation in a variety of experiences, oral language is an essential first means of learning for a child, and therefore the opportunities the study children had to hear and take part in oral language is a central issue. Luria and Yudovich refer to the conclusion reached by Vygotsky that "... human mental development has its source in the verbal communication between child and adult ..." (1971, p26).

A shared activity which has potential for family conversation is the eating of meals. At meal-times people frequently sit together, and, as most human beings are sociable, they talk. Unless conversations are tape-recorded, it is impossible to assess the quality and worthwhileness of meal-time exchanges, and all that this study sought to do was find out if such opportunities existed. With this in mind, both adults and children were asked about the sharing of meals. As usual, an uneven picture emerged. Seventeen adults said the family had most of their meals together, whereas twenty said that family members usually ate at different times. The rest of the group shared some meal-times, but not on a regular basis.

(4.2.10) The children gave more detailed information.

(4.5.18) It seems that breakfast was rarely shared during the week, and since people are usually in a rush to be off to work and school, this is not to be wondered at. On Sundays the picture is slightly different; thirty families sharing a meal as a regular thing, or at least sometimes. The evening meal was more sociable, although the weekend

saw no increase in this, and it would not appear that many families saw a particular value in sitting down together, and deliberately planned to do so. On the positive side, there were eleven children who said they had evening meals with their families every day, and twenty-two who usually or sometimes did during the week.

Most of the parents (forty-nine) used English exclusively when speaking to their child, although some of them spoke to other members of the household in other languages, as well. (4.3.3) Two mothers, neither of whom had attended school, addressed their children only in Indian languages. They both came from extremely poor households of fourteen members with no fathers, so it seems likely that the use of English was limited in these homes.

Conversation necessarily must be about something, although it is amazing how many words can be said or endlessly repeated which convey very little. Children are ready to absorb a great deal of information if they can make sense of and question what they hear. If they read books, watch television, listen to the radio, meet people in or out of the home, they will gain more from the encounters if they can talk about them and discover how adults react to the same experience. Gurney (1973, p98) looks at the way two people of "different linguistic and intellectual abilities" manage to communicate. He points out that they would need to "call upon varied linguistic and intellectual resources" to help each other gain understanding. When a child encounters language unlike his own, particularly if the other "participant" is not present, as in a book or film, a sympathetic adult might act as mediator, and make a very great difference to the child's understanding.

As interesting as the responses to the question about the adults' opinion of how children should behave, were the replies to the general question "Do you spend time talking to the child?"

(4.3.15.1) Eleven adults said they did not specially do so,

and only thirteen said they spoke about a variety of subjects. The majority of adults limited their exchanges to instructions reprimands and talk about school work. This does not suggest that most children had opportunities to extend their use of language in a variety of ways. Indeed one may question if eight of them spoke to the adult at all, since responding orally to instructions or a reprimand might not be encouraged or even allowed.

There was a possibility that adults overlooked occasions when they did talk to the children, and in any case, it is important to know if use was being made of the facilities available for talk in the households where adults did make a practice of talking to their children. It was apparent that adults read little, so it is expected that the content of reading matter was not a common subject of conversation. (4.3.15.2) Thirty-four adults did not talk about this at all. The newspaper was the biggest source of talk, certain parts of it being referred to by eighteen adults. Only three adults said they talked about books they had read for pleasure, so perhaps the number of twenty-seven of their children who did so, however infrequently, (4.5.14) should be seen as a very positive increase. The children were not asked who they talked to about the books and presumably they found listeners other than their parents.

Although thirty-six adults said they did not listen to the radio with their children, (4.3.5.2) only twelve said they did not listen at all. (4.3.5.1) It would seem, then, that items of interest from the radio could have featured in family talk. Most listening was restricted to the Indian programmes in English, but these are specifically intended for the community and must sometimes contain items of particular interest to the adults. If they did, it seems they did not inspire the need for talk to the child, whoever else might have been asked for comment. Thirty-five adults did not talk about radio programmes at all. Only one adult said she often did, and this ties up with her response that she spoke to her child about "many subjects".

Television programmes are probably a more generally attractive source of conversation than the programmes heard on the radio, since one sees what is going on. Nevertheless, the same picture holds when it comes to parental exchange with the child. Thirty-four adults did not talk at all about television programmes to the child, and only two said they often did, (4.3.15.4) yet it appears that far more had the opportunity. Only fifteen households did not have a television set. (4.2.7)

As far as the children themselves are concerned, it seems that fourteen did not listen to any radio programmes, a number much like that of the adults. Fourteen listened to the news, as did fifteen adults. The variety of other programmes listened to is not great (4.5.15), pop music understandably featuring more than anything else. The number of children who said they did not talk about radio programmes at home is even higher than the number of adults who said they did not: forty-two children and thirty-five adults. It would seem that for seven children the talk did not appear to be very memorable, or else that adults were not clear about this in their own mind.

Television proved a popular source of entertainment for the children, thirty-six of whom watched often. Thirty of these children said they chose their own programmes. This might appear to be the result of an admirable parental intention to help the children towards independence of choice, but it may also be seen as parental lack of concern, an interpretation which regrettably appears more plausible. Similarly, one wonders whether the twenty-five children who said they watched Afrikaans programmes did so with the deliberate intention of improving their ability to understand Afrikaans. Twelve children watched every possible moment and eight for a set time whatever was being broadcast, so the amount of selection which takes place must be questioned.

It is difficult to establish just what is the impact of television on any language community. To start with, this demands the foresight from a researcher to investigate conditions before the arrival of television, in order to have a baseline for comparison. According to Dr D.P. van Vuuren, the Human Sciences Research Council has been carrying out research on the effects of television on children in South Africa, for some time, but they have not concentrated specifically on the Indian community (private letter). Television was introduced to South Africa in January 1976, so for many children, television is a part of life.

Describing the preliminary findings of his study on the impact of television on adolescents in South Africa, van Vuuren (1981) writes that "on the short term television has a negative effect on inter-alia adolescents' homework, study habits and attitudes and some areas of reading, but more positive effects on inter-personal relationships and mental health." It is impossible to say if these findings can to any appreciable extent be generalised to the study children, and it may be inappropriate in this study to ask what changes have occurred as a result of the appearance of television. Instead the focus might be on what the situation is now.

There is no doubt that Indian South African children who spend several hours in front of a television set are hearing language models which differ from these around them. While one might regret that many of these models come from America, perhaps the effort demanded to make sense of what is happening outweighs the possible ill-effects of a culture which has attitudes somewhat alien to those of the children listening. Various teachers have reported that children have become interested in the books of films they have seen on television. A special class teacher, for instance, mentioned her pupils' enthusiasm for The Railway Children, which she read to them.

Unfortunately, at present one can only speculate on the real influence of television on those children, whose parents

do not use it as a source of conversation, whoever else does.

The telephone is frequently used as a substitute for letter-writing, and a child who learns to use it properly will have developed the ability to listen carefully and make appropriate responses as well as initiate conversation himself. Thirty-five children held conversations on the home telephone (4.3.12) and in fact in every household which had a telephone (4.2.8) the child had access to it. Another six children used the neighbours' or a public telephone. Again this is an indication of the extent to which modern technology is a normal part of living. It is necessary for the other eighteen children to learn to use the telephone through the school, or through contact with their friends, if the use of one is to become thoroughly familiar to them.

Two other common sources of sound in a household are tape recorders and record-players, and the majority of children came from families who owned one or both. Only ten had neither, and of these, only two had neither a television set nor a radio. (4.2.8) There is a fair measure of agreement between what the adults and children said about the child's listening to tapes and records. (4.3.13 and 4.5.16) Fourteen adults said the child did not listen to tapes and/or records of his own choice and fifteen children said they did not listen to them at home at all. At the other end of the scale, twenty-one parents said their children often did and twenty-two children said the same. The other children were somewhere in the middle. No questions were asked relevant to the nature of the tapes or records and the guess that they were likely to be of pop music is based on nothing more substantial than the high number (thirty-four) of children who listened to pop music on the radio. (Table 12).

5.5 THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOOL

While there is a question-mark over the relevance and quality of much of the learning that takes place in the classroom, there is little doubt that schools do provide opportunities for children to move outside the family circle and meet other adults and children who come from homes with differing outlook on life. For most children, schools open doors of learning that would otherwise remain closed. The majority of adults may mock the saying that "Schooldays are the best days of your life," but had they not had the chance to attend school and so perhaps acquire the pieces of paper society finds necessary in the job market, they might be less ready to point out the many faults in the system, and in their schools in particular.

The children in the study were ill-prepared for the tasks of school; many were given the impression that little pleasure but much hard work and good behaviour would be expected of them. (Table 4). As many thought school would be frightening as thought it would be fun (4.5.21, Table 15), and yet the majority of children expressed a positive reaction when asked how they felt about school. (4.5.22, Table 16). The cynic may doubt the sincerity of children's replies to such a question asked by a teacher, and it is as well to look for some evidence that they are speaking the truth. Certainly one reason most of them gave for enjoying school rings true: the presence of their friends; but perhaps a better gauge is the amount of school absence in these children's records. It would seem that thirty-eight children had not often been absent during the two year period of receiving help. Nineteen children had often been absent but for only seven was truancy given as the reason. (4.5.3)

It seems likely that absence from school, whether caused by truancy or not, was still a contributory factor in the difficulties some of these children experienced in coping with school work. Despite the fact that thirty-three children had

missed no more than five days during 1983, twenty-four had missed from five to twenty-five days and one child as much as five weeks. Such children would need considerable incentive and patient help in order to catch up what they had missed.

Apart from the incidents of ill-health that fourteen children suffered from, this group of children had an unexpectedly good record of freedom from physical handicaps. (4.5.2) Forty-nine teachers said that children had no obvious physical defects. Only two children had defective vision, and for both, this had been corrected. Even more surprising was that only one child was identified as having a hearing loss, which was combined with a speech difficulty. Those had been partially corrected. Two had uncorrected speech defects. In the small group of children who come for remedial lessons to the University of Durban-Westville each year, we sometimes find several with hearing and/or speech difficulties, and I had expected this to be the pattern at school. Remedial teachers are expected to look carefully for any hint of auditory or visual inadequacies for school work, and one would like to assume that such low figures reflect the true picture. Experience, however, suggests that this might be an over-optimistic hope. A hearing loss to which a child is accustomed is not always easily identified, and it can make the understanding of classroom language, often divorced from intelligible contexts, extremely difficult.

It is generally considered unsettling for a child to have frequent change of teacher at any stage of his school life. In the first few years, when a child is particularly dependent on help to meet the demands of school, this can be critical. Comments made by teachers indicated that the junior primary classes generally were staffed by teachers who moved a great deal, and were, in addition, frequently unqualified for this work. Thirty-two children in this study had one or two teachers during their stay in class i and class ii. (4.5.4) Nineteen were less fortunate, with three. For the remaining

children the position was bad, the worst being a case where the child had eight teachers, four of whom were unqualified. Each year presumably sees an improvement in the availability of qualified junior primary teachers, but as many of them are young, it is unlikely that the degree of stability will ever be one hundred percent. All the children in the study had more class teachers than their number of years at school would indicate assuming a teacher normally stays with one class all year, but exactly how upsetting this was, it is not possible to estimate. It was noted earlier that forty-three children had attended only one school (i.e. 72,9% had not move at all) and another nine children (15%) had attended no more than two, so the change in teachers had little to do with the movement of the children themselves. In research carried out at the Rhodes Reading Centre (Lawrence 1977), it was found that " ... of the 187 children studied, 123 had made at least four major changes with regard to schools they had attended. Moreover, a vast majority of these children made these change before they reached the age of ten." In this case, the percentage of children who had moved was 65,8. There is an interesting difference here which is a small straw in the wind to support the suggestion that the reason why children have reading difficulties, or are identified by their teachers as having them, may vary with population groups. If this is the case, then the whole area of identification, of establishing cause and cure, must be approached in a new light.

Practically all of these children (fifty-one) had been introduced to reading through the very sound scheme Breakthrough to Literacy, devised by Mackay, Thompson and Schaub. But however good schemes are, not one is foolproof, and certainly the teachers failed to make this one successful for these children. Following the convincing success of the introduction of Breakthrough to Literacy to a local Durban school by Pienaar in 1973, the scheme was generally accepted for the use of junior primary teachers employed by the Department of Internal Affairs. Since not all junior primary teachers were familiar

with the scheme or understood what was involved, it has taken some years for all schools to make use of it. There is evidence that not all the teachers who do use it understand the underlying principles, or ensure that they use it as a language development approach, rather than as just a way of focusing attention on the learning of certain core-words.

M.D. Vernon (1971) refers to research by Morris which establishes that "reading achievement is related to the skill of the teacher (Vernon's emphasis); and that children taught by untrained, inexperienced and unskilful teachers tend to be especially backward in reading." Vernon points out that the effect of bad teaching is felt by the children who already have obstacles in their paths, rather than their more fortunate peers. While one would be unreasonable to say that difficulty in learning to read is the sole responsibility of the junior primary teachers, it would be equally unreasonable to say that the factors which contribute to a child's difficulty lie entirely outside the school. There are some poor teachers drawing monthly salaries.

A child who lacks friends sometimes misses the value of shared activities and incentives to make plans, or talk about what has happened, an important help to human beings to come to terms with new events in our lives. It is the company of peers which helps a child to see his own abilities in perspective and enables him to use language to achieve ends considered important by the group, an essential part of social co-operation. Suggesting group work in the classroom, Wilkinson (1982) points out that activities can be designed so that children "... are not 'practising speech' but pursuing some common task requiring the use of oral skills." However, excellent this is inside the classroom, it does not replace the same procedure outside, where friends can initiate their own activities and have greater freedom of movement. Most of the study children (thirty-seven) had contact with children of home visitors (4.3.7), or played with other friends (five), but there were fifteen at least who apparently had little such

contact. This should not be interpreted as indicative of a real isolation from other children, and it is necessary to see what the remedial teachers thought about the children's sociability, at school. By and large it would seem that these children were much like any others in their contact with peers. (4.4.2) Twenty-one children were seen as gregarious and fourteen as rather less so, while twenty had, perhaps closer, relationships with one or two other children. Only two were described as "rarely seen with anyone."

One of these children, a boy, came from a small household of four people and had no brothers and sisters, but he did play with children who visited his home and this often happened. The other, also a boy, had two brothers and a sister, but the only one still at school was a girl five years older than him. When friends and relations came to the house, as they did often, he joined in the general talk rather than playing. This boy might be the one member of the group who does not have much contact with his peers as friends. A question which was not asked, was the length of time the children had to share with their friends.

A number of remedial teacher-students over the years have expressed their concern about the relationships between the children they worked with and other teachers, particularly class-teachers, with whom the child has a great deal of contact. They have been frustrated by the realization that a child who makes progress with them, is not necessarily able to prove to the class teacher, that given the right circumstances, he is able to cope with school work. In their foreword to John Dixon's book Growth through English, Squire and Britton make the remark "'Expressive language' as we would now want to describe it (whether in speech or writing) is at least a function of the relationship of trust existing between the communicating parties." (1975, xvi). This is not, of course, limited to the classroom, but it is something all teachers need to remember.

Of course there have been many stories of the surprise and satisfaction of class-teachers, too, where the class-teacher sees a change for the better. The positive encouragement this is to a child, is a valuable incentive to continue making an effort. M.D. Vernon mentions a study carried out by Sampson, in which several teachers "noted the importance of good social relations between teacher and children." Vernon remarks: "The ability to establish sympathetic, friendly and understanding relationships may be one of the most significant factors in teaching skill." (1971, p61).

In this study remedial teachers were questioned about how both they and the class-teachers saw the child's behaviour and any change noticed in his work. A direct comparison is not possible since slightly different questions were asked. The class-teachers had strongly negative feelings about the behaviour of eight of the children. (4.4.4.1) At the other end of the scale, eight children's behaviour was seen positively by the class teachers (the children were "co-operative and managing"). The forty children in the middle, apparently evoked no particularly good or bad reaction to their behaviour. Nevertheless, (4.4.4.2) teachers generally saw improvements. Forty class teachers thought that the child fitted better into the class than he had done before, although eighteen teachers saw no change.

The remedial teachers are expected to see their relationship with the child as their first teaching priority. "...satisfactory relationships within the classroom are increasingly perceived to be a pre-condition of effective learning." (Creber 1972, p66) This may account for the response that four children were very dependent on the remedial teacher, as an adult who gave them considerable attention. (4.4.5.1) Regrettably, two of the children who were seen as disruptive and reluctant to work by the class teachers, were described in similar terms by the remedial teachers.

There would seem to be little hope that these two, both boys, will get a great deal out of their school lives. Eleven other children's behaviour was seen as showing very little incentive to succeed. The extent to which this behaviour is caused by difficulties caused by a gap between their personal language and the language expectations of the school, is almost impossible to establish. As was to be expected, the behaviour of most of the children (forty-two) was seen by the remedial teachers in a positive light.

It is possible that "general behaviour" does not seriously interfere with the learning of a child, and despite the lack of enthusiasm for the children's behaviour, thirty-six teachers noticed improvement in the child's language work generally, and seven saw improvement specifically in reading (4.4.4.3) For fifteen children, the picture was poor.

Johnson and Myklebust (1967) describe a specific inability to handle mathematics, and also recognised the link with language disorders. Because mathematics is itself a symbol system, and at primary school level involves the ability to read instructions and "problems" expressed in written language, children who find reading difficult frequently do badly at mathematics too. The study children demonstrated this. (4.4.5.3) Fifty-two of them were described as having a problem of greater or lesser degree. It would be interesting to explore this more thoroughly to determine whether they can cope adequately with the so-called mechanical side of mathematics. Such processes as adding and dividing although important in themselves, play a very minor role in mathematics, however, and the logical and creative thinking of mathematicians demands the high level of cognitive thought that is commonly associated with skilful handling of language.

It may be expected that promptness in going to remedial lessons is an indication of a child's feeling towards the remedial teacher and to what is likely to happen in the lessons.

While this is true for some, the issue is clouded by the difficulty some children experience with remembering the exact time of lessons, and the authority of the class-teacher who "sends" the child to the remedial teacher. Comments have been made about the unreliability of some class teachers, rather than the reluctance of the child. The results of the questionnaire item about the child's attendance at lessons then, would appear to be an indication of the class teacher's co-operation, as much as the child's eagerness to go. For the majority of remedial teachers, the child's attendance was not a problem, a situation that may be allied to the permanance of the remedial teacher in the school. The position was less comfortable for eleven teachers. (4.4.5.4) It is likely that precious time was eroded by frequent lateness, quite apart from the possibility of the remedial teacher's irritation at having to make yet another journey to fetch a child from a distance classroom block, instead of preparing physically and mentally for the particular demands of the next lesson.

A truer gauge of the child's confidence in the remedial teacher and his own increased interest in books, is whether he chooses to visit the remedial room to read during breaks, after school or at free times when his own teacher is absent. (4.4.5.5) Of the study children, nineteen never did and nine often did. The majority were somewhere in between. This would suggest, at least, that their feelings were positive rather than negative and the majority did not suffer from any supposed stigma attached to the remedial class.

The intimate conditions of small group or individual teaching provides for the maximum chance of language exchange between teacher and pupil. A skilful teacher can ensure that both oral and written language is understood to the satisfaction of the child, and that he is learning to express himself in speech and on paper with growing clarity and awareness of the power of the word. Even in the remedial room, only

thirteen children often spoke about what happened at home. Eight never did. (4.4.5.7) Thirty-eight children did so occasionally but most of them had to be prompted. Even the television and radio programmes they enjoyed did not act as a stimulus for talk in all cases, although the figures state that at school at least, forty-seven of them did sometimes talk about what they had seen and heard. (4.4.5.8) Teacher prompting was necessary for some of them, but that is hardly to be wondered at. The most literate of people do not always feel impelled to wonder aloud about the outcome of J.R.'s latest wickedness or condemn the foolishness of a politician's actions.

School and classroom events formed topics of conversation rather more often. (4.4.5.9) As usual there was a hard-core of children - seven - who never talked about them, and a group of fifteen who needed to be prompted before they did. It might have been expected that confidence in the remedial teacher would lead the children to seek help with classroom difficulties (4.4.5.10) Only two eleven-year old girls often did, and these were both taught by the same male remedial teacher who knew the families well. Twelve children never asked for help. Whether this was because work in the "normal" classroom seemed remote from what happened with the remedial teacher and they simply saw no connection, because they were completely uninterested, or because they consciously rejected the idea that the remedial teacher could help them, is unknown.

It is unlikely that any adult at school knew these children better than the remedial teachers, so it obviously made sense to ask the remedial teachers what they thought were the main causes of each child's difficulties with reading: the reason, rather than the more embracing "difficulties with language" that these children had been referred to the remedial teachers in the first place. Table 8 (4.4.6) shows that many problems were seen as stemming from language difficulties and from unhelpful conditions at home, but not all of them. It was

disturbing to find that for nine children reading was thought to be a frightening or purposeless activity, even after two years of help, and that four teachers could see no reason for the child's difficulties. Unless a remedial teacher can find the source of the problem, she is unlikely to solve it, and likewise, unless children are fired with the belief that reading is a natural, enjoyable and very useful activity, it is an almost impossible task to teach them to read.

CHAPTER 6

TAPED INTERVIEWS6.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in Chapter 3, sixteen interviews with an adult member of the household were taped, and one other was described. Immediately, from being numbers on a schedule, the families came to life. Instead of seeing responses marked on a form, I listened to recorded voices and could not evade awareness of the distortion of reality caused by pinning down human beings to questions with alternative responses.

Three interviews will be referred to, in an effort to paint a more vital picture of the home life of at least a few of these children, and the likely effects on their use of language. To avoid the use of numbers throughout the comments, names appropriate to the cultural background of the children have been substituted for their real names.

6.2 SIVA (6B)

Although the scheduled interview for Siva showed that there were three people in the household, Siva, his uncle and grandmother, the student who visited the house found rather different conditions. She found that there was a large extended family of grandmother, her sons, daughters-in-laws and grandchildren. The grandmother had given the information on the schedule. Siva's uncle "seemed to be in complete control" of Siva, "... in charge of the household" and "It seems that whatever he says is the 'right thing'." Next in line of authority was Siva's seventy-year old grandmother. The student was given the impression that Siva's mother, who lived in the house, was considered an "outsider." When the student was about to leave, and the uncle left the room,

Siva's mother appeared for the first time and introduced herself. It appeared that she was very interested in her son's welfare, but was dominated by her brother, the uncle. She had been to the school to talk to the remedial teacher and learned of a suggestion that Siva be sent to the remedial school. Regrettably the conversation with her ended abruptly as two other daughters-in-law entered the room and the student was "afraid to continue". Other children were very much in evidence during this rather sad interview, but Siva was not. It would seem that he was playing outside. The student felt that the family attention as a whole was not focused on Siva, but on another child, who was described as "hyperactive". Mother's interest was apparently regarded by the family as insignificant.

Another direct contradiction was the presence of a television set in the lounge. It would seem likely that between the two interviews, a period of perhaps six months, a set had been acquired. Since the family had a telephone, a tape recorder, record player and a car, this is not to be wondered at, and obviously it may mean that the negative responses to questions about the viewing of television, would now be different. No books or magazines were seen, although there were supposedly both in the household. There was no sign of a newspaper, and this supports the response that there was "never" one in the house.

The student interviewer described the house as neat and well-kept but was overwhelmed by the number of adults who lived there. On the schedule the child was described as often dirty and untidy at school. At home there was "always" somewhere undisturbed to study, yet it is difficult to tie this up with the presence of an unemployed uncle and a large household. Certainly the response that the child does not have a time set aside to study, is not unexpected in the light of the uncle's spoken statement that Siva helps at home.

Uncle: "Like, uh, if I do any repairs in my car or whatever it is, he helps me there or in gardening you know. He's, he's willing to work that means. Because how I see it is this. If I can put a bit of pressure on him on studying and other things, why can't the school do it?"

As the mother had visited the school, so had the uncle, who seemed to see school work as important, but as the responsibility of the school. That the family itself had an immense effect on a child's learning is not an idea that the uncle appeared to entertain, or that Siva's interests and what he had to say need be taken seriously. It is distressing to see that Siva's contact with friends was limited because there had been "complaints". In the following extracts, we see the uncle either misunderstood or glossed over the questions about Siva's interests, and whether he is happy at school, and we see the attitude towards Siva's contact with friends.

Interviewer: Has he any particular interest?

Uncle: In fact far as I am concerned that I like him to take more interest in studying you know and his school work and his later stage he can do what he wants.

Interviewer: Is he happy at school? Does he talk about what happens at school?

Uncle: No. He's got few complaints coming in and you know there's a lot of things that he's trying to tell us but when I go up to the school and find out from the principal, the principal tells me something else and there's more blame on him than other childrens.

Interviewer: Does he have a friend, many friends? Does he go out?

Uncle: Yes, friends, but I don't allow him to go out, because there's too much complaints coming up with him, you know, so I don't like it at all.

It is sad that the uncle, like the class and remedial teacher sees little change in Siva.

Interviewer: Do you feel that he has made progress?

Uncle: In fact I don't see much of it ... er ..
there's no progress at all.

Siva was regarded by both teachers as disruptive, and although the class teacher saw some general improvement in language work, the picture was not bright. It seems he never chattered about home events or television or radio programmes, never borrowed books from school or from the public library. He never spent extra time in the remedial room reading books from choice, or talked about a book he had read to a friend or someone at home.

Before he started, Siva was frightened by the idea of school and imagined it would be hard work. But he had missed very few days over the two years of the study and said that he liked school because he liked being with his friends and liked the lessons and most of the teachers. According to the grandmother's responses on the schedule, Siva was told a great deal about school before he went; all the alternatives except that "school was fun and he would enjoy it," in fact. It would appear that the message that got through to Siva, however, was not very positive.

The home languages were English and Tamil, both of which were used to Siva, other members of the household and visitors. Since the adult who gave the information on the schedule was the seventy-year old grandmother, it is perhaps not surprising that she was illiterate and gave the child no help or example when it came to reading, writing, or sharing interesting items of information gleaned from other sources. Her feeling was that children "should talk only when spoken to." It is very unfortunate that the only information about other members of the household was that the uncle spent eight years in school, passed Standard VI but was currently unemployed.

One item that might be expected to be significant, yet does not, from the evidence, appear to have caused a major change in Siva's school work, if it has in his social life, is that the grandmother and uncle have apparently lived in the same household as Siva for only one year. Whether or not this is indeed the case, and home conditions for Siva before this were very different, there is no mention from the school teachers of a sudden change in his behaviour or ability to cope with school work.

Siva was one of the five children who were described as seeing no purpose in reading. Besides this the remedial teacher saw his poor reading as predominantly a language problem and state that conditions at home did not help. At the end of 1983 Siva was not far off twelve years of age in Standard I. He had attended three schools, and in class i and ii had been in the hands of five teachers, three of whom were unqualified. For what it is worth, his I.Q. was assessed at a total of 88, with a verbal score nine points in excess of the performance score, a not very common state of affairs in this group of children. It does seem that given more positive conditions, things might have been different, but as things are, it seems unlikely that Siva will be able to achieve very much at school before he reaches school leaving age.

6.3 PAVANESEN (54L)

Pavanesen was nine years old when the data was collected by the remedial teacher. He came from a Hindi-Tamil background and lived with his parents, three sisters and an uncle in a Chatsworth house with a garden, close to a shopping centre and an easy bus-ride from the public library. The young uncle had achieved the highest standard at school having completed Standard VII, and occasionally helped the children with their homework. Mother was a housewife who had left school after Standard IV. The household had a total income of R500, but they had a radio, telephone and tape-recorder, bought a newspaper every day and had magazines in the house. On special occasions mother attended religious meetings which were conducted in Tamil but she did not take Pavanesen. English was generally used at home, but the mother spoke Tamil to visitors as well. It is interesting that the family watched many video-tapes. They had tried them in English and Tamil but the whole family favoured tapes in Hindustani.

Since the first data collection, this family had acquired a television set. It was still a novelty as they had had it only a month and Pavanesen very much enjoyed watching programmes. In fact, his mother said that he spent little time with friends now, preferring to watch every moment of television he could.

Interviewer: He has lots of friends?

Mother: No, not much now. Since we got our TV he sits at home.

Interviewer: He enjoys watching TV?

Mother: He enjoy watching TV

Interviewer: Any special programmes?

Mother: Every programmes he watch ... don go ... because before when we din have TV he should always go out watching TV in my friend's house.

Interviewer: Do the whole family watch TV together?

Mother: Yes

Interviewer: And ..er.. books? Does he like reading?

Mother: Yes, he brings books .. er ... the library books from the school and he sits and he learns at home. He reads the books and he put it away, and he wants to watch the news and, you know, he says his sis ... says Kay that he always want to watch the news, because the Mam ask him what' about the news, what he saw, so he goes and says the Mam what he saw; in school.

Mother: When TV starts at 4 o'clock it's on here. They watch it from 4 o'clock right up till the eight o'clock news. On Tuesdays they wait for Dallas till 10 o'clock. Then they watch Dallas then they go to bed. On Sunday they watch all the programmes because some int'resting programmes on Sundays.

Interviewer: Um, yes, some lovely ones.

The influence of the school is apparent in the first of these excerpts, and it is good to find Pavanesen following the suggestion for television viewing. It certainly looks encouraging that Pavanesen takes home library books, although the question mark that hangs over the mother's use of the word "learns" in this context is not resolved by the information from the school, on the schedule. Here it appears that Pavanesen does not have access to the school library/resource centre, there is no class library, and books may not be taken home. Sometimes a remedial teacher will lend books from her stock, but it seems that Pavanesen "never" borrowed books from school. It may well be that the books mentioned are used in the classroom and involve homework, but there is also the possibility that school conditions and Pavanesen himself are a little different this year. The boy was moved up into Standard II at the beginning of 1984.

Pavanesen's mother believed that the remedial teacher helped the boy, despite the fact that she did not think that he had had difficulty with school work.

Interviewer: He's happy at school?

Mother: Yes, he's happy at school. I've never had a

problem with him at school - even he was in the remedial class I never had the problem with him - I never went to school and ask the teacher anything.

Interviewer: Pavanesen received remedial help last year ... Do you think it has helped him in his school work?

Mother: Yes, he helped him. Mr _____ helped him by teaching him and, you know, he learnt more from him. Not at home, nothing at home he learnt - because with him now we can't teach him at home. See the teacher can teach him better than us. That's how he learnt more, and - now he doesn't feel it hard, he feels that he knows everything, he does his home work, and

Interviewer: That's good.

Mother: and ... at school, and he comes home to whatever he's short of homework, he comes home and he does it.

Mother: In the class, his Mam is over there, so she teaches him, and he learns from her. And all his homework now he does it at school, after school he does his homework there and he comes home. Now if he got some of his homework, he comes home and he do it. Soon as he comes from school, he does his homework and he finishes - and then he go 'n eat.

Interviewer: Anyway, I'm glad that Pavanesen is making progress and you're happy with him.

Mother: Yes, I'm happy, because he was very lazy in class. Always he's complaining he can't learn. The Mam should complain by Kay and she come and complain at home. They should fight. She should fight with him because he don't learn. She say "Your Mam must call me and say me because you're not

learning." Like that she continued she carried on fighting with him but now it's okay no problem at all with him. Whatever homework he got he just come open his shoe and threw it one side and he sit and do his homework first. He don't even worry about tea and food. When he finished that, then he comes to the kitchen.

An interesting home factor is the interference of Pavanesen's sister, which is obviously approved of by the mother. In many Western households this behaviour would not be considered appropriate, and it would be thought hardly surprising that the children fought as a result.

It is good to find that Pavanesen's mother is so positive about the boy's progress and to speculate on the degree of influence which this remedial teacher, a Diploma in Remedial Education student at the time, actually had on Pavanesen.

There was a "problem" with Pavanesen that his mother did recognise. There is some confusion about what actually happened, and whether she herself caused the loss of hearing she describes.

Mother: The thing is with him, now something is wrong with his one ears. He can't hear properly.

Interviewer: Oh that is a problem, eh ...

Mother: That is the only problem for him, because I took him everywhere - clinic, doctors - they couldn't find the fault - even they syringed his ears, but there was, you know, this canon (canna?) flower, you get that flowers, you get that small, seeds in there, the black ones that was in his ears and I took it out. From that time he can't hear properly.

Interviewer: You took it out?

Mother: Yes.

Interviewer: And then you took him to the doctor after ...?

- Mother: I took him to the doctors. I took him to King Edward Hospital. I took him to Beatrice Street Clinic - that time we wasn't living here - the doctor couldn't find the fault. Took him to the Railway doctors - couldn't find the fault, so one day I put coconut oil in his ears and they came up and I put a clip on his ears and I took it out, so his ears start bleeding. From that time he can't hear properly.
- Interviewer: And after that you didn't take him again?
- Mother: Mmmm mmmm Ja, never took him to the doctors yet.
- Interviewer: Does he complain of earache?
- Mother: Mm mm Nothing.
- Interviewer: And if you talk to him, is he able to hear properly?
- Mother: Yes, but you must talk - shout and talk to him. Sometimes he hears clear. Sometimes he don't hear clear. You can be right by him and calling him, he won't hear, he walk away.
- Interviewer: Oh, shame, then he could be missing out at school then, if the teacher is talking.
- Mother: Talking to them, but now I don't think since Mr _____ was teaching him I don't think he is missing out anything, because I see he does everything on his own and good. What he don't understand in the sheet, so he come and ask us.

The mother is quite matter-of-fact about her son's loss of hearing. She does not appear to have said anything about it to the teachers, despite the influence she thinks it had on Pavanesen's work.

On Schedule D, the remedial teacher was asked to record any obvious defects, and the return is marked "nil". This would agree with what the mother said were the findings of the various medical people who saw the boy, so the truth is obscure. The mother's confidence in the remedial teacher's influence is very positive in one sense, but disturbing in another, if the

boy does in reality have a non-corrected hearing loss which is causing his classroom difficulties. Pavanesen spends most of his time in the "normal" classroom, where he could have difficulty in hearing what the teacher and other children say against a background of noise, and possibly at a distance.

Pavanesen is the only son in the household and sees very little of his father.

Interviewer: Does Pavanesen help his Daddy?

Mother: No he don't because his father works seven days a week. He don't stay at home at all. That's why he doesn't, he's got no chance to take them anywhere. He works Saturday and Sunday, right through. He got his leave, but he don't take his leave. He says if he stays at home he'll get lazy. He want to work all the time and stay so that's why I don't keep Pavanesen at home on weekends. I send him with his father's friend. So he can he also must learn how to work.

Interviewer: So he helps his father's friend ...

Mother: friend. Just for two weeks now he's started helping him otherwise he was staying at home weekends.

Pavanesen was paid R5,00 for his weekend work and apparently spent it all on sweets. This might be perfectly natural behavior in a ten year old, and R5,00 is not a vast sum, but at least some of this money might have been used rather more constructively in a household that valued books and hobbies of one sort or another. It was distressing to find that the father could not see the possibilities or rewards of spending time with his children, and sharing interests and activities with them. Pavanesen was being brought up with the same view point, that life consisted of serious work and relaxation in the form of watching video-tapes or television. An aunt, who owned a car, was a frequent visitor and popular because she took the family for drives. At the time of the interview, however, this had stopped, because Pavanesen, at ten years, and his two sisters

at twelve and eight, were to stay at home every weekend to learn for school tests. How this fitted in with helping his father's friend is not entirely clear.

Pavanesen's mother had definite views on acceptable behaviour in children, and suitable friends for him. The boy is expected to play in the house, not go out.

Interviewer: Do his friends come and visit him?

Mother: The one here in the bottom only comes, because the rest of his friends are very naughty, so we don't let him joint his friends now.

Mother: Sometimes if he get up to mischief he leave the house and run away.

Interviewer: How do you mean run away?

Mother: Run away to the road.

Interviewer: Oh he goes to play with friends?

Mother: friends but I don't like him jointing all the children because the children here is not nice, they're very naughty most of them can swear and Pavanesen - his father takes liquor and he can use any languages but those children don't use languages at all they never use languages. They always fight so when he gets to go and join these children at the bottom he gets up to mischief then you must know somebody's coming here with a complain he did something so then I don't like that. You know children must be naughty and then we people must have trouble through children.

Interviewer: No, that's not nice.

Mother's concern appears to be more for her comfort than for Pavanesen's. On one occasion the boy had gone with some friends to the swimming pool. His family did not know where he was and he did not return until seven o'clock. When he did appear, Pavanesen explained that he was wet because "an auntie had hosed him", but "after that he came up with truth when I start

hitting him". Punishment, it seems, ensured that it did not happen again.

Mother: That was last, because I made him sleep outside that night. He don't leave the house and go anywhere now. I punish them when they make naughty.

She does not believe in children being independent too soon, or in having the opportunity to move freely and widen their horizons.

Mother: With Pavanesen now, he doesn't know the pool and Unit 7. Besides the school he doesn't know how to get to the homes and anything because we don't take him all those places. We just stay - send them school and from school they must be back at home. We don't take them anywhere visiting. We want them to stay at home and learn. If we going to take them everywhere they going to know how to go around places. Different case if they big. They still small they must stay at home. That's how we bring this children up. They don't go anywhere. Kay, in facts she don't know how to get into town. She's twelve years. She just sit, no way she know how to go. She just know at school and she comes back home and learn, and go to the shop that's all.

Mother came across as a strong woman who was very much in control of her family. She has definite ideas of what is right and wrong and it is surprising to find that the boy is described as often dirty and untidy at school. The remedial teacher indicated that Pavanesen showed interest in his lessons, and in reading in his spare time, and this appears to have earned Pavanesen some reward, at least. Pavanesen apparently chatted about things at home, and does not appear to have suffered any emotional damage from the somewhat severe conditions. It may

well be that he gained security from a strong mother and accepted the limitations of his life as natural. According to the psychological assessment, Pavanesen has the ability to do well at school. His verbal I.Q. was rated at 105 and the total as 109. The remedial teacher felt the problem in reading, for which Pavanesen was originally referred, was caused by difficulty with language. The excerpts of his mother's English suggest that the language he learned from her before class varied somewhat from what was required in school, and lack of real parental interest in books cannot have helped him. Despite that, it appears that the boy has made some progress, and since the mother seemed pleased, perhaps the prognosis is not too bad.

6.4 SANDRA (66R)

Sandra also came from a Tamilian background but her family were Roman Catholics. From the interview one gathers that there is some degree of Hindu influence still felt by the family and members of the community say this is quite common. Hinduism is a highly tolerant religion, and if Christianity were embraced as a matter of expediency, or as a result of parental influence, rather than dogmatic conviction, practices could be accommodated alongside Hindu customs without causing too much soul-searching for the proclaimed Christian.

This household consisted of six members of a nuclear family: parents, three girls aged fourteen, twelve and eight in November 1983, and an eleven-year old boy. Sandra was the second, twelve year old child, in Standard III at the time. Both parents were working, and the family income of R920 meant that on paper at least, they were financially better off than most of the families in the study. Father had passed Standard VI, having spent one extra year at school to get there, and mother had passed Standard VIII in the minimum of time usually required. There were other mothers in the study with a standard of education higher than their husbands, but this was not a common state of affairs.

The family lived in a basement within a safe walking distance of the shops. The public library was close too, but the mother felt that Sandra should be accompanied there. There was no family car but other possessions included a radio, colour television set, tape recorder, record-player and telephone. The family watched videos twice a week, and despite the fact that the mother said she spoke nothing but English, the tapes were described as "Indian". The language was not given. There were magazines, a few books, including religious texts, and a daily paper. The mother rarely brought books home from the library but she did spend a couple of hours reading during the week and the same time over the weekend. She had read story books to Sandra before she started school and still

often read to her. There is some contradiction in implication between her statement that children "should talk only when spoken to" and her response to the questions about whether she talked to Sandra, and it can only be assumed that she believed in parent initiated talk, possibly rather inhibiting, if not deliberately restricting, Sandra's share of the conversation. Mother was selective in her choice of television programme and it seems that the set was only switched on for certain programmes.

Sandra would have seen her mother use writing for such things as 'phone messages and short notes, and apparently learned to write her name before school started. Her mother said that she told Sandra she would learn to read and write at school, but it would seem that these concepts meant little to the child at the time, as Sandra said she had no idea of what to expect when she entered class i.

Mother had hoped, herself, to become a teacher but had had to leave school after Standard VIII. She had carried this interest into her family life, and felt rewarded by the success of her oldest daughter, Mary. Unfortunately, Sandra was not able to do so well, and the suggestion that she was unfavourably compared to Mary comes across on the tape. Sandra appeared to have limited interest in school, or in helping her mother. It seems that her aspirations to be a teacher did not incline the mother to tolerance towards the "slow learner".

Mother: I keep wondering what's wrong with Sandra because Sandra she only plays outside. She don't want to do no work. She don't do housework. I shout at her. I work, Sandra doesn't do any housework. She doesn't do her learning. She just wants to play like a small child, you know, and she failed Standard I and I'm thinking now why this child, my only child that is so slow. She is slow in learning, very slow. I don't know

because see I teach my children and ... because I was supposed to be a teacher too and I had to leave school because we didn't have enough funds for teaching. And so I know a little bit about class i and class ii now. You see Mary, Mary when she was four years I taught her how to write her name, how to spell, how to go about everything. I don't know whether I lost interest because my Mary was a very intelligent child. She's my eldest daughter.

Sandra's grandmother had died very recently, and this had upset Sandra. Since the death had been only the previous week, it is not surprising that Sandra's mother was very conscious of it, but it could hardly be the cause of Sandra's learning difficulty. It may be that the grandmother's illness was prolonged and Sandra had been worried for some time, but this seems questionable. The grandmother was not listed on the household schedule, so presumably she was not living with the family at the end of 1983. Whether she was at the time of her death was not mentioned. Sandra was apparently sleeping very badly at the time of the taped interview, and it is unclear whether this started after her grandmother's death or not. As a result of repeating a year, Sandra was currently in the same standard as her brother, and father had decided to bribe both of them to work harder. The mother considers that the shock of her grandmother's death, or the wish to earn R20,00 was the cause of the sleeplessness, but she is not sure about this.

Mother: ... And a couple of days now - from last week, you know, I found that Sandra she gets up in the night at about 2 o'clock in the morning and she just starts learning. And I asked her the other day "Sandra but what is really worrying you? Why do you feel like this?" I thought my mother's sickness and her death put her back you know.

Interviewer: Mmm mmm

Mother: So I asked her I said "Sandra, is it Ma that's worrying you?" Maybe because you know children are frighten but I saw when she looked at my mother in the coffin she was very frighten you know. So I don't really know if that is really worrying her but from Thursday night when my mother was dead. Because my mother died last Friday. From Thursday night I see Sandra doesn't go to bed like the other children. She goes to bed. She lays down with her eyes open. She says she can't sleep. I don't know what's really worrying my child. I don't know if something is wrong at school or what because she doesn't want to tell me. Then I asked her again.

Interviewer: But before the death of your mother?

Mother: She was still like this. But now I see she is not sleeping at all. She's not sleeping. She gets up - she sleeps. I leave the light on. Get up about 2 o'clock in the morning and she start making something to eat. That's how she eats and she learns.

Interviewer: Unless she's trying. 'Cause they probably are writing tests at the moment.

Mother: But she's never ever done this. Then now I thought you know her daddy, John my son. John and her are in the same standard. So now Sandra was closer. Her father tried to boost her up. He said, he said whoever passed the first quarter will get R2,00 and second quarter will get R5,00 and third quarter R10,00 and full year R20,00.

Interviewer: Mmm mmm

Mother: So now her aim is to get the R20,00, but I don't really know she, if that is what's wrong with my child or anything.

How the mother regards her husband's action is not at all clear. She mentions him again only twice throughout a very easy flow of words. Once is in the following extract.

Mother: When I come home at about 7 o'clock the children are already eating, they're sleeping or in bed. So there's really no time to really talk to them. But Daddy tries to talk but I mean I can't rely on him so much. He works shifts ... see.

The mother explains that Sandra was close to her grandmother, who had more time to talk to her. She feels that the grandmother felt sorry for Sandra but does not explain why this should be the case.

Mother: You know my mother was very close to Sandra, she used to really like Sandra but my mother was more devoted to Mary, but Sandra was like her little one side pet, but she didn't want to show us, you know. I think she felt sorry for Sandra. She's the one that taught a lesson to Sandra about whatever problems she had.

In the past, the mother visited the school but her current job had made that impossible. She was unable to say if Sandra was still having remedial lessons.

Mother: I don't know. She told me last year she was going. So I said well at least that's gonna take some of the burden of (sic) me because I don't have to worry about them you know, because she's getting extra lessons and what she's poor in. Now what is really wrong with Sandra now?

During her reply the student asked if the mother had seen any improvement in Sandra. Regrettably, this was not the case, and the mother was quite definite about it. In November 1983,

too the class teacher had found minimal progress, in spite of the keen interest noted by the remedial teacher.

Mother: I don't see any improvement about Sandra, nothing at all. She's getting worse and worse. You know she'll do like she's so tired. True, like she's so tired.

Indeed one would expect the child to be tired, if she is up at 2 o'clock every morning. Yet the mother sounds almost surprised. In a confused passage the mother said she had been to the temple.

Mother: I don't know whether there's something that you know. They say something is worrying the child. Certain house but I went and seen in a temple and they told me something is worrying my child in her house. One of my children that don't sleep properly. I had to go and see her about her and - they told me that they one that don't sleep, that doesn't sleep properly in the night and that really worrying her but I don't want to tell Sandra all this because I don't believe in all that. Just that I want to go and really find out, you know, in her.

Interviewer: You haven't tried to take her to the doctor?

Mother: No I haven't tried the doctor yet. I don't really know, I don't know whether I can really believe the temple or what I must really do. I don't know.

Near the end of the interview the mother again contradicts herself about Sandra and the causes of her limited progress. Sandra repeated Standard I.

Mother: Sandra had a teacher in Standard I and Sandra used to come home every time and say to me:

'Mummy, you know - the teacher doesn't like me. You know the teacher doesn't like me.' And Sandra is coming up in Standard I, and Sandra learn, you know. She was getting just like Mary. She was getting clever. She was really picking up in her work because I started teaching her division and multiplication and hundreds, tens and units, you know, actually going into Standard I work now. (There follows a description of her teaching of arithmetic.) That's how I teach my children. I really teach my children like a school teacher. I do everything for my children. Then she had this teacher in Standard I and my child failed Standard I and her daddy started teasing her, "Oh, you failure." He wanted to hit her and this and that and I said. Then she came to me and she told me that the teacher doesn't like her. She said she doesn't know why the teacher doesn't like her.

Sandra's mother generally appeared to be rather confused and helpless, although there was no sign of much dependence on her husband. Her health had been bad and she had been seeing a psychiatrist. She is unsure if she has done everything for her children, or failed them.

Mother: ... and ja, and this past year I've been having it very hard because I've had thirteen operations in this year that went past, this whole year from January, only went back to work for a two weeks and my mummy passed away and I was seeing the psychiatrist because I was getting this depression and I wasn't really a mother to my children.

The remedial teacher found Sandra prepared to talk and ask for help, and co-operative. Her I.Q. was assessed at a total of 90, with a verbal score of three points in advance of her

performance score. She had had only two teachers in class i and class ii, although one was unqualified. She often borrowed books from school and the public library, got help with homework and over the weekend shared meals with the family. Sometimes she heard talk about radio and television programmes. She used the home telephone and often listened to tapes and records. Among the group of study children, she is one of the few who owned any books, although she had not received one as a gift. The remedial teacher considers that Sandra's difficulties stem from poor language, and certainly the samples of her mother's language show a marked deviation from the more "academic" English Sandra would meet in the classroom. Yet, one must remember this holds true for the successful sister, Mary, as well. Further research is needed to solve the puzzles of this case.

6.5 GENERAL COMMENTS

Apart from the social situations which are shown in these excerpts, they offer some insights into the language used at home.

There is much work to be done to unravel the grammar of South African Indian English, if indeed there is only a single dialect. A question which may be asked is how stable such a "dialect" would be, in a community in which the original Indian languages are still used, on the one hand, and the children are increasingly in contact with English derived from very different backgrounds, on the other? It would seem that the rhythms of the original languages are retained at present, and to the familiar ear will reveal the background Indian language, sooner than a particular idiom or choice of vocabulary. There is an interesting link here with what Halliday had to say about rhythm (1967, p97).

" ... in the foreign language situation this learning of the correct rhythm and intonation is not automatic, and with many foreign learners of English, it is precisely these features that remain most faulty ..."

He goes on to point out that the reason is that the rhythms are not taught. Now Indian South African children who hear other people speaking English with different rhythms, as they increasingly do, are likely to absorb them and modify their own speech patterns as a result.

The difficulty with certain English sounds, mentioned in Chapter fades with practice. It is noticed, for instance, that the adults in all three of the taped interviews pronounce the initial "h", yet they all come from Tamil-speaking backgrounds.

This study does not allow for a detailed analysis of the vocabulary and syntax used by the families and I am not qualified to attempt this but such an investigation could be revealing

in relation to the writing of these children, quite apart from the influence of the parents' language on their speech and reading. A few examples of language usage drawn from the three tapes may serve to suggest that identification of common features would not be easy.

In Indian schools the use of "say" where Standard English speakers would use "tell" may sometimes be heard. But in the three taped interviews, only one of the adults consistently uses this word.

" ... there's a lot of things that he's trying to tell us, but when I go up to the school and find out from the principal, the principal tells me something else ..."

Siva's uncle

"He says his sis ... says Kay that he always want to watch the news, because the Mam ask him what's about the news, what he saw, so he goes and says the Mam what he saw, in school."

Pavanesen's mother

" ... she told me last year she was going."
... they told me that they one that don't sleep."

Sandra's mother

These excerpts contain two examples of sentences where "there is/are" would be appropriate Standard English. Siva's uncle uses "there's", perhaps grammatically but in a colloquially uncommon way. Sandra's mother substitutes "they", a word which appears in children's composition books, used in the same way.

The suffix "s" for plural forms is sometimes added to words where Standard English users would not do so, but again the pattern is not apparently consistent. Siva's uncle refers to "childrens" and Pavanesen's mother speaks of "Every programmes

and "something is wrong with his one ears", but there are no further examples of this.

Concord and verbal use in general are bugbears for children at school, and much time is currently spent by teachers who try to change such usage as "They is here," "He run fast" or "She reading a book". This is a particularly difficult task since some of the teachers themselves use such English. In the limited sample of Siva's uncle's speech, verbal use by and large follows Standard English patterns. Pavanesen's mother uses verbs differently, and is not consistent:

"Since we got our TV he sits at home" but "He enjoy watching TV" " ... he comes home and he do it soon as he comes from school, he does his homework."

Sandra's mother too is inconsistent.

"She gets up ... get up about 2 o'clock in the morning and she start making something to eat."
"Sandra learn you know."

The verbal ending "ed" is usually apparent but not in the followi

" ... because you know children are frighten ..."

Pavanesen's mother too, does not always use "ed". The following shows this, and that she uses "should" in her own way:

"The Mam should complain by Kay and she came and complain at home. They should fight. She should fight with him because he don't learn" " ... when we din have TV he should always go out watching TV ..."

Inverted word order can be found in the samples of two adults, but is not an invariable feature.

"He's willing to work that means" (Siva's uncle)
"Every programmes he watch" " ... nothing at home
he learnt", " ... even they syringeded his ears ..."
(Pavanesen's mother)

Prepositions, pronouns, nouns and adverbs are sometimes used in non-Standard English ways and words may be added or omitted in a sentence. As a final illustration of the deviations of these three adults' use of English from standard practice, it is worth looking at one example of each and how what they say might have been expressed by a speaker of Standard English.

"He's got few complaints coming in ... there's more blame on him than other childrens."

Siva's uncle

"He makes few complaints he's more to blame than other children,"

Standard English

"Whatever homework he got he just come open his shoe and threw it one side and he sit and do his homework first."

Pavanesen's mother

"He just comes home takes off his shoes, throws them on one side, and sits and does his homework first."

Standard English

"I don't see any improvement, about Sandra, nothing at all ... You know she'll do like she's so tired. True, like she's so tired."

Sandra's mother

"I don't see any improvement in Sandra, none at all. You know she behaves as if she is so tired. Truly, as if she's so tired."

Standard English.

6.6 SUMMARY

These three interviews give a picture of the attitude of the adult to the children and the difficulties they experienced at school, as well as painting a picture of the home conditions. They demonstrate the use of language which the children grew up with, at least in two cases, and heard when they were at home. It can be seen that conditions generally are not ideal for fostering cognitive growth through language.

Signs of creolisation are apparent in the language of the families, and the progress from native tongue (Tamil, Hindi or other) through pidgin and creole to Standard South African English may be conjectured, but needs further research. Certain parallels may be drawn between the language of our South African Indian children and that of Indian and Pakistani children in British schools, particularly those who emigrated from British colonies, such as Kenya and Uganda. It is well known that these children also experience difficulties when confronted with pressures to learn Standard English. While agreeing that there is no option but to teach Standard English to children if they are going to read, Trudgill (1983, p73) expresses doubt about the acceptability of interfering with children's spoken language. He mentions three main objections: psychological, social and practical (ibid, p74) and these should be borne in mind.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

What principally emerges from this research is that the majority of the study children came from homes where the physical conditions were not particularly adverse to the development of language. There is little doubt in my mind that it is the parental choice of options which do not have the child's intellectual and linguistic growth at their centre which is the root cause of the difficulties these children experience, not the lack of material goods or limited finance.

Certainly many homes were crowded. A mere two children were reportedly the only child in the home, and one of these, the boy Siva, proved not to be. The majority then, did not have the linguistic advantages which research, quoted by Wilkinson (1971, p98) showed the single child to have. The children did not easily find an undisturbed place to sit and read or study when the rest of the family was at home. Most shared a sleeping room; an arrangement which probably led to frequent disturbed nights. But they all finished school by 13h45. Although it took a little while to get home, it would not seem impossible for most children to have been given quiet time for reading or even sleeping, before the whole family came home, should this have been considered important.

Very few children went home to an empty house. In most cases mother could have been home if she had wished. If not, other relatives were usually there, and it was a rare child who could not find some human company at home, even if limited interest was shown in what he was thinking or wanted to do.

Machines bringing language into the house were available to these children, just as they were to their more successful peers. Even in the poorest two homes, with combined family incomes well below the subsistence level for Indians in Durban in 1983 (Potgieter, 1983), there were radios, and in one of them a black and white television set. Despite lack of knowledge about the impact of television on this community, that television can be a strong influence for good on children's language is persuasively, if briefly, argued in the Bullock Report (1975, 5.20 p61).

Most of the families had ground-floor access to a garden, however tiny, and were within easy reach of local shops and a public library. Even if money were extremely tight, it was possible for family members to window-shop, to have contact with other people, and to obtain reading matter.

The committee of the Bullock Report draws an alarming picture of the social backgrounds of children with school difficulties in inner city schools in London (ibid, 13.21 p210). Two of the factors mentioned are the mobility of the children and the abnormally high rate of staff turnover. Although many families in the Indian community have moved their place of residence, in recent years, the families in the study area were remarkably stable. The majority of the children had not been subjected to an excessive number of teachers qualified or unqualified, in the important first two years of school. Most of the children did not appear to have strongly negative feelings about school. Relatively few of them were described as playing truant during the two year period of help. Remedial teachers in this community generally have commented on the improvement in attendance of some of the children they work with, and that may certainly be true for these children. Regrettably, it is known that some parents keep their children out of school in order to help at home and it is possible that this applies to some of the study children, nineteen of whom had often been absent. In such cases, the needs of the home as seen by the parents are more important than the

school education of the child. The parents do not see the school as part of their own lives, yet there needs to be a close link between home and school if the child is to get the maximum out of each. "The homes and neighbourhoods of the children must remain a part of their life when they come into school - which means that we cannot afford to have schools that stand aloof in the communities they serve." (Britton, 1970, p188).

Perhaps the distance of the school from the intimate lives of the families is a critical factor in the parents' attitudes to their own roles in the education of their children. The expressed attitudes and behaviour of the parents indicate that they generally lack understanding of their place in the Western style learning of the child, to which the schools aspire. This is not the place to discuss the social structures of East and West and how learning is based on them. The reality is that Western view-points are currently dominant, and a child's school success depends on his ability to satisfy the demands which stem from these. The use of the word "Western" may be misleading since it is clearly not the case that all "Western" thinking is identical or that all writers necessarily believe in a school system at all (Illich, 1977). The point to be made, is that the study children's parents were not consciously helping the children to make sense of the learning attitudes and the language they met in school. Cashdan, with reference to the difficulties experienced by children whose dialects differ from those in school, commented that "At the heart of this question is the relationship between the parent and the school ... the main distinguishing feature will be that some parents both understand and share the school's aim for their children, while others do not." (1979, p3)

The educational level of the parents generally was low and they showed little interest in reading and writing themselves. Books and magazines were certainly not regarded as an indispensable part of the home, or as a natural source of pleasure and information. Certainly some parents read to their children before they started school, but it would seem that this was a rather isolated demonstration of adult reading, and in any

case, fewer than 40% of the children had had this experience. To illustrate the point that "an early experience of being read aloud to is positively associated with success in learning to read", Dombey (1983, p26) refers to the work of Durkin in New York City and of Wells in Bristol. Of Wells, she says "He has shown that of all the pre-school experiences examined, being read aloud to by a parent is the one most strongly associated with reading achievement at the age of seven." Such reading as the adults did, tended to be limited to religious texts, bits of the newspaper and oddments such as recipes. Very little time was spent by a parent absorbed in a book over a weekend, or finding out more about the unusual creature in a television programme. The newspaper featured in a number of homes, so this at least, must have been a familiar sight to many children. Fewer than a third of the parents commented on any part of the newspaper, however, so a valuable source of discussion was not exploited to the full.

This, indeed, is the general picture, as far as conversation is concerned. Few parents spent time talking to their children rather than telling them certain things, yet it is important for children's intellectual growth to test the acceptability and logic of their ideas against an adult's point of view. The patterns of verbal exchanges may start to be laid down almost at birth, and appear to be important both for a child's response to stories and his learning of language.

" ... there arises a situation in which the care-giver allows herself to be paced by the child and the child begins to be able to develop confidence in her ability to influence what happens to her. Shared mutual attention is achieved in this way and may well be the precursor of that type of focus or shared agreement which is at the heart of most linguistic exchanges. (Whitehead, 1983, p47).

Parents apparently saw no value in talking about the radio and television programmes they listened to and watched,

either alone or with the child. In view of the relatively large numbers of households which owned both sets, this seems another wasted opportunity. There may be a limited choice of programmes available to South African television viewers, but there are certainly some programmes which could give rise to a great deal of questioning and discussion, and this may be the chief value of this source of language. Hearing and seeing is not necessarily a guarantee of absorption, particularly if the subject matter or language used is not easily available to the receiver.

"From a linguistic point of view, the benefit of children watching television on their own is not very great Language learning requires feedback and this is only possible in life. Television produces speech and meanings of various kinds through pictures, language and other sounds. But television does not listen, respond, or acknowledge a particular viewer." (Mackay and Simo, 1976)

Children whose general knowledge, advanced language development and capacity to question enable them to get the maximum out of television programmes themselves, may not need a sympathetic adult to help them make sense of what they see and hear, but this is not the case for all children. Fenn (1976) in describing work on the language development of mentally handicapped children, questions the value of placing them in a "linguistically enriched environment." She recalls her own experience " ... of being sent to Germany as a teenager after a relatively short period of learning German. For three weeks I lived with a family who spoke no English. The children in the family were my own age and lively and talkative, and certainly they provided me with a rich linguistic environment. But at that stage I did not know sufficient German to be able to cope, and I had very little understanding of what was being said. My reaction to the situation was to withdraw, inwardly at least. I disliked intensely the continuous chatter in which I could play no part, and I retreated into my own private inner world

for a substantial part of the time. Two years later, when I really did know some German, I returned, and my linguistic gain was then considerable; but my first visit was neither happy nor profitable." (1976, p84)

For the study children, the discrepancy between the language they have learned from their parents and the language they hear on a television set, is unlikely to result in such a withdrawal, but nevertheless, I believe that there is considerably less likelihood of television and radio programmes positively helping a child's language and cognitive development if he does not talk about what he sees and hears, in order to fit it into his own mental patterns. If he cannot relate what he sees and hears to what is familiar, he will not make much sense of it.

"It is through the experiences gained with adults who take up a tutorial relationship with him that the child is gradually able to gain insight into the other's perspectives. In this relationship the child is continually helped to reflect on what he knows, to reconsider what he has said, to give attention to the essential elements of his experiences and try to put them into a structure. The child needs continual encouragement to make an internal inspection of his own experiences and ideas. The child also needs help if he is to project beyond himself and his own experiences ... it is this continual alternation in dialogue between the inspection of one's own meanings and considering the problems of communication that seems to provide not only the basis from which the child will build knowledge of language and the skills of communication, but also the means of becoming reflective."

(Tough, 1977, p176)

Parents tended to see children as having a clearly defined role, which involved recognition of themselves as an authority to be obeyed, rather than a friend to share things with and question. This attitude, which is shown in responses to a question on scheduled interview B (4.3.8), comes through in the taped interviews as well. e.g.

"Yes friends, but I don't allow him to go out, because there's too much complaints coming up with him, you know, so I don't like it at all."

(Siva's uncle)

"No children must be naughty and then we people must have trouble through children."

Pavanesen's mother

No questions were asked about the parent's ideas on punishment and it is to be hoped that the readiness to resort to corporal punishment that may be seen in two of the transcribed conversations, is not characteristic of the other households:

" ... after that he came up with truth when I started hitting him."

Pavanesen's mother

" ... and her daddy started teasing her 'Oh you failure'. He wanted to hit her and this and that and I said."

Sandra's mother

That there was parental concern for the success of the child at school was demonstrated by the parents who did read to their children, and tried to teach them to write their names before they started school; by those who tried to help with homework or at least checked that it was done. The sadness is that "learning" is seen as something divorced from an enjoyable shared experience. Nowhere was there evidence of the intense satisfaction in doing things with

the child that Margaret Clark found in the parents of her fluent readers (1976), or Moon and Wells found in the parents of their successful readers. (1976) Instead, the rather grim picture hinted at in the scheduled interviews, takes form in the free conversations taped by my students and illustrated in the three cases described. Sandra's father believed in bribing the children to do well. This strategy has been known to work in many households, but there is need for great care in giving external rewards.

"The danger in classroom (as in all) learning is that 'matching' may be set aside in favour of extrinsic motivation, in favour of persuading the learner to engage in the task for some reward outside it if we add to a poor match between task and learner, a classroom situation where the extrinsic rewards are not working well - ... then it is surprising that many children learn anything in school at all."

(Cashdan 1979, p8)

Sandra's mother believed she did "everything" for her children when she tried to teach them Arithmetic "like a school teacher." This apparently failed, perhaps unsurprisingly. Cashdan as above, refers to White's work, which demonstrates this.

"...the best parents seem to be those who do not ape the stereotypic teacher, but those who act as 'consultants' to their children."

Siva's uncle expected the school to put pressure on the boy to study, is unaware of any interests he might have had, despite the fact that Siva helped him with the car and the garden, two "shared activities" that could be immensely satisfying for a child, brushed aside the question of Siva's happiness and disliked him spending time with his friends. Pavanesen was similarly discouraged from contact with most of his friends and he was expected to stay in the house.

"... the rest of his friends are very naughty so we don't let him join his friends now." Perhaps there was a very good reason for Pavanesen to be kept from these particular children, but this is mere surmise. Whatever the truth for Pavanesen, these children are being deprived of the chance to talk to their own contemporaries, who shared experiences at their own level.

"... we habitually use talk as a means of coming to grips with current or recent experience ... As people talk, each is relating the event to his own experience, his own world: creating his own personal context for it." (Britton 1970, p30)

Parents on the whole, did not arrange outings. Pavanesen's mother thought that the children should not be taken out. In a striking example of the split between living and learning in parents' minds, she says:

"We don't take them anywhere visiting. We want them to stay at home and learn."

The twelve-year old daughter, who fought with Pavanesen about his lack of interest in school work had a very limited geographical horizon, if her mother is to be believed:

"She don't know how to get into town - she's twelve years - she just sit, no way she know how to go. She just know at school and she comes back home and learn, and go to the shop. That's all."

Pavanesen's mother

The schedules show that few children were taken by their parents to see films or watch sports matches. Rather more children accompanied their parents to religious meetings. Regrettably no other questions were asked about family expeditions so it is not known just how house-bound the other children in the study were. Judging from the frequency of visits from friends and relations, presumably reciprocal calls are a

common feature of family life, but it is apparent that watching television and video-tapes absorbs a large part of leisure time.

There is no doubt that the public transport system does not make it easy for people to go to public entertainments or to arrange picnics and outings to places of interest. South Africans generally need cars, and rather fewer than 50% of the study children's families owned one. This does not mean that the rest had no possibility of the use of a car, since friends, neighbours and relations can be very helpful. In the case of Pavanesen's family which had no car, an aunt came to visit in hers. What is curious here, is the comment that the aunt took the family for drives, and yet the mother did not believe in taking the children out. One wonders if the children were quite so ignorant of how to get to various places as their mother believed.

So far, I have focused more on the sociological than the linguistic side of the study children's background, since language cannot be divorced from context and the whole environment is critical in language development.

"The discussion of children's language must never lose sight of the context in which it occurs, not simply the immediate spur to speech and writing, but the life from which language draws its meaning ..."

(Rosen and Rosen, 1973, p40)

Conversely, of course, much of day-to-day life remains obscure to someone not able to make sense of the language he hears.

"An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life."

(Berger and Luckmann, 1972, p66)

The child will not develop his own expressive language to the full unless he meets situations which require the use of language in a variety of ways. " ... it is the meaning which his experiences have for the child which give rise to the use of different forms of language." (Tough, 1973, p26). Equally he will not internalize language which will enable him to meet the requirements of school demands, unless he hears it used in a similar way.

"... the structure of the social system and the structure of the family shape communication and language and ... language shapes thought and cognitive styles of problem-solving. In the deprived family context this means that the nature of the control system which relates parent to child restricts the number and kind of alternatives for action and thought that are opened to the child; such construction precludes a tendency for the child to reflect, to consider and choose among alternatives for speech and action." (Hess and Shipman, 1972, p170).

There is a need for a child to become deliberate about his use of language in order firstly to match his own thinking as closely as possible, and secondly, to expand on it. Dixon (1975, p10) quotes the expression "conceptualize their awareness of language," and something of this is necessary.

That there is a gap between all oral and written language is obvious to anyone who listens to the way in which something is said, rather than the message conveyed, and compared this to the relative precision of written text. This gap can be bridged, however, where the language of books is as normal a part of growing up as listening to people talk is, and a tolerant adult is available to help the child make sense of unfamiliar language.

" ... the standard language often has advantages for educational purposes. ... The argument that reading material provided for children should be

nearer to 'oral speech written down' is a fair one.
... The answer, however, is not to get closer to
the child's speech, but to help him to see why written
language is not the same as his own speech ..."
(Cashdan, 1979, p6).

That the language the study children hear at home is a distance
from "school" language, in practice may be less significant
than their awareness of language as a tool, and an understanding
that it can be used in different ways, and indeed, is in books
they will meet.

Dombey (1983, p26) describes an exchange between mother and
daughter which goes on as the mother reads the story of
Little Red Hen to the three-year old Anna.

"Both speakers are inter-weaving the language of
informal conversation with the language of a certain
kind of written narrative. Through the contrasts
and connections between the two kinds of language
Anna is being initiated into a new variety of
language which differs in many respects from that
of informal conversation."

Similarly, Fox mentions a study by Applebee demonstrating that
"some story conventions are learned by young children before
they go to school." She says, further " ... it is possible
that some of these children will have the beginnings of
literary competences as part of their narrative competence
well before they become independent readers and writers ...
some children (may) start school ready to read not merely
letters and words for books, but books and texts for life."
(1983, p13)

This readiness to help close the language gap is what the
parents of these children lack. Where there is no conscious-
ness of what language can do, it inevitably becomes accepted
as something that just is. In that case, no effort is likely
to be made to explore its possibilities or sharpen its use.

Children will simply acquire the language of their parents or those they hear around them, and may avoid the effort required to make sense of deviations from such language.

It should not be forgotten that these children are not the only ones in their families, and the question must be asked why they need help when brothers and sisters appear to be able to manage? Sandra is an obvious example, if her mother's description of her sister's success is accurate. The answer lies in factors which cannot be explored here, but of course no two children are either identical or grow up in identical circumstances even within the same family. A study of personalities of children with learning difficulties might be revealing. The fact remains, that for the study children the home language environment has not combined favourably with other personal qualities, or classroom teaching to ensure school success. It is not a question of material deprivation, or even necessarily of lack of concern for the child's progress. What is needful is a better understanding that the home is as responsible for the child's "learning" as the school. This cannot be escaped. The only way that children will be given a better chance to succeed at school is by someone helping the parents to discover pleasure in sharing activities with their children, deliberately exploring subjects of mutual interest in talk and reference to books, and in naturally demonstrating that reading and writing are vital and exciting parts of life. Suggesting that parents take their children to the library and encourage them to watch television, are unlikely of themselves to bring about a dramatic change, and parents who seize upon such ideas as the solution, are likely to be disillusioned.

Teachers have an enormously important part to play in opening up to children the joys afforded by literacy. They may not be able to influence many parents of the children they teach, but they have both the opportunity and the responsibility of making reading and writing indispensable to the children

both as tools of learning and as avenues of pleasure. This study has shown that truancy is not a major problem, that the children generally accept school, and that parents have regard for the teachers and what they do. These are very positive assets, which need to be exploited while they exist.

Edwards (1979, p101) refers to the reaction to school of Black Children in America. He explains this as partly caused by language clashes.

"Generally the reaction of many BEV (Black English Vernacular) - speaking children towards school is one of indifference or antagonism. This is of course an issue which goes beyond linguistic attitudes alone, but it is nevertheless one in which language plays a part."

This study has also shown that the educational level of the parents is not very high. One of the reasons for this must lie in the lack of compulsory education when they were children but it is not possible to say to what extent the parents would have exploited the possibilities of school education had they been compelled to attend. I had hoped to draw some comparisons between this group of children and a group of white children chosen by means of the same criteria, and it would have been very interesting to see the relationship between the educational level of the two sets of parents, since for the white ones school was compulsory.

The difficulties of collecting data myself, which the Natal Education Department required, not only frustrated this discovery, but balked the possibility of throwing light on what is a very important subject. It appears that some white children with severe reading difficulties come from language backgrounds which easily meet the requirements of school learning, but how many children this applies to and the sources of their problems remains conjecture. In

1969 the committee of the Murray Report was faced with the problem of identifying different groups of children with reading difficulties and since then the issue has not been resolved.

At present children who do not have language difficulties are not obvious among those referred to the remedial teachers in the Indian Schools for help in reading, and many of the remedial teachers expect to work with a child on language as a whole, rather than on reading in isolation. This research supports this bias, and the validity of teaching language in the widest sense. It may be that the Indian Schools should be encouraged to set aside time and facilities specifically for such activities as are found in a good pre-primary school devoted to all round language and cognitive growth rather than limit themselves to the idea of "remediation", a word with questionable appropriateness (Gurney, 1976, pp11-12). In at least two school in the Natal Education Department, enterprising remedial teachers with flexible school principals and co-operative colleagues are experimenting with language groups where the usual system of withdrawing children from their "normal" classrooms for regular but comparatively few lessons during the week, has been found inadequate. From both schools come reports of encouraging results, but greater time is needed to show the true value of this procedure.

An interesting speculation is why children with reading difficulties but not generalised language difficulties are not being identified in Indian schools. The two obvious possibilities are that they are there but not recognised, or that they simply do not exist. If this latter is the truth then all sorts of thinking needs to be done about the role of the remedial teacher and the most suitable services which should be set up in the schools. Teachers at all levels, but very particularly in the junior primary classes, need increased awareness of the language backgrounds of their pupils. They need to think out carefully how best they can enthuse each child with an understanding of the personal

growth and satisfaction they can derive through coming to grips with the endless possibilities of living opened up by a mastery of language.

I set out not to break radically new ground but to make available to local remedial teachers data which might stimulate them anew to think carefully about their role in the particular circumstances in which they work.

Secondly I sought to throw light on the local applicability of some of the findings on children's language elsewhere in the world. As expected some similarities are present, but there are differences too.

An interesting side issue has come to light in gathering data about the study children. Two methods were used: gaining limited responses to questions on structured interviews and a questionnaire, and tape-recording language of the adults who supposedly were the most significant in the lives of the children. Of the two, both proved to have value, but the second interviews demonstrated the limitations of the first. This was not only because they showed that the data already collected was no longer accurate, if it ever had been, but also because they gave pictures of living families, and served as a reminder that there were more factors behind the realities of the children's lives than could be hinted at by specific questions, however wide an area they covered. It is certainly easier to read a response indicating that a child has no mother than to venture to the home and discover that indeed there is one, sadly ineffective but none the less real and concerned. One thinks of David Copperfield. Had this item been marked correctly, a cross indicating the existence of mother, would not have supplied the information that other relatives were dominant in a household, and might have considerable influence on the upbringing and behaviour of a child.

It is extremely time-consuming to collect and attempt to order a mass of unstructured data, but in attempting to find out the truth about human beings, it is clearly unwise to neglect this type of research.

Every man is, in certain respects
like all other men,
like some other men,
like no other man.

(Kluckholm and Murray, quoted by
van Zijl, 1979)

EPILOGUE

a. Introduction

Researchers who explore the area of language can reach only tentative conclusions at the best of times. Human beings are so highly complex that it would be unwise to believe that answers apparently true at some specified time and place, are final and unquestionable. This project has done no more than look at some of the factors which are a part of the background of a few children who have particular difficulties at school, and inevitably it leaves much unresolved. While I am satisfied with the interpretation of the data I had available, it may be worth looking at alternative ways of collecting data and using what has been found.

b. The Bristol language development study

From 1972 - 1979 the Bristol language development study was in progress (Wells et al, 1981). It involved a carefully chosen sample of Bristol children from fifteen months to the age of ten years. At first in the home and later in school, the speech of each child and the sounds that were loud enough for him to hear, were recorded by the use of radio microphones. It may be assumed that the amount of data collected was immense, and it is not surprising to learn that three books are to be published in 1985 as a result of this research. (The Sunday Times, 18 November, 1984). In addition, a number of papers have already been published.

Clearly, far more can emerge from such a major project, using modern technology, a team of researchers, and a sample which included children from a variety of backgrounds, than from my research, but a general finding of the Bristol team, that differences in language development were influenced by the quality of their talk with adults, does not contradict mine.

It was, nevertheless, regrettable that my project was limited to a relatively uniform sample of children, and it would have gained from the inclusion of other groups. An obvious comparison with a sample of white children with similar difficulties and help, had originally been planned, but not encouraged by the Natal Education Department. It would be useful too, to compare this group with children who were scholastically successful. The question of the critical factors which determined Sandra's difficulties but her sister's reported success, is pertinent here.

c. Recording of data

As previously mentioned, the use of scheduled interviews and questionnaires, with limited possibilities for response, fails to give an accurate picture of the families involved, and the addition of taped unstructured interviews helped considerably to bring life and reality to my picture of the homes of the study children. It is possible that video tapes of the interviews might have given valuable additional information, both of the para-linguistic features of the adults' speech, and of the home itself, but a question mark hangs over this. The Bristol team used video-recorders in the classrooms and were surprised at the readiness of the children to ignore them. Teachers, however, were felt to be less easy. Infant classrooms were rather different from homes and here video machines were not used. People are not accustomed to video machines, and would be unlikely to adapt to them in one session. They involve operators, and these are an added intrusion, likely to increase the artificiality of the situation. It can only be supposed that the families would have agreed as readily to video recorders as they did to tape recorders, which are a far more familiar sight. If reasonably unobtrusive, tape recorders may even be forgotten about, but the effect of any recording machines is a variable which can only be subjectively assessed. It should not be overlooked.

A great deal of research on children's oral language has been carried out with the aid of tape recorders. Clem Adelman in the Introduction of Uttering, Muttering (1981, p5) lists nine research perspectives, from which samples of language have been analysed. The difficulties of obtaining intelligible and representative samples of speech depend partly on the objective of the researchers, but almost invariably a great deal of time is involved in analysis.

It would have been valuable to record the speech of the study children, in order to discover the extent to which they participated in lessons in both the "ordinary" and "remedial" classrooms, and the differences, if any, between their use of language at home and at school.

d. Ethnomethodological analyses

In educational research, an ethnomethodological approach focuses on observing the interaction in the classroom. Sociologists have to determine whether to be "disinterested observers" or "change-agents" (1977, p22), and there is a link here with "action-research". My project did not attempt to examine the interaction between the child and teachers or child and parents by direct observation. This would have added a great deal to the pictures of the children and possibly thrown more light on the question of why each child was not meeting the expectations of the schools. The amount of time involved in following up each child in different situations and determining the effects of these, is great, however, and belongs to further research.

e. Action research

An obvious concern of some research workers in the field of education, is whether their findings are relevant to the teachers in the classroom. Elliott and Adelman point out that there are conflicting points of view about whether teachers should be involved in research; one being the idea that teachers may not have the objectivity that researchers

strive for. But, they continue, "In ignoring what teachers have to say, researchers break the thread which connects theory to practice". (1975, p29) Elliot and Adelman believed that teachers' accounts could be objective, as well as relevant to the classroom, and they designed the Ford Teaching Project with teachers as central participants. A check was provided by a triangular system, in which the pupils made up the third element. This project was described as "a piece of action research". Elsewhere (1984), Adelman defined action research as "a means of systematic enquiry through intervention into what are usually complex problems." In effect, the work can not be described as "pure research", since its objective is to change the status quo, not describe it.

There is always the possibility that any research will have some influence on the people involved, and one would wish that this were a positive influence, promoting reflection which leads to more considered behaviour. I had no intention of influencing the parents of the children in my study, and I would think it unlikely that they would have changed their behaviour towards their children. The possibility of influencing the remedial teachers who collected data, was limited to the idea that they might see value in collecting reasonably detailed data about the language backgrounds of the children they taught, and perhaps probe more deeply in future. Some of them, indeed, explained their readiness to help as stemming from the interest they had in the data they would gather. This was, however, a very different situation from that set up by Elliot and Adelman. My project was mainly concerned with discovering the status quo.

Work which fell into the category of "action research" would be very welcome indeed, if it helped parents and teachers to see how best they could assist the children to develop a real interest in learning, and give them the background support they need. That clearly requires the whole-hearted co-operation of the participants and their recognition of a need. It may be too late in the day for a relevant difference to be made in the scholastic success of most of the study children, but

possibly siblings or children in other families could benefit from such a project, involving parents and teachers of children felt to be in difficulties in their first year of school.

It is worth reiterating that research into the language of children in the South African Indian community needs to be mounted on a far wider scale than has been possible here.

SCHEDULED INTERVIEW A

SECTION A1

Column headings:

- a. Number of persons in the household
- b. Father's age
- c. Mother's age
- d. Siblings: B = brother, S = sister, FB = foster brother,
FS = foster sister, SB = stepbrother
- e. Grandfather's age
- f. Grandmother's age
- g. Other relatives in the household: U = uncle, A = aunt, C = cousin,
Sil = sister-in-law, Bil = brother-in-law, FU = foster uncl
FB = foster brother, FS = foster sister, Nep = nephew,
Nei = neice, FF = foster father, FM = foster mother
- h. Others in the household. (There were none)
- i. Family income per head : i.e. $\frac{\text{family income (A2, 2)}}{\text{number in household (A1, a)}}$
- j. Mother's occupation: H = housewife, W = employed outside the home.
- k. Total number of years of post school education of all members of the household.
- l. Highest school standard of parents and other members of household:
F = father, M = mother, G = grandmother, U = uncle, A = aunt,
C = cousin, Sil = sister-in-law, SB = stepbrother, ST= step.
- m. Religious group: H = Hindu, M = Moslem, C = Christian.
- n. Cultural/ethnic group: H = Hindi, Te = Telegu, Ta = Tamil,
Ur = Urdu.

SECTION A2

The number of the column refers to the item on the scheduled interview form.

1. Name of child

HOUSEHOLD TO WHICH CHILD BELONGS

(A1) No

3. Members of household

2. Address and
 phone number

nil salary
 pension
 disability grant
 other

Person No	Relation to child	Sex	Age	Contribution to family income	Occupation	Highest School Standard	Years spent in school	Time of post-school education	Religious group	Cultural Ethnic group	Years spent in same house-hold as child
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											
17											
18											
19											
20											

HOUSEHOLD TO WHICH CHILD BELONGS (A2)

No _____

1 Name of child _____

Date _____

2 Total income of household per month _____

3 Is dwelling shared with another household?

yes 1	yes 2	yes > 2	no
01	02	03	04

4 Type of dwelling

house with garden	rooms in a house	1 room in a house	flat in a block	flat in a house	garage	outbuilding	basement	shack
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09

Other (specify) _____

5 Distance from shopping centre

within 10 min safe walk for child	10-30 min safe walk for child	within 10 min walk but child must be accompanied	within 30 min walk but child must be accompanied	too far to walk - easy by bus	too far to walk & difficult by bus	can only be reached by car
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

6 Distance from public library

within 10 min safe walk for child	10-30 min safe walk for child a?one	within 10 min walk but child must be accompanied	within 30 min walk but child must be accompanied	too far to walk - easy by bus	can only be reached by car	don't know
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

7 Is there a television set at home?

yes - colour	yes - black & white	no
01	02	03

8 Is there a radio at home?

yes	no
01	02

9. Is there an English newspaper at home?

yes daily	yes once a week	sometimes	very rarely	never
01	02	03	04	05

10. Are the following to be found at home?

magazines (a)	1-10 books (b)	> 10 books (c)	(a) + (b)	(a) + (c)
01	02	03	04	05

11. If there are books at home, what are they?

1 + religious books	1-10 dictionary & inform books	> 10 dictionary & inform books	1-10 works of fiction	> 10 works of fiction	< 10 books mixture	> 10 books mixture
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

12. Are the following to be found at home?

tape recorder	record player	telephone	none of these	combination
01	02	03	04	

13. Family meals

family has most meals together	family has some meals together; not regularly	people usually eat at different times
01	02	03

14. Transport

one household car	> one car	no household car
01	02	03

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULTS WHO HAVE MOST SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE ON CHILD (B)

No _____

1 Name of child _____

Date _____

2 Name of adult _____

3 Adult's number on household list _____

4 Do you attend religious meetings?

several times a week	once a week	1-3 times a month	occasionally	only on special occasions	never
01	02	03	04	05	06

5 If you attend religious meetings does the child go with you?

always	usually	sometimes	rarely	never
01	02	03	04	05

6 Do you take part in traditional religious ceremonies?

often	occasionally	rarely	never
01	02	03	04

7 What language(s) is/are used at religious meetings by the priest or minister?

English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Urdu	Gujerati	Afrikaans	Combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

Other (specify) _____

8 Language(s) you usually speak to the child

English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Urdu	Gujerati	Afrikaans	Combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

9 Language(s) you usually speak to other members of household

English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Urdu	Gujerati	Afrikaans	Zulu	Combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	

Other (specify) _____

10 Other languages you speak e.g. to occasional visitors, tradesmen etc

English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Urdu	Gujerati	Afrikaans	Zulu	Combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	

Other (specify) _____

11 What do you read at home?

religious books	religious pamphlets & magazines	other magazines	newspaper articles	newspaper adverts	mailed adverts	household/personal books	library books	information books	recipes
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

nothing	all items 01-10	items 03-10	unable to read	combination
11	12	13	14	

12 Do you talk to the child about what you have read?

no	yes - newspaper articles	yes - mailed advertisements	yes religious works	yes books for relaxation	yes magazine articles	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	

Other (Specify) _____

If the answer to 12 is yes, go on to 13; otherwise 14

13 What newspaper items do you particularly talk about to the child?

only the headlines	news stories	sport	personal stories	comics	adverts	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	

Other (Specify) _____

14 Do you bring books home from a library?

no	yes several times a week	yes once a week	yes 2-3 times a month	yes rarely
01	02	03	04	05

15 How much time do you spend reading at home from Monday - Friday?

none	0-29 min	30-59 min	60-89 min	90-119 min	> 2 hours
01	02	03	04	05	06

16 How much time do you spend reading on Saturday & Sunday together?

none	0-29 min	30-59 min	60-89 min	90-119 min	> 2 hours
01	02	03	04	05	06

17 Did you read anything to the child before he started school?

no	yes story books	yes religious texts	yes nursery rhymes	yes (a) + (b)	yes (a) + (c)	yes (b) + (c)	yes a variety
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

Other (specify) _____

18 Do you read to the child now?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04

19 Do you listen to radio programmes at home?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04

↓
23

if yes
↓
29

20 What programmes do you listen to?

Eng pop songs	Eng news & chat shows	English sports	Eng plays	English quizzes	Indian programmes in Eng	Afrikaans programmes	African lang programmes	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	

Other (specify) _____

21 Do you listen to any radio programmes with the child?

no	yes	often	yes	sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06

22 Do you talk to the child about what is in any radio programmes ?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely	only if child asks	combination
01	02	03	04	05	

23 Is there a television set switched on?

never	all the time programmes are broadcast	all the time English is used	most of the time programmes are broadcast	only for particular English programmes	only for particular programmes in any language
01	02	03	04	05	06

24 How much television do you watch?

none	don't know	0-60 min a day	61-120 min a day	121-180 min a day	> 3 hours
01	02	03	04	05	06

25 Do you talk about what is in the television programmes with the child?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely	yes if child asks	combination
01	02	03	04	05	

26 Do you spend time talking to the child?

no not specially	yes to give instructions	yes to reprimand him	yes about school work	yes about many subjects
01	02	03	04	05

27 Do friends & relations visit the home?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04

↓
29

if yes
↓
28

28 When visitors come, how does the child usually behave?

plays with visiting children	disappears alone	disappears with other friends	sits silently with you	joins in general talk
01	02	03	04	05

Other (specify) _____

29 How do you think children should behave when adults are present?

should talk only when spoken to	should never disagree with parents	should be free to talk when they wish	should be free to give their opinions
01	02	03	04

Other (specify) _____

30 Do you listen to the child reading aloud?

nearly every day	often	sometimes	rarely	no, he never asks me to	no, I have no time	no, I'm not interested
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

31 Do you help the child with his homework?

most days	often	sometimes	only if he asks me	no, he never asks me	no, I have no time	no, I'm not interested
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

32 What writing do you do at home?

can't write	none	filling in forms	short notes phone mess	shopping lists	business letters	letters to friends	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

Other (specify) _____

33 Did you try to teach the child to write his/her name before he/she started school?

no	yes unsuccessfully	yes successfully
01	02	03

34 Before the child started school, did you tell him anything about it?

no	school would teach him to behave well	teachers would teach him to read & write	he must do everything he was told	teachers were nice & would help him to understand	school was fun & he would enjoy it	he must work hard & do well	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

35 Does the child have conversations on the telephone?

no	yes on the home phone	yes on the neighbour's phone	yes on the public phone
01	02	03	04

36 Does the child play tapes &/or records of his own choice?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04

37 Do you, other relatives or friends accompany the child to the cinema to see English language films?

yes > once a week	yes once a week	yes 1-3 times a month	occasionally	rarely	never.
01	02	03	04	05	06

38 Do you, other relatives or friends accompany the child to the cinema to see films in an Indian language?

no	yes > once a week	yes once a week	yes 1-3 times a month	occasionally	rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06

39 Does the child go to see English language films alone?

no	yes > once a week	yes once a week	yes 1-3 times a week	occasionally	rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06

40 Does the child go on his own to see films in an Indian language?

no	yes > once a week	yes once a week	yes 1-3 times a month	occasionally	rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06

41 Does the child go to watch sports' matches?

never	often alone	sometimes alone	often with friends	sometimes with friends	often with you or other relatives	sometimes with you or other relatives	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REMEDIAL TEACHER (C)

No. _____

1 Name _____ 2 Sex _____ Date _____

3 Teaching qualifications _____

4 Total teaching experience

3 years	4-5 years	6-10 years	10-20 years	> 20 years
01	02	03	04	05

5 Child's name _____ 6 Child's school _____

7 Has the child any friends?

many	some	one or two special friends	rarely seen with anyone
01	02	03	04

8 Child's current behaviour with class teacher. Is (s)he

disruptive & reluctant to work	completely uninterested & listless	passive but attempts to do as he is asked	co-operative but not managing	co-operative & managing	Keen and doing well
01	02	03	04	05	06

9 Does the class teacher see a change in the child's behaviour since he has been having help ?

yes he fits into the class better	yes he is more disruptive	yes he has become more withdrawn	no change
01	02	03	04

10 Does the class teacher see a change in the child's language work?

yes it is much better all round	there is some general improvement	there is improvement in reading only	there is very little change	there is no improvement
01	02	03	04	05

11 Child's behaviour with you. Does/Is (s)he

cling to you whenever possible	respond without much enthusiasm	Keen, co-operative and outgoing	friendly but quiet	reluctant to attempt anything alone	disruptive & distractable
01	02	03	04	05	06

12 Child's reaction to the lessons you prepare

is keenly interested	shows some interest	has little interest	has no interest
01	02	03	04

13 Does the child have a problem in Maths as well as English?

yes severe	yes marked	yes slight	no
01	02	03	04

14 Child's general appearance

often dirty and untidy	sometimes dirty and untidy	poorly dressed but clean	usually clean and neat	always clean and neat
01	02	03	04	05

15 Child's attendance at lessons

very prompt & regular	usually prompt & regular	often has to be called	usually has to be called	always has to be called
01	02	03	04	05

16 Does child come to your room & read books in his/her free time e.g. lunch break?

never	very rarely	occasionally	often
01	02	03	04

17 Does the child offer to recite to you something learned in the classroom

often	sometimes	rarely	never
01	02	03	04

18 Does the child chatter about events at home?

never	rarely	reluctantly when prompted	freely when prompted	sometimes	often
01	02	03	04	05	06

19 Does the child talk about TV or radio programmes?

often	sometimes	rarely	never	reluctantly when prompted	freely when prompted
01	02	03	04	05	06

20 Does child talk about school & classroom events?

often	sometimes	rarely	never	reluctantly when prompted	freely when prompted
01	02	03	04	05	06

21 Does child ask you for help with classroom difficulties?

often	sometimes	rarely	never	reluctantly when prompted	freely when prompted
01	02	03	04	05	06

22 What is your feeling about the child's reading difficulties?

he does not like you so doesn't try	the idea of reading frightens him	he sees no purpose in reading	it is predominantly a language problem	parents are expecting too much	conditions at home do not help
01	02	03	04	05	06

you cannot see any reason	combination
09	

Other (specify) _____

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILD (D)

No _____

1 Name of child _____ Date _____

2 Address _____ Phone no _____

_____ 3 Sex _____

4 Present school _____ 5 Std _____ 6 Date of Birth _____ 7 C.A. _____

8 Physical health. Are there obvious defects of

hearing	vision	speech	gross motor control	fine motor control	nil	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	

9 Have the defects been corrected?

yes	no	partially
01	02	03

Give details _____

10 Has the child often been absent from school since Jan 1982?

yes own ill-health	yes parent's ill-health	yes other relatives' ill-health	yes truancy	no
01	02	03	04	05

11 Has the child missed school since Jan 1982 because of a major illness, accident or operation, or because the family has moved?

no	yes missed 1-2 weeks	yes missed 3-4 weeks	yes missed 1 month - 1 term	yes missed 1 term - 6 months	yes missed > 6 months
01	02	03	04	05	06

12 Attendance at school this year; days missed

no day	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	> 25
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

13 Did the child go to "pre-school"?

yes	no
01	02

14 Date of starting "proper" school _____ 15 Date when remedial lessons started _____

16 Assessed I.Q. V _____ WJ _____ Total _____ Date _____

Name of test _____ Tester _____

17 Number of schools attended since the child entered class i

1	2	3	4	5	> 5
01	02	03	04	05	06

18 Number of years spent in each class - use code: 1 year = 01, 2 year = 02 etc

cl i	cl ii	std 1	std 2	std 3	std 4	std 5	special class	special school

19 Total number of years at school

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09

20 Number of class teachers the child has had in class i & class ii

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	> 8
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09

21 Number of unqualified teachers (i.e. no diploma or degree) in class i & ii

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	> 8
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

22 Number of teachers since class ii

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	> 8
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

23 Attendance at vernacular classes after school

none	regularly once a week	regularly twice a week	> twice a week
01	02	03	04

24 Language of vernacular classes after school

Hindi	Tamil	Telegu	Urdu	Gujerati	Arabic
01	02	03	04	05	06

Other (specify) _____

25 Languages spoken at home

English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Gujerati	Urdu	Mormon	Afrikaans	Zulu	Combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	

Other (specify) _____

26 Approach used for the teaching of reading in class

Breakthrough to Literacy	use of graded readers
01	02

Other (specify) _____

27 Access to school library/ resource centre

there is no facility	child does not have access to facility	books may be borrowed once a week	books may be borrowed 2-4 times a week	books may be borrowed every day
01	02	03	04	05

28 Access to class library

there is no class library	books may be borrowed every day	books may be borrowed once a week	books may be borrowed twice a week	books may be borrowed 3-4 times a week
01	02	03	04	05

29 Books may be taken home

yes	no
01	02

30 Does the child borrow books from school?

never	rarely	sometimes	often	just started to
01	02	03	04	05

31 Does the child borrow books from a public library?

no	yes once a week	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely
01	02	03	04	05

32 What time does the child usually go to bed during the week?

18h00-19h00	19h01-20h00	21h01-22h00	22h01-23h00	> 23h00	anytime
01	02	03	04	05	06

33 Does the child share a sleeping room?

no	yes with 1 other	yes with 2 others	yes with 3 others	yes with 4 others	yes with > 4 others
01	02	03	04	05	06

34 Does the child have somewhere undisturbed to study?

never	rarely	sometimes	usually	always
01	02	03	04	05

35 Does the child have a particular time set aside to study at home?

yes	no
01	02

36 Does anyone regularly help the child with his/her homework?

no-one	parent	other relative	other member of household	a friend
01	02	03	04	05

37 Does anyone check that the child does his/her homework?

no-one	parent	other relative	other member of household	a friend
01	02	03	04	05

38 Does anyone at home listen to the child reading aloud?

no-one	parent	other relative	other member of household	a friend
01	02	03	04	05

39 Has the child any books of his/her own?

no	yes 1-10	yes > 10
01	02	03

40 Has the child ever been given a book as a present?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely	yes once
01	02	03	04	05

41 Does the child ever talk to anyone outside school about a book or story he/she or someone else has read?

no	yes often	yes sometimes	yes rarely	yes once
01	02	03	04	05

42 What radio programmes does the child listen to?

none	Eng news	English in-terviews	English sport	Eng pop music	English quizzes	Eng plays	Afrikaans programmes	Zulu programmes	English language progs for Indians	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	

Other (specify) _____

43 Does the child talk about any of these programmes at home?

no	yes often	sometimes	rarely
01	02	03	04

44 Does the child listen to tapes and records at home?

no	yes often	sometimes	rarely
01	02	03	04

45 Does the child watch television?

no, not at all	very rarely	sometimes	often
01	02	03	04

If no → 49

If yes → 46

46 When does he/she watch?

every possible moment	only certain programmes which parents choose	only programmes which you choose	for a certain set time, whatever is on
01	02	03	04

47 What programmes does the child watch?

Eng news	English serials	Eng plays and films	Eng quizzes/ interviews	English sport	Afrikaans programmes	African language programmes	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

Other (specify) _____

48 Does the child talk about the programmes at home?

no	yes rarely	sometimes	often
01	02	03	04

49 What does the child read at home?

nothing	news-paper	magazines	school work	library book	recipes	adverts	phone book	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	

50 Is anyone at home when the child comes back from school?

no-one	mother nearly always	mother some-times	father nearly always	father some-times	other relative nearly always	other relative sometimes	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	

51 Does the household have breakfast as a group sitting together?

never	sometimes during the week	usually during the week	sometimes on Sundays	always on Sundays	everyday	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	

52 Does the household have the evening meal as a group sitting together?

never	sometimes during the week	usually during the week	sometimes on Sat &/or Sun	usually on Sat &/or Sun	everyday
01	02	03	04	05	06

53 Does the child watch videos in the English language?

never	yes once a week	yes > once a week	yes 2-3 times a month	yes once a month	occasionally	rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

54 Does the child see videos in an Indian language?

never	yes once a week	yes > once a week	yes 2-3 times a month	yes once a month	occasionally	rarely
01	02	03	04	05	06	07

55 Does he/she talk about what is in these films to someone at home?

yes always	usually	sometimes	rarely	never
01	02	03	04	05

56 Before the child started school what did he/she expect?

school would be fun	school would be hard work	idea of school frightened him	teachers would be nice & help you	teachers were there to see work was done	teachers were there for him to talk to	teachers were there to be obeyed	he had no idea	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	

57 Does the child enjoy school now?

yes he likes being with his friends	yes he likes the lessons	yes he likes most of the teachers	no he can't do the work	no he doesn't like most of the teachers	no he'd rather be at home	combination
01	02	03	04	05	06	

Other (specify) _____

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2A	14	F	11	50	39	1B	3S	-	-	1Nep U,A	-	132,7	H	-	F7	M6	H	H	1460	01	01	02	05	01	01	01	01	04	01	02	03	02	01	
3A	14	F	16	49	38	1B	4S	70	62	U,A 4C	-	90,0	H	-	F4	M7	H	Ta	1440	02	01	02	05	02	01	01	-	07	01	02	03	02	03	
4B	9	M	4	36	28	-	1S	-	-	-	-	62,5	H	-	F7	M4	M	-	250	03	01	01	04	01	01	01	01	06	01	02	03	03	01	
6B	10	M	3	-	-	-	-	-	70	U	-	33,3	-	-	U6	G0	H	-	100	01	01	01	01	03	01	05	01	06	01	02	03	02	01	
7B	9	M	9	45	42	3B	3S	-	-	-	-	38,8	H	-	F7	M6	H	-	350	01	07	01	01	01	01	01	01	06	-	-	03	02	03	
8C	12	F	5	-	39	-	2S	-	-	1Bi1	-	59,3	H	-	-	M3	C	-	296	01	01	01	05	02	01	01	-	01	-	02	03	02	03	
9C	9	M	6	63	34	1B	2S	-	-	-	-	46,3	H	-	Fclii	Mcli	C	-	278	01	01	01	04	02	02	05	-	04	-	-	-	02	03	
10C	12	F	5	40	36	2B	-	-	-	-	-	120,0	H	-	F6	M4	C	-	600	04	01	01	05	01	01	02	-	06	01	02	03	01	03	
12D	11	M	5	42	37	-	2S	-	-	-	-	118,0	H	-	F6	M3	H	Ta	590	04	07	03	04	02	01	03	-	-	01	-	-	02	01	
13D	11	M	5	45	35	1B	1S	-	-	-	-	120,0	W	-	F5	M7	MC	-	600	01	02	01	04	02	01	-	-	-	-	02	03	02	01	
14D	11	M	4	45	40	-	1S	-	-	-	-	150,0	H	-	F10	M3	H	TA	600	04	01	01	02	01	01	02	-	05	-	02	-	01	03	
15D	14	M	6	43	36	3B	-	-	-	-	-	62,6	H	-	F5	M0	H	FTa MH	376	04	01	01	07	02	02	02	-	-	01	-	-	02	03	
16D	11	M	7	FF	FM	1FB	1FS	-	-	FU	-	110,7	H	-	FF3	FMCLii	H	Ta	775	04	01	01	06	02	01	01	-	01	01	02	03	02	03	
17D	9	F	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	A2U 3C	-	100,0	-	2C 5Yr	C10 C10 C10	U6 U7 A4	H	Ta	800	04	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	07	01	02	03	01	01	
19E	11	M	6	36	36	2B	1S	-	-	-	-	166,6	H	-	F8	M0	H	Ta	1000	04	02	01	04	01	02	01	-	-	-	-	-	01	01	
23F	12	M	6	43	40	0	2S	-	-	U	-	74,3	W	-	F6	M2	H	Ta	446	04	01	01	03	02	01	01	-	-	-	-	-	01	03	
24F	10	F	14	-	46	4B	1FS 2S	-	75	1Si1 1Nei 1Nep	-	19,2	H	-	-	M0	H	Ta	270	04	01	02	04	02	01	04	-	-	-	-	03	02	03	
29G	13	M	7	38	32	3B	1S	-	-	-	-	28,5	W	-	F6	M6	C	Ta	200	04	02	02	07	03	01	02	01	01	-	-	-	01	03	
30G	13	M	6	40	36	2B	-	-	75	-	-	63,3	H	-	F6	M0	H	Ta	380	04	02	01	02	03	01	01	-	04	-	02	-	02	03	
31G	14	F	5	-	55	2B	1S	-	-	-	-	90,0	H	-	-	Mclii	C	-	450	04	02	02	02	02	01	01	-	04	01	02	-	02	01	
32G	12	F	9	36	34	2B	2S	-	-	1A 1C	-	58,8	H	-	F6	M0	H	H	530	01	02	01	02	01	01	02	-	04	01	-	03	02	03	
33G	11	M	14	-	56	3B	2S	-	-	1Si1 3Nei 3Nep	-	28,5	H	-	-	M0	H	-	400	03	02	02	04	03	01	02	01	04	01	-	03	02	03	
34H	13	M	7	41	35	2B	2S	-	-	-	-	42,8	H	-	F5	M1	H	Ta	300	04	01	01	05	02	01	03	01	06	01	-	03	02	01	
36H	10	M	4	38	37	-	-	-	62	-	-	118,7	H	-	F6	M3	M	-	475	04	04	01	05	02	01	05	-	-	01	02	03	02	01	

3A	2	04	03	03	Ta	E	ETa	ETa	10 01,13	02	02	01	06	01	02	04	03	04,06	01	04	02
4B	-	05	03	01	U	E	EU	U	01,03- 05,10	02,06	01,02	01	06	01	02	01	02	02,06	01	01	05
6B	-	04	03	02	Ta	ETa	ETa	ETa	14	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	03	06	01	01	01
7B	-	02	02	02	Ta	E	E	ETa	03-08	01	-	01	06	01	02	01	02	06	01	01	05
8C	1	01	02	02	E	E	E	ETe	01,05	02	01	01	03	02	02	03	03	02,06	05	03	04
9C	1	02	02	04	E	E	E	ETa	01,08	04	-	01	06	02	01	03	01	-	-	-	04
10C	2	05	04	03	E	E	E	EH	01,04,10	01	-	01	06	01	01	01	04	02	01	01	05
12D	1	06	-	03	-	E	E	ETa	04-06	01	-	01	02	01	01	01	03	06	01	01	06
13D	1	05	05	02	E	E	ETa	E	04-06, 09	01	-	01	05	03	01	01	01	-	-	-	03
14D	1	05	01	02	Ta	E	E	ETa Te	05,06, 08	05	-	01	01	02	01	01	02	01,02 04,06	05	01	02
15D	1	06	-	02	-	E	E	EH	14	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	-	-	06
16D	1	01	03	01	Ta	ETa	ETa	ETa	01	02,04	02	01	03	03	-	03	04	02,06	01	04	03
17D	1	05	03	02	ETa	E	E	ETa TeHZ HZ	04-06 02-06 09,10	02,03 02,04 05	02,04 06	01	06	04	02	03	04	06	01	05	06
19E	1	06	-	01	E	E	E	E	03-05 07,09	01	-	01	01	01	04	01	01	-	-	-	06
23F	2	05	02	03	TaTe H	E	E	E	04,05 06	02	02,03 04	01	04	03	01	01	04	06	01	01	04
24F	1	04	02	01	Ta	Ta	Ta	E	14	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	03	06	01	01	02
29G	2	02	05	01	E	E	E	E	01	01	-	01	02	01	02	04	01	-	-	-	01
30G	1	05	03	01	Ta	ETa	ETa	ETa	11	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	03	06	05	03	01
31G	1	02	01	01	E	ETa	ETa	ETa	11	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	02	06	03	03	06
32G	1	06	05	01	-	E	EH	EH	03,04	02	02	01	02	02	01	03	03	06	01	03	04
33G	1	06	05	01	-	H	H	H	11	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	04	-	01	01	01
34H	1	04	02	02	ETa	E	E	EZ	03,04	01	-	01	01	01	01	01	02	01,06	02	01	04
36H	1	04	01	01	EU	EU	U	EZ	01	04	-	01	02	03	01	04	02	06	01	01	03
39I	1	01	03	02	U	E	E	E	01	01	-	01	03	04	01	01	01	-	01	01	05
40J	4	04	03	02	G	EG	EG	EG	01-05 07,09 10	04,05	02,05	01	04	04	02	03	03	03	01	03	02
41J	1	06	-	-	-	E	E	ETaZ	14	-	-	01	01	01	01	01	02	01-08	03	01	02
42J	2	03	05	02	Ta	E	ETa	EZ	01-04 05,10	02,06	02	01	06	02	08	01	03	02,06	05	03	02

3A	03	04	05	02	01	03	06	06	03,04	02	03	02	03	03	04	01	01	01
4B	03	01	01	02	01	01	03	03	05	03	02,03, 04,05, 07	02	02	06	01	01	01	01
6B	01	01	01	03	01	01	05	05	01	01	02,03, 04,05 07	02	02	06	01	01	01	01
7B	03	01	01	02	01	02	03	05	02	01	03,07	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
8C	04	03	05	03	01	03	05	05	02	03	02	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
9C	04	01	05	03	01	01	03	05	01	01	02	01	01	06	01	01	01	01
10C	06	01	04	02	02	01	03	04	05	01	03	01	02	06	01	01	05	01
12D	03	03	03,04	03	01	01	03	05	02	03	07	03	03	06	06	01	01	01
13D	03	01	03,04	02	01	01	06	04	02	03	03,04 05,07	02	02	03	03	01	01	01
14D	04	01	02,04	02	01	01	03	03	04	03	04,06 07	02	01	04	01	01	01	05,07
15D	03	01	02,03 04	03	02	02,03	05	05	01	01	03,07	01	02	06	01	01	01	01
16D	03	05	03,04	02	01	-	01	06	04	-	-	02	04	06	01	01	01	01
17D	03	03, 05	03,04 05	02	01	04	01	01	03,04 05	-	02,03 04,07	02	04	06	01	01	01	06
19E	03	01	02,03	02	01	01,02	06	03	03,05	02	02,04	01	01	04	01	01	01	06
23F	02	01	02,03 04	02	03	01,02	06	06	02	01	-	01	01	06	01	01	01	04
24F	06	03	01	02	01	01	06	06	01	01	03,04	02	03	-	-	-	-	04
29G	04	01	02	02	02	01	04	01	03	03	02	03	01	06	01	06	01	04
30G	03	01	04	04	01	01	05	05	02	01	02	03	03	06	01	05	01	03,05
31G	03	01	03,05	02	05	03	03	05	02	01	03	04	02	06	06	03	01	01
32G	06	01	04	03	02	01	04	03	05	03	07	02	02	05	01	01	01	07
33G	01	01	02	01	-	01	05	05	01	01	01	02	03	06	01	06	01	01
34H	04	03	05	02	01,05	01	05	05	02	01	03,05	02	01	06	01	01	01	01
36H	04	01	02,04	02	01	02,03	03	03	04,05	03	02-07	02	02	06	01	01	01	01
39I	02	04	04	03	03	01	03	06	05	01	01	02	04	03	01	05	01	05
40J	02	03	05	03	01	03	03	03	04,05 07	02	02-06	02	03	02	03	01	01	01
41J	02	01	01,02	03	01	04	05	05	01	01	03	02	02	01	03	01	01	01
42J	02	03	02,04 05	02	01	04	03	02	05	02	06,07	02	03	03	04	01	01	07

46K	02	03	04	03	01	03	02	02	02	02	02,03	01	04	00	01	01	01	01
47K	02	01	01	03	03	01	06	05	02	01	02	02	02	06	01	02	05	04
48K	02	01	01	03	01	01	06	06	02	01	02,03	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
49K	01	01	01	03	01	02	03	03	02	01	03,04	02	02	06	01	01	01	04
50K	02	01	01	03	04	01	06	06	02	01	03	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
51K	02	05	04	03	01	03	03	03	02	02	02,03	01	03	06	01	01	01	01
53L	06	05	05	02	01	04	04	03	04,07	03	07	02	02	06	02	01	01	01
54L	01	01	05	02	02	01	04	06	02	01	07	01	02	06	06	01	01	06
57N	01	01	02	02	01	01	03	01	05	02	06	01	02	06	01	01	01	01
58N	01	01	03	02	05	04	02	01	05	01	02	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
590	04	01	04	02	04	02	06	-	01	01	01	04	03	03	01	01	01	01
60P	03	04	03	02	02	02	05	05	04,05	02	02	02	04	05	06	01	01	01
61P	03	03	04	02	01	01	01	02	03,06	02	03	02	03	06	01	01	01	01
63Q	01	01	02	03	01	01	06	06	05	01	03,07	01	01	06	01	01	06	01
64Q	01	-	02	04	01	01	03	03	05	01	07	01	01	04	05	01	01	01
65Q	01	01	04	04	01	-	03	04	03,05	02	02-07	01	01	04	05	01	01	01
66R	03	03	04	04	02	01	02	02	03,04	03	03,07	02	02	06	02	01	01	07
67R	04	02	05	02	01,05	04	03	02	03,05 07	02	06,07	02	02	06	01	-	01	01
68R	03	01	04	04	05	02	04	06	04,05	03	01	01	03	06	01	01	01	05
69S	06	02	02,03 04	02	01	01,02	03	02	03,07	01	03,04, 05,07	01	01	06	04	01	01	01
70S	03	03	02	03	01	01	04	05	01	01	02	01	02	06	01	01	01	01
74U	03	03	03	03	01	03	05	05	03	02	01	02	03	06	01	01	01	07
75U	03	01	04	02	05	01	03	05	01	01	01	01	02	06	01	05	05	05
79U	01	01	02,03 04	03	03	01	03	05	02	03	01	02	01	04	05	01	01	05
81U	06	04	03	02	03	01	04	05	02	03	06	02	02	05	06	06	06	01
82U	03	03	05	02	01	04	05	06	03,04	03	01	02	02	04	05	05	01	04
83V	02	04	01	04	05	01	04	04	03	01	03,04	04	02	04	05	06	06	05

NOTE: The number of the column refers to the item on the scheduled interview form.

6B	F	03	03	01	04	02	06	02	02	01	02	01	02	01	04	02	04	03,04 06
7B	F	03	03	05	01	02	04	01	02	03	02	04	02	06	01	01	02	04,06
8C	M	04	03	03	01	02	04	01	02	05	02	04	02	03	05	02	02	04
9C	M	04	02	03	01	02	04	01	02	03	02	03	02	01	02	02	02	06
10C	M	03	03	04	01	03	05	01	02	05	02	04	02	03	02	05	02	04
12D	F	03	01	04	01	04	02	02	04	04	01	01	04	03	02	06	06	04,06
13D	F	03	02	04	01	02	02	03	04	04	02	01	04	05	05	02	05	04,06
14D	F	03	03	03	04	02	04	02	03	05	01	01	04	04	02	02	05	02
15D	F	03	02	04	01	02	04	02	02	04	01	01	04	04	05	05	04	04,05 06
16D	F	03	03	05	01	02	03	01	04	04	05	01	03	06	06	06	06	04
17D	F	03	02	04	04	04	05	01	02	02	03	01	04	06	02	01	02	-
19E	M	03	01	03	01	02	03	02	03	04	01	02	03	01	04	03	03	06
23F	F	04	01	05	01	03	04	01	03	04	01	03	04	01	05	04	02	04,06
24F	F	04	02	05	01	04	03	02	03	03	01	03	04	06	04	01	03	04,06
29G	M	04	01	03	01	02	03	01	02	03	01	03	03	04	02	02	02	04
30G	M	04	01	04	01	04	04	01	02	04	01	03	04	02	06	06	02	04
31G	M	04	03	04	01	02	03	01	02	04	02	03	04	05	02	02	02	-
32G	M	04	01	03	01	03	01	01	01	04	01	03	04	04	06	02	03	04
33G	M	04	01	04	01	03	01	02	02	02	03	02	04	04	02	02	02	06
34H	F	04	01	02	04	02	03	02	02	01	01	03	04	04	02	02	02	03
36H	F	04	04	03	04	02	04	02	02	04	02	01	04	05	02	02	04	04,06
39I	M	04	03	03	04	04	04	02	04	02	04	01	04	02	02	02	02	06
40J	M	02	01	03	01	02	03	01	02	05	01	04	02	05	02	02	02	02
41J	M	02	03	04	01	02	03	02	01	05	02	04	02	06	02	06	02	06
42J	M	02	01	01	01	02	06	02	02	05	01	03	03	05	02	02	03	04
43K	M	02	03	04	01	02	04	02	02	05	02	01	04	03	04	02	02	04
44K	M	02	04	02	04	04	02	03	01	01	04	01	04	05	04	04	04	03,04 06
45K	M	02	02	04	04	03	03	02	03	04	01	03	03	05	02	02	02	-
46K	M	02	03	03	01	02	03	01	02	04	01	03	04	04	02	02	06	04,06
47K	M	02	01	01	04	04	03	02	02	04	01	03	04	04	06	06	02	-
48K	M	02	02	04	04	02	04	02	02	04	02	01	04	02	03	05	02	06

57N	M	04	02	03	01	04	04	02	01	05	02	03	02	01	04	04	04	06
58N	M	04	01	03	01	02	03	02	02	01	01	01	04	04	04	03	04	06
59O	F	04	03	03	01	02	04	02	02	05	01	03	04	06	06	02	02	06
60P	M	04	03	03	04	04	04	02	01	03	04	02	04	03	04	05	01	04,06
61P	M	04	03	04	04	05	03	01	01	05	01	03	02	04	06	02	01	04
63Q	M	04	02	-	04	04	04	02	02	04	01	01	04	06	04	02	03	04
64Q	M	04	01	05	01	02	03	01	04	02	02	02	03	05	03	02	02	04
65Q	M	04	01	04	01	02	03	01	04	03	01	03	04	06	04	02	02	02,04
66R	M	04	01	04	01	02	03	02	01	02	02	03	02	06	02	01	02	04
67R	M	04	-	02	04	04	04	02	01	04	04	02	04	05	03	02	03	04,06
68R	M	04	03	04	01	04	04	01	02	04	02	03	03	04	03	06	02	04
69S	M	04	03	04	04	03	02	02	02	04	02	02	04	03	05	05	04	09
70S	M	04	02	03	01	04	02	02	04	04	03	02	04	04	02	02	04	06
74U	F	03	-	05	01	01	-	01	03	01	01	04	04	05	02	02	04	09
75U	F	03	01	-	04	02	01	01	02	04	01	04	01	06	01	01	03	09
79U	F	03	01	04	04	02	03	01	02	05	01	01	04	01	02	04	04	09
81U	F	03	01	-	-	-	02	01	02	04	01	03	04	02	04	04	04	04
82U	F	03	03	01	04	01	01	03	01	04	01	01	01	01	03	04	04	04
83V	M	03	02	02	01	02	02	02	01	01	04	01	02	04	02	02	03	03,04 06

NOTE: The number of the column refers to the item on the scheduled interview form.

4A	M	1	9	06	-	05	01	02	01	1.80	6.81	91,	93,	91	I	2	1	4	3	1	2	04	U	E,U	01	02	02	01	01	02	01	03	03	
6B	M	1	10	06	-	05	01	02	02	.79	8.81	92,	83,	88	I	3	2	5	5	3	2	01	-	E,Ta	01	02	02	02	01	01	01	01	02	05
7B	M	1	10	06	-	05	01	02	02	1.80	10.81	89,	91,	90	I	1	1	4	3	1	1	01	-	E	01	02	05	02	01	03	01	03	03	
8C	F	3	12	02	01	01	01	03	02	1.77	3.81	95,	93,	94	I	1	2	7	2	1	2	01	-	E	01	03	01	01	03	01	02	03	01	
9C	M	1	9	06	-	05	01	02	02	1.80	2.82	103,	96,	100	I	1	1	4	2	1	1	01	-	E	01	02	02	02	01	01	03	02	01	
10C	F	3	12	01,03	03	05	01	03	02	1.77	6.81	84,	96,	90	I	1	2	7	2	0	4	01	-	E	01	03	01	01	03	01	03	03	01	
12D	M	3	11	06	-	05	01	02	-	1.78	2.82	92,	100,	96	I	1	1	6	3	0	6	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	02	03	01	02	01	02	03	01	
13D	M	3	11	-	-	05	02	03	-	1.79	2.82	95,	106,	101	I	1	-	5	2	1	4	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	02	01	02	01	01	04	04	03	
14D	M	2	11	03	02	05	01	03	01	1.79	2.82	101,	102,	102	I	2	1	5	2	0	2	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	02	03	01	01	03	02	01	05	
15D	M	4	14	06	-	05	01	02	-	1.75	2.82	86,	91,	88	I	-	3	9	4	0	5	01	-	E,H	01,02	02	-	01	01	01	03	01	05	
16D	M	1	11	06	-	05	01	02	02	7.80	2.82	99,	96,	98	I	5	1	4	5	0	1	04	Ta	E,Ta	01	02	02	02	01	01	03	04	03	
17D	F	2	9	06	-	05	01	02	-	1.80	2.82	103,	91,	98	I	1	-	4	2	0	3	01	-	E,Ta A,Z	01,02	02	01	02	01	01	03	03	01	
19E	M	3	11	06	-	01	02	02	02	.79	2.82	97,	86,	91	I	1	-	5	1	0	3	02	Ta	E	01	03	01	01	02	01	02	01	03	
23F	M	2	12	06	-	04	02	02	02	1.77	2.82	97,	81,	90	I	1	3	7	-	-	3	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	03	02	01	04	01	03	02	04	
24F	F	2	10	06	-	05	01	02	02	1.79	2.82	110,	102,	107	I	1	1	5	2	-	3	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	03	02	01	04	01	03	06	02	
29G	M	4	13	06	-	04	01	02	02	1.77	2.82	95,	91,	93	I	1	1	7	1	0	4	01	-	E	01,02	03	-	02	04	03	04	04	05	
30G	M	4	13	06	-	05	01	02	02	1.77	2.82	99,	92,	95	I	1	1	7	2	0	4	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	03	-	02	03	03	02	04	05	
31G	F	4	14	06	-	05	01	04	02	1.76	2.82	85,	92,	87	I	1	1	7	2	0	4	01	-	E,Ta	01,02	03	-	02	04	01	02	03	05	
32G	F	3	12	06	-	01	03	03	02	1.77	2.82	92,	89,	90	I	3	2	7	3	1	3	01	-	E,H	01,02	03	-	02	04	01	03	06	02	
33G	M	3	11	06	-	04	01	07	02	1.78	2.82	91,	96,	93	I	1	1	6	2	1	4	01	-	E,H	01,02	03	01	02	02	01	02	04	01	
34H	M	3	13	-	-	04	04	06	02	1.77	2.82	84,	89,	86	I	1	2	7	8	-	4	01	-	E,Ta	02	03	01	01	03	01	02	04	03	
36H	M	1	10	-	-	-	01	02	-	1.80	2.82	91,	106,	99	I	1	1	4	2	0	4	04	A	E,U	02	03	01	01	03	04	02	02	04	
39I	M	3	12	06	-	05	01	02	02	1.78	3.82	99,	100,	100	I	3	1	6	2	1	3	04	U	E	02	03	01	01	02	01	02	02	04	
40J	M	2	10	06	-	05	01	01	02	1.79	2.81	95,	93,	94	I	2	1	5	2	-	3	01	-	E,H	01	03	01	01	01	03	02	03	04	
41J	F	2	12	06	-	05	02	03	02	.78	2.81	91,	98,	93	I	1	2	6	3	-	2	01	-	E	01	03	01	-	03	05	03	03	01	
42J	M	2	-	06	-	05	02	02	02	.79	2.81	88,	88,	87	I	1	1	5	2	-	3	01	-	E	01	03	01	-	03	01	02	03	04	
43K	F	2	10	06	-	05	01	03	01	1.79	2.81	95,	104,	100	I	1	1	5	2	0	1	01	-	E	01,02	03	01	01	03	01	02	02	05	
44K	M	2	11	06	-	01	-	06	02	1.78	2.81	97,	89,	93	I	1	2	6	3	2	2	01	-	E,Ta	01	03	04	02	03	01	02	03	01	

3A	02	04	02	01	02	04	03	02,04,05, 07,10	04	03	04	03	01,02,03	02	07 02,03,05, 06,07	03,06	04	02,04	04	06	03	01,04	01
4B	01	02	03	03	01	01	03	01	01	02	04	03	01-07	04	02,04,05	02	01	03	01	01	-	02,05	01,02,03
6B	02	03	03	03	01	01	01	05	01	02	01	-	-	-	02,03,04	06	01	06	01	02	03	02,03	01,02,03
7B	02	04	04	04	01	01	01	05	01	03	04	04	01,02,05 06	03	04	02	01	06	02	02	02	03	01-03
8C	02	04	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	04	04	01	01,02,03	03	02,04	02	02	-	01	01	-	03,07	01,02,05
9C	02	01	01	04	01	01	02	01	01	01	04	01	02,03,05	03	04	02,04	05	02	01	01	-	02,05,07	01-03
10C	02	04	04	01	02	01	01	08	01	02	04	02	01,02,03	03	04	02	04	03	01	01	-	03	02,05
12D	02	03	02	01	01	01	03	01	01	03	03	03	01,03,05	01	04	02	05	02	01	07	05	07	01,02
13D	01	01	01	03	01	01	03	10	01	02	04	01	01,02,03 05,06	03	02,04,07	06	05	06	01	01	-	02,03	01
14D	01	03	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	03	02	01,03,04 05,06	04	04,05	02	01	03	07	07	02	08	01,02
15D	01	03	03	01	01	01	03	02,04,05 10	01	02	04	03	01,02,05 06	01	04,05,07	02	05	04	06	01	02	-	-
16D	02	03	03	03	02	01	03	05,10	01	03	04	03	01-05	03	04,06,08	06	01	03	01	01	-	01,04, 06	01,03
17D	01	02	02	02	02	01	01	05	03	01	03	03	03	03	04	02	02, 05	03	01	01	-	03	01,02,03
19E	01	03	02	03	02	01	04	01	01	03	03	02	02,03,05	01	05	02,06	06	02,04	03	01	-	02,03	01,03
23F	02	04	02	01	01	01	01	10	01	01	04	03	03,05,06	03	05,07	01	04	06	07	07	03	03,05, 07	02,03
24F	02	01	01	04	01	01	01	10	01	01	04	04	01-03,05, 06	04	05	02	04	06	06	06	04	01,05, 07	02,03
29G	01	02	02	01	02	01	02	07,10	02	01	04	01	01-07	04	02,05	04	06	06	05	05	01	05	02
30G	01	05	04	01	01	01	03	05	01	03	03	03	03	01	02,05	02	02	02	05	01	01	04	02
31G	02	04	04	04	02	01	03	05,10	04	02	04	03	02,03	03	02,05	02	05	05	05	05	01	04	02
32G	02	01	01	01	01	01	03	05,10	01	02	04	03	02,06	03	05	02,04, 06	05	03	07	07	01	01	02
33G	02	04	01	01	01	01	01	05	01	02	01	-	-	-	01	02,06	02	02	01	01	-	01	01
34H	02	04	03	03	01	01	01	05	01	02	04	04	-	02	03,04	02	02	02	-	-	02	03,07	01,05
36H	02	02	02	02	01	01	04	01	-	02	04	01	-	03	01	02	01	02	-	-	02	04	01,02,03
39I	02	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	01	03	03	03,06	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	04	02
40J	02	02	02	02	02	03	01	01	-	03	04	03	02,03,06	01	03,04,05	02,06	05	02,05	02	02	05	01,04, 07	01,02,03
																						08	01,02,03

46K	02	04	02	02	02	01	01	05	01	01	04	01	03,05-07	01	02,04-05	03,05,07	01	01	04	06	05	01,04	02,03
47K	02	03	03	03	01	05	03	02,04,05	03	02	04	03	01,03,05-07	04	02-04,07,08	06,07	04	04	04	06	03	03,07	01,02,03
48K	02	01	01	01	02	01	03	02,05	03	03	04	03	01,03	03	02-06,08	02	01	01	06	06	05	02,04	01,02,03
49K	02	04	02	01	01	01	03	05	01	03	04	01	01-07	01	04,05,08	02	05	03	06	05	05	01,02,04	01,03
50K	02	04	03,04	03,04	01	01	03	02,04,05	01	02	04	03	01,03,05-07	01	02-06,08	06	02	02	06	06	03	02,04	01,02
51K	02	04	02	01	01	01	01	02,05	01	03	04	01	01,03,05-07	01	02,04,05	03	01	01	06	06	05	04	01,02,03
53L	02	02	02	02	02	01	04	05	04	02	04	01	01-03,05-07	03	05	02	01	06	01	02	01	02	06
54L	01	04	04	04	01	01	01	05	02	02	02	-	03,05	01	04	02	05	03	01	01	-	03	02,03
57N	02	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	03	01	-	-	-	05	02	01	01	01	01	-	04	02
58N	01	02	02	02	01	01	01	10	03	03	01	-	-	-	05	02	01	06	07	02	02	01	02
59O	02	04	02	01	01	01	03	05	03	02	03	03	-	03	-	-	05	06	05	05	02	04	-
60P	02	05	01	01	01	01	01	05	01	04	03	01	03,07	01	05	02,05	01	01	07	07	04	-	01
61P	02	02	02	02	02	04	03	10	03	01	04	01	03,06	02	03,05	06	01	02	07	07	03	03	02,03
63Q	02	03	03	01	01	01	01	01	-	01	03	03	02	03	01	02	05	03	01	07	03	04	01
64Q	02	04	01	04	01	01	04	10	01	03	03	03	02	01	01	06	05	03	01	06	03	08	01
65Q	02	04	04	03	01	01	03	01	-	01	03	04	03	01	04	06	06	06	07	07	03	01	01,02
66R	01	04	02	01	02	01	01	05,10	01	02	04	03	02,03,04	03	04,05	05	05	05	01	02	02	08	01,03,04
67R	02	02	02	01	02	01	01	05,07	01	03	04	03	03-05	03	03,04	03,07	02,04	02,04	06	06	05	01,06	03,04
68R	02	04	04	01	01	01	01	02,05,07	01	02	04	04	01,03,05	03	05	06	02,04	05	07	07	03	03,08	03
69S	01	02	02	02	01	01	01	05,10	01	03	04	04	01,02,05	03	05	02,05,06	04	04	01	05	03	03	01
70S	02	02	02	01	01	05	01	02,05,10	03	02	04	03	01,05	01	05	02,04,06	04	02	04	06	04	01,04	01,03
74U	02	01	04	01	01	01	01	05	01	01	03	02	02	01	04,05	06	02	02	07	06	05	08	02
75U	02	03	01	02	01	01	03	05,10	01	02	04	04	02,05,06	03	04,05	01	01	01	06	06	05	08	01,03
79U	01	03	02	02	01	01	01	01	-	03	03	03	01,02,06	01	04,05	02,06	01	01	01	06	05	08	02
81U	02	01	01	01	01	01	03	02,05	01	02	03	03	02	01	04	02	02	03	06	06	05	04	04
82U	01	01	02	01	01	01	01	04	01	03	04	03	02,05	01	04,05	01	06	06	04	05	05	04	01,02
83V	02	04	04	01	01	01	01	05,10	04	03	03	04	-	01	01	03	01	01	07	07	04	08	04

SCHEDULED INTERVIEW D

The number of the column refers to the item on the scheduled interview form.

Note:

Column 16: The three columns of figures refer to Verbal, Performance and Total I.Q.s, and the letter I refers to the test - Individual Scale for Indian South Africans (ISISA).

Column 18: The figures in this column are the total number of years more than appropriate, spent in all school standards.