GUIDELINES FOR A WHOLE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY IN MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS

by

JOHN OWEN HENDRY

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in the subject

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR E.M. LEMMER

JUNE 1996

For what merit may be found in this dissertation, sincere gratitude is expressed ...

to **Professor Eleanor Lemmer** ...

for her enthusiasm and encouragement;

for her sincere interest in the investigation, and her clear insight into the complex issues involved;

for her insistence upon rigour and precision;

and for her perceptive guidance in all aspects of the study, from first steps to conclusion ...

to **CB, HF, JT and their colleagues** ...

for their time willingly given, their professionalism, and their generous co-operation ...

and to **Dr Syd Gosher**, loyal friend and perfect boss ...

for his gentle insistence that it should be undertaken at all.

SUMMARY

This study explores approaches and strategies to implement in multicultural English-medium secondary schools for the management and education of black pupils with limited proficiency in English. It attempts to identify means of enhancing and accelerating the mastery by such pupils of English at a level sufficient to support their cognitive-academic needs.

An account is given of those elements of the South African education system that have contributed to the disadvantagement that such children bring to the multicultural classroom. Relevant theories of bilingual education create a theoretical context for the qualitative research that follows, in which the experiences are recorded of educators at three schools where the needs of limited-English-proficient (LEP) pupils have been addressed. Data gathering was by means of focus-group interviews.

Based on this research, guidelines are offered to help multicultural schools design policies and implement programmes to accommodate the needs of LEP pupils.

KEY TERMS

Additive and subtractive bilingualism
Bilingualism
Cognitive development
Immersion and submersion theories
Language across the curriculum
Language and cognition
Language proficiency
Language-of-learning
Language-in-education
Multicultural education
Open school models
Second-language acquisition
Secondary school pupils
Teaching methods
Teaching programmes
Whole-school language policy

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIM AND METHOD

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE INVESTIGATION 1

1.1.1 LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1910 - 1991 1

1.1.2 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE "OPEN SCHOOL" MODELS 3

1.1.3 EXPLANATION OF THE RATIONALE FOR FOCUSING ON "DESEGREGATION-MODEL" SCHOOLS 4

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION 6

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY 8

1.4 CHAPTER DIVISION 10

1.5 METHOD OF STUDY 12

1.5.1 LITERATURE STUDY 12

1.5.2 THEORETICAL BASIS OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY 13

1.5.3 APPROPRIATENESS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FOR THE PRESENT STUDY 15

1.5.4 RESEARCHER PROFILE 17

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 17

1.7 SUMMARY 18

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION 19

2.2 BACKGROUND TO THE INVESTIGATION: RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA 19

2.2.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY 19

2.2.2 1910-1948 20

2.2.2.1 Underlying principles 20
2.2.2.2 The role of language 21
2.2.2.3 The use of the mother tongue in black education 22
2.2.2.4 The promotion of Afrikaans 22

2.2.3 1948-1976 22

2.2.3.1 Implications for the black school community of Christian National Education 22
2.2.3.2 The "language-of-learning" question 23
2.2.3.3 Soweto, 1976: The reaction to changing language policy 24

2.2.4 1976-1991 24

2.2.4.1 English as the language of learning 24
2.2.4.2 The aftermath of the Soweto protests 25

2.2.5 1991-1994 26

2.2.5.1 First steps towards desegregation 26
2.2.5.2 The introduction of "model-C" schools 27
2.2.5.3 The appeal of model-C schools for the black community 28
2.2.5.4 The first problems appear 29

2.3 EVOLVING POLICY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA 29

2.3.1 LANGUAGE CLAUSES IN THE 1994 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA 29

2.3.2 THE ANC POSITION ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION 30

2.3.2.1 General principles 31
2.3.2.2 The role of English 32
2.3.2.3 Criticism of the ANC argument 34

2.3.3 SOME BROAD PERCEPTIONS OF A ROLE FOR ENGLISH IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA 36

2.3.3.1 English in Anglophone Africa 36
2.3.3.2 The South African context 37

(a) An historical perspective 37
(b) The positive disposition of black parents and pupils 37
(c) Concerns and conclusions 38

2.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT 40

2.4.1 ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION 40

2.4.1.1 The role of English in the context of general education policy: traditional first- and second-language study 40
2.4.1.2 First and second language: the need for a new terminology 41

2.4.2 THE "STANDARD ENGLISH" QUESTION 43

2.4.2.1 The concept of a "standard language" 43
2.4.2.2 Non-standard forms of English: the argument for the basilect 44

(a) The underlying rationale 44
(b) Arguments in opposition 45
(c) A "South African English" 47
(d) The international perspective 48

2.4.2.3 The argument for Standard English 48
2.4.2.4 The relevance of the basilect-acrolect debate in South African desegregation-model schools 49

2.4.3 THE "LIMITED-ENGLISH-PROFICIENT" PUPIL IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT 50

2.4.3.1 The problems created in "Bantu" education: cognitive as well as linguistic backlogs 50

(a) English as a *lingua franca* 50
(b) Problems created by non-mother-tongue instruction 51
(c) Practical complications 51

2.4.3.2 Admission to desegregated schools, and broad implications thereof 52

(a) Early problems in the multicultural classroom 52
(b) Constitutional provisions for admission to schools 52
(c) The need for a new approach 53

2.4.3.3 A classroom profile of the black child with a limited level of proficiency in English 54

(a) Behaviour characteristics identified in the American system 54
(b) Early observations in South African classrooms 55
(c) Language deficit in the multicultural classroom 56

(i) A hidden deficit 56
(ii) Absence of strong mother-tongue language skills 56
(iii) Unaccommodating learning conditions 57
(iv) Disadvantages of a non-standard language model 57

(v) Problems created by multilingualism 58
(vi) Socio-economic factors 58
(vii) The role of cultural background 59
(viii) Affective factors: the negative influence of stress 60

2.4.3.4 The need for acceleration 61

2.5 SUMMARY 62

CHAPTER 3: RELEVANT THEORIES OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LEARNING, AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IN CLASSROOM PRACTICE

3.1 INTRODUCTION 64

3.2 DEFINITIONS 65

3.2.1 BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM 65

3.2.2 IMMERSION AND SUBMERSION THEORIES 66

3.2.3 LANGUAGE ACROSS THE CURRICULUM 69

3.3 SELECTED THEORIES OF SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LEARNING 71

3.3.1 STEPHEN KRASHEN'S MONITOR MODEL 72

3.3.1.1 Elements of the theory 72
3.3.1.2 Implications of Krashen's theory for classroom practice 74

(a) Comprehension 74
(b) Speaking 75
(c) The natural approach 75
(d) Conclusion 76

3.3.2 THE CONTRIBUTION OF JAMES CUMMINS: INTERACTION OF FACTORS: LANGUAGE AND COGNITION 77

3.3.2.1 Elements of the theory 79

(a) Cummins's theory of linguistic interdependence 79
(b) The "threshold" hypothesis 80
(c) The "developmental interdependence" hypothesis 81
(d) Common underlying proficiency 81
(e) Mechanisms of interaction 82
(f) Cummins's interaction model of bilingual education 83

3.3.2.2 Implications of Cummins's theory for classroom practice 85

(a) The importance of mother-tongue proficiency in second-language learners 85
(b) The danger of semilingualism 87
(c) Additive and subtractive bilingualism 88
(d) Multilingualism and mother-tongue interference 88
(e) BICS/CALP 89
(f) The time factor 91

3.3.3 THE COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE LEARNING APPROACH (CALLA) 96

3.3.3.1 Elements of the theory 96

(a) Introduction 96
(b) The components of the CALLA model 98
(c) Professional communication 104

3.3.3.2 Implications of the CALLA approach for classroom practice 104

3.4 THE "WHOLE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY" 106

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS A DEFINITION 106

3.4.2 THE ARGUMENT FOR ITS NECESSITY 109

3.4.3 OBJECTIVES 111

3.4.4 SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LANGUAGE ACQUISITION 112

3.4.4.1 The role of the English teacher 113
3.4.4.2 The role of the content-subject teacher 114
3.4.4.3 Teaching literacy skills across the curriculum 115

(a) Technical vocabulary 116
(b) Writing genres 117
(c) The use of textbooks 118
(d) Comprehension and writing skills needed for tests and examinations 119

3.4.4.4 An integrated setting 119

3.5 SUMMARY 120

3.5.1 FROM THE WORK OF STEPHEN KRASHEN 120

3.5.2 FROM THE WORK OF JAMES CUMMINS 121

3.5.3 FROM J.M. O'MALLEY'S CALLA APPROACH 122

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION 124

4.2 METHODOLOGY 124

4.2.1 CHOICE OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY 124

4.2.2 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS 125

4.2.2.1 Selection of schools 125
4.2.2.2 Selection of focus group participants 129

4.3 DATA GATHERING 130

4.3.1 DATA-GATHERING TECHNIQUE: THE FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW 130

4.3.2 WHEN AND WHERE 131

4.3.3 CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEWS 132

4.3.4 THE AREAS COVERED IN THE INTERVIEWS 133

4.3.5 TRANSCRIPTION 134

4.4 RESEARCHER ROLE 134

4.4.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION 134

4.4.2 STATEMENT OF SUBJECTIVITY 135

4.5 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY 137

4.5.1 RELIABILITY IN DESIGN 137

4.5.2 RELIABILITY IN DATA COLLECTION 138

4.5.3 INTERNAL VALIDITY OF QUALITATIVE DESIGNS 138

4.5.4 EXTERNAL VALIDITY OF QUALITATIVE DESIGNS 139

4.6 SUMMARY 140

CHAPTER 5: RE-DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM, AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION 142

5.2 CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS 144

5.2.1 CULTURAL DIFFERENCE AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATION 145

5.2.2 THE DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILY 146

5.2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS 149

5.3 EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGEMENT 151

5.3.1 LACK OF SCHOOL BACKGROUND AND CONTENT KNOWLEDGE 151

5.3.2 THE CULTURE OF LEARNING: THE ABSENCE OF A WELL-DEVELOPED WORK ETHIC 154

5.3.3 INADEQUATE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT 156

5.3.4 LACK OF GENERAL LINGUISTIC SKILL 158

5.3.5 LACK OF PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH 160

5.4 EXPECTATIONS OF THE SYSTEM 163

5.4.1 UNREALISTIC PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT ENROLMENT IN A DESEGREGATION-MODEL SCHOOL CAN ACHIEVE 163

5.4.2 PARENTAL PRESSURE, AND RELUCTANCE TO ACKNOWLEDGE DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY LEP CHILDREN IN THEIR NEW SCHOOLS 165

5.4.3 NON-ACHIEVEMENT, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEGATIVE SELF-IMAGE 165

5.5 SUMMARY 166

CHAPTER 6: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF DATA

6.1 INTRODUCTION 167

6.1.1 PRESENTATION OF THE DATA 167

6.1.2 THE CONTEXT IN WHICH CONCLUSIONS ARE DRAWN 168

6.1.3 ALL PUPILS BENEFIT FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY 169

6.2 STRATEGIES, APPROACHES AND ATTITUDES FOUND EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE 170

6.2.1 THE QUESTIONABLE EFFICACY OF AFTER-HOURS CLASSES 170

6.2.2 SEPARATE CLASSES FOR LEP CHILDREN 171

6.2.3 SMALL CLASS GROUPS 177

6.2.4 CURRICULAR DECISIONS: WHAT TO TEACH? SKILLS VS CONTENT 180

6.2.5 DEVELOPMENT OF SOPHISTICATED TEACHING SKILLS 188

6.2.6 CHOOSING APPROPRIATE MATERIAL: LINKS WITH THE PUPILS' OWN REAL WORLDS 194

6.2.7 COMMUNICATION WITH PARENTS 197

6.2.8 CONCLUSION 198

6.3 SOME IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES THAT EMERGE 199

6.3.1 THE LACK OF VALIDITY OF PRIOR ASSUMPTIONS 199

6.3.2 THE TIME FACTOR IN PUPIL PROGRESS 202

6.3.3 THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN CONTENT-SUBJECT LEARNING 205

6.3.4 THE QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY: LANGUAGE TEACHERS AND CONTENT-SUBJECT TEACHERS 207

6.3.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORT FROM SCHOOL MANAGERS 209

6.3.6 THE TIME FACTOR FOR TEACHERS 210

6.3.7 LANGUAGE TOLERANCE AND ACCEPTANCE OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES 213

6.3.8 TEACHER SPECIALISATION 215

6.3.9 STAFF ALLOCATION: CHOOSING THE RIGHT TEACHERS FOR THE JOB 216

6.3.10 THE BLACK CHILD WHO HAS COME THROUGH A SOUND PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM 217

6.3.11 THE NEED TO EQUIP TEACHERS DURING INITIAL TRAINING 217

6.3.12 THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM: WHO ARE THE LEP PUPILS? 220

6.3.13 THE QUESTION OF STANDARDS: A CHANGING FACE OF EDUCATION QUALITY IN DESEGREGATION-MODEL SCHOOLS 222

6.3.14 ROLE MODELS 224

6.3.15 THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TEACHERS 225

6.3.16 ACCELERATED ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS 227

6.4 SUMMARY 228

CHAPTER 7: GUIDELINES FOR A WHOLE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY, AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION 230

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE INVESTIGATION 230

7.3 GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY TO DEAL WITH THE NEEDS OF LEP PUPILS IN DESEGREGATION-MODEL MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS 232

7.3.1 CREATING A SUITABLE ENVIRONMENT: PLANNING A PROGRAMME FOR LEP PUPILS 232

7.3.1.1 General principles 233
7.3.1.2 Organisation and administration 234
7.3.1.3 Simulation of initial conditions 234

7.3.2 CALLA AND THE LANGUAGE CURRICULUM 238

7.3.2.1 Aspects of language that should be included 238
7.3.2.2 Learning strategy instruction 238

(a) Metacognitive strategies 239

(b) Cognitive strategies 239
(c) Socio-affective strategies 240

7.3.2.3 A CALLA lesson plan model 240
7.3.2.4 The amalgamation of language and content studies 241

(a) The role of the content-subject teacher 242
(b) The use of text books 243

7.4 CONCLUSIONS 243

7.4.1 SUMMARY 243

7.4.2 APPLICABILITY AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY 245

7.4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS 245

7.4.3.1 Policy evolution 245
7.4.3.2 Training of teachers 246

7.4.4 FUTURE RESEARCH 246

BIBLIOGRAPHY 248

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: STATEMENT OF CONSENT 262

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE: *AIDE MEMOIRE* 263

APPENDIX 3: EXTRACTS FROM TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS 267

School A 267
School B 268
School C 271

APPENDIX 4: REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO THE DATA ANALYSIS 273

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1 Classification of language and content activites within Cummins's (1982) framework 101

FIGURE 4.1 Summary: Schools and informants 126

FIGURE 6.1 Summary: Differences in school programmes............... 200

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIM AND METHOD

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE INVESTIGATION

1.1.1 LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1910-1991

Language issues have throughout the present century been an area of sensitivity in relation to South African education. They have been linked, especially in the rationale of Afrikaner nationalists, to the concepts of non-equality and segregation, which have influenced the establishment and implementation of education policy for black people (Hartshorne 1992: 196). Consequently segregation in education on linguistic lines has been a characteristic of education in South Africa since shortly after the Act of Union in 1910. Language issues cannot therefore easily be separated from more general issues in South African education.

The character of education for South Africa's black population was shaped by identifiable objectives that became increasingly clear during this time:

> From the mid-1930s [as] the purified Nationalists of Dr Malan ... turned their attention to African schooling, a clear pattern began to emerge: strict educational separation, a Christian National Education ideology, enforcement and extension of the mother-tongue medium, and thereafter the use of Afrikaans with a concomitant decline in the use of English (Hartshorne 1992: 195).

The Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953) transferred control of some 3 000 mission schools from the churches to the state's Department of Native Affairs (Macdonald 1993: 14), and made provision for the extensive use of indigenous mother tongues as the languages of learning, resistance to which is documented as far back as 1905. For long it had been strongly felt by many black people that a superior standard of education was possible through English

(especially) and Afrikaans as the dominant languages of the country (NECC 1992: 27). Against this background, currently-felt antagonism amongst black communities towards the concept of mother-tongue medium of instruction[1] is easily understood, it being associated with the black education system of the apartheid past that was shaped by the sinister motives of oppression and segregation.

Increasingly insensitive implementation of language-of-learning policy led, during the 1960s, to black children having to study in secondary schools through three different languages of learning: English and Afrikaans for "examination subjects" (the so-called "50-50 policy"), as well as the indigenous mother tongue for non-examination subjects such as Religious Education and Physical Education (NECC 1992: 27-28). As the Department of Bantu Education strove with increasing determination to implement the unpopular 50-50 policy, resistance grew steadily and came to a head in 1976, when the Soweto uprising of 16 June forced the government to recognize the unacceptability of the policy.

In July 1976, therefore, permission was given for schools themselves to decide upon the language of learning from Standard 5 upwards. As a result, by 1978 the language of learning for 96% of black pupils above Standard 5 was English (Hartshorne 1992: 203), while only Religious Instruction, Music and Singing classes were conducted through the medium of the vernacular language (NECC 1992: 28).

In 1979 legislation was passed to permit English to be used as the language of learning from Standard 3 upwards; in essence, the education system for black children from senior primary school upwards became English medium. However, the climate of confrontation that originated in the stay-aways and demonstrations of 1976 - at that time directed specifically against the language policy - has subsequently pervaded the education system for black people

---

[1] The terms *medium of instruction* and *language of learning* are used interchangeably in the research around language issues in South African education. The first emphasises (though this does not seem to be consciously or consistently the intention of all users of the term) the role of the teacher; the second, that of the pupil. The connotations thus differ, *language of learning* probably carrying stronger emotive overtones in the context of the emergence of a new education philosophy in South Africa. For the sake of consistency, *language of learning* has henceforth been used throughout the present study to refer to the concepts covered by both terms.

more widely, leading to a decline in the whole "culture of learning" in black schools. Hartshorne describes the situation in black education as a crisis, and insists that key problem areas need to be addressed in the search for a solution:

> Issues of curriculum relevance, the quality of schooling, the competence and commitment of teachers, the rehabilitation of youth with a "learning culture" (1992: 108-109).

The whole question of language - the relative status of English, Afrikaans and the vernaculars, as well as the issue of language-of-learning - remains, as it began, inextricably interlinked with these key issues (Hartshorne 1992: 207-208).

1.1.2 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE "OPEN SCHOOL" MODELS

In 1991, schools under the administration of the Department of Education and Culture's House of Assembly (i.e. "own affairs" white schools) were granted permission to decide, under controlled circumstances and with the formal approval of a majority of the parent body, to admit children of "other races".

In consequence, from January 1992 an increasing number of black pupils enrolled at what had previously been exclusively white schools (the vast majority English-medium), bringing with them distinct cognitive and linguistic disadvantages from their years spent in the black education system. To help these children to overcome the disadvantages in order to make satisfactory academic progress across the whole curriculum has been the challenge presented to teachers, both of English and of content-area subjects, in these schools.

The appearance from 1991 onwards of black pupils in what had previously been exclusively white schools introduced a set of circumstances for which the teachers in those schools had not been trained or prepared. In particular, the academic backlog that was a characteristic of the majority of black pupils who had previously been educated at schools administered by the

Department of Education and Training (responsible for the schooling of black children), in itself a serious problem, was compounded by limited proficiency in English, the language of academic instruction in their new school environment (Leibowitz 1991: 16, 17, 18). This limited proficiency led to disappointing general academic progress and the inevitable attendant frustration and unhappiness, for both pupils and their parents (Davidson, Durbach, Steinman and Button 1991: 33-34, 39-40).

The fact that black children nevertheless continued to enrol in ever-increasing numbers at "white" schools gave clear indication, however, that the multicultural, multilingual "ex-white" school was not destined to be merely a fleeting education phenomenon. The reasons for this are explored in section 2.3.3. The evolution of the system that gave rise to "open schools", and the precise nature of the schools, are documented in section 2.2.5.

The widespread desire of South Africa's black peoples to acquire proficiency in English, discussed in section 2.3.3, is another reason for the popularity among black families of schools in which English - and a good standard of English - is taught, and is used as the language of learning for the whole curriculum (NECC 1992: 29).

There is, therefore, strong evidence to suggest that these desegregated multicultural schools, whether or not they remain predominantly white, will continue to attract pupils of "other racial groupings", and will therefore remain an element of the South African education system for the foreseeable future.

1.1.3 EXPLANATION OF THE RATIONALE FOR FOCUSING ON "DESEGREGATION-MODEL" SCHOOLS

To focus attention on these previously exclusive (in the racial sense) schools, when they will occupy numerically a minor position in the South African education system of the future, needs justification. That they will be in the minority is more than probable; that they will remain, due to the experience and skill of the teachers who staff them, institutions of relatively

superior-quality education, is certain. The desegregated school will remain, despite the possibility that it might appear elitist, a vital area in relation to the education of black children in post-apartheid South Africa (Gosher 1995: interview).

It is important, then, to address the key difficulty that faces teachers, and that limits the progress of many of the black children who attend these schools: the question of limited proficiency in the school's language of learning - in most cases, for reasons that will be explained in sections 2.3.3 and 2.4.3.1, English. The problem is usually more acute in the secondary school environment, because of the relative shortage of time - widely recognised as a crucial factor in second-language acquisition (Cummins 1980: 180-181, 1981b, 1990: 149; Collier 1987, 1989) - available to master the language of learning, which places added pressures and responsibilities on pupils and teachers - and, it will be argued, on managers - in secondary schools.

The present study will therefore focus on the formerly-white English-medium secondary school at which black children with limited proficiency in English have been enrolled. These are at the time of writing officially termed "state-aided schools", having previously been identified as either model-B, model-C or model-D[1] , the common factor in these categories being the admission of black children to schools that had previously been reserved exclusively for white children. They will henceforth be generically referred to in this study as "desegregation-model" schools.

The introduction of state-aided schools was supported, through circulars and circular minutes, by guidance for principals and parents as to the administration of the schools (Department of Education and Culture 1992a, 1992b). If didactic problems were anticipated, it did not lead to the timely re-training of teachers to accommodate the sudden influx of pupils of other cultures, and with other home languages than English (or, in the case of Afrikaans-medium schools, other than Afrikaans).

---

[1] The stages on the route to the "model-C" desegregated school that constitutes the focus of the present study will be described in section 2.2.5.

The presence over many years in those same schools of immigrant children from Western (predominantly) and Eastern European backgrounds, and more recently of Taiwanese origin (all, in a sense, also pupils with a limited proficiency in English), had not led to the same adjustments and changes that the growing black pupil population in formerly white schools was now making an urgent necessity (v. 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.3.3). Typically such pupils were left largely to their own devices, expected to "catch up" as best they could, and often allowed to follow less-demanding academic courses, owing to their shortcomings in English, than they might have been capable of through the medium of their own mother tongues. This "lack of visibility" could be attributed to the presence of such immigrant children being politically less sensitive within the formerly-white school than that of the more-recently-enrolled black South African child (Legg 1995: interview).

South African teachers have therefore not been adequately prepared, either by training (pre-service or in-service) or by experience, to deal with the complex phenomenon of the multilingual and multicultural classroom (Gosher 1995: interview).

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

In the light of this lack of preparedness among teaching staff, and in the context of the changing pupil population distribution among formerly white schools, the constituent elements of the problem that generates the present study can be expressed in terms of the following questions:

* What prescriptions of education policy in South Africa between 1910 and 1991 led to the widespread academic and linguistic disadvantagement of a majority of black pupils?

* How do language and education provisions in the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa bear on the evolution of education policy in post-apartheid South Africa?

* What position does the African National Congress adopt in relation to language-in-education that could influence the way in which future South African school populations are constituted, and the way in which children in need of unusual assistance are to be accommodated in schools?

* How do various stakeholders, including ordinary black families, perceive the role of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and in particular its role in education?

* What limitations, if any, exist in the terminology and concepts presently available for research in the field; and what new terminology needs to be created in order to enable accurate discussion and description, in the particular context of South African circumstances, to take place?

* What relevance does the concept "Standard English" have in a consideration of the type of language that it would be appropriate for black South African non-mother-tongue users to learn?

* What characteristics does the "limited-English-proficient" (LEP) black pupil (v. 2.4.1.2) bring to the multilingual classroom; and what cognitive problems are created thereby?

* What assistance is offered by the literature presently available in the field of second-language acquisition and learning?

* What theories of second-language acquisition, and what documented bilingual education programmes, offer guidance that might be relevant in the South African situation?

* What useful conclusions have managers and teachers in selected schools already arrived at in relation to the development of a general school policy designed to

accommodate the special needs of LEP pupils; and how do these relate to the theoretical framework previously explored?

* How can their discoveries and experience, over the few years since LEP pupils arrived in their schools, offer practical guidance towards the creation of a whole-school language policy?

* What further research is immediately indicated in the field?

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

Despite the difficulties experienced by unprepared teachers (in the complexities of the multicultural classroom, that is - v. 2.4.3), notable successes have been achieved intuitively, as well as through the exchange of anecdotal experience among teachers, and as a result of the professional dedication of the personnel concerned - but not consistently as the outcome of the application of a soundly-researched theoretical framework. It is therefore the aim of the present study to provide such a theoretical framework, that will enable education managers (including principals, members of governing bodies, administrators and academic advisors) to develop an administrative infrastructure, in order to support the needs of children with a limited level of initial proficiency in the language of learning, according to more formal principles than have generally been applied to date; and to relate the body of relevant research and literature in the field of bilingual education to the context of the South African state-aided secondary school.

The focus will be on school management and the establishment of policy, so that detailed descriptions of language-programme curricula for children with limited proficiency in English, and of specific classroom activity and methodology, will be beyond the scope of this study.

In summary, therefore, the aims of the present study will be to:

* identify the aspects of education policy in South Africa between 1910 and 1991 that led to the widespread academic and linguistic disadvantagement of a majority of black pupils;

* identify language and education provisions in the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that will influence the evolution of education policy in post-apartheid South Africa;

* recognise the position that the African National Congress adopts in relation to language-in-education, that could influence the way in which future South African school populations are constituted, and the way in which children in need of unusual assistance are to be accommodated in schools;

* understand how various stakeholders, including ordinary black families, perceive the role of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and in particular its role in education;

* identify any limitations that exist in the terminology and concepts presently available for research in the field, and justify the use of new terminology where appropriate;

* debate and assess the relevance that the concept "Standard English" has in a consideration of the type of language that it would be appropriate for black South African non-mother-tongue users to learn;

* record the characteristics that the LEP black pupil brings to the multilingual classroom, and describe the cognitive problems that exist in the new environment;

* search the literature presently available in the field of second-language acquisition and learning in order to identify areas where theory could assist classroom practice;

* identify theories of second-language acquisition, and descriptions of bilingual education programmes, that could offer guidance that might be relevant in the South African situation;

* design and conduct research that will record and categorise the useful discoveries that managers and teachers in selected schools have made in relation to the development of a general school policy designed to accommodate the special needs of LEP pupils; and relate these to the theoretical framework previously explored;

* incorporate their discoveries and experience, gleaned over the few years since LEP pupils arrived in their schools, into practical guidance towards the creation of a whole-school language policy;

* suggest the direction that further research might profitably take in the field.

1.4 CHAPTER DIVISION

Chapter 2 will sketch the historical background to South Africa's education system from 1910 to 1994, concentrating on the role of language-in-education. The direction in which policy is presently moving will then be related; some common perceptions of the role of English in post-apartheid South Africa will also be recorded. The implications of these changes and perceptions for school administration and classroom practice will be described. An account will be given of the different traditional roles of English in South African education, and the need for the use of new terminology will be proposed. The concept "Standard English" will be defined, and its possible role in post-apartheid education considered. A profile will then be provided of the black child with limited proficiency in English. Finally, the need for optimised acquisition of the new language, at a level suitable for use as an academic tool, will be asserted.

In Chapter 3, an orientation will be provided to selected relevant theories of second-language acquisition and learning, and to various bilingual education programmes. The implication of each for classroom practice will be considered, with special attention being paid to the relevance or otherwise of each theory and programme to the bilingual education situation that forms the focus of the present study. A theoretical foundation will thus be established against which the results of the findings of the qualitative research undertaken in this study can be measured.

The methodology of the study will be described in Chapter 4. The adoption will be justified of data-gathering techniques used to explore the way in which managers and teachers in selected schools have attempted to address the special needs of LEP pupils.

Chapter 5 will undertake a re-definition of the problem, as it was originally conceived, in the light of opinions and data that emerged during the interviews that were conducted.

In Chapter 6 the data gathered during the interviews is analysed and categorised, with a strong thematic focus on the need to provide optimal conditions for the acquisition of English by second-language learners, in order to minimise cognitive disadvantagement in the whole academic environment of the school; as well as on the practicability of accelerating the acquisition of a level of linguistic proficiency sufficient to support pupils' cognitive academic needs. Discussions of these findings in relation to the theories and programmes described in Chapter 3 will be undertaken.

Chapter 7 will offer guidelines for the establishment of a whole-school language policy that could accommodate the unique needs, across the academic curriculum, of LEP pupils in desegregation-model schools. Suggestions are offered for the development and implementation of such a policy, based both on the research described in Chapter 3 and on the data analysed in Chapter 6. The study concludes with an indication of directions that future research might profitably take in the field.

1.5 METHOD OF STUDY

1.5.1 LITERATURE STUDY

The literature survey carried out in Chapters 2 and 3 provides essential background in two relevant fields:

* the historical context in which the present research needs to be seen; that is, the education system through which black children passed that gives rise to the problem being explored in this study: the presence in English-medium schools of black children with limited English proficiency (Chapter 2);

* theories of language acquisition relevant to the research field - that is, second- and multiple-language acquisition theories; and accounts of bilingual education programmes established in other countries to deal with situations that share common ground with South Africa's evolving LEP phenomenon (Chapter 3).

In both cases, the literature survey is not exhaustive, being intended to provide only a fundamental orientation, firstly to the particular aspects of education history that contributed directly to the emergence of the LEP black child; and, secondly, to the most pertinent theories and strategies presently recorded, as a theoretical context within which to consider the results of the qualitative research carried out subsequently.

The literature consulted includes the following:

* original research for university degree purposes;

* government documents, in the form of statements of established policy as well as proposals for discussion and comment by interested parties and stakeholders;

* commissioned official reports;

* monographs and papers;

* texts of spoken addresses and forum discussions at conferences and symposia;

* notes from lectures and seminars;

* journal articles;

* texts of interviews with teachers and school managers;

* records of original research, and descriptions of theories, models, strategies and programmes, published in book form.

The theoretical foundation established in Chapter 3 emerges predominantly from research conducted in, and literature published in, other countries. This limitation is due to, and clearly demonstrates, the paucity of research on the topic in South Africa, and proves the need for extensive investigation within the local context (v. 1.6).

1.5.2 THEORETICAL BASIS OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The qualitative approach to research in education is a methodological expression of the fact that

> many researchers are more interested in the quality of a particular activity than in how often it occurs (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 367-368).

The approach investigates the qualitatively different ways in which people experience or think about phenomena. It is based on a phenomenological view of social realities, according to which

> a phenomenologically oriented researcher argues that what people believe to be true is more important than any objective reality; people act on what they believe. Moreover, there are real consequences to their actions (Fetterman 1988: 6).

The standpoint adopted by the qualitative researcher is also therefore humanistic,

> as reflected in the importance given to the observed persons' own perspective as it exists in their circumstances and environment (Sprinthall, Schmutte and Sirois 1991: 102).

A qualitative investigation is therefore concerned with understanding a social phenomenon from the participants' perspective (Fetterman 1988: 6). It gathers descriptive rather than numerical data, uses them inductively to lead to a conclusion based on phenomena observed, and has a descriptive outcome often involving (as in the present study) the development of a theory (Sprinthall *et al* 1991: 102).

The understanding with which a qualitative investigation is concerned is conveyed by narration of the participants' feelings, ideals, beliefs, thoughts, and actions; the objective of the qualitative researcher is therefore not to generalize results to other situations, but to extend understanding within the context of a particular situation (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 379). The research design used to reach these understanding is that of ethnographic research.

Ethnographic research emphasises the documentation of real experiences of selected individuals. It takes the form of

> a pure or "true-to-life" description of the observations made during the research (Sprinthall *et al* 1991: 102)

and sets out to provide the reader with

> as accurate a representation as possible of the things that people say, write and do in their own environments (Sprinthall *et al* 1991: 102).

Its objective is to

> "paint a portrait" ... so that others can truly "see" that school ... and its participants and what they do (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 375).

The interactive form of the ethnographic research design - interviews and observation - that embodies the principles of the qualitative approach lends itself to inductive logic, whereby the problem is most clearly stated after much data collection and preliminary analysis (Schumacher and McMillan 1993: 91-92). This enables the researcher to move from research to theory (Lemmer 1989: 130) and leads to the problems explored and the questions asked tending to become more specific as the study progresses. This, too, makes qualitative methodology especially suitable for an exploratory study that does not use an hypothesis as its departure point.

The approach to research design employed in qualitative studies is that of emergent design, so that the subject can be systematically studied on the way to the structure of the final design; decisions about data-collection strategies can thus be shaped and modified during the study (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 376). This flexibility embodied in the qualitative approach, which makes reformulation a natural and acceptable element of the process, is therefore particularly appropriate for an exploratory study in which the salient issues are not sufficiently clearly visible at the outset.

1.5.3 APPROPRIATENESS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The LEP black pupil in the "desegregation model" school, as identified and described in Chapter 2, is a new phenomenon, unique to post-apartheid South Africa. Pertinent problems

in bilingual education in other countries have been clearly identified, explored and recounted, and it is acknowledged that much of what has been researched and written may well have relevance for the South African situation. However, the particularities of that situation, given especially the background of general cognitive disadvantagement experienced by a majority of black children in the education system during the years of apartheid rule, as well as the cultural differences between the LEP black child and the new education environment into which he or she moves, may be such that unique problems obtain, for which unique solutions need to be found (Leibowitz 1991: 16).

The lack of clarity about the very problems that should be investigated indicated the need for an exploratory research methodology to be used that would permit the structure of the final design, as well as data-collection strategies, to be shaped and modified as the study progressed. A flexible methodology was therefore needed that would enable the problems explored and the questions asked to become more specific as the study progressed; Sprinthall *et al* (1991: 101) consider the qualitative method the most suitable approach for a researcher who undertakes an initial exploratory study where prior knowledge is limited. In the case of the present study, the emerging problem was adjusted and redefined during data collection (v. 5.1).

It was also recognised that participants - both individual teachers and schools - would need to be carefully selected for their special knowledge in the field and for their already-demonstrated success, albeit limited, in dealing with LEP children.

Teachers were therefore identified at three schools in Gauteng (v. 4.2.2) where the LEP problem had been addressed thoughtfully, and where clear opinions had already been formulated, so that the data collected would be rich, and could be regarded as emanating from participants with credible and useful knowledge. Careful and deliberate selection of participants in this way is another reason for the special appropriateness, in the particular circumstances, of the qualitative approach, which accommodates the principle of purposive judgement sampling - that is, the selection of information-rich cases for study-in-depth

(Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 374). This kind of selection is facilitated by the present writer's professional position and responsibilities as described in sections 1.5.4 and 4.4.2.

Finally, it was not the aim of the researcher to test prior hypotheses, but rather to generate relevant hypotheses from the experience of the participants (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 375). The semi-structured focus-group interview, in which open conversation is encouraged according to an almost infinitely flexible structure, therefore emerged as the appropriate strategy to adopt in order to encourage participants to share and discuss what they had discovered about the teaching of English to LEP children. Focus group interviews (v. 4.3.1) were conducted at the chosen schools during August and September 1995 (v. 4.3.2). Interviews were tape-recorded and the data was transcribed (v. 4.3.3 and 4.3.5); after data analysis, the findings were submitted to focus group participants for cross-checking, to enhance the validity of the data (v. 4.5.2 and Appendix 4).

1.5.4 RESEARCHER PROFILE

At the time of writing I am a Superintendent of Education (Academic) with the portfolio English First Language (Secondary Schools) in the service of the ex-Transvaal Education Department. I was appointed to the position in June 1989, having immediately prior to that been headmaster of an English-medium co-educational secondary school in Johannesburg, and originally a teacher of English First Language. A description of the responsibilities pertaining to this position will be offered in section 4.4.2 as part of a statement of subjectivity.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

* Despite the careful selection of schools to include in the research component of this study, it is certainly the case that useful knowledge and strategies can be found, in varying quantities, at many other schools that were not consulted. A rich store of

useful information therefore awaits the researcher who systematically explores the area on a wider base than that used in this investigation.

* The paucity of original research conducted to date in the South African context, and with the unique characteristics of the South African situation pertinently in mind, resulted of necessity in the theoretical base established in Chapter 3 being a reflection of what has been learned in other countries. The ready transferability of such data to South Africa's school system cannot automatically be assumed; the future development of a significant body of indigenous research will enable conclusions to be drawn, and recommendations offered, with greater accuracy and confidence.

Further reference will be made to these two points in section 7.4.4.

1.7 SUMMARY

This opening chapter has described the background to the problem proposed for investigation, and has formulated that problem and identified certain aims. The envisaged structure of the study and the proposed research methodology have been described.

In the next chapter, the historical role of English in South African education will be related, followed by an examination of the perceived role of English as a language of learning within the context of evolving education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. Factors that ought to be considered in the further development of policy are then discussed, including the debate surrounding the "Standard English" question, as well as the special needs and characteristics of the black child entering for the first time a desegregated school system.

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will outline, with a particular emphasis on language-in-education policy, relevant aspects of the history of schooling in South Africa that have shaped the education system that now exists; and will document the influences that are determining the direction in which emerging policy is moving.

Implications in terms of policy development and classroom practice will then be suggested. The present role of English in the education system will be outlined, and the question of Standard English and its possible role in post-apartheid South African education will be considered.

The nature of the difficulties experienced by the typical black pupil entering for the first time the formerly-white education system will be described and explained. A profile of the LEP child in the multicultural classroom will be given, and the need will be expressed to optimise the acquisition of the language skills that are required for a pupil to make satisfactory academic progress in all subject areas.

2.2 BACKGROUND TO THE INVESTIGATION: RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

Hartshorne sketches an important general principle that has pervaded the establishment of language-in-education policy:

> In South Africa, the history of the use of language has revolved around the relative positions and status of English, Afrikaans and the African languages, and been

> determined by the political and economic power of those using the various languages. The decisions have never been taken by those who use African languages in their everyday life, and ironically, when decisions were taken in favour of these languages they were taken without reference to their users, and for purposes far removed from any that had broad community support. The decisions were taken "for" and not "by" those most closely involved, served to divide African communities and limited social mobility and access to higher education. Only since the late 1970's ... have African voices had any influence on the decisions taken about language in the schooling system. Until then, the interests and wishes of the users ... were subordinated to the political and economic purposes and ideologies of various white groupings. The conflicts between these groupings also spilt over into black schooling, and in particular found expression in the language policies laid down from time to time (1992: 187-188).

2.2.2 1910-1948

2.2.2.1 Underlying principles

At the time of Union and indeed even before, the attitudes of education planners and policy makers were informed by a widely-held perception that the function of education was to *train "the Native" to fill the role of a worker* (Hartshorne 1992: 26); special curricula introduced in the Transvaal in 1913 and 1920 give practical expression to the attitude. Education policy and curriculum development for black pupils were therefore managed separately from those for white education, and were based strongly on the perception that black children needed different curricula from those designed for white pupils, to provide them with different skills, in order to fill a different (and clearly inferior) place in South African society (Hartshorne 1992: 27-33).

2.2.2.2 The role of language

The language rights of the former colonial powers (namely the English and the Dutch) in South Africa were entrenched in the policy of bilingualism that was embodied in the Constitution of 1910. After the Anglo-Boer war, however, insensitive implementation of an Anglicization policy led to dual-medium private church schools being established, in reaction, for Afrikaans children (Macdonald 1993: 14). Later, however, a strong drive for unilingual education reflected a change of attitude within the Dutch Reformed Church, while concomitantly the grand vision of Afrikaner Nationalism prescribed that separate identities should be preserved for different black communities - implying education along linguistically-separate lines.

Before 1910 primary schooling for black pupils had been provided in the main by the mission churches (Hartshorne 1992: 24), with English the dominant language; at the time of Union in 1910 no formal system of secondary schooling existed for black pupils, and developed very slowly thereafter (Hartshorne 1992: 61-65). To all intents and purposes the language tradition established in the nineteenth century was allowed to continue for twenty years and more, as the relative positions of the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, in white education dominated the attention of educators and politicians; for black children, in the years after Union strong pressure was applied to recognise the importance of using the mother tongue as the natural medium through which to learn (Hartshorne 1992: 192).

With the responsibility for the development in indigenous languages of terminology for educational purposes vested in the hands of language boards controlled by government education departments, the process of natural language development was alienated from the speakers of the language. This had, among other effects, that of stultifying African language syllabi, which came to be taught grammatically with an emphasis on traditional material, instead of absorbing dynamic developments in language-teaching practices. As a result, the perceived role that was established for the mother tongue came to exclude its use as an avenue to the whole content-area curriculum (Macdonald 1993: 14).

2.2.2.3 The use of the mother tongue in black education

From the mid-1930s Afrikaner Nationalists and the Afrikaner Broederbond had been striving to enhance the position of Afrikaans as an outward symbol of cultural identity for a group determined to rule South Africa:

> In education this struggle expressed itself in a commitment to separate schools, and in a rigid mother-tongue education policy ... the view that mother-tongue education should be applied rigorously in black schools, and that Afrikaans - as a language which had developed in Africa and therefore more relevant ... to the needs of blacks - should be the second language of black education (Hartshorne 1992: 195).

2.2.2.4 The promotion of Afrikaans

So the influence of English, which had predominated in the policy governing black schooling, was systematically diminished in order to promote, alongside the use of the mother tongue as the language of learning, the learning of Afrikaans, the language of the dominant political group among the white population of the country (Hartshorne 1992: 195). The use of mother tongue as the language of learning came to be closely associated with the notions of separatism and exclusion.

2.2.3 1948-1976

2.2.3.1 Implications for the black school community of Christian National Education

In 1948 the Afrikaner-dominated National Party came to power, and adopted a policy of Christian National Education which included the following implications for black education:

> ... any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on these same principles (trusteeship, no equality and segregation) .... The mother-tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but ... the two official languages must be taught as subjects .... (Rose and Tunmer 1975: 127-128)

2.2.3.2 The "language-of-learning" question

In 1953 the control of black education, previously the responsibility of the provincial authorities and missionary organizations, was centralised nationally in the Department of Bantu Affairs. For more than twenty years thereafter the "language-of-learning question" was the key area of opposition to the "Bantu Education" system.

During this period English and Afrikaans were made compulsory subjects in black schools from the first year of schooling, and mother-tongue language of learning was extended to Standard 6, after which (in secondary school) English and Afrikaans were used as languages of learning on a fifty-fifty basis. Secondary pupils were therefore required to switch from mother-tongue vernacular to English and Afrikaans in order to master the increasingly-difficult subject matter of content subjects (Chick 1992b: 275). The intention to enhance the status of Afrikaans at the expense of English was, however, clear, so that

> [i]n a very short time Afrikaans became the dominant language in black education, especially at the levels of management, control and administration, and teacher education (Hartshorne 1992: 197).

In documenting the history of the resentment that attaches widely among black communities to Afrikaans (to understand which is crucial if some of the key motivations behind emerging language policy - both in the Constitution of 1994 and in the policies constructed by the African National Congress - at the present time, and the especial sensitivity of the language-in-education issue, are to be grasped), Hartshorne refers to the

unquestioning assumption of white superiority in all matters - that even on issues touching the everyday lives of blacks and their children, whites would presume "to know better", to know "what was good for others", when in fact they were vastly ignorant of the needs and aspirations of those for whom they were prescribing. It is this arrogance of "the senior trustee" that was to poison South African society for nearly forty years ... (1992: 196).

2.2.3.3 Soweto, 1976: The reaction to changing language policy

In 1974 an increasingly inflexible language policy (particularly in the Transvaal) laid down that Mathematics and Social Studies were to be studied exclusively in Afrikaans. This doctrinaire approach led to the protest riots that began in Soweto on 16 June 1976 and to the intermingling of educational matters in the broad liberation movement, *with disastrous effects for the education of more than a generation of black pupils* (Lemmer 1993a: 148).

2.2.4 1976-1991

2.2.4.1 English as the language of learning

Under mounting pressure from the black community the unpopular policy was reversed, to give schools the choice of language of learning from Standard 5 onwards, leading overwhelmingly to the use of English in secondary schools. However, the stage at which the language of learning should switch from mother tongue to English continued to be a bone of contention, pressure from black communities demanding an early transition so that children had a longer opportunity to master English before being tested through the language. The educational soundness of this demand, in terms of accepted principles of language acquisition, will be explained in section 3.3.2.2.f, which reveals the importance of time in language acquisition.

Following legislation passed in 1979, the Department of Bantu Education issued regulations permitting English to be used as the language of learning from Standard 3 upwards. The complexities of transition (Macdonald 1990c) continue to exist, but the present black schooling system has become essentially English-medium - at least in theory; Lemmer mentions that

> teachers in black schools themselves often lack the English proficiency that is necessary for effective teaching. Teachers do not have the knowledge and skills to support English language learning and to teach literacy skills across the entire curriculum. The problem is compounded by a lack of suitable textbooks and materials for the specialized language needs of the children (1993a: 150)

so that the general standard of education provided for black children in the system remains poor, and fraught with problems.

2.2.4.2 The aftermath of the Soweto protests

The climate of opposition to and demonstration against inadequate education provision, which erupted most visibly in the Soweto uprising of 1976, thereafter became entrenched, as the "culture of learning" among both pupils and teachers declined, in a long and damaging campaign against the poor quality of education provided. Hartshorne refers to

> [a] deteriorating learning environment, demotivated and "burnt-out" teachers, unsettled conditions in which violence and intimidation are rife, haphazard and spasmodic school attendance, all leading to disastrous senior certificate and matriculation results at the end of the secondary schooling phase (1992: 80).

He insists that key problem areas need to be addressed in the search for a solution to the crisis in black education:

> Issues of curriculum relevance, the quality of schooling, the competence and commitment of teachers, the rehabilitation of youth within a "learning culture" (Hartshorne 1992: 108-109).

He suggests that standards of English in African schooling are declining even further, clearly stressing the assertion made earlier (v. 2.2.3.2) that language issues and general education issues in South Africa are inextricably interlinked (Hartshorne 1992: 206). He describes the nature of the developing crisis as follows:

> ... it had become clear by the end of the 1980s that there was little likelihood of black pupils being able to benefit from even an effective English-medium schooling system as long as separate, vertically-segmented, racial education systems were maintained. Until a new cross-cultural mainstream South African education system is created for all children, black pupils will remain isolated from the very influences necessary to the creation of a natural environment for language learning and the effective use of English in their schooling (Hartshorne 1992: 207).
>
> As the 1980s drew to an end and the crisis in education deepened it was abundantly clear that the language policy was but one of the issues of broader educational policy to which the State and the extra-parliamentary political forces had to give immediate and urgent attention if the crisis was not to turn to final, irrevocable tragedy (Hartshorne 1992: 207).

2.2.5 1991-1994

2.2.5.1 First steps towards desegregation

As the crisis in black education developed, legislation was being enacted that would begin to bring white and black education into contact with each other for the first time - legislation of dramatic significance against the traditional background of separatism and cultural isolation

that had, as fundamental guiding principles, informed the decisions of South African education policy makers for sixty years or more.

2.2.5.2 The introduction of "model-C" schools

In 1991 parents of school-going children at white schools operating under the "own affairs" House of Assembly administration of the Department of Education and Culture were invited to select, by means of a carefully-structured voting procedure, an education model for the school with which they were associated. With effect from 1 January 1992 twenty-five primary and secondary schools in the former Transvaal province were, through this process, declared model-C state-aided schools.

They were followed by many more within the year after it was announced by the Minister on 17 February 1992 that

> all public schools were to become Model C state-aided schools unless it could be established by means of an opinion poll that the parents wished to retain the existing model (Department of Education and Culture 1992d).

In fact, only twenty-three schools declared within the prescribed time period that they wished to retain "model-Q" classification (i.e. non-model-C); the rest were operated as state-aided schools with effect from 1 August 1992, so that in simple terms the large majority of Transvaal provincial schools were operated as state-aided schools with effect from that date (Department of Education and Culture 1992c).

Among the various implications of model-C classification (which included the termination of the provision by the province of an annual *per capita* budget for each school, and the transfer to governing bodies - that is, to the schools themselves and their parent communities - of responsibility for all expenses other than staff salaries) was that which gave authority to governing bodies (in which regard it should be borne in mind that school principals serve *ex officio* on their schools' governing bodies) *in consultation with the parent community and in*

accordance with the relevant regulations (Department of Education and Culture 1992b: 21) to determine criteria for the admission of pupils to the school.

The aspect of this particular provision that especially concerns this study is the one which points out that

> In terms of item 14 of Annexure 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), an education department may render service to members of another population group. This provision implies that pupils of another population group may be admitted to state-aided schools (Department of Education and Culture 1992b: 21).

2.2.5.3 The appeal of model-C schools for the black community

Against the background of the black community's perception of the education offered to them through the Department of Education and Training under apartheid laws as being of inferior quality, the appeal of being offered access to "white" schools is easily understood.

No doubt a perception of some of the functions that a language needs to fulfil (v. 2.4.2 which deals with the possible role of Standard English) has led many parents and pupils, whether intuitively or rationally, to seek an education route that will provide children with a useful level of English familiarity, and mother-tongue proficiency (at least as a goal, if not an entirely practical objective) if possible, involving the use of English as a language of learning.

For these reasons, then, an increasing number of schools in South Africa have since 1992 had a rapidly-growing enrolment of children from many different cultures.

> Whatever the motivation, support for non-racial schooling is growing (Frederikse 1992: 1).

2.2.5.4 The first problems appear

In the wake of the general elections of April 1994, and the introduction of legislation to dismantle what remained of racially-preclusive schooling policies and regulations, the multicultural (and therefore multilingual) classroom is becoming an ever-increasingly widespread phenomenon. In many cases, the pupils who are entering the formerly exclusively white education system at some stage later than the first school year, and particularly those who enter for the first time at the secondary level, have been found to experience difficulties of various kinds. These will be described in section 2.4.3.

2.3 EVOLVING POLICY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

2.3.1 LANGUAGE CLAUSES IN THE 1994 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Constitution gives official status to eleven languages *at national level* (provision 3.1) and undertakes to create conditions for the promotion of *equal use and enjoyment*, and for the *development*, of all eleven. It concedes, however, the qualifications *wherever practical* (provision 3.3), and *taking into account questions of usage, practicality and expense* (provision 8).

English and Afrikaans are given a certain entrenched status:

> ... neither the rights relating to language nor the status of an official language as existing ... at the time of the commencement of this Constitution, shall be diminished (provision 5).

In this regard the principle of the *non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages at the commencement of this Constitution* (provision 10a) is also asserted, to reinforce a similar statement made in provision 2. The principle of multilingualism is strongly promoted (provision 9d, and in the general spirit of the whole document).

The Constitution does not specifically lay down what languages should be taught in schools, having made provision for *education at all levels, excluding university and technikon education* as well as *language policy and the regulation of the use of official languages within a province* to fall within the legislative competence of provinces (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill 1994: 214).

Titlestad criticises the language provisions in the Constitution as

> an uneasy compromise between two conflicting needs, the need to give status to languages that have up to now not had official status (to which nobody can object) and the need to consider practicality, efficiency and expense (1994c: 2).

He identifies a conflict between *rights* and what is *practical* and suggests that in this area *further thought and perhaps preciser phrasing is desirable* (Titlestad 1994c: 3).

The language provisions laid down in general terms in the Constitution are interpreted for the educational context in the African National Congress Education Department's discussion document (1994) (v. 2.3.2).

2.3.2 THE ANC POSITION ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

In the general election of April 1994 it was clearly established that the vision and objectives of the African National Congress, which won the political support of some two-thirds of the South African electorate, will be of central importance in the formulation of future education policy. While it might take some time for vision to be converted into policy, and policy into practice, the ANC's objectives have nevertheless come to be a yardstick for the credibility of all decisions taken in education, not least in the matter of language-in-education. The position of the ANC in this regard therefore needs to be clearly understood.

2.3.2.1 General principles

In its discussion document the ANC Education Department (1994) confirms the equality of all eleven of South Africa's official languages: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, SeSotho sa Leboa (elsewhere sometimes referred to as sePedi), SeSotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu. It stresses the importance of this equality in the context of the privileged position previously enjoyed by English and Afrikaans, which was to the disadvantage of *African South Africans:*

> ... official language policy in South Africa has been interwoven with the politics of domination and separation, resistance and affirmation .... Under white minority rule, the state's language policy and specifically the official language [i.e. English and Afrikaans] policies in education have been mechanisms for the control of Black people, for reinforcing their exclusion from political power, and for enforcing the cultural agenda of the ruling white group .... African South Africans have effectively been denied the right to choose the terms of their linguistic participation in public life and in education. In line with the policy of separate development, the major African languages have been accorded official status only in the bantustans. In general, African languages have been undervalued and underdeveloped. All but a few non-African South Africans have been deprived of educational access to them (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 61).

The discussion document records particular resentment against

> ... the imposition of Afrikaans as a compulsory language medium of instruction in Black schools [which] was the trigger which detonated the most sustained struggle against the whole system of apartheid education, beginning with the mass protest of the Soweto students on 16 June 1976, which ultimately shook the very foundations of the apartheid state (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 62).

It urges the importance of learning the following lessons from the past (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 62):

* Language policy in education should be the subject of a nation-wide consultative process, to ensure that proposed changes in policy have the broad consent of the language communities which will be directly affected by them.

* No person or language community should be compelled to receive education through a language of learning they do not want.

* No language community should have reason to fear that the education system will be used to suppress its mother tongue.

* Language restriction should not be used to exclude citizens from educational opportunities.

2.3.2.2 The role of English

The second and fourth points, in particular - given the preference of many blacks for English as a *lingua franca*, and as a language of learning in schools (v. 2.2.4.1), as well as the widespread perception that a higher quality of education is provided in "white" (that is, English- and Afrikaans-medium) schools (v. 2.2.5.3) - have especial significance in relation to language in education. Indeed, the discussion document specifically accommodates these preferences in proposing the following general principles on which the development of a language policy for a democratic education system should be based:

* The right of the individual to choose which language or languages to study and to use as a language of learning.

* The right of the individual to develop the linguistic skills, in the language or languages of his or her choice, which are necessary for full participation in national, provincial, and local life.

* The necessity to promote and develop South African languages that were previously disadvantaged and neglected.

The specification of *full participation* in the second point above implies the need for English (if English is selected as the *language ... of his or her choice*) to be mastered in the Standard English form, a consideration that will be discussed in section 2.4.2.

However, among the suggested criteria that should guide the choice of *institutional language* (the language *used by a school or educational institution in administration, communications, meetings and other operational business*) is that of *reasonableness*:

> the material and human resources required to support the choice of particular languages should be taken into account (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 63).

The practicality, especially for pupils who have a perception of the position that they will fill within the international community, of studying through the medium of, for example, Tshivenda or Xitsonga, in view of the inevitable relative paucity - at least at the present time - of teaching material (and probably also of skilled teachers) in those languages, is questionable. The policy document clearly specifies, however, the relatively greater importance in early childhood of mother-tongue language of learning:

> In Early Childhood Educare, the children must be enabled to explore their world fully through languages familiar to them (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 64).

It suggests that in schools the choice of language or languages should be based on one of these three options:

* A language of wider communication, such as English, to which the school community subscribes, irrespective of whether this is the home language of the learners. If the language chosen is not the home language of the learners, then it should be introduced

gradually. The gradual introduction of the language of wider communication as a language of learning is based on the research evidence which strongly suggests that the conceptual development of children is facilitated by initial learning in their home language.

* The home language of the majority of learners in a particular school, as long as this does not discriminate against learners whose home language is different. Where the choice of a single language of learning would discriminate against significant numbers of learners, schools should, where possible, adopt more than one language of learning. In such cases, parallel classes could be run for different sets of learners.

* The use of different languages as languages of learning, for example to teach different subjects.

It is the first of these options in particular that encourages the probability of black children from non-English home backgrounds continuing to be enrolled into English language-of-learning situations for the foreseeable future. The *gradual introduction* of English referred to, and supported by MacDonald (1993: 78-81) as a preferable option to the sudden crossing of the threshold into English as a language of learning, will be a luxury that primary schools may be able to afford. It is the proposition of this study that non-English pupils who enter an English-medium institution for the first time at the secondary level, or who arrive at an English-medium secondary institution with (for whatever reason) a limited degree of proficiency in English, will need to acquire the language with optimum speed and efficiency if general academic disadvantages are not to be suffered.

2.3.2.3 Criticism of the ANC argument

Titlestad (1994b) identifies certain shortcomings in the discussion document. Reference is made to its failure to reconcile idealism and practicality (1994b: 1); it is suggested that the need for one of the languages learned at school to be *a language that can be used in tertiary and higher secondary levels as a medium of learning* (1994b: 1) ought to be specifically

mentioned; and the failure of the document to state the various functions that language will have to serve in South Africa is deplored (1994b: 2). He also criticises the document for insufficient specificity in offering solutions to practical problems:

> The practical problems are tackled in hints. Parallel classes for pupils with different home languages or pupils desiring a different medium of instruction are suggested, but this would strain the infrastructure of schools. Would there be sufficient teachers with different linguistic backgrounds to cope with this and would there be enough classrooms? Furthermore, this would mean streaming by language and not by academic ability, so creating other educational problems (Titlestad 1994b: 1).

Even assuming the legitimacy of Titlestad's criticism, however, the following important *caveat* supplied in support of the three options recorded above gives a strong indication of the policy direction required:

> No learner should be refused admission to any educational institution in the early years of schooling on the grounds that he or she is not proficient in the language or languages of learning of that institution. In such cases, the institution should ensure that the student has access to language support services to develop the necessary proficiency (African National Congress Education Department 1994: 64-65).

The necessity to provide *language support services* establishes the need to design and implement a policy in schools that can accommodate the language needs of children entering those schools with limited proficiency in the language of learning. It will be argued in Chapter 3 that the required *language support services* will operate most effectively within the context of a whole-school language policy (v. 3.4).

2.3.3 SOME BROAD PERCEPTIONS OF A ROLE FOR ENGLISH IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The arguments for and against the use of English as a language of learning have been strongly established in the context of education policy evolution in Africa as a whole.

2.3.3.1 English in Anglophone Africa

Schmied (1991: 102-104) lists four frequently-cited considerations in support of the use of English:

* the cost of teacher-training and the production of books and other teaching materials in the mother tongues is high;

* because only rarely do all citizens of a country share a common mother tongue, English is the only ethnically-neutral language;

* modernization of African languages to accommodate technological advancement takes place too slowly to be effectual;

* English has a unique status in the modern world as a language of international communication.

In opposition to these arguments, he cites the following in favour of the use of African languages as languages of learning for African pupils:

* cognitive development is enhanced by learning through the mother tongue - at least during early years (although well-established advantages of multilingual education, to be discussed in Chapter 3, are acknowledged);

* the use of English in education helps to consolidate an elite group in society, which is unfair to those who cannot speak the language, and who are disadvantaged anyway;

* the European languages imposed on African countries by colonial powers need to be driven out in the trend towards complete independence;

* English, being a Western and European language, cannot convey the unique identity of African thought, so that the use of English may alienate an African child from its own cultural background.

Schmied's commentary inclines to the conclusion that the arguments in support of English as a language of learning tend to take greater cognisance of educative factors, while those in support of mother-tongue education emerge more from a political, nationalistic agenda.

2.3.3.2 The South African context

(a) An historical perspective

Hartshorne points to the historical use of English *in practice* as a language of communication:

> Since the ANC had its beginnings in 1912, English has been its working language. In general it has been adopted as the language of communication, the language of public record, the language of political negotiation. In the ANC school ... in Tanzania, English is the medium of instruction from pre-school through to the secondary level, and adult education classes were concerned with literacy in English (1992: 210).

(b) The positive disposition of black parents and pupils

The Education and Training Act No. 90 of 1979 insisted that education at junior primary level should be conducted through the mother tongue, though conceding that account should be

taken of parents' wishes from Standard 3 upwards. Although these provisions refer to primary school matters, which are beyond the specific scope of this study, it is worth recording the response of black communities to the policy, as it helps to explain the appeal that education in English-medium desegregation-model schools has for black people:

> The introduction of mother-tongue instruction met with opposition from African communities, because of its association with the new apartheid regime and also because of the relatively lower status of the African languages. It was seen as a strategy by the government to prevent African upward mobility and thereby to ensure a perpetual reservoir of cheap labour (National Education Co-ordinating Committee 1992: 29).

In the South African situation, therefore, large numbers of black people want to be able to use English as a *lingua franca*, and to have access to schools where it is the language of learning (v. 2.2.5.3 and 2.4.3.1.a). This desire seems likely, despite the protection offered the country's black languages in the 1994 Constitution and by the support for multilingualism entrenched in ANC language policy, to lead to English being established, at least in the short term (until such time as teachers and teaching materials are sufficiently widely available in black languages; Alexander 1989: 66) - officially or otherwise - as a language "of wider communication" (granting the imprecision of that term - Titlestad 1994d: 5).

The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Framework Report (1993: 182) asserts the importance of ensuring access to English for all South Africans (v. 2.4.2).

(c) Concerns and conclusions

Chick (1992a: 30) acknowledges the condition suggested by Ndebele (1987) that general acceptance of English by South Africans of all language backgrounds would depend upon its becoming a "new" English, freed from a perceived ideological bias in favour of capitalism and class distinction, and reflective of the cultures of its speakers. He also recognises the

> widespread fear that the choice of English, by reinforcing the dominant position of English, will decrease the chances of speakers of indigenous languages ever having the advantage of being able to use their mother tongues for "higher" language functions (Chick 1992a: 30).

He refers, nevertheless, to evidence that *in the short term at least, English will retain if not increase its status*, especially in the role of a language of learning for education:

> The black community indicated its preference for English as medium in 1976 when, following the civil unrest which began in Soweto, schools were allowed, for the first time, to choose the medium. The continued overwhelming preference for English is evident from the fact that in 1988 only 20 African primary schools ... and no high schools used Afrikaans as the medium (Chick 1992a: 31).

He sums up the positive disposition of black people in general towards English, notwithstanding the concerns recorded, and the role it can play in post-apartheid South Africa:

> Despite its links with colonialism, English is viewed by many as a symbol of the struggle against the oppression of the apartheid system, and as a means of attaining political liberation and unity between the groups the apartheid system sought to divide. It is the primary medium in which the aspirations of liberation movements have been expressed. It is also the medium in which the new order is being negotiated (Chick 1992a: 31).

As early as 1984 Mphahlele suggested that

> the black man here has vested interests in English as a unifying force. Through it the continent of Africa can be restored to him and, together with French, English provides a Pan-African forum, widens his constituency. English is therefore tied up with the black man's efforts to liberate himself (1984: 103).

He urged all with influence over English in South Africa (*the English Academy, the 1820 Foundation, The South African Council for English Education, operators of other English-language projects*) to

> disengage from the oppressive, unimaginative official structures they are serving and jointly create English syllabuses and massive language and literature programmes. These must allow for abundant creativity and freedom of the intellect and spirit, while at the same time working towards proficiency. Such freedom will permit the literatures of the English-speaking world at large to become part of the emancipating enterprise (Mphahlele 1984: 104).

Finally, Chick recognises an

> emerging consensus that English will be chosen to serve a key role in facilitating equality of opportunity, national unity and the participation of all South Africans in the life of the nation (1992a: 29).

2.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

2.4.1 ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

2.4.1.1 The role of English in the context of general education policy: traditional first and second language study

In South Africa compulsory mother-tongue language-of-learning education is provided for whites, Coloureds and Asians in (mostly) single-medium schools, so that pupils studying through the medium of Afrikaans learn English as a compulsory second language, in order to acquire a functional knowledge of the language ("English Second Language" - ESL) but not in order to use English as a medium through which to learn all school subjects (the function of "English First Language" - EL1). The important distinction between learning a language and using a language to learn will be further explored in section 3.3.3.1.b.

The black pupils entering the "white" education system without the experience of English enjoyed by their English-mother-tongue classmates are faced with the dual educational challenge mentioned in 2.4.3.1.b: *Mastery of academic content, and the ability to do this through the medium of a language other than their mother tongue* (Lemmer 1993a: 150).

The second element of the challenge is what sets the black pupil undertaking English-language-of-learning education apart from the traditional concept (in South African terms) of the "English Second Language" (ESL) pupil. Admittedly the black child, like the Afrikaans-speaking pupil learning English as a subject, does not have English as a mother tongue; but the black child's need is to acquire a proficiency in English as a tool for learning that the traditional Afrikaans-speaking ESL pupil simply does not require (McGeogh 1995: interview). This distinction will be explored in the next section.

2.4.1.2 First and second language: the need for a new terminology

The traditional distinction between "English First Language" (EL1) and "English Second Language" (ESL) in the South African education environment was explained in the previous section, as was the nature of the pupils who typically undertake the study of the language according to these distinctions.

To these pupils have now been added, since 1991 (v. 2.2.5), a new category: the black pupil who comes to the predominantly white school with second-language proficiency (or even less) in English but who needs to use the language for what is characteristically a first-language application: as the language of learning for all school subjects. Clearly, then, the traditional EL1/ESL classification does not accommodate these particular children and their linguistic/cognitive needs (McGeogh 1995: interview).

The school pupil with limited English ability is not, of course, an entirely new phenomenon in South African English-medium schools, nor simply a product of the creation of the state-aided "open" school. Children of Western European origin (French, German, Italian, Portuguese *et*

al) have long been part and parcel of the English-medium secondary school; these have been joined more recently by pupils from Eastern Europe, and from the east, notably Taiwan. The language and academic problems suffered by these pupils have not, however, commanded the attention that the black child of limited English proficiency has quickly come to need, for reasons that may be explained in section 2.4.3.3, and by point (c) in particular (Legg 1995: interview).

The need for a new terminology that will identify this new phenomenon as distinctly different in the South African context from the ESL pupil is therefore evident: a term needs to be adopted, that is, that will identify the pupil who comes to the study of English from the background of a different mother tongue, but who needs to develop a facility at least approaching mother-tongue proficiency in order to be able to use English for academic purposes[1].

Lemmer (1993a: 151) subscribes to the concept of "Limited English Proficiency" (LEP) to describe pupils in this situation, maintaining that

> the distinction between the ESL pupil and the LEP pupil is a particularly useful one when it is adapted to the South African context. The distinction not only allows both the researcher and the classroom teacher to identify the unique characteristics and special language needs of the non-English pupil learning through the medium of English, but also creates the opportunity to devise innovative teaching strategies to meet these needs (1992: no page).

---

[1] Debate persists - often generated by the political/ideological position held by the debater - as to what terminology should be used. LEP ("limited-English-proficient") is an American term, associated with the "deprivation model" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 3-4). Cummins, for example, subscribes to the idea of NELB: "non-English language background." An exhaustive examination of the various terminologies that constitute the debate is not appropriate in this study; cognisance should be taken, however, of the fact that the debate does exist, as do many possibilities of terminology, and that the use of "LEP" in the present investigation reflects the exercise of a choice in the context of the particular situation that prevails in South Africa at the time of writing.

2.4.2 THE "STANDARD ENGLISH QUESTION"

The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Framework Report refers to the importance of

> ensuring that all South Africans have access to English (because it is currently the language of access to further education and because it is an established lingua franca in South Africa and further afield), without jeopardising the use of African languages (1993: 182).

The suggestion implicit in this statement is that a universally-understandable form of English is required. In the light of this implication, and especially in view of extensive disagreement (v. 2.4.2.2) about appropriate forms of English in situations such as that which prevails in South Africa, close attention must now be given to a definition of the concept of a "standard language" and to the debate about the use of Standard English in South Africa.

2.4.2.1 The concept of a "standard language"

Standard English should not be confused with "Received Pronunciation", described by Daniel Jones, which need not be any part of the "Standard English package". Titlestad quotes Sir Randolph Quirk (1993) talking of some of the *apparently wilful misconceptions* about the linguistic uniformities embodied in a "standard" form of language:

> There is a myth that Standard English entails a particular accent - "talking posh". It does not. Only a trifling minority of Standard English speakers have any such accent and Standard English is spoken equally well by Bill Clinton, Paul Keating, Virginia Bottomley and John Smith - not to mention Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk (Titlestad 1994a: 1).

Standard English is simply a dialect, one of a number of English dialects, but one that is universal and non-regional, having no affinities with a particular place nor with a particular

accent (Strevens 1977: 136). It is neither elitist nor even purist; it includes styles from sophisticated printed expression to the colloquial. It is a form of English that is internationally used and understood, and consequently can be argued to possess that necessary uniformity - for both the internal and international linking purposes described by Titlestad - that a *lingua franca* should have.

Commenting on the language provisions contained in the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Titlestad (1994d: 1) asks *where does English fit in?* He refers to the proposition of Alexander (1989: 54) that sketches a scenario in which English is universally accepted as an official language together with other languages, which would have official status in appropriate regions; and another in which English, Nguni and Sotho are the official languages, with others enjoying *regional status*. Alexander proposes that the *standard forms* of Nguni and Sotho, approximating over time more and more nearly with the written standards, should be promoted. In his debate on which language or languages should be accorded official status, the need for standardised forms is therefore taken virtually for granted (Alexander 1989: 64).

2.4.2.2 Non-standard forms of English: the argument for the basilect

(a) The underlying rationale

Two statements illustrate the position adopted in opposition to the "Standard English argument":

* The opinion expressed by Ndebele (1987) that English users in South Africa must be open to the development of a *new language*:

> South African English must be open to the possibility of its becoming a new language. This may happen not only at the level of vocabulary ... but also with regard to grammatical adjustments that may result from the proximity of English to indigenous African languages (Ndebele 1987: 13).

> The idea of teaching English through the exposure of second language learners to English culture, should be abandoned. If English belongs to all, then it will naturally assume the cultural colour of its respective users (Ndebele 1987: 14).

* The statement of poet Sipho Sepamla quoted in Alexander (1989: 59):

> We are using English but we've stopped to be embarrassed by our mistakes in English because we have decided to merge the English taught with that which we have acquired through usage. A user aims at being intelligible regardless of the number of broken rules in the process.

Titlestad expressly warns, however, that *the mistakes of foreign language learners do not constitute a new English* (1994a: 14). Furthermore, it must be recognized that Sepamla's objective of intelligibility is jeopardised when, for example, an interviewer on radio introduces his guest by saying *I have been told that you are opinionated* when he means *I have been told that you have an opinion on this subject.*

Nevertheless Ndebele's and Sepamla's broad position is supported by protagonists of the use of the *basilect* - the form of language furthest from the international standard - as a sufficient level of language proficiency to strive for in second-language learners. Kachru (1991: 10), for example, adopts a largely sociolinguistic position, acknowledging that the *acrolect* - the form of language nearest to the international standard - does have a function, but inclining nevertheless more strongly towards use of the basilect.

(b) Arguments in opposition

Quirk (1990), in opposition, more readily sees the global need for the use of an international standard form of the language. He asks whether Kachru's *liberation model* actually does liberate by giving access to what can be achieved through the international standard (Quirk 1990: 7-9). He argues that the basilect is language at its most limiting, its most imprecise and

its most unstable, and points to all the disadvantages to genuine empowerment that such a form of language proficiency implies (Quirk 1990: 5-6).

Quirk (1988: 237), arguing for the adoption of the acrolect, points out that the native pidgin model, established as a local standard in Papua New Guinea by Australian authorities on "democratic" grounds, has been recognised as a *debased patois* whose uses were so limiting to the population that it is condemned by the United Nations as *neocolonialist* and deserted by the New Guineans who want to get ahead. Supporting Quirk's position, Titlestad suggests that

> the various uses that English has in South Africa would make basilectal English in South African education an unmitigated disaster, were the Kachru line to be adopted here (1994a: 15).

Abbott, in responding to the Quirk/Kachru debate, acknowledges that English in different places will undergo indigenous influence, but argues the need for mutual intelligibility:

> Where educational authorities recognise international intelligibility as a desired outcome, there will need to be an adherence to some form of commonality, if not to a shared "model English" since it is exasperating and demoralising to go through one's education only to find that the English one has been using doesn't work with outsiders (1991: 56).

Titlestad argues that *among the various language rights is the right of every child to be taught not just English but Standard English* (1994a: 2). His argument against the usefulness of non-standard forms is expressed in the following terms:

> The problem with non-standard forms is that if these are developed as separate languages to Standard English they may eventually block access to Standard English along with all the advantages that access to Standard English gives .... One encounters certain people who, while themselves possessing all the advantages of access to Standard English, talk too readily or with a romantic fervour about a heavily

> indigenised South African English. But such an English would in fact deny to those that learn it all the advantages that these people themselves possess. This is often done under the aegis of the term "empowerment". It is Standard English, however, that brings empowerment. Those who foster prejudice against the concept of Standard English are acting destructively and could do great harm (Titlestad 1994a: 4-5).

(c) A "South African English"

The concept of a "South African English" is based largely on two aspects of local (i.e. South African) English usage: the names of objects found in South Africa, and colloquial terms; in both categories, many words and terms have been borrowed from other languages. Titlestad dismisses the possibility that they might contribute to what would constitute a "new English":

> They provide an occasional South African flavour to our colloquial usage. One cannot communicate in South African English. On appropriate occasions one uses specifically South African words: biltong, impala, indaba, kopje, veld, necklace, stokvel. They are an essential part of our repertoire and to be welcomed, but the staple of our communication, both written and spoken, is the standard language (Titlestad 1994a: 9).

Even the concept of an "educated black English" has not yet been shown to have, other than tolerance of distinctive pronunciation, sufficient variation in grammatical, lexical and morphological detail to constitute "a new English" (Titlestad 1994a: 11).

The appropriateness of *an indigenous flavouring to English used on specific and suitable occasions, as already occurs widely in South Africa*, is recognised as *a different matter* (Titlestad 1994a: 4). He concludes, however, that *the education system must provide a basis for these language functions*, and suggests that it is through *imparting the vocabulary and structures of Standard English* that it will do so.

(d) The international perspective

Titlestad places in international context the questions presently being debated in South Africa in its contemplation of language issues and language policy in schools, by pointing out that they are not peculiar to English:

> They arise wherever a language is spoken in more than one independent country. There are a lot of examples in the world but there are two outstanding ones where the scale resembles that of English. These are Arabic and Spanish, each of which is the sole official language of a considerable number of independent countries. The interesting point is that the view proposed with regard to English is universally taken in the case of both these languages. Not a single Spanish or Arabic speaking country has standardised a local variant of its language. In Belgium and Holland, to give another example, great care is taken that the standard version of the Dutch/Flemish language is absolutely uniform in the two countries, although there are considerable variants in regard to the language as spoken in the streets (1994a: 16-17).

2.4.2.3 The argument for Standard English

Titlestad (1994a), the president at the time of the English Academy of Southern Africa, insists that the following considerations (*inter alia*) must not be overlooked when language functions for South Africa are considered:

* The fact that *many parents who are not English-speaking want their children to be educated through the medium of English* (1994a: 1).

* The advisability of giving appropriate attention to practical issues of language function in society, as well as the emotional issues that tend to enjoy the closest attention of sociolinguists (1994a: 1).

Titlestad considers it likely that English will be the linking language, or one of the linking languages, of South Africa, an opinion that seems reasonable in terms of the language's greater general political acceptability in comparison to Afrikaans, of its already fairly widespread usage throughout the country across a range of language and race groups, and of its established international currency, with 300 million native speakers. He points out that if a language is to be used as a "linking language", even if for internal purposes, *a certain uniformity of usage is desirable* (Titlestad 1994a: 2), citing the following as examples of the kind of functions such a linking language will be needed to fulfil:

* the need for an international language that will enable all the people of South Africa *to communicate with the rest of the world, not least with the rest of Africa* (Titlestad 1994a: 1);

* the needs of tertiary and higher secondary education, which are served largely by books in English;

* the need for a "language of record" in which the laws of the land will be written down;

* the need for government departments in different parts of the country to be able to communicate with one another, in which regard *it is worth noting that parliamentary debate in a multiplicity of languages with simultaneous translation into a number of other languages costs the European Union £40 million per year* (Titlestad 1994a: 2).

This need for uniformity (or at least relative uniformity) implies the necessity of a "standard" form of the language (v. 2.4.2.1).

2.4.2.4 The relevance of the basilect-acrolect debate in South African desegregation-model schools

In the next section, the background and present educational characteristics will be examined of the black child who enters the formerly-white school system with a limited expertise in

English, the language of learning. The linguistic and general cognitive needs of these children, together with their expectations of the education system into which they have enrolled, will create a context within which the arguments for the basilect and for the acrolect can be evaluated.

2.4.3 THE "LIMITED-ENGLISH-PROFICIENT" PUPIL IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

2.4.3.1 The problems created in "Bantu" education: cognitive as well as linguistic backlogs

(a) English as a *lingua franca*

The attempted imposition of Afrikaans as language of learning for black children created antagonism towards the language (perhaps more widely than merely in the education context, though after 1976 it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish clearly between purely educational issues and the broad liberation movement with which they became intermingled). English has therefore largely escaped, in South Africa, the rancour directed at it in the rest of Africa as an "ex-colonial language" (Chick 1992b: 276). This had led to a growing desire, especially among urban blacks, to prefer English as a *lingua franca* in political activity, in the workplace, and in the broader community; with the concomitant preference for English as the language of learning at school from the earliest possible stage. Lemmer suggests (cf. 2.2.2.4) that another reason for this attitude is that black people

> view it [mother-tongue instruction in black vernacular languages] as part of the former apartheid ideology, intended to prepare different language groups for a separate existence (1993a: 150).

(b) Problems created by non-mother-tongue instruction

Understandable though this tendency may be, and driven as it also is by the rich availability of teaching and learning materials in English (with fewer available, perhaps owing to the proliferation of different black vernaculars in South Africa, in black children's mother tongues), it fails to accommodate the obvious truth that children learn most effectively in their own language - though this does not mean that children cannot learn effectively, assuming the right conditions and circumstances, in a second language (Cummins 1979: 224; 1981a: 16-21); and it takes too little cognisance of the centrally-important consideration that to be required to learn a new language as well as the material of content subjects at the same time places upon the black child heavy, often insupportable, cognitive demands (Davidson *et al* 1991).

(c) Practical complications

The problem is compounded by shortcomings in the quality of English commonly used and taught in black schools. The timing and manner of the introduction of English as the language of learning for all subjects - overnight, at the beginning of Standard 3 - is particularly problematic (Langhan 1992; Macdonald 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1993; Macdonald and Burroughs 1991). The essence of the problem lies in

> the disparity between the English proficiency of these black children and the proficiency required of them in order to master all school subjects through the medium of English. In this regard, two major questions still need to be addressed satisfactorily: At what age and in what manner the transition from mother-tongue to English should take place, and how the child's language acquisition should be supported through the subsequent levels of schooling (Lemmer 1993a: 149).

It is the second of these questions that directs (v. 6.2 and 6.3) a primary focus of the present study.

2.4.3.2 Admission to desegregated schools, and broad implications thereof

(a) Early problems in the multicultural classroom

The introduction of desegregated schools into the South African education system in 1991 was described in section 2.2.5. Shortly thereafter Davidson *et al* expressed an early response to the new multicultural situation in formerly-white classrooms:

> [T]he saddest thing of all ... is that there is a huge discrepancy between the [black] students who come to us from private schools ... and those who come to us from Alexander or Soweto. And that is very sad, because one then realises how very iniquitous the system has been (1991: 37).

The appeal of "white" schools (v. 2.2.5.3), perceived by the black community as offering a superior quality of education, is easily understandable, and led to an influx - small to begin with, but increasing quickly to significant proportions, a trend likely to continue (v. 1.1.3) under the strictly non-segregationist policy of the African National Congress government - of black pupils into what were hitherto classified as "white" schools. These black pupils generally were sufficiently fluent in English to pass the entrance test that was initially administered by such schools, but lacked - apart from the very small number who had enjoyed the advantages of a private-school education from an early age and so had already developed an advanced level of competency in the language - the command of English necessary for academic purposes and success at school (McGeogh 1995: interview).

(b) Constitutional provisions for admission to schools

It should be noted in this regard that the kind of "entrance test" referred to above has subsequently been forbidden:

> Section 8(2) [of the 1994 Constitution] which places a prohibition on unfair discrimination, has certain implications for the admission policy of our schools. In

accordance with the stipulations of the said section, no pupil may be refused admission on the basis of the following considerations:

* race
* gender
* colour
* sex (except in single sex schools)
* religion
* ethnic or social origin
* language
* sexual orientation
* culture (Department of Education and Culture 1994: 3-4)

In its comments on language policy, the following points are made in the same document:

> A school has a right to its own medium of instruction, but pupils who are prepared to be educated in that language cannot be refused admission ... (Department of Education and Culture 1994: 5).

These stipulations will serve to make the "white" schools of the former apartheid era increasingly accessible - at least in terms of admission policy - to black children with a limited English background.

(c) The need for a new approach

Lemmer, asserting the usefulness of the distinction between ESL and LEP pupils (cf. 2.4.1.2) in the South African context, maintains that

> the principles of ESL instruction as traditionally practised in South Africa remain relevant and useful, but inadequate for the effective teaching of the LEP pupil.

Instead, a more comprehensive strategy embracing appropriate teacher training, school governance, parent involvement and classroom practice is called for (1992: 151).

The special problems experienced by black LEP pupils, then, make it necessary to explore their needs in terms of language acquisition and academic development independently of the arguably different needs of the "other" LEP pupils - which indeed may include children of Afrikaans-speaking South African background, and even children from English-speaking homes (South African, or from any other English-speaking country) whose language proficiency is not as well developed as it might be or ought to be. It will be argued in Chapter 6, however, that the approaches and policies adopted to deal across the curriculum with the needs of the LEP black child cannot but work to the advantage of all pupils, and even of those whose language proficiency is fully developed (6.1.3).

2.4.3.3 A classroom profile of the black child with a limited level of proficiency in English

(a) Behaviour characteristics identified in the American system

In summary, Fradd, Barona and Barona (1989: 78) document the following behaviour characteristics of students in the process of learning English in American schools:

* A discrepancy in intelligence tests between verbal and non-verbal performance, owing to the fact that many pupils who are not proficient in language can complete non-verbal tasks correctly.

* Academic learning difficulty, because academic concepts and language are more abstract and less easily understood than the ideas and terms that are used in a purely social context; this is a clear reference to the gap between the language of social intercourse and that of academic activity, associated in section 3.3.2.2.e with the research of Cummins (1981a). The concept will be extensively explored in section 3.3.2.

* Language disorders in the form of disfluencies that are considered a natural part of second-language development.

* Perceptual disorders and a distortion of the ability to organize information.

* Social and emotional problems.

* Attention and memory problems, attributable to the lack of extensive prior experience on which to relate new information.

* Hyperactivity, hypoactivity, and impulsivity, being the manifestations of restlessness and inattentiveness on the part of pupils as a result of having little prior knowledge or experience on which to base new information.

(b) Early observations in South African classrooms

To these can be added the following specific observations, recorded from personal experience in South African multilingual secondary classrooms, by Davidson *et al* (1991):

> The biggest problem we face is lack of confidence. Students from the townships still feel very under-confident in English-medium schools; they don't put up their hands to give an answer when they feel the English mother-tongue speakers could give a better answer. I think they are also used to an environment in which there is one correct answer, and in which if you wait long enough the teacher will give you an answer. Linked to this is that students will not speak up when they do not understand, and it was only after a lot of pain that I realised that I have to test comprehension all the time rather than wait for a set test (Davidson *et al* 1991: 33).
>
> Another major problem is lack of confidence. They are shy to ask the teacher, or even to ask their peers for help; they are often too embarrassed to try to answer. There is a

huge fear of failure: we find there are students who tell their parents that they have no homework, or that there are no tests, because they are so scared of failing (Davidson *et al* 1991: 35).

I think pupils find it very difficult in class to distinguish teachers' instructions from the general run of the lessons .... Students also find group work very difficult .... Children find overheads and cursive writing very difficult (Davidson *et al* 1991: 39-40).

(c) Language deficit in the multicultural classroom

Lemmer recognises (1993a) the limited knowledge of the language of learning that many black children bring to the desegregated school. In describing the nature and implications of the deficit, she lists (1993a: 152-158) the following features:

(i) A hidden deficit

The language deficit of LEP pupils is a hidden deficit, owing to the gap that exists between the colloquial language of basic social discourse and the language proficiency needed to perform the higher cognitive operations of academic study (described by Cummins 1981a: 24; v. 3.3.2.2.e). Cummins himself (1979: 231) describes the surface fluency of such pupils as a *linguistic facade.*

(ii) Absence of strong mother-tongue language skills

To compound the disadvantages caused by their limited proficiency in English, LEP pupils *are often found to lack strong language skills in their mother tongue* (Lemmer 1993a: 153).

Cummins (1981a: 16) mentions also the widely-recognised phenomenon whereby, in an earnest but misguided effort to force the learning of English, parents and even teachers discourage pupils from using their home language at all, in the mistaken belief that opportunities to learn the new language are being lost whenever pupils use the mother tongue - the so-called "fear of bilingualism". The cognitive developmental problems that can be engendered by such advice and policy are explored in 3.3.2.2.

(iii) Unaccommodating learning conditions

The LEP child is expected to learn the new language by a process quite different from the manner in which the mother tongue was originally - naturally - acquired (v. 7.3.1.3). The conditions applicable to the learning of the second language are relatively unaccommodating, and may be further complicated by the lack of *adequate and appropriate black models, since teachers in black schools are themselves often limited in their command of English* (Lemmer 1993a: 155).

(iv) Disadvantages of a non-standard language model

Where English is in fact used in the LEP child's home community, more harm than good may be done if it is a poor quality of English, or even a non-standard form that may not serve the academic needs of the classroom. The problem can presumably be compounded by the enthusiastic but misguided parent (mentioned in the second point above) who tries to use English (even poor English) in preference to a good quality of home language in the mother tongue in an effort to give the child maximum exposure to the new language.

(v) Problems created by multilingualism

In many cases, the black pupil learning English is in fact learning what may be a *third or fourth or even n-th language* (Lemmer 1993a: 156) to add to a collection of languages used with varying degrees of proficiency.

This kind of multilingualism, which is often marked by mere semi-literacy in several languages, further complicates the effective learning and teaching of English and can lead to the demonstration of various English language disorders as a result of the interference of patterns, rules and conventions of other languages being allowed to intrude inappropriately into the production and understanding of standard English.

Simple examples of local language interference are the imposition on English expression of Afrikaans word order (*Daarom het ons geweier = Therefore have we refused*); the literal translation of idiomatic expressions (*Ek het haar met 'n klip gegooi = I threw her with a stone*); the interchangeable use by mother-tongue speakers of African languages of the gender of the pronoun (*My father lost her job*); and the redundant intrusion of the pronoun when it is already implied by the subject of the sentence (*My mother she is sick*).

The way in which this kind of interference can be misinterpreted by uninformed class teachers is recorded in section 3.3.2.2.d.

(vi) Socio-economic factors

In a cross-cultural analysis carried out in the United States of America, Eisenhart and Cutts-Dougherty (1991: 29-30) found that children from a working-class background were not exposed to the same routines and schedules as children from middle-class homes; that the importance of the exactness of communication was not emphasised in the home, as it was in middle-class homes; and that middle-class children, unlike those from working-class homes, were brought up in an environment in which they were

encouraged from a very young age to participate in conversation, and questioned about meanings of words and knowledge of facts. Lemmer reports that

> [b]y tracking the school progress of these children, the researcher found that school success was closely associated with community membership, with middle-class children performing best, followed by lower middle-class children, and finally by working-class children. This graphically illustrates how congruency (or lack thereof) between home and school environments shapes schooling achievement (1993a: 157).

In the light of these findings, Lemmer contemplates how serious may be the effect of socio-economic background on the language development of the black child with limited English proficiency. Such a child

> may come from any one of a variety of backgrounds, ranging from middle-class professional to semi-literate or illiterate homes, from the elite suburbs of the cities, or from townships, informal settlements or underdeveloped rural areas. In such cases children are likely to benefit from school to the extent that early patterns of literacy and exposure to printed and other media are consistent with or can be attached to those in school (Lemmer 1993a: 157).

Further reference is made to the general linguistic deprivation that children from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds suffer, an additional factor that diminishes the chances of success at school.

(vii) The role of cultural background

LEP children are likely to lack the background of *fables, legends, nursery rhymes, proverbs, metaphors, songs and games* (Lemmer 1993a: 158) from the Euro-centred cultural heritage on which the English-speaking - and indeed the French, German, Italian, Czechoslovakian immigrant - child can draw. Lemmer warns against

underestimating the importance and extent of the role that such background plays *at all levels of schooling and in all school subjects*:

> When the child enters school, teachers, textbooks and learning material continually draw on the rich cultural background presumably built up during the preschool years. Moreover, this repertoire of cultural knowledge is augmented during schooling; and reference to cultural background forms an important part of the classroom practice (1993a: 158).

The point is emphasised that the rich background of indigenous folklore and idiom that the LEP child may bring to the school from his or her own cultural background is different from that which will be used in the child's new school, *dominated by Eurocentric curricula and Anglo-centred literature* (Lemmer and Squelch 1992: no page).

(viii) Affective factors: the negative influence of stress

The stress to which LEP children are subjected is also considered (Lemmer 1993a: 158) to influence their academic progress and particularly their development of English proficiency. The following affective factors are described:

* the pressure that results from the *dichotomy of living between two cultures represented by the home and the school* (Lemmer 1993a: 158); a gulf between the two can be formed, leading to the *disassociation of learning from home* (Mirramontes and Coremins 1991: 80); the development of behaviour patterns, as a result of schooling, that are unfamiliar to other family members, is also recognised;

* the severe emotional trauma suffered by many black children as a result of the many years of continuing violence in the townships of South Africa;

* the frustration produced from not having the necessary words to express one's thoughts, such as the correct answer to a question in class;

* the bewilderment and insecurity of being placed suddenly in an unfamiliar environment.

Lemmer warns that *in all ways stress negatively affects the children's academic progress and particularly their acquisition of English* (1993a: 159). The implications of this for the multicultural classroom are suggested in sections 3.3.1.2 and 5.4.3.

2.4.3.4 The need for acceleration

The need for children to succeed at school does not have to be argued, and in general the research in the field of academic performance among language minority students takes for granted the importance of effective education.

Many of the children who enrolled at desegregated schools had previously been high performers in the black schooling system;

> now ... they are failing almost everything, and there is a huge difference between what they thought it would be like and what it is like (Davidson *et al* 1991: 38).

The consequences of failure can be measured in many terms. The financial cost of keeping large numbers of pupils at school for additional years may be the least serious; for the individuals concerned, diminution of self-esteem is a real danger; for society, failure to exploit latent potential of much-needed human resources. The importance of being able to demonstrate in South Africa that cross-cultural co-operation is a viable reality should also not be overlooked. Clearly, then, for many reasons steps need to be taken to enable LEP pupils to perform at optimum level as soon as possible.

Compounding the problem for black LEP children is the level of expectation of parents:

> The parents also have very high expectations: they feel that their children have an opportunity that they did not have, and that they must take advantage of this. Students therefore feel guilty, especially when teachers give them extra classes and they still fail (Davidson *et al*: 38).

Leibowitz identifies the inherent potential for failure when black pupils newly arrived in desegregated schools *have been taught insufficient English to cope in the new system* (1991: 16).

Introducing his description of the implementation of an enrichment class project in a Grahamstown preparatory school, Carlson refers to an important conclusion of the report that led to the establishment of the Molteno Project in 1974:

> The findings of the report concluded that the absence of a firm foundation of reading skills in the mother-tongue lies at the heart of the problem of failure to learn to read in English (1992: 19),

in which context it should be understood that *reading skills* encompasses not just mechanical skills but the entire range of comprehension that is required of children engaged in studying.

The centrality of comprehension ability - and therefore by implication language proficiency - to academic performance is thus clearly established; the proposition will be thoroughly explored in Chapter 3.

2.5 SUMMARY

Historical factors have contributed to the development of a situation in South African education in which black people

* are eager, on the one hand, to avail themselves of newly-offered access to white schools, where a superior quality of education, through the medium of English, is perceived to be offered Chick 1992a: 31; v. 2.3.3.2.c);

* on the other hand are unable, in many cases, to make optimal use of the education so offered, for reasons both of lack of proficiency in English (the language of learning) (Lemmer 1993a: 149); and of general cognitive disadvantagement as a result of the poor quality of educational provision previously available to the black community (Hartshorne 1992: 80; v. 2.2.3).

The following chapter will explore selected theories of language acquisition that might be expected to contribute to the formulation of policies and strategies in South African desegregation-model schools to deal with the problems experienced by the LEP black pupil in an English-medium learning environment. A theoretical foundation will thus be established against which to consider the findings of the qualitative research undertaken later in this study.

CHAPTER 3: RELEVANT THEORIES OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LEARNING, AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IN CLASSROOM PRACTICE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a review is undertaken of some theories, strategies and programmes of bilingual education relevant to the present circumstances in desegregated South African schools.

Of necessity the review cannot be comprehensive: the body of theory and research in the general fields of bilingualism, multiculturalism, first- and second-language acquisition, and teaching English to speakers of other languages, is vast (though for the most part not directed deliberately towards the South African context at present). The material included in this study has been selected for its immediate and practical relevance to the particular circumstances that apply in desegregation-model schools in South Africa at the present time (v. 1.1.2 and 2.2.5).

The appearance in school systems in many countries of pupils from linguistically- and culturally-diverse backgrounds is described by Cummins (1990: 143-144) as an increasing trend since 1970 in most western industrialized countries. He refers to two disturbing patterns noted in relation to such children:

> first, the overrepresentation of foreign students in special education classes, and second, the overrepresentation of foreign students in low academic streams at the secondary level (1990: 144).

He identifies *insufficient command of the language of instruction*, rather than inherent limitations of cognitive ability, as the reason for these placements; and refers to the marginalization and even subsequent exclusion from productive society that can result from children failing to acquire qualifications, skills and competencies (1990: 144-145). He records the fact that

> there are still no universally accepted models for the education of minority students and no consensus regarding the fundamental knowledge base that might guide programmatic intervention (1990: 145).

Nor is South Africa excluded from these education phenomena. Cummins identifies one of the language decisions with which South Africa is presently engaged as a recognisable *current controversy*; he describes the tension that can exist in the field of a community's sociolinguistic goals, which involve

> promoting access to a language of wider communication (usually a language of economic or political power) versus promoting access to a lesser used language (usually a "heritage" language whose survival is threatened) (1990: 143).

Cummins warns (1990: 146) against inferring a possible application for firm findings about bilingual education programmes across contexts; it seems necessary, then, to identify individual strategies relevant to particular contexts - to know how to handle the South African bilingual education problem, that is, one must study the South African context (cf. 1.6 and 7.4.4).

3.2 DEFINITIONS

A number of concepts that form essential elements in the theory of second-language acquisition will be referred to repeatedly during this study. Definitions, and brief discussions of the relevance, of three of the most important of these follow.

3.2.1 BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM

The terms *multilingual* and *multicultural* education are used *in a general sense to refer to the education of students in a linguistically- and culturally-diverse milieu* (Cummins 1990: 143) - that is, to the environment in which education takes place.

The term *bilingual education*, which can be applied both to the use of two or more languages as media of learning at some stage of a child's schooling (that is, the linguistic *means* by which learning is achieved), and to the programmes designed to promote bilingual language proficiency (language as a *goal*) (Cummins 1990: 142) is used in this study to encompass both senses.

3.2.2 IMMERSION AND SUBMERSION THEORIES

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 138-139) relates the purely educational concepts of immersion and submersion programmes to the more emotive socio-educational concept of *majority children* and *minority children*. She approves of immersion (*language bath*) programmes, in which

> the [majority language] child herself and her parents have voluntarily chosen that the child should become bilingual and that this should be by being taught in a foreign language (1981: 138).

In contrast to this *rather enjoyable* situation she refers to the submersion (*language drowning, sink-or-swim*) programme in which the minority-language child

> is actually taught through the medium of [the] foreign language and ... has a low-status mother tongue which is constantly in danger of being replaced by the more prestigious majority language through which she is being taught - a *subtractive* language learning situation. The child is forced to accept both the necessity of becoming bilingual and of being taught in a foreign language - there is usually no alternative (1981: 138-139).

Cummins points out that the immersion programme sets the acquisition of a new language as a goal, by explaining that

> instruction is delivered through a minority language in order to provide students with the maximum opportunity to learn that language (1990: 142).

Cummins argues strongly for recognition of important and fundamental differences between immersion and submersion programmes, although both involve a *home-school language switch*:

> In immersion programs all students start the program with little or no competence in the school language and are praised for any use they make of that language. Children in submersion programs, on the other hand, are mixed together with students whose [first language] is that of the school and their lack of proficiency in the school language is often treated as a sign of limited intellectual and academic ability (1979: 224).

His description of submersion clearly describes the situation of the black LEP child, and illustrates the problems associated with language learning in a submersion environment. In an assertion that carries a severe warning to teachers of LEP children in South Africa (given the fact that by its nature the multilingual classroom in the schools that form the focus of this study constitutes a submersion situation), he points out that

> in general, what is communicated to children in immersion programmes is their success, whereas in submersion programs children are often made to feel acutely aware of their failure (1979: 225).

The notion of a "deficit view" of minority education is criticised by Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988). In particular, the credibility of the "liberal reform" programmes that have been widely provided in the United States, the Netherlands, Britain, Sweden and Canada, to meet the assumed needs of minority-language children (bridging classes, instruction in the school language), is questioned:

> The mixed results of these reforms tend to reinforce the underlying assumption against which the liberal reforms were ostensibly directed: namely, that it is the minority

> children and their parents who are deficient rather than schools and societies (1988: 3-4).

These researchers suggest that the problem should be located not with the minority children or with their communities, but *in the institutionalized racism that is mirrored in the educational system* (1988: 4).

Recognising the relevance of sociopolitical factors, Skutnabb-Kangas adopts a position that takes account of ethics, as well as simply of pragmatic considerations, in the development of policy:

> The topic of multilingualism and the education of minority children ... forces the researcher to penetrate questions of ethics and the philosophy of science ... when pondering over the relationship between research and policy (1988: 9).

She expresses extreme suspicion of the phenomenon *linguicism*:

> ... ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (on the basis of their mother tongues) (1988: 13).

She recognises the plight within a society of speakers of minority languages who are faced with the need to learn the majority language, often without being provided with the educational means to achieve this:

> The majority of multilinguals are multilingual *not* because they thought that multilingualism was so desirable that they consciously wanted to become multilingual. It is rather because all those people whose mother tongues have no official rights in their country have been *forced* to learn other languages in addition to their own (1988: 11).

Her suggestion that minority language speakers have been *blamed for [their] failure* (1988: 10) is not, however, demonstrated to be true; nor does she show how an ethical condemnation of the deficiency viewpoint, morally correct though it may arguably be, can contribute in practical terms to an immediate solution of the problems experienced by minority-language speakers within a society. Critical cognisance therefore needs to be taken, in the development of a society's language policy, of the ideology embodied in the "deficit view". However, the historical status and role within the South African education system of mother-tongue language of learning (described in Chapter 2) has led black communities to seek English-medium education in preference to mother-tongue education. The question of bilingualism in this country seems therefore to be attended by greater complexity than is allowed for in Skutnabb-Kangas's analysis.

3.2.3 LANGUAGE ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

Bullock makes the following recommendations:

> 138: In the secondary school, all subject teachers need to be aware of:
>
> (i) the linguistic process by which their pupils acquire information and understanding, and the implications for the teacher's own use of language;
>
> (ii) the reading demands of their own subjects, and ways in which their pupils can be helped to meet them.
>
> 139: To bring about this understanding every secondary school should develop a policy for language across the curriculum. The responsibility for this policy should be embodied in the organizational structure of the school (1975: 529).

These two points encapsulate the position of his committee with regard to the notion of *language across the curriculum* (LAC) in the context of the secondary school, and may be taken as a broad description of what the notion embodies.

Marland (1977), a member of the committee that compiled the so-called "Bullock report" *A language for life* (1975), places the concept *language across the curriculum* within the context of the need for a school policy that recognises and accommodates LAC as an integral element:

> ... difficulties with language hamper understanding and growth in most areas of learning .... The aim of a "language across the curriculum policy" is simply to face that basic educational problem by endeavouring to create a "virtuous circle": *if a school devotes thought and time to assisting language development, learning in all areas will be helped; if attention is given to language in the content and skill subjects, language development will be assisted powerfully by the context and purpose of those subjects* [original italics] (1977: 3).

Gatherer (1977: 43) suggests that at the heart of a LAC attitude is acceptance of the principle that learning a subject (such as physics) involves learning to talk (and write) about the subject, as much as learning the information and purely subject-related skills embodied in the subject itself; that, in other words, a command of appropriate language and language skills is an integral part of the learning of a subject. He insists that the responsibility for teaching these skills resides with subject teachers:

> It is unrealistic in teachers to look for this skill as if it were a natural acquisition, or something acquired somewhere other than in their own classrooms. Every teacher should attempt to teach the language skills essential to his or her own subject.
>
> Every teacher, furthermore, should be trained to be sensitive to the role of language in learning. This requires that every teacher should have a comprehensive knowledge of the nature of language, language-acquisition, and language learning (1977: 44).

He suggests further that

> teachers - of all subjects - should be sufficiently familiar with the terms and concepts of modern linguistic analysis to enable them to speak usefully about the language used in pupils' work (1977: 62).

It is in the context of these definitions, the principles that underlie them, and practical problems to which they give rise, that certain theories of second-language learning and acquisition have been selected for description and discussion in the sections that follow.

3.3 SELECTED THEORIES OF SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LEARNING

Cummins (1990: 147) isolates four psychoeducational principles that *have some claim to generalizability* and that he takes therefore to represent a fundamental base of knowledge to apply to the general area of the academic development of bilingual students:

* the *additive bilingualism enrichment principle*, which demonstrates that, contrary to widespread belief in the earlier part of the twentieth century, *bilingualism can positively affect both intellectual and linguistic progress* (Cummins 1990: 147);

* the *conversational/academic language proficiency principle*, which distinguishes between the language used in informal face-to-face situations, characterised by contextual and paralinguistic cues and acquirable within about two years of exposure to the target language; and the more complex form of language needed for academic purposes such as reading a complex text, and without the help of contextual cues (Cummins 1990: 149-150);

* the *linguistic interdependence principle*, according to which an increase in proficiency in one language can, under the proper conditions, be transferred to another language;

the notion is therefore established of a common underlying linguistic proficiency that *makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages* (Cummins 1990: 151);

* the *interactive pedagogy principle*, whereby the promotion in the classroom of motivated and non-trivial communication in the target language, incorporating meaningful active use of the language by both teacher and learner (especially but not exclusively in the form of the *comprehensible input* described particularly by Krashen), in conjunction with the devotion of some systematic attention to the study of form, is recognised as a major factor in the successful acquisition of that language (Cummins 1990: 152-154).

These four principles form elements of a number of important models of bilingualism and second-language acquisition, and will be discussed in some detail, in those contexts, in the sections that follow.

3.3.1 STEPHEN KRASHEN'S MONITOR MODEL

Krashen's (1987: 9-56) *monitor model* of second-language acquisition

> is probably the most widely cited of theories of second language acquisition ... and ... has often dominated education research and education debate in second language acquisition (Baker 1993: 101).

3.3.1.1 Elements of the theory

The model comprises five central hypotheses:

* The *acquisition/learning hypothesis*, which distinguishes between second-language competence acquired naturally (by using it for real communication) and competence

learned in formal situations (involving the application of explicitly-understood rules); it should be noted, however, that acquisition and learning are not defined by the environment in which the learning takes place, so that the language classroom, where it can be ensured that input is comprehensible (see 3.3.1.2.a), *may be a very good place for second language acquisition, especially at the beginning and intermediate levels* (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 56). Baker points out that

> Advocates of the communicative method ... emphasize the importance of informal acquisition of authentic language inside the classroom (1993: 102).

The essential defining factor (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 26-27; Krashen 1987: 10-12) is the distinction between language judgements based on rules (learning, which is deductive), and based on feelings (acquisition, which is inductive).

Significantly, however, Jarman points out that

> [a] bone of contention for many researchers ... is the seemingly dubious distinction which Krashen has drawn between learning and acquisition. ... Krashen has not supplied any objective way of determining exactly what is "acquisition" and what is "learning" (1994: 72).

* The *natural order hypothesis*, which suggests that grammatical structures and morphemes are mastered in a predictable order (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 28-30; Krashen 1987: 12-15).

* The *monitor hypothesis*, which attributes a very limited role to conscious learning among older learners of a second language. It asserts that an utterance in a second language is initiated by acquired competence, and that conscious learning is applied in order to modify that utterance only after it has first been generated. It describes how editing of utterances may occur, in the light of learned knowledge about language, either before or after a speech output; when there is both a need for this to be done and

time for it to happen, and when the appropriate speech rules are known (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 30-32; Krashen 1987: 15-20).

* The *affective filter hypothesis*, in terms of which attitudes to language, motivation, self-confidence, anxiety and similar affective factors determine how effectively, and at what rate, a second language will be acquired (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 37-39; Krashen 1987: 30-32).

* The *input hypothesis*, which relates to acquisition and not to learning, and proposes that learners exposed to language usage slightly beyond their current level of competence "acquire" that usage: if learners receive understandable input in the new language, that language will be naturally acquired (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 32-37; Krashen 1987: 20-30).

3.3.1.2 Implications of Krashen's theory for classroom practice

(a) Comprehension

The input hypothesis implies that *the most important element of any language teaching programme is input* (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 55).

Krashen and Terrell emphasise strongly the *Great Paradox of Language Teaching*, namely that

> [l]anguage is best taught when it is being used to transmit messages, not when it is explicitly taught for conscious learning (1983: 55).

The need for input to be understandable implies the importance of visual aids to assist comprehensibility, of vocabulary acquisition, and of the comprehension of the message being conveyed. Because the natural language input of a society at large is too complex to be

understood easily by early learners of a new language, the classroom, where language input can be monitored and controlled, may be a very appropriate environment in which to produce the comprehensible input that leads to acquisition (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 56); the need to lower the affective filter of the learner implies that the comprehensible input must be interesting and personally appealing to the learner.

(b) Speaking

Because language is acquired from what is heard (or read), and not from what is said, *speaking is not absolutely essential for language acquisition* (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 56).

> The input hypothesis claims that the best way to teach speaking is to focus on listening (and reading) and spoken fluency will *emerge* on its own (1983: 56).

The importance of listening comprehension and reading in a second-language acquisition programme is thus clearly asserted.

(c) The natural approach

Krashen and Terrell (1983: 57-61) advocate strongly the use of the *natural approach* to second-language acquisition as an appropriate way of implementing the five central hypotheses of Krashen's monitor model described above. Its elements are as follows:

* The goal of the natural approach is to improve communication skills.

* Comprehension precedes production, which explains and accommodates the "silent period" noted by many teachers, during which learners show a reluctance to use the new language.

* Production emerges when the learner is ready to speak (and to write) without being forced to do so.

* Acquisition activities are central, so that much class time must be devoted to activities that provide opportunities for acquisition through comprehensible input. A strong implication thereof is the responsibility on teachers (especially of content-area subjects) to present input in comprehensible terms and through language structures that will gradually extend the level of competence of the learners. The need for content-area teachers to be sensitive to their own usage of language in the classroom, and to the current level of LEP pupils' English acquisition, is clearly implied.

(d) Conclusion

The affective filter hypothesis and the input hypothesis are particularly relevant to the development of a whole-school language policy. The affective filter hypothesis reveals the need for the creation of a positive, supportive language-learning environment, in which the pupil is allowed, for example, to decline to converse until comfortable to do so (Baker 1993: 104). The input hypothesis constitutes an argument for extensive exposure to the second language in use in relevant contexts. In terms thereof, the input hypothesis is strongly consistent with principles underlying the CALLA model (v. 3.3.3). The implication does, however, exist that teachers using the second language for input should know what the level of language competence is of the pupils involved, so that the level of input is indeed slightly ahead of their current level, but still "understandable", in order that acquisition and not confusion takes place (Baker 1993: 104).

Krashen and Terrell (1983) therefore favour a "natural approach" to language teaching characterised by an emphasis on the development of communicative skills; on comprehension (listening) before production (speaking); on the emergence of speaking and writing at an appropriate unforced stage of readiness; on acquisition rather than formal (deductive) learning; and on the presence of a low affective filter (favourable attitudes, positive motivation and low anxiety levels).

3.3.2 THE CONTRIBUTION OF JAMES CUMMINS: INTERACTION OF FACTORS: LANGUAGE AND COGNITION

In their attempt to explain the significant difference observed in the effectiveness of immersion programmes for the majority child and submersion programmes for the minority child (section 3.2.2), a number of researchers and academics (Bowen 1977; Cohen and Swain 1976; Swain 1978b; Tucker 1977, all referred to in Cummins 1979: 222) addressed a key question in the field of second-language learning. This question is expressed by Cummins as follows:

> Why does a home-school language switch result in high levels of functional bilingualism and academic achievement in middle-class majority language children yet lead to inadequate command of both first and second languages and poor academic achievement in many minority language children (1979: 222)?

In proposing an explanation of this phenomenon, Cummins disagrees with the proposition usually offered that attributes it to socio-cultural and attitudinal factors (socio-economic status, community support for the school programme, relative prestige of the two languages, teacher expectations, *inter alia*). He proposes instead a theoretical framework

> which assigns a central role to the *interaction* between socio-cultural, linguistic and school program factors in explaining the academic and cognitive development of bilingual children (1979: 223).

He expresses dissatisfaction with previous hypotheses in response to the *paucity of meaningful data on the effectiveness or otherwise of bilingual education* (1979: 223) which he attributes to the failure of evaluations to ignore this interaction.

Among earlier hypotheses that he rejects (1979: 223-225) are those that attribute major roles independently to

* purely linguistic explanations - which argued variously that bilingualism itself was a cause of mental confusion, and that "mismatch" between the language of the home and that of the school can lead to academic retardation (Downing 1974) - in the light of evidence that bilingualism can positively influence both cognitive and linguistic development;

* the socio-culturally-based argument that education in the vernacular language is inevitably advantageous - in the light of the achievement of high levels of academic and linguistic skills by children in immersion programmes;

* school program factors, in which the difference between fundamental aspects of immersion and submersion programmes will predictably lead to different outcomes.

Cummins argues the need for a theoretical framework *within which the relative importance of different variables and the possible interactions between them can be conceptualized* (1979: 225). He proposes that the dynamics of the interaction between child input and educational treatment variables should be considered.

In seeking reasons for the educational difficulties of the bilingual child, Cummins emphasises the need to explore the *developmental relationship between language and thought* (1979: 227). He rejects the simplistic approach that attributes these difficulties to non-linguistic background or school programme factors, insisting that first- and second-language competence is a direct determinant of the quality of the bilingual child's interaction with the educational environment:

> It is impossible to ignore questions like the following if one wishes to explore the assumptions underlying bilingual education: What level of [second-language] competence must the child possess at various grade levels in order to benefit optimally from instruction in that language? To what extent is a bilingual child who has developed fluent surface skills in [first language and second language] also capable of carrying out complex cognitive operations ... through his two languages? To what extent are [first and second language] skills interdependent and what are the

> implications of possible interdependencies for cognitive and academic progress? In other words, do children who maintain and develop their [first language] in a school develop higher or lower [second language] levels of skills than those whose [first language] is replaced by their [second language]? Also to what extent do various patterns of [first-language-second-language] relationship facilitate children's general cognitive and academic progress (1979: 227)?

Evidence of his belief in the importance of notions such as the distinction between BICS and CALP, and linguistic interdependence (including the danger of semilingualism and the theory of common underlying proficiency: v. 3.3.2.1.d, 3.3.2.2.b and 3.3.2.2.e), is clear in these questions, which have to a significant extent determined one of the important directions that research into bilingual education has taken following Cummins's influence.

Having demonstrated the importance of acquiring a better understanding of the relationship between language and cognition, Cummins describes two hypotheses developed to help account for the different outcomes of immersion and submersion programmes, and also to provide the necessary theoretical framework for research into *the developmental interrelations between language and thought in the bilingual child* (1979: 227). These are the *threshold hypothesis* and the *developmental interdependence hypothesis*.

3.3.2.1 Elements of the theory

(a) Cummins's theory of linguistic interdependence

The central element of the theory postulates the importance of adequately-developed first-language skills as a sound basis for the achievement of a *cognitively and academically beneficial form of bilingualism* (1979: 222). Cummins arrives at this position by means of the combination of two hypotheses: the *threshold hypothesis* and the *developmental interdependence hypothesis*.

(b) The "threshold" hypothesis

This hypothesis proposes that

> there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of bilingualism to influence his cognitive and academic functioning (Cummins 1979: 222).

It acknowledges linguistic factors as being contributory to the poor academic achievements of many language minority pupils. It emerges from a recognition that bilingualism can positively affect academic and cognitive functioning, though it does not necessarily do so - as, for example, in the case of "semilingualism", described in section 3.3.2.2.b.

The threshold hypothesis attempts to account for apparent inconsistencies in the role played by bilingualism in cognitive functioning. It accommodates the notions of "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism (v. 3.3.2.2.c) in suggesting that the bilingual child adding a second language to his or her repertory without any cost to competence in the first language (additive bilingualism) would benefit cognitively from the bilingualism; whereas a child whose first language competence was being eroded by second-language replacement would manifest a less-than-native-like competence in both languages, with concomitant disadvantages to cognitive growth. The likelihood of home language being replaced in this way appears to be enhanced when the second language in question enjoys higher prestige than the first language - a recognised threat in the South African classroom that includes LEP children.

In exploring the implications of the threshold hypothesis, Cummins refers to a finding of fundamental importance to the development of a successful whole-school language policy:

> ... a prerequisite for attaining a higher level of bilingual competence is maintenance of [first language] skills (1979: 232).

In order to explore the further questions of how first- and second-language skills are related to each other, and what types of school programmes are likely to promote additive and subtractive bilingualism under different bilingual learning conditions, *the developmental interdependence hypothesis* is proposed.

(c) The "developmental interdependence" hypothesis

This hypothesis proposes that

> the development of competence in a second language is partially a function of the type of competence already developed in the first language at the time when intensive exposure to the second language begins (Cummins 1979: 222).

This proposal, some of whose implications are given precise form in section 3.3.2.1.e, is crystallized in Cummins's seminal principle of *common underlying proficiency*.

(d) Common underlying proficiency

Cummins (1981a: 25-26) suggests that instead of there being two separate proficiencies associated with the separate languages that a child learns, the proficiency already established in the mother tongue transfers to language applications in the new language:

> Thus children who have broad, fluent mother-tongue language skills make better progress in schools, regardless of the medium of instruction, than children who have not developed their mother tongue at all (Lemmer 1993a: 154).

The practical implications of the CUP principle will be explored in section 3.3.2.2.a.

(e) Mechanisms of interaction

The primary academic task for a child is identified by Cummins as *learning to extract information effectively from printed text* (1979: 237), upon which successful educational progress largely depends. He explores the extent to which children's first-language experience prior to attending school has equipped them with the prerequisites for the fluent acquisition of these vital reading skills. He identifies three mechanisms - general aspects of language knowledge - through which a child's first-language experience may influence the development of second-language skills:

* *Vocabulary-concept knowledge*: the understanding of concepts or meanings embodied in words, and which, if absent, will fail to convey meaning even if a language symbol can be decoded and the word produced:

> If a child on entry to school does not have access to the semantic meanings assumed by beginning reading texts and culturally-different schools the early search for meaning in printed texts is likely to be futile. For many minority language children it appears likely that the semantic prerequisites for literacy skills can be developed more easily through L1 than through L2 (Cummins 1979: 238).

* *Metalinguistic insights*: a recognition of the fact that print contains meaning; and of the fact that written language is different from spoken language.

* *Decontextualized language*: the essential characteristic of written language is that the extraction of meaning is supported by no cues other than linguistic ones:

> The extent to which children have developed facility in processing linguistic information independent of interpersonal cues prior to school will also clearly influence how easily they acquire literacy skills (Cummins 1979: 239).

Cummins, in expressing a danger that exists for minority-language children who have not been exposed to a literate first-language environment prior to school attendance (among whom the linguistically-disadvantaged black child enrolling at the desegregation-model school can, in terms of the characteristics described in section 2.4.3.3, be readily recognised), asserts that

> [s]uch a child's L1 vocabulary-concept knowledge may be limited, there may be difficulty assimilating decontextualized language, and little insight into the fact that print is meaningful and that print is different from speech. ... [T]he development of fluent reading skills is likely to be difficult even when instruction is through L1. However, when reading is introduced through L2 the task is likely to be considerably more difficult since there is no way in which the children relate the printed symbols to their knowledge of spoken language (Cummins 1979: 239-240).

This also constitutes a strong argument in support of the immersion principle of second-language acquisition, which (v. 3.2.2) is in many ways the converse of the submersion situation that prevails in the typical multicultural classroom in South Africa's desegregation-model schools.

(f) Cummins's interaction model of bilingual education

In proposing a model of bilingual education to accommodate the mechanisms of interaction described in the previous section, and to compensate for the deficiencies that exist in the absence of these mechanisms, Cummins argues that a meaningful instructional process will reflect the child's cultural experiences, and will build upon language and cognitive competencies already acquired (1979: 240). The essential principle that informs his *interaction model* is that

> a child's cognitive, linguistic and academic growth can be conceptualized only in terms of the interaction between child input and education treatment (1979: 240).

He suggests that the differential effectiveness of bilingual programmes is attributable to the fact that they fail consistently to accommodate the diversity that exists among the individual pupils in those programmes (Cummins 1979: 241).

The threshold and developmental interdependence hypotheses, taken together, lead Cummins to the conclusion that

> for the child whose input conceptual-linguistic knowledge is not conducive to the development of literacy skills, initial instruction should be through the medium of L1 (Cummins 1979: 243).

Effectiveness of second-language acquisition is, however, also strongly affected by motivational aspects, which must be taken into account before useful programme planning can take place. Cummins points out that a child's attitude towards speakers of the second language has a strong influence on that child's motivation to learn the second language (1979: 243). Traces of Krashen's affective filter (v. 3.3.1.1) are clearly discernible in this assertion.

He is drawn thus to the following general conclusions about effective bilingual programmes. These should contribute valuably to a clear understanding among educators of where the probable limits of possibility lie in the general management of non-mother-tongue English speakers in desegregation-model schools:

> minority language children who are highly motivated to learn L2 and whose L1 experience has promoted the prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills may very well develop a cognitively enriching form of additive bilingualism .... [however] Children whose motivation to learn L2 is low and whose conceptual-linguistic knowledge is not conducive to the acquisition of literacy skills are likely to fail in both submersion and L2 immersion programmes (Cummins 1979: 246).

For such a child (i.e. with a low level of motivation to learn the second language) a transitional programme may provide an effective educational context for successful school learning

experiences. The CALLA model proposed by O'Malley and Chamot (v. 3.3.3) is designed for just such a transitional purpose.

The concluding recommendation that emerges from Cummins's work has significant implications for the informed establishment of a successful whole-school language policy, especially insofar as it must provide for the needs of the child in whom the mechanisms of interaction (v. 3.3.2.1.e) are not in place:

> [O]nly a programme which attempts to promote the child's academic and cognitive development through both L1 and L2 is likely to result in a cognitively and academically beneficial form of additive bilingualism (Cummins 1979: 246).

3.3.2.2 Implications of Cummins's theory for classroom practice

(a) The importance of mother-tongue proficiency in second-language learners

Evidence exists that bilingualism can impede academic progress in certain situations; however, provided that a high level of proficiency has been reached in the first language, mother-tongue proficiency can contribute to the LEP pupil's academic progress (Cummins 1979: 228).

Weismantel and Fradd submit that

> when LEP students are not gaining academic and cognitive skills in their first language, and are not able to use academic English, they are at risk of delayed academic achievement (1989: 5).

Scarcella, furthermore, refers to the phenomenon of semilingualism (v. 3.3.2.2.b) - the loss of mother-tongue - described by Cummins, which impedes the acquisition of second language at the necessary cognitive level:

> It is imperative that teachers appreciate their students' home cultures and languages. Ideally, teachers should try to help their students maintain their first languages .... With inadequate levels of skills in their first languages, ... children might suffer the negative effects of *semilingualism*; that is, the loss of their first language may prevent them from mastering their second. This means that to avoid academic difficulties, a high level of proficiency in at least one of the bilingual student's two languages is necessary (1990: 54).

It is thus made clear that a high level of language proficiency in the mother-tongue helps LEP pupils to avoid academic problems.

Lemmer (1993a: 154) asserts the usefulness, for teachers of English to LEP pupils in South Africa, of Cummins's description of common underlying proficiency (CUP). The concept helps to explain, firstly, why ESL pupils with a high level of proficiency in mother-tongue language usage have been known to study extremely successfully, at secondary and tertiary level, through the medium of English acquired as a second (or multiple) language; Afrikaans-speaking children and immigrants from European countries are cited as readily-recognisable examples.

In the second instance, the notion of CUP encourages parents and teachers to develop in LEP pupils the sophisticated use of the mother tongue, rather than discarding it in the hope of accelerating English acquisition, as described in section 2.4.3.3.c.ii.

Finally it emphasises the need for the creation of a climate in which the language diversity of a group of children of different cultures is valued and celebrated. Not only should the fact of there being various home languages among a multicultural class group be appreciated, it can even under certain circumstances be utilised to advantage: in the instance, for example, of a class being taught by a teacher with some knowledge of the mother-tongue, though this is obviously more practicable in simple bilingual conditions than in the South African multilingual English-medium classroom, in which numerous home languages might easily be found. Nevertheless the principle of the value of a bilingual teacher can convincingly be argued (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 37).

(b) The danger of semilingualism

On the other hand

> Children who fail to achieve adequate proficiency in either mother-tongue or another language lack any foundation for cognitive development and academic progress (Lemmer 1993a: 154).

The use of the term *semilingualism* to describe the bilingual child with an inadequate command of both languages has been criticised on various grounds. In particular, the implication that a child in the process of learning a second language, during which there may be a decline in some aspects of first-language performance, is thereby displaying a language deficiency, is rejected by many theorists, among whom Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that, although a bilingual child may not have a command of either language at native-like level, the combination of proficiency in the two languages gives the bilingual child a wide linguistic facility that equips him or her for language activity in many domains.

Cummins (1990: 157) pertinently questions the usefulness of the term, suggesting that compelling reasons exist to avoid the use of pejorative labels such as "deficient" to describe the lower levels of certain aspects of language proficiency in some children. In asserting his belief that there is insufficient justification for continued use of the term, however, he warns against adoption of the

> untenable position that ... there are no bilinguals whose literacy skills are inadequately developed in both L1 and L2 (1990: 158);

he merely bases his condemnation of use of the term on the fact that it

> has no explanatory or predictive value but is rather a restatement of the vague notion of "relatively low levels of proficiency in two languages" (1990: 157).

(c) Additive and subtractive bilingualism

The concepts of additive and subtractive bilingualism (Cummins 1990: 147-149) describe possible outcomes when a second language is learned. When there is little or no reduction of the first language, additive bilingualism occurs; but when the first language is replaced or demoted, or placed in jeopardy, a subtractive form of bilingualism is the result.

(d) Multilingualism and mother-tongue interference

Lemmer refers to the interpretation that can be placed, by teachers uninformed of the source of a child's language problems, on the manifestation of mother-tongue interference in children's use of English:

> ... such a child was labelled dyslexic or "slow". Furthermore, teachers cherished significantly lower expectations of these children's ability (1993a: 156).

Reference is also made to the policy of bidialectalism that has been adopted in the United States of America, in order to obviate the negative effect on the self-esteem of black schoolchildren whose teachers attempted to *eradicate the dialect spoken by blacks because it deviated from standard English* (Lemmer 1993a: 156). The approach of bidialectalism aims at producing a standard written English, while simultaneously tolerating the use of an unchanged form of the spoken language, so that *children are not belittled or demotivated by the use of non-standard English* (Cohen and Manion 1983: 220).

> Bidialectalism, though controversial, could offer a possible alternative to coping with mother-tongue interference among LEP pupils in South Africa, where a distinctive usage of English by blacks is also observable but hitherto undocumented (Lemmer 1993a: 156).

(e) BICS/CALP

A central component of the work of Cummins is the distinction that he draws between the simple language of colloquial social discourse that he describes as Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), and the proficiency needed to carry out the kind of cognitive operations expected of pupils using a language as a language of learning at school - Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 1981a: 24). He submits (1981a: 24) that it takes between five and seven years for a child learning a second language to acquire mastery of the language at CALP level. This time scale is of crucial significance to the secondary school teacher, in that even at its most optimistic it suggests that sufficient English skill for successful academic advancement cannot be acquired in less than the full duration of the secondary school programme.

This appears to constitute an argument in support of the early introduction of English - in the primary school if possible; Lemmer warns, however, that

> the argument for an early introduction to English should be placed within the context of an approach to language learning which simultaneously appreciates and encourages the maintenance of the child's mother-tongue (1993a: 153).

In commentary on Cummins's BICS/CALP distinction, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 111-114) uses the term "surface fluency" to describe language at a personal communicative level, used when

> somebody speaks with another person about everyday things in a concrete, cognitively less demanding situation where contextual cues can be drawn upon to interpret meaning and where understanding of the message is not solely dependent on understanding of the verbal part of the message (1981: 111).

She identifies CALP as *the ability to use language as an instrument for thought, in problem* solving; that is, language used as a *cognitive instrument* (1981: 111) where contextual cues do not provide help.

Baker warns, however, of certain limitations in the BICS/CALP distinction:

> ... it only paints a two-stage idea. The idea of a larger number of language dimensions may be more exact. Children may move forward on language dimensions in terms of sliding scales rather than in big jumps .... The terms may over-simplify reality (1993: 12).

Even assuming that progressively more academic work can be mastered as the pupil moves towards an acquisition of CALP - that is, assuming that a continuum exists, with BICS placed at one end and CALP at the other, and that as a second-language learner's linguistic skills evolve along that continuum he or she will develop a growing ability, if still imperfect, to master academic work through the medium of that second language - the implication remains that a pupil entering a secondary school at any level with limited cognitive/academic English skill can be expected to struggle with the academic programme, for a significant if variable length of time; and in so doing, presumably would suffer an academic backlog during the early years of CALP acquisition, when basic principles are established in content subjects, that would affect the pupil's academic performance even at the end of the secondary school career.

Knowledge of such a prognosis is of importance to the whole staff of a school, and not least to the principal, who might have to reconsider the wisdom of allowing a pupil into a system in which failure (or at least inhibited progress) is a probability. At the least, fair warning would have to be offered to pupil and parents alike (in an effort to minimise disappointment and frustration) of the difficulties that could be anticipated. Opportunities would also have to be created within the school for optimal CALP- acquisition by second-language speakers of English, to ensure that every possible advantage is afforded to such pupils in their whole academic programme. It is this spirit of opportunity-creation and opportunity-provision that underlies in concept what is referred to as a *whole-school language policy*.

(f) The time factor

Cummins, exploring the relationship between the chronological age of learners and their success in the acquisition of a second language, concludes as follows:

> [I]t is predicted that older learners, whose CALP is better developed, will acquire cognitive-academic L2 skills more rapidly than younger learners; however, this will not necessarily be the case for those aspects of L2 proficiency unrelated to CALP (1980: 180).

No clear indication is given in his own studies, nor in those of other researchers whose work he reviews, as to how the age factor applies to children who do not have CALP in their first language - but the general principles of the developmental interdependence hypothesis (v. 3.3.2.1.c) seem to cover the situation.

He refers to Canadian studies in which problem-free transfer from French to English takes place in immersion programmes. This is predictable in terms of his interdependence hypothesis, but it is important to note that the children in question had well-developed French CALP at the time of transfer. He reports evidence that

> for minority language children ... instruction through the minority language has been effective in promoting proficiency in both languages. These findings support the interdependence hypothesis; in both instances the instruction is effective in promoting CALP which will manifest itself in both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both languages either in school or wider environment. However ... L2 only instruction for minority children will usually not result in full bilingual proficiency because of factors such as low motivation to develop L1 (or L2 for majority children) or lack of exposure to literate uses of L1 (1980: 185).

He arrives at the vital conclusion that

[o]lder learners acquire L2 CALP more rapidly than younger learners because their L1 CALP is better developed (1980: 185).

In agreement, Collier deduces from Cummins's assertion (that *older children's common underlying proficiency ... assists with the process of SLA - second language acquisition*) that

for older students, many academic skills and concepts acquired in the L1 transfer to their L2, and the process of SLA occurs at a faster rate than for younger children (1987: 619).

These conclusions, however, presume a certain level of first language development - in terms of Cummins's threshold hypothesis (v. 3.3.2.1.b) - which cannot automatically be assumed in the case of the black LEP child entering the South African desegregation-model school (v. 2.4.3).

Furthermore, Collier refers to a group of older students (12-15 years of age on arrival) who were actually scholastically disadvantaged by a full submersion second-language programme that left them measurably behind national achievement norms when re-tested after four years:

[T]hese LEP students were not being provided with any L1 content instruction to help them continue cognitive and academic subject mastery at grade level while they were acquiring beginning levels of BICS and CALP in English. By the time they had acquired enough proficiency in English to receive meaningful instruction in content-area classes, they had in the meantime lost 2-3 years of CALP development and content knowledge in mathematics, science, and social studies at their age-grade level. [As a result of this] it might require 6-8 years ... for them to reach national averages of native-speaker achievement across all the subject areas (1987: 633).

She reports findings that emphasise the importance of continuing *intelligible* content-area instruction while the second language is being acquired (v. 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2 on Krashen's notions of an *affective filter* and *comprehensible input*; as well as 3.3.3 on the correlation of

language-acquisition study with mainstream content areas), and refers to studies which confirm that

> the fastest attainment of the second language for academic purposes occurs among those whose age on arrival is 8-11 years, when these students are schooled only in the L2 after arrival (1987: 634).

This leads her to a new hypothesis:

> [O]lder students who arrive at ages 12-15 experience the greatest difficulty with acquisition of the L2 for academic purposes, combined with continuing content-area development, when these students are schooled only in the L2 .... [S]econdary-level students are most in need of content-area classes taught in the L1 (1987: 635).

Her conclusion shows that

> LEP students arriving between the ages of 12 and 15 were the lowest achievers [in subject-area tests] (1987: 637).

Her sobering deduction is that

> there is no shortcut to the development of cognitive academic language proficiency and to academic achievement in the second language. It is a process that takes a long, long time (1987: 638).

Collier addresses also the question of how long it takes *to reach the level of average performance by native speakers in all academic subjects in the second language* (1989: 509). She re-asserts *another key variable in second language acquisition: cognitive development and proficiency in the first language* (1989: 510). She concludes in support of Cummins (1980) and of her own 1987 study that

> the lack of continuing L1 cognitive development during second language acquisition may lead to lowered proficiency levels in the second language and in cognitive academic growth (1989: 511).

She explains the fallacy of the popular perception that *"young children pick up a second language so fast"* - with which she, in common with research in general, disagrees - by pointing out that

> [c]hildren's second language acquisition *appears* superior largely because the structures and vocabulary they need for adequate communication are so much simpler than those required of adults (1989: 513).

Therefore, in terms of Cummins's and Collier's findings, pre-pubertal children will be faster in early acquisition of second-language skills (e.g. BICS and simplest CALP), but older students are more efficient second-language learners at advanced CALP level because they have the ability to abstract, classify and generalize in the first language, which seems to aid the acquisition of a second language for academic purposes. Once again, however, it must be recognized that in the case of black LEP children in South African desegregation-model schools, this ability cannot automatically be assumed.

Collier expresses a generalization that has direct implications for school management and, prior even to that, for policy-making:

> When children's L1 development is discontinued before it is completed, they may experience negative cognitive effects in L2 development (1989: 517).

In related, and equally significant, conclusions, as to the relationship between academic achievement and "school language" ("language of learning": v. p. 2 footnote), Collier reports as follows:

> It appears that secondary students cannot afford the loss of 2 to 3 years of academic instruction while they are mastering basic L2 skills (1989: 520).

> If academic work in the first language is not continued at home or at school while secondary students are acquiring the second language, there may not be enough time left in high school to make up the lost years of academic instruction (1989: 520).

> [A]n important key to successful second language acquisition *and* academic achievement by adolescents may be uninterrupted academic instruction during the acquisition of basic L2 skills (1989: 521),

which is closely in accord with what O'Malley proposes in his CALLA programme (v. 3.3.3.1.b).

She deduces the following after reviewing the literature available:

> Adolescent arrivals who have had no L2 exposure and who are not able to continue academic work in their first language while they are acquiring their second language do not have enough time left in high school to make up the lost years of academic instruction (1989: 527).

Collier's studies (like those of Cummins) refer to "immigrants" - hence her use of terms such as AOR ("age on arrival") and LOR ("length of residence"). They can only be considered relevant to the black LEP child in South African desegregation-model schools to the extent that these LEP children can be regarded as new arrivals ("immigrants" in a broad sense) in the new education system, and hence in the new language-of-learning environment.

The essential implications for schools of Cummins's and Collier's research and reviews into the significance of the "time factor" in the education of LEP children (in terms both of their second-language acquisition and of their general cognitive development) can be summarised as follows:

* Adolescents pick up CALP L2 faster than younger children (Cummins, 1980: 180) (which appears to provide secondary schools with grounds for optimism) ...

- ... because (and presumably therefore when) their prior cognitive development through L1, and their L1 CALP, are sound (Cummins, 1980: 185) (which is not often the case with LEP pupils in South Africa's desegregation-model schools) ...

- ... and when cognitive development in L1 continues during the L2 acquisition process (Cummins, 1980: 185; Collier 1987: 635)) (which is not happening in the case of black LEP pupils in South Africa's desegregation-model schools); ...

- ... but, when 12-to-15-year-old L2 learners are schooled only in the L2, they experience the greatest difficulty in L2 acquisition (Collier, 1987: 635), which, in the overall picture, is anything but grounds for the optimism just mentioned.

- Therefore the need is implied for schools to give language lessons in Zulu, Sotho, etc (to native speakers of those languages) - which is not part of the prevailing policy or practice in desegregation-model schools; as is the need implied to ensure continuing content-area instruction through the medium of the first language (which does not happen in practice either) during the time when the second language is being acquired up to CALP level.

3.3.3 THE COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE LEARNING APPROACH (CALLA)

3.3.3.1 Elements of the theory

(a) Introduction

The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach described by O'Malley (1988) and by Chamot and O'Malley (1989a, 1989b) has as its theoretical foundation elements of second-language acquisition and learning strategies described within the cognitive theory proposed by Anderson (1981, 1983, 1985).

In Anderson's view, information stored in memory takes two forms: declarative knowledge (information), which includes meanings of words, facts, rules and sequences inter alia, and represented in long-term memory in meaning-based concepts rather than in precise language; and procedural knowledge (how to do things), which underlies our ability to understand and generate language, represented in memory by production systems, rule-based conditional actions (*if-then* relationships), initially in the same way as declarative knowledge is represented in memory, but which may become automatic through repeated practice.

Unlike declarative knowledge, procedural knowledge such as language skill is acquired gradually and only with extensive opportunities for practice. Although he does not mention learning strategies specifically, Anderson identifies three stages that describe the process by which a complex cognitive skill such as language is acquired, a description that Chamot and O'Malley judge to be congruent with the types of learning strategies that have been identified in research with LEP students:

> (a) a cognitive stage, in which learning is deliberate, rule-based, and often error laden; (b) an associative stage, in which actions are executed more rapidly and errors begin to diminish; and (c) an autonomous stage, in which actions are performed more fluently, and the original rule governing the performance may no longer be retained (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 233).

The need in terms of Anderson's theory for extensive opportunities for application in the development of complex cognitive skills places him in harmony with researchers specifically into ESL acquisition such as Cummins (1979: 237, and generally) who insist that the development of a level of language skill sufficiently sophisticated for use in an academic learning environment (CALP) can take many years.

CALLA is designed for the needs of students with limited proficiency in English in upper elementary and secondary levels, and who are being prepared for mainstream instruction in content subjects.

Chamot and O'Malley (1989a) identify the difficulties that confront students who acquire a superficial proficiency in English (Cummins's BICS: 1981a: 21, 23-24) and are judged by teachers to be proficient in English communication skills; and who, after being mainstreamed at this stage into the all-English mainstream curriculum, *typically ... encounter severe difficulties with the academic programme* (1989a: 228). These researchers insist that before entering the mainstream programme pupils should be able to use English as a subject-matter learning tool, not just as a social communication tool. They refer (1989a: 228) to the increasingly academic nature, becoming even more pronounced at the higher grade levels, of the language of subjects such as mathematics, science and the social sciences.

The principle that second-language learning methods can be based on a syllabus (or a curriculum) or on a theory of learning is taken account of in the CALLA instructional method by making the two approaches to second-language teaching interdependent through the integration of the theory of language learning with a specification of the content that needs to be taught.

(b) The components of the CALLA model

CALLA is designed to provide a bridge between special language programmes and the mainstream, and it is important to understand that it does not offer initial instruction to pupils totally without English. This implies the need for such an initial programme in cases where pupils come to a school with, to begin with, no English at all.

The theory of learning on which the CALLA approach is based (that of Anderson described in section 3.3.3.1.a) applies to the CALLA model as follows:

1. The content component of the CALLA model represents declarative knowledge. This includes the concepts, facts, and skills underlying science, mathematics and social studies at the student's grade level. An extension of these content areas to include English language arts would add grammatical knowledge, rhetorical knowledge, and

knowledge about literary themes, plots, and story grammars to this store of declarative knowledge (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 233-234).

2. The language development component of CALLA aims to teach the procedural knowledge that students need to use language as a tool for learning. In this component, students are given sufficient practice in using language in academic contexts so that language comprehension and production become automatic and students develop the ability to communicate about academic subjects (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 234).

3. The learning strategies instruction component of the CALLA model builds on Anderson's theory and suggests ways in which teachers can foster autonomy in their students (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 234).

A description of the three components of CALLA is undertaken below; a lesson plan model integrating the three components is given in Chapter 7, at section 7.3.2.3.

The CALLA model has three components: (i) a curriculum correlated with mainstream content areas, (ii) English language development integrated with content subjects, and (iii) instruction in the use of learning strategies (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 231).

(i) Chamot and O'Malley refer to the need to distinguish between learning a language and using a language to learn. Building upon this distinction, they describe how CALLA integrates language and content to provide students in transition from the special language or ESL programme with *systematic and extensive instruction and practice in the types of activities they will encounter in the mainstream class* (1989a: 235). To optimise the effectiveness of this strategy, the content component should be based on the mainstream curriculum, to stimulate in students the learning motivation that comes from the knowledge that *they are actually doing "real" school work instead of merely learning a second language for applications that have yet to be revealed* (1989a: 235). The content component should not be identical to the subject matter of the content subjects in the mainstream curriculum (which would make it a submersion

model), nor should it replace the mainstream content subject programme (as in immersion programmes); rather,

> a CALLA curriculum includes a sample of high-priority content topics that develop academic language skills appropriate to the subject area at the student's grade level (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 235).

(ii) The CALLA approach contributes to English language development in the four fundamental areas of listening, reading, writing and speaking (1989a: 245). The language that is required to study the different content subjects needs to be analyzed and specifically taught in the context of actual content learning: language functions, structures, and subject-specific vocabulary. Chamot and O'Malley base their classification (1989a: 238; v. Figure 3.1, pp. 101-102) of language and content activities on Cummins's (1981a: 23) assertion that the language demands placed upon LEP students have two dimensions, the first concerning the contextual clues that assist comprehension, and the second the complexity of the task:

> Language that is most comprehensible is contextualized and rich in nonverbal cues such as concrete objects, gestures, facial expressions, and visual aids. Language that is least comprehensible is language in which context cues have been reduced to such a degree that comprehension depends entirely on the listener's ability to extract meaning from text without assistance from a nonverbal context (1989a: 236).
>
> The second dimension, task complexity, suggests that comprehension is affected by the cognitive demands of the task. Examples of less demanding language tasks are vocabulary, grammar drills and following directions. More cognitively demanding tasks call on the use of language for higher level reasoning and for integrative language skills (e.g. reading and listening comprehension, speaking or writing about academic topics) (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 236-237).

Figure 3.1

Classification of language and content activities within Cummins's (1982) framework

	Non-academic or cognitively undemanding activities	Academic and cognitively demanding activities
CONTEXT EMBEDDED	I	III
	Developing survival vocabulary	Developing academic vocabulary
	Following demonstrated directions	Understanding academic presentations accompanied by visuals, demonstrations of a process, etc
	Playing simple games	Participating in hands-on science activities
	Participating in art, music, physical education, and some vocational education classes	Making models, maps, charts and graphs in social studies
	Engaging in face-to-face interactions	Solving math computation problems
	Practising oral language exercises and communicative language functions	Participating in academic discussions
	Answering lower level questions	Making brief oral presentations
		Using higher level comprehension skills in listening to oral texts
		Understanding written texts through discussion, illustration and visuals
		Writing simple science and social studies reports with format provided
		Answering higher level questions

Continued overleaf ...

	Non-academic or cognitively undemanding activities	Academic and cognitively demanding activities
C O N T E X T R E D U C E D	II Engaging in predictable telephone conversations Developing initial reading skills: decoding and literal comprehension Reading and writing for personal purposes: notes, lists, recipes, etc Reading and writing for operational purposes: directions, forms, licenses, etc Writing answers to lower level questions	IV Understanding academic presentations without visuals or demonstrations Making formal oral presentations Using higher level reading comprehension skills: inferential and critical reading Reading for information in content subjects Writing compositions, essays, and research reports in content subjects Solving math word problems without illustrations Writing answers to higher level questions Taking standardized achievement tests

The two dimensions in combination enable language tasks to be classified in four categories: easy and contextualized (Quadrant I), difficult but contextualized (Quadrant III), context reduced but easy (Quadrant II), and context reduced as well as difficult (Quadrant IV). This last category lies in the realm of what Cummins (1981a: 23-24) describes as *cognitive/academic language proficiency* (CALP: v. 3.3.2.2.e). ESL activities usually focus on the kind of language activity described in Quadrant I (1989a: 237), after which students are mainstreamed into activities that lie in Quadrant IV. The CALLA model provides students with extensive language activities of the type that fall into Quadrant III, before gradually initiating some practice in the Quadrant IV activities (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 239).

This analysis should help to make it clear why teaching LEP pupils English through grammar drills does not adequately or suitably prepare them for the use of the language to learn, a cognitively more demanding task, the language demands of which, as has already been stated, need to be specifically taught and practised.

(iii) The CALLA model incorporates instruction in learning strategies, i.e. *a cognitive approach to teaching that helps students learn conscious processes and techniques that facilitate the comprehension, acquisition, and retention of new skills and concepts* (1989a: 239). The use of learning strategy instruction in the learning of a second language is based on four main propositions:

* Mentally active learners are better learners.
* Strategies can be taught.
* Learning strategies transfer to new tasks.
* Academic language learning is more effective with learning strategies.

in support of which the work of Chipman, Sigel and Glaser (1985); Derry and Murphy (1986); and Weistein and Mayer (1986), is quoted.

(c) Professional communication

Because the CALLA model is taught by the English teacher, the need for close communication and consultation with teachers of content subjects is, predictably, strongly indicated:

> To select content topics for CALLA lessons, ESL teachers can co-ordinate with classroom teachers and consult subject-area textbooks for the grade level concerned .... Having used these resources to identify lesson topics, the ESL teacher can build language-development activities onto the content information selected (1989a: 236).

In their paper on teaching English for Specific Purposes at tertiary level, Brennan and van Naerssen likewise emphasise strongly the value of integration of effort among language teachers and content-subject teachers. Though the specific focus of their comments is on education at tertiary level, the need for close communication between language and content-subject specialists seems too fundamental to be irrelevant in the secondary situation; they caution, however, that

> care must be taken not to move into areas of expertise and responsibility that rightfully belong to the content lecturer. This would not be fair to any ... involved in the ... experience.... At the same time, the more co-ordination there is among [the] parties, the better the experience will be (Brennan and van Naerssen 1989: 196).

These writers suggest that a needs analysis be carried out in which, through formally-developed communication channels between English and content-subject teachers, the English course would regularly be co-ordinated with a content course.

3.3.3.2 Implications of the CALLA approach for classroom practice

The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach proposed by Chamot and O'Malley is deliberately designed as a bridge between special (or initial) second-language programmes and entry into mainstream education (1989a: 229). They clearly imply that provision needs to be

made for two distinct stages in the acquisition of academic English by non-proficient students: the initial acquisition of communication skills for mainly social purposes (Cummins's BICS: 1981a: 21, 23-24), followed by a bridging programme to provide pupils with the additional experience in English language development needed for academic purposes. Chamot and O'Malley refer particularly to the language needs related to the subject areas of science, mathematics and the social sciences; and they identify three types of LEP students whose educational needs CALLA is designed to meet:

> (a) students who have developed social communicative skills through ESL or exposure to an English speaking environment but who have not developed academic language skills appropriate to their grade level; (b) students exiting from bilingual programs who need assistance in transferring concepts and skills learned in their native language to English; and (c) bilingual, English dominant students who are even less academically proficient in their native language than in English and need to develop academic English language skills (1989a: 229).

It must be noted that a certain facility in English is assumed before a development programme designed to improve the language needed for academic purposes can effectively be implemented; it becomes clear then, that two distinct English support programmes may (according to the language deficiencies of particular school populations at particular times) need to be offered; that a single "extra English" for all and sundry could easily fail to target the specific needs of many of the participants; and that even English-dominant students can benefit from language-sensitive instruction in content subjects; as, by implication, and in agreement with the assertion of Hadaway and Young (1994: 522, and v. 6.1.3), can virtually all students.

CALLA does not substitute for mainstream instruction in content subjects, as happens in immersion programmes and "sheltered English" programmes.

3.4 THE "WHOLE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY"

Emerging from what has been discussed in the present chapter, and based particularly upon the positions adopted by Bullock (1975: 529) and Marland (1977: 3) as referred to in section 3.2.3, and by Chamot and O'Malley (1989a, 1989b), the data-collection described in Chapter 4 is designed according to the following important assumptions:

* that the responsibility for language acquisition by a pupil who enters a school with, initially, limited proficiency in the language used as the language of learning does not lie solely with the teachers of that language, but with the whole staff of teachers with whom that child is associated in the course of the entire school programme;

* that a programme of language acquisition will be enhanced by an approach to curriculum planning that involves all sectors of the school community, and that sets out to create an environment - both physical and attitudinal - encompassing the whole school, in which the opportunities for successful language acquisition are optimised.

In this section, therefore, the concept of a whole-school language policy will be described. It will be explained why such a policy is needed as a key element of a successful strategy to address and rectify the language shortcomings of LEP pupils, with especial emphasis being placed upon the contention that the solution to the problem is beyond the scope of the "English teacher" working alone and without informed and sympathetic support from school management. The roles of both language and content-subject teachers will be described, and a brief overview given of the kind of literacy skills that need to be taught to support an academic programme.

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS A DEFINITION

As is implied by the term itself, a whole-school language policy will be founded on two primary assumptions:

* The responsibility for pupils' learning of language skills for academic usage should be the responsibility not of the English teacher alone, but of all teachers.

* The school's approach to the language needs of LEP pupils, and indeed to successful language acquisition in general, should be clearly understood and subscribed to by all concerned.

These assumptions bear extensive attitudinal and managerial implications, which will be discussed during the course of the present chapter and of Chapters 5 and 6.

According to Lemmer (1993a: 159-163) a whole-school language policy will include recognition of the contribution that can be made to optimising language acquisition by the following:

* The creation of a school climate in which language diversity is accepted and valued. Respect and tolerance for other languages should be encouraged, and the special skills and knowledge of non-English speaking pupils (and of their families and communities) recognized and utilized. Negative perceptions about the intelligence and ability of LEP pupils should be eliminated, and the use of the mother tongue seen as a valuable communication and learning resource.

* Leadership by a management council or governing body that is well informed as to the characteristics and needs of LEP pupils in the school, and sympathetic to the cost implications (in the form of extra teaching materials, suitable books, and most probably the employment of additional teaching staff so that special and bridging language classes can be offered) inevitably associated with the approaches and programmes necessary to meet the needs of a linguistically-diverse school population.

* The support of the parent body; in the first instance, those of the dominant-language group who need to be made aware of the special needs of LEP pupils, who may be willing to offer practical assistance in the role of teacher-aids, but also so that the appropriate school climate can be promoted; secondly, from the parents of LEP pupils

themselves, who need to be guided in the role that parents can play in supporting children's language learning at home. Such *effective involvement of the parents of LEP pupils in the process of language acquisition remains a major challenge facing schools* (Lemmer 1993a: 161). Though many parents of black LEP pupils do not themselves speak English, this should not be allowed to obscure the part that they can play in helping their children. In terms of the argument (v. 3.3.2.2.a) that the development of language skills in the mother tongue supports the acquisition of a second language and contributes to the general development of cognitive skills (Cummins 1979: 233), parents who are not English-speaking can advantageously use the mother tongue to read to their children, to converse with them, and to discuss schoolwork. Edwards (1991: 200) shows that, with training, even marginally-literate parents can be equipped to contribute to their children's acquisition of a new language. Illiterate parents can tell their children stories, and can include them actively in adult conversation. *In this way, a linguistically-enriched environment is created which in turn has a positive effect on language development in general* (Lemmer 1993a: 161).

* Professional collaboration between language teachers, teachers of content subjects and remedial or guidance teachers in planning a programme for LEP children. The fact that teachers characteristically tend to plan classroom curricula and approaches in isolation; and that teachers of different subjects rarely consult one another on common goals, confirm the need for such collaboration to be laid down by school management in a school's language policy as an explicit requirement; and formal opportunities planned for such collaboration to take place.

* The existence in all classrooms of a climate conducive to confident communication; a supportive, non-threatening environment, in which emphasis is place upon ability rather than deficiency, by integrating the diverse cultural backgrounds of the pupils, will provide opportunities for authentic communication through speaking, reading and writing (v. 3.3.1.2.d). The role of all teachers, not just teachers of English, is to select relevant material for study in the context of an informed knowledge of their pupils' cultural backgrounds; and to plan relevant activities based upon an assessment of their children's reading and writing skills, supported by a continuous evaluation of progress.

* The establishment of special language classes that are incorporated into an integrated school policy and programme; LEP pupils should not be relegated to a language-support programme segregated entirely from the mainstream - not only with a sympathetic sociological eye on the need for them to be incorporated fully in the life of the mainstream classroom, but also because it has been shown that extra language classes alone cannot successfully deal with the challenge of equipping LEP pupils with the vast range of literacy skills required across the whole school curriculum (Wales 1990: 167), which will be briefly described in section 3.4.4.3. Handscombe makes a similar point in asserting that

> [a] model of program delivery that largely separates these students from regular classes carries with it the suggestion that they will be acceptable to the mainstream only when they are unnoticeable within it. It also implies that any different cultural practices and values which these students bring to school with them are of little importance to the school or to the larger society. What is needed to ensure the success of these students is a major effort on the part of the school to indicate clearly to *all* students how much they personally, and the cultural and linguistic group(s) of which they are a part, can contribute to the intellectual and social life of the school. Such demonstration, of course, needs to go far beyond the approach to minority groups that focuses on items such as food, festivals, and famous people (1989: 5-6)!

* The acceptance of the need to teach explicitly those literacy skills that are necessary for academic success in all subject areas.

3.4.2 THE ARGUMENT FOR ITS NECESSITY

Marland (1977: 8-9) argues the need for *whole-school policies* in a variety of fields within a school, wherever the potential for a fragmented approach to meeting the challenges and demands of education in a large and diverse school environment needs to be resisted. In describing the unifying influence that such a language policy, specifically, can have, he refers

to the readiness in such circumstances with which teachers and subject departments tend to limit their activities exclusively to the areas of their own special expertise, *leaving language to the English teachers* (1977: 8):

> Building a whole-school language policy will help all members of staff devise suitable language situations and indicate strategies to help them through those situations. Some of these, no doubt the easier to agree upon, will be small technicalities, useful common approaches to skills. Such details must not be seen as beneath our linguistic ambitions. On the other hand a policy will never be built merely upon such details.
>
> If we are to help pupils *into* language, and not devote our ingenuity to help them *around* it, we must consider the language very carefully. Thus a language policy will be partly concerned with what kind of language we use to explore our subjects, what kind of reading material we offer, and what kind of writing we expect from the pupils (1977: 13).

A clear warning is expressed as to the danger inherent in an unco-ordinated approach to the development of pupils' language skills. Marland cautions (1977: 12) against simply assuming a mastery of skill; he calls for a deliberate analysis of the skills and knowledge required, followed by decisions as to how they can best be acquired and developed; contexts and activities need then to be planned to provide the best opportunities for practice and use, and for specific teaching when necessary.

> For a fully coherent curriculum policy, two approaches must be closely interrelated. The entire teaching staff must know that specific tuition is given in certain skills by known teachers and at agreed stages. And all those giving specific tuition must know that context and purpose will be created in a variety of other situations by their colleagues (1977: 12).

The key principles expressed in Marland's assertions are supported by independent researchers under sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

The concept of a whole-school language policy is based upon two premises supported by language-acquisition theory (Chapter 3) and research into the problems of LEP pupils (Chapters 5 and 6). The testing of these hypotheses will form one of the objectives of the qualitative research described in Chapter 4:

* In the light of the special needs and characteristics (v. 2.4.3) of the black LEP child, these children have a better chance of success in a school where all involved personnel (teachers most obviously, but certainly also parents, and managers not least) have discrete knowledge of those needs and characteristics, and of the factors that influence language acquisition and academic progress.

* The language deficiencies of LEP pupils, and the academic disadvantages that can result therefrom, *are optimally addressed by a language policy that supports language learning in a rich variety of contexts and not only in the formal language class or in special classes* (Lemmer 1993a: 159).

3.4.3 OBJECTIVES

Handscombe (1989: 6-10) suggests the need for a five-point programme consisting of the following:

* An orientation programme, for students, parents and teachers, focusing on such elementary aspects of daily life at the school as its physical geography, expectations, what is offered and what is available, the environments from which children and families have come to the new school, and cultural background for teachers of the in-coming pupils. For such a programme, a translator would probably be found useful.

* A monitoring procedure beginning with initial assessment of the child's level of language and academic functioning, and supported by the gathering of data over a period of time to monitor progress; with a view to assessing the effectiveness of

approaches used by the school to teach the new children, as much as to evaluate the progress of the children themselves.

* A program of parental involvement that encourages parents to see themselves as co-educators, with the school, of their children, and that identifies ways in which this can be achieved.

* A language programme that aims to add English to the child's home language, rather than to substitute that home language with English:

> [S]tudents' first languages must be validated within the school setting as powerful tools for thinking, learning and expressing; if they are not, then we run the risk of not being able to take advantage of what children have learned and can continue to learn through them (Handscombe 1989: 8-9).

In this regard, the notion of common underlying proficiency expressed by Cummins (1981a: 25-26), and described in section 3.3.2.1.d, is relevant.

> Programs for second-language learners that provide a link between their first and subsequent languages have been demonstrated to be very effective both in helping the child acquire the target language and - more importantly - succeed academically (Handscombe 1989: 9).

* An academic upgrading program planned to fill any gaps brought into the new school from the previous schooling system.

3.4.4 SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Krashen and Terrell (1983: 55, 56), Marland (1977: 3) and Chamot and O'Malley (1989a: 231) all assert the need among teachers for an attitude that incorporates cross-curricular work as a deliberate strategy in a programme of second-language acquisition. This can take two

broad forms: the importing of content-subject material into the language classroom, and the conscious teaching of language skills in content subjects.

3.4.4.1 The role of the English teacher

Brennan and van Naerssen concede the difficulties that may attend the establishment of the necessary communication (v. 3.3.3.1.c) between English and content-subject teachers:

> [B]ecause of conflicts with time schedules and teaching commitments - and sometimes the unwillingness of departments - it may be difficult for the [language teacher] to pursue these more formal contacts. But, if any of these channels of communication can be opened up, the [language teacher] will be able to gain important information about the standards and status of English within the particular departments (Brennan and van Naerssen 1989: 197)

and, by implication, about the language needs of the pupils studying those content subjects.

This suggests the need for the incorporation in a whole-school language policy of scheduled opportunities for formal contact between the relevant staff members, as a specific professional activity expected by the principal:

> Some institutions actually assign a [language teacher] to the staff of each of the various departments (Brennan and van Naerssen 1989: 198).

Such contact is intended to help the English department to establish priorities which should be reflected in language courses so planned that the linguistic skills needed by pupils for specific academic use in the various content-subject areas are taught.

3.4.4.2 The role of the content-subject teacher

Hadaway and Young (1994) recognise *the considerable gap between second language learners' basic communication skills* (Cummins's BICS) *and their ability to function effectively in academic areas*, and stress the usefulness of interaction with textbooks in the acquisition of content literacy, pointing out that *the school's content areas furnish meaningful input for literacy activities* (1994: 522). While their suggestions *reflect principles believed to be effective with language-diverse children*, in which respect reference is made to the work of Snow and Brinton (1988) and Reyes and Molner (1991), inter alia, the important point is stressed that these principles *are equally appropriate for all children in our classrooms* (Hadaway and Young 1994: 522). In fact their suggestions are directed by an opening statement - *the children in today's classrooms often show mixed levels of proficiency in the classroom language* (Hadaway and Young 1994: 522) - that encourages teachers and schools to regard the "limited proficiency" phenomenon within a classroom as a normal situation - not necessarily the result of a recently-created multicultural classroom - for which provision needs to be made in the normal course of school administration and classroom activity.

Amongst their practical recommendations of techniques and approaches that can usefully be adopted to help pupils across the "content literacy gap" resides the implication that teachers of content subjects need to be guided and directed towards increasing familiarity with some key principles underlying language acquisition, and towards greater professional proficiency in *furnish[ing] opportunities to organize concepts graphically and build[ing] background knowledge into a format that aids comprehension* (Hadaway and Young 1994: 522). Formal opportunities for such guidance and direction would then need to be provided within the framework of a whole-school language policy.

In its discussion document on language policy in education, the education department of the African National Congress recommends that

> ... all teachers should regard themselves as teachers of language, and progressively [be] helped to become more effective in playing this role (1994: 64).

Preparatory to describing the characteristics of the black child with limited English proficiency (v. 2.4.3.3) Lemmer insists that

> [b]oth the language teacher and the regular subject teacher have a responsibility to understand the particular characteristics of LEP pupils in order to meet their needs (1993a: 152)

thus introducing a more complex dimension of the responsibility referred to immediately above that *all teachers should regard themselves as teachers of language* - namely the need for teachers other than language teachers to understand some essential characteristics of language acquisition, and especially of second-language acquisition for use as a language of learning in a non-mother-tongue academic environment.

The recommendation (African National Congress Education Department 1994) that this expertise should formally be developed implies that the process should take place within a wider context than merely that of an individual teacher privately extending the necessary skills; the necessity for appropriate provision to be made by schools for the establishment of a formal programme to cater for the development of teachers in this direction implies the need for a whole-school language policy.

3.4.4.3 Teaching literacy skills across the curriculum

In terms of the characteristics and objectives of the whole-school language policy described in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.3, the subject teacher of the LEP pupil will accept the responsibility to teach, as well as the academic content of the subject, the literacy skills needed to study that subject. Literacy in this sense implies, according to Christie (1990: 1) the ability to think, to reason, and to apply language skills and concepts in various situations. This implies the need for attention to be given, in relation to each separate subject, to four areas of language skill, listed by Lemmer (1992: 7) as:

* the technical vocabulary of the subject;
* the genre or genres of writing needed in the subject;
* the language and structure of the subject's textbooks;
* the comprehension and writing skills that will be needed during testing and examination.

An explanation of the need for the explicit teaching of these four aspects of language skill will now be provided in general terms, with specific reference to particular examples in specific subjects being offered for illustrative purposes only; as was explained in section 1.3, detailed descriptions of LEP language-programme curricula and of specific classroom activity and methodology are beyond the scope of this study.

(a) Technical vocabulary

Pupils need to know the subject-specific meanings of technical words used in that subject. Because academic literacy (and scientific literacy in particular) involves the understanding and use of specialised rather than of "commonsense language", *direct vocabulary instruction should be an essential feature of content instruction for the LEP pupil* (Lemmer 1993a: 164-165). Chamot and O'Malley encourage the teaching of unfamiliar vocabulary before the content is taught:

> The teacher should check essential vocabulary needed for the lesson and, if necessary, develop labels in English for concepts known in the native language (1989b: 120-121).

Effective ways of teaching vocabulary, including pictures, objects, diagrams and so on, need to be devised (reminiscent of elements of the principle of simulation of initial conditions, described in section 7.3.1.3), and particular care needs to be taken that pupils understand the technical application of what may be familiar words in their commonsense vocabulary: *solution, product, pole* illustrate the point.

Attention needs also to be given to the distinctions of meaning that can apply when words are used in different contexts: *tablets* of stone (as in the Ten Commandments) and for medicinal purposes, for example; *ivory* (tusks) and *ivories* (idiomatically, piano keys); and *branch* (of a tree, or a division of a company).

(b) Writing genres

Hammond asserts (1990: 26) that writing is a skill that is learned, and that writing in each academic subject differs according to the genre or genres of writing used in that subject.

The study of Science, for example, necessitates knowledge of the elements of report writing, an understanding of the principles that govern the use of headings and sub-headings, and familiarity of the framework within which experiments are written up.

History requires *inter alia* the ability to write thematically, describing trends and working in abstractions, rather than recording personal anecdotes about individuals (Cope and Kalantzis 1990: 129).

This may be a much more complex problem than that of vocabulary instruction. Traditionally, content-subject teachers (and typically teachers of the natural sciences more than most) have shown reluctance to enter a field in which they feel insecure - the teaching of language - and for reasons just as understandable as it would be for a language teacher to feel trepidation about teaching Science or Mathematics. Moreover, teachers not trained in the terminology of language study will probably lack the vocabulary needed to describe elements of the style or genre of writing used for different purposes in their subjects; a Science teacher may be able to identify a well-written report on an experiment, but would probably not be able to analyze the fact that it is written in objective language, in the past tense, and in the passive voice, having not been trained to be alert to such characteristics of writing (Gosher 1995: interview).

It may be, therefore, that this is a particular area in which professional collaboration is especially necessary, so that the language teacher can be alerted by content-subject colleagues

to the need to teach an aspect of language usage that the content-subject colleagues cannot successfully handle. Moreover, if the assumption expressed in the previous paragraph is correct, there may also be an indication that genre and style are areas in which content-subject teachers need to develop language-teaching skills, through an in-service training programme established as an element of the whole-school language policy (Gosher 1995: interview).

These supposition will be tested during the course of the qualitative research described in Chapters 5 and 6.

(c) The use of textbooks

Textbooks *often present information in a way that is inaccessible to the LEP pupil* (Lemmer 1993a: 166). According to Van Rooyen the particular characteristics of textbook presentation that mitigate against easy understanding include the use of formal language, the fact that the books are seldom written with the special needs of LEP pupils in mind, the frequent use of books translated from the Afrikaans, and the impoverished text that they display - that is, text lacking sufficient explanations and linguistic links to help pupils through the complexities of the subject matter (1991: 104).

The textbook remains, nevertheless, a potentially-valuable academic tool, provided children can be taught how to use it to good effect. Instruction is therefore required in terms of the general layout of a textbook, including the function of title and imprint pages, table of contents, introduction, notes about authors, bibliography and index; and, within the text, the use of headings (Lemmer 1993a: 167). The ability to identify main ideas and key words is an essential comprehension skill that also needs to be explicitly taught.

Wales (1990: 182) specifically recommends that the textbook, far from being used by teachers as a starting point in a lesson, should be used at the end, after the introduction of new content by means of concrete and experimental concepts supported by consolidatory class discussion.

(d) Comprehension and writing skills needed for tests and examinations

Recognising that a strong emphasis has historically been placed in the South African education system on examination-based certification, and recognising also the prominent role played in that system by frequent written testing, the disadvantages facing a pupil with limited language skills are readily evident. Care needs to be taken that pupils are not penalised for language deficiencies when it is really content knowledge that is being tested; in particular, pupils should not be prevented from demonstrating their content knowledge by a failure to understand the question satisfactorily, as can happen when unnecessarily-complicated words are used in the question, or when multiple-choice questions test children's understanding of language nuances rather than content knowledge (Doak, Doak and Root 1985: 48-49).

Familiarity on the part of pupils with the different writing genres that might be called for in a test is essential, as well as careful tutelage in the precise meanings of instructional words such as *compare*, *discuss* and *list*, each of which calls for a different writing approach.

3.4.4.4 An integrated setting

Handscombe suggests an even broader environment in which acquisition of the new language should be facilitated:

> A good language program ... needs to be firmly linked to the academic and social program of the school, with the content of the language program being derived from the language demands made by the regular curriculum, the playground or sports-field, and the many other occasions when students/students or students/staff interact during a school day (1989: 9).

Admitting that some initial separation of second-language learners into specific instruction groups may be less avoidable at secondary level than it would be in the primary school, Handscombe nevertheless argues strongly for the ideal of *a program that supports students' second-language learning for the entire day* (1989: 11):

> [G]iven the need to provide, across a wide range of curriculum areas, content-based credit courses that are tailored to the linguistic and academic needs of second-language learners, there is ample opportunity for collaboration between subject-area specialists and language specialists to design, and perhaps even team-teach, such special subject sections (1989: 11).

The need for collaboration is emphasised in section 3.4.1, under the fourth point.

In the light of the research and theories described in the present chapter, the application in schools of bilingual education programmes for minority-language students of English will be investigated in the research that follows.

3.5 SUMMARY

Those elements of the theories and models explored in this chapter that seem most relevant to the South African situation are distilled here. Their validity needs to be investigated specifically in the South African context, and they will therefore be kept especially clearly in mind during the course of the research that follows.

3.5.1 FROM THE WORK OF STEPHEN KRASHEN

* A new language will be taught more effectively when it is used to transmit messages than when it is taught for conscious learning (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 55). The input must be understandable, implying the importance of visual aids, vocabulary acquisition, and comprehension of the message. The comprehensible input must be interesting and appealing to the learner, so that the affective filter is lowered (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 56).

* Because language is acquired from what is heard or read rather than from what is said, listening comprehension and reading are more important in a second-language acquisition programme than speaking, in which fluency will emerge on its own (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 56).

* The natural approach is an appropriate avenue to second-language acquisition, in which communication skills are emphasised; comprehension precedes production; speaking and writing are allowed to emerge naturally, and only when the learner is ready for them; and the responsibility on teachers of all subjects to present comprehensible input is central (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 57-61).

3.5.2 FROM THE WORK OF JAMES CUMMINS

* The presence of a strong language foundation, and continued linguistic development, in the mother tongue, is an important factor in effective second-language acquisition (Cummins 1979: 228), in terms of the notion of common underlying proficiency.

* A child who has failed to develop adequate proficiency in either the mother tongue or another language will therefore lack the necessary foundation for general cognitive development and progress in the academic programme (Lemmer 1993a: 154).

* The danger of this happening is more acute when the mother tongue is allowed to be replaced, or demoted, or placed in jeopardy, by a second language so that a form of subtractive bilingualism results (Cummins 1990: 147-149). A cognitively and academically beneficial form of additive bilingualism is only likely to result through a programme which attempts to promote the child's academic and cognitive development through both first and second languages (Cummins 1979: 246).

* A child's ability to make significant academic progress through the medium of the second language will depend upon the acquisition of sufficient proficiency in that

language at the level of cognitive-academic usage (CALP), not merely at the level of basic communication skills (BICS) (Cummins 1981a: 24).

3.5.3 FROM J.M. O'MALLEY'S CALLA APPROACH

* Two distinct stages must be provided in the acquisition of English as a second-language by non-proficient students: the initial acquisition of basic communication skills, followed by a bridging programme to provide the advanced experience in cognitive-level language development needed to support an academic programme (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 229).

* The bridging programme should deliberately integrate language study with content from the mainstream curriculum, so that students are motivated by the knowledge that they are studying "real" school work instead of learning a language in isolation for an application yet to be revealed (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 235).

* The language needed to study the different content subjects needs to be identified and specifically taught in the context of actual content learning in the language classroom (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 245).

* The essential need for close consultation between language and content-subject teachers in the planning of the language bridging programme is therefore strongly implied (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 236; Brennan and van Naerssen 1989: 196).

* Instruction in relevant learning strategies - conscious techniques and processes used to facilitate the acquisition and mastery of new skills and concepts - should be included in the second-language bridging programme (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 239).

In the next chapter, an account will be given of the design of the research activity that was used for the collection of data. Relevant aspects of the underlying methodology will be referred to, and a description will be given of how the interviews that constituted the research

activity were planned and conducted. Principles that governed the subsequent analysis of the collected data will then be recorded.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the principles behind the planning and subsequent analysis of the interviews that formed the essence of the research activity. It relates the selection of methodology to the nature of the problem under investigation, and describes how the interviews were designed and conducted, as well as factors that governed the extraction, arrangement and analysis of relevant data.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

4.2.1 CHOICE OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The rationale for the use of qualitative methodology was explained in 1.5.2 and 1.5.3. In this section, general aspects of the methodology that governed the design of the research, as well as the nature of the research activities, will be described.

The method produces *descriptive data, as embodied in people's spoken words and observable behaviour* (Bekker 1993: 12). Data collection is done by a skilled person rather than by an instrument, interacting with selected persons within their natural settings.

Purposeful sampling involves the selection of information-rich cases for study in depth; the identification of such cases, based on sound information, is therefore an important element of a qualitative study (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990: 374).

A non-interfering, non-judgemental research role should be adopted; and confidentiality of data collected, as well as anonymity of participants, must be assured (Schumacher and McMillan 1993: 399).

The following aspects of research design were considered in the planning of the research:

* What is the purpose of the study?
* What should be the focus of the study?
* What primary data collection strategy should be adopted?
* What will govern the availability of informants?
* Is the information gathered in danger of becoming redundant? Should a return to the site (see Appendix 4) be contemplated)?
* What is the proposed minimum sample size, which might be added to - by *network sampling* or *snowball sampling* - as the study progresses?

4.2.2 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Selection involved two decisions: selection of schools, and selection of members of the focus groups themselves. A summary of the information relating to the schools and persons interviewed is provided in tabulated form in Figure 4.1 (p. 126).

4.2.2.1 Selection of schools

In the selection of schools to include in the research, the principle of judgement sampling was used, in which

> informants [are] selected for study according to ... experience that endows them with a special knowledge. The researcher therefore requires a detailed knowledge of the universe from which to draw individuals who have distinct qualifications as informants (Burgess 1984a: 55).

The unique position of the researcher as superintendent of education (v. 4.4.2), offering as it does insights over an extended period of time into strategies and policies adopted in a wide

Figure 4.1

Summary: Schools and informants

CATEGORY	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	SCHOOL C
Total school enrolment	+/- 1450 pupils	+/- 1250 pupils	581 pupils
LEP/black pupils	10% - 12% of total enrolment, the majority in Stds 6 and 7, and in need of special management	+/- 30 black pupils in each of Stds 7 and 8, and about 60 in Std 6	50% of pupils across the whole school are black children; 60% of Std 6 and 7 pupils are black children and thus non-mother-tongue users of English.
Special strategy to deal with LEP children	The enrichment class (a "pull-out" approach)	The independent course (full time curriculum)	Limited syllabus (full-time curriculum)
Present at interview	Acting principal	Principal	Principal
	Senior English teacher, the pastoral tutor appointed to monitor the special needs of the school's black children	Head of Department (English), the co-ordinator of the "independent course"	Five teachers of English and another subject to the Std 6 "limited syllabus" groups
	The Std 6 enrichment class teacher	Mathematics teacher for the independent course	
		The two English teachers for the Std 6 independent course groups	
Number of informants	3	5	6

range of desegregated schools, facilitated the choice of institutions in which the problems experienced by LEP children have been recognised, and where a specific strategy to deal with these problems had been devised, and implemented for six months or more. Three schools in Gauteng were selected on this basis.

School A is a very large co-educational institution (total enrolment approximately 1450) with a proud record of academic achievement. When desegregation-model schooling was first introduced, black pupils were admitted in limited numbers, following admission tests[1] administered with a view to selecting children who might be expected to succeed in the new school environment. At the time of the interview, some 10% to 12% of the total enrolment[2] consisted of children of other races than white, the majority of these being in Standards 6 and 7, and identified as being in need of some special form of treatment because of either a language deficiency, or a disadvantaged educational background, or for both of these reasons. The school's Governing Body employs a member of staff to teach English to an "enrichment class" of children who were ear-marked as having serious language problems; children are removed from certain non-examinable subjects in order to accommodate a number of special extra English lessons each week.

School B is a large co-educational institution (1250 pupils) with about thirty black pupils in each of Standards 7 and 8, and about twice that number in Standard 6. The black LEP pupils in Standard 6 have been placed in two classes (out of a total of fourteen classes in the standard) that follow a full-time special curriculum, known as the "independent course", taught by specially-identified teachers who are encouraged to devise and implement a programme of their own design, and to apply methodology, according to their perception of their pupils' needs.

---

1 Such admission tests are no longer used.

2 At all three schools a degree of vagueness exists among the teaching staff as to the exact number of black pupils enrolled, for the best possible reason: the English HOD at School B said, "I really don't know; I don't see children as black any more." When pressed to estimate a number or percentage, simply to give an idea of the extent of "the LEP problem" in each school, a thoughtful approximation was offered in each case. Reasonably accurate figures were available from each school's office (v. Figure 4.1) where they are kept for administrative purposes, but they appear to be of no interest or consequence to the teachers.

School C, also co-educational, is smaller than the others (581 pupils in total) of which 50% (through the whole school) are black children, and thus non-mother-tongue users of English. In Standards 6 and 7, where the strategies that were of particular interest in the context of this study are being implemented, 60% of the pupils are non-mother-tongue users of English. The school principal is herself a former senior English teacher, not at the school itself but from the same area. She thus brings to her principalship not only an unusual understanding of the language problems of the LEP pupil, and sympathy for the challenge for teachers; but an extensive knowledge also of the socio-economic and educational nature of the geographical environment from which the school draws its pupil population. The school identifies, and groups heterogeneously (and therefore separately from the mainstream pupils), the LEP children who need special management. It subjects them to a full-time curriculum (presented parallel to, rather than in addition to, the regular curriculum followed by the mainstream pupils) based on a diminished syllabus in key subjects, with an emphasis on the acquisition of useful and applicable skills rather than on the mastery of large quantities of facts and content. The classes in question are taught by a team of staff members all of whom are trained English teachers, and all of whom therefore can contribute, by using an integrated approach to the curriculum, to the development of English language skills in the course of their content-subject teaching; and who can more skilfully recognise and deal with the purely linguistic barriers that obstruct their pupils' effective access to the wider curriculum.

School A provided a slightly but significantly different perspective from that of Schools B and C in that it had, at the time of the study, not progressed as far towards a solution of what had, up to that time, been a problem of limited proportions. With the enrolment of LEP children suddenly growing rapidly in the school, the interview at **School A** therefore dealt, more than at the other two schools, with discussion and description of perceived needs in setting up future structures and policies to deal with the LEP children. The **School A** staff, in essence, described their problems, and gave a wish-list of possible solutions; the interviewees identified factors whose absence (or presence) was frustrating them in their efforts to establish an effective programme, and that they felt would have to be addressed in developing school policy. **Schools B** and **C**, on the other hand, where LEP children had been enrolled in larger

numbers for a longer period of time, were able to look back at strategies that had already been tried out in practice, and to evaluate their success.

An overriding common factor in the selection of all three schools, however, was the conviction of the researcher that at each of those chosen an essentially positive and sympathetic attitude prevails towards the historical educational disadvantagement of the majority of the country's black children, and towards the particular problem of accommodating LEP children effectively in primarily white classrooms and schools.

4.2.2.2 Selection of focus group participants

The principals of the three schools were asked to set up interviews with the researcher in which they themselves would participate, together with the school's senior English teacher, and any other personnel (English teachers or teachers of other subjects) who were identified by either the principal or the senior English teacher as having a particular interest, involvement or expertise in the establishment or implementation of strategies to meet the special needs of LEP pupils.

At **School A** the three participants included the acting principal (the principal himself being on extended leave), the senior English teacher, and another English teacher who presents an "enrichment course" to pupils in Standard 6.

At **School B** five participants joined the researcher: the principal, the Head of Department (English), the two English teachers responsible for the two Standard 6 "independent group" classes, and the mathematics teacher responsible for the same classes' maths.

At **School C** six participants were interviewed: the principal, and five teachers responsible for the delivery to selected classes of LEP pupils in Standard 6 of a "limited syllabus" programme. In each case, the teachers are responsible for English and another subject as well, an example of non-specialisation that is not infrequently found in the timetables of smaller schools.

As already mentioned, the principal of **School C** is herself a former English teacher, whereas at **Schools A** and **B** the principals come from a background that does not specifically include language teaching.

4.3 DATA GATHERING

4.3.1 DATA-GATHERING TECHNIQUE: THE FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

The primary technique of data gathering was interviews conducted with focus groups at three selected desegregation-model schools. The focus group was used as the method of data-collection because it is recognised as being

> helpful in answering questions of how and, in particular, why people behave as they do (Floch-Lyon and Trost 1981: 92).

The focus group session takes the form of a structured discussion in which a small number of purposefully-selected participants, under the guidance of a facilitator, talk about a topic defined as being of special importance (Floch-Lyon *et al* 1981: 93). The aim of group-session research is not to quantify norms, traits and characteristics, but

> to expose their underlying attitudes and opinions. The quality of the response is important, and the purpose is to detect directions of behaviour rather than magnitude (Floch-Lyon *et al* 1981: 94).

The need to *[come] into contact with the points of view of the intended objects of the research* (Morgan and Spanish 1984: 268) is therefore successfully accommodated by means of focus-group sessions. Morgan and Spanish (1984: 260) suggest that a special strength of the focus group as an information-gathering strategy is that it allows access to a process of

interaction, which is especially important for qualitative researchers; and that it is especially well suited to the exploration of the attitudes and experiences of the informants. The focus-group discussion enjoys the particular advantage over the in-depth direct interview that participants are better able themselves to influence the discussion area through the decisions they make as to what information to present and what not to present (Morgan and Spanish 1984: 260). In a field (such as that addressed in the present study) in which the salient issues are not completely clear at the outset (v. 1.5.2) this particular characteristic is especially useful.

To encourage dynamic group interaction, an unstructured (though subtly directed), informal and tolerant environment should be created (Floch-Lyon *et al* 1981: 94).

Although the groups used in the present study were smaller than the norms sometimes laid down for dynamic interaction (Floch-Lyon *et al* 1981: 95), an active dialogue was able to be maintained at all times owing to the special interest in the topics under discussion by carefully-selected participants. All the groups did, however, fall within the size range suggested by Morgan and Spanish (1984: 253).

4.3.2 WHEN AND WHERE

Interviews were held after school on 17 August 1995 (**School A**), 5 September 1995 (**School B**), and 19 September 1995 (**School C**).

The space of time between interviews proved useful in enabling information gathered at one school to modify and develop the subsequent interview(s). It also facilitated for the researcher a clear differentiation between the three schools in the planning and conduct of the interviews.

The interviews took place at the school in each case, in the private offices of senior staff members at **Schools B** and **C**, and in an otherwise deserted staff-room (to accommodate the slightly larger group) in **School C**.

Field notes were also taken, and used to record logistical information such as that expressed in Figure 4.1. In the case of **School A**, an attempt was also made to compile field notes based on direct observation of strategies being used to provide for the needs of LEP pupils in the school. This approach was abandoned in the case of **Schools B** and **C**, as the study focuses on past experience by teachers and school managers (and their interpretation of that experience), as well as on their projections of strategies for the future. While these emerged successfully in the interview situation, it was not possible in the circumstances to glean anything significant from direct observation.

4.3.3 CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEWS

Prior to each interview, the document appended as Appendix 1 was presented to the participants, who were asked to record their consent to verbatim transcripts being used of material recorded during the interviews, but with the assurance that the anonymity of both school and individual would be maintained.

The focus-group sessions took the form of unstructured interviews, a strategy which *gives informants an opportunity to develop their answers outside a structured format* (Burgess 1984a: 102-103).

The interviews were tape-recorded to allow the researcher to

> participate fully in the conversation, to pose particular questions on topics that [had] not been covered or [needed] developing (Burgess 1984a: 111).

A Bell and Howell model 3185X tape recorder was selected for the purpose, largely for its extremely sensitive condenser microphone, which enabled the tape recorder to be placed in an unobtrusive position during the interview so that the spontaneity of conversation was not unnecessarily compromised.

The duration of the interviews was limited to two hours in each case, following the advice of Burgess (1984a: 120) to avoid fatigue on the part of either researcher or interviewees.

4.3.4 THE AREAS COVERED IN THE INTERVIEWS

Burgess refers (1984a: 108) to the importance for the researcher of guiding the discussion by means of an "agenda" that includes topics or themes that need to be covered in the discussion. He refers to this as an *aide memoire*, used to make sure that similar topics are raised in all the interviews conducted (Burgess 1984a: 108).

The points listed in Appendix 2 (q.v.) served the purpose of an *aide memoire* to the present researcher. In order to give direction to the interviews, and with a view to ensuring that all important areas were covered in each one, the *General Structure* included aspects that should not be ignored. However, these points had the status only of guidelines, and were not permitted to become assumptions as to the areas that interviewees would identify as being of relevance.

The *Specific Questions* were designed to prompt discussion if certain supposedly important areas were not addressed in response to the original stimulus question. Some were directed to teachers participating in the focus group discussions, and others to school principals, depending upon the direction in which the discussion was proceeding. The interviews, however, took the form of conversations (v. Appendix 3), with the interviewees being encouraged to talk without restraint, rather than a series of questions and answers. The questions were therefore used only where necessary, as stimuli, to keep the conversational input of interviewees flowing, and to ensure that all relevant aspects were dealt with. It is recognised that elements of duplication are present among the possible questions given, so that

They[1] must be isolated .... It's actually emerged on its own that wherever we have a child who is in difficulty and we find them in a class of children who are achieving and are coping, the child regresses rather than advances (English HOD).

The staff at **School B** was at pains to emphasise that the "separationist" philosophy underlying the independent course groups is not universally implemented at the school; in particular, it does not extend to the "streaming" of pupils of different *intellectual* abilities, but is limited to the grouping of children (such as the LEP groups) with unique curricular and didactic needs:

I would not go and take weak children and put them into separate classes (English HOD).

Parents of LEP pupils in the **School** B independent course were as positive as those at School C:

What has been the response of the community ... to the fact that you have filled two classes with black children? ... the apartheid regime all over again ... this is an accusation that is levelled at schools .... Have you had any problems with that (Researcher)?

Initially we've had a few queries from the parents of these children, who felt that it might be a discriminatory thing .... [But] once we'd explained to them what the motivation behind this is, they were very happy ... because we envisage that after two years in this course they should be able to fit into a normal senior secondary phase (Principal).

It was also pointed out that the parents of "the other" - mainstream - pupils have also recognised the benefits of the independent course system:

---

1 LEP pupils in need of special education attention.

> [T]he majority of parents realise that ... this is being done to help children and by helping these children[1], helping their children. ... It doesn't slow down the rest of the class (English teacher).

Of course, a danger inherent in the notion of separating LEP children in order to give them special attention is that children who do not need to be in a "limited syllabus" or some other such group might inappropriately be placed there as the result of the unquestioning implementation of a general policy; so that a contrasting position with regard to creating homogenous classes was thoughtfully expressed at the very school where limited syllabus groups are successfully being taught:

> I sometimes feel that by actually clumping these children together we are doing some of them a disservice. If we see that they have potential we *must* take them out and put them in a different class[2] .... I think of Sylvia ... she's got so much potential ... she should be in a different class ... she would, you know, really flourish (English teacher, **School C**).

Some evidence of the success of the independent course policy was recorded by teachers who described the negative attitude of many black children in other standards at **School B** who

> [don't] do anything ... [don't] do any homework ... will not even say a word when asked to respond in class, and will deliberately not make a speech (English HOD).

In contrast, it was reported that

> our independent children are hardly ever absent ... their homework is always done ... they're not derogatory towards each other ... they are very supportive. ... The group doesn't condone apathy (Maths teacher).

---

1 The LEP children in the independent course.

2 That is, in a non-LEP, regular mainstream class.

On the other hand, this was not presented as a case for streaming pupils into ability-groups, as was shown in the argument, expressed at the same school earlier in this section, against isolating weak pupils in a homogeneous ability group.

The placement of LEP children in separate groups from their mainstream peers deals with one of the objections raised by Cummins (1979: 224) to the implementation of a submersion programme model as opposed to an immersion model (v. 3.2.2).

6.2.3 SMALL CLASS GROUPS

An emphatic opinion was expressed at **School B** with regard to class size:

> [T]here is no shadow of doubt ... that where the class is larger [than about twenty-eight] and you've got one or two weak children in it, these children regress. ... The first casualties in any large class are the immigrants and the black children .... (English HOD).

The opinion was based upon wider and longer experience than that gleaned over the few years of teaching black LEP children:

> I look at the large numbers of Portuguese children, who ... as the class gets larger ... fade into the background. ... You tend to find ... the weaker children ... either being deviant in order to get attention, or ... opting out ... (English HOD).

When asked to identify a single organisational/logistical factor to reduce the potential disadvantagement to LEP pupils in multicultural classrooms, the desirability of small classes was again cited:

> I don't think anybody expects everybody to be equal within a class; there will always be great differences. I would not go and take weak children and put them into separate

> classes. All that I would do is to try and keep the ordinary class as small as possible. That's all I would do .... When the class is of a small enough size you can reach the weak children without harming their dignity ... you've got enough time to make a difference to their lives, you've got enough time to mark their work and be fair. ... The pupils themselves ... don't actually want to be different. What they want is the quality of your attention, and I think that is where, when your class becomes larger, the quality of the time that you spend on any individual within the class diminishes ... dramatically. ... As soon as you enlarge the size of the class you break down ... communication ... (English HOD).

The staff identified twenty-eight as a desirable maximum number, though the Principal felt that *twenty-five ... would be ideal.*

School B was also acutely aware of an accommodation problem that would, in purely practical terms, confound a provincial or national education policy of enlarged class groups. Referring to the very dimensions of their classrooms, it was pointed out that *an old school like this one is not built for that* [1] (Principal).

Aware that wishes need thoughtful and imaginative planning if they are to be turned into reality, the school suggested the following means (a plan not without its contentious elements, but all the more demonstrative therefore of the commitment of the school to the policy of keeping class groups small) of reducing the size of their classes by giving children so-called "free periods" during an extended day:

> What I plan to do, to maintain class sizes, ... is to attempt to run this school on a varsity-type system, where there will be no extra-mural activities whatsoever, but we will teach from eight o'clock till, for example, one o'clock, have an hour break, and then from two o'clock till four o'clock there'll be school again as normal ... (Principal).

1 That is, for large class groups.

He acknowledged that children would have to be *"schooled" in the responsibility factor* in order to make productive use of their time between formal lessons.

> We envisage building or covering up one of these large quads in a cafeteria table-chair kind of a set-up, where children can go when not [in class] ... (Principal).

The same necessity had already been identified by **School A**. The following question was posed:

> Is there any way in which the integrated multiracial, multicultural classroom can be a successful environment for these [LEP] children in the first couple of years at the school (Researcher)?

The answer was offered immediately and simply:

> Smaller classes (Enrichment class teacher); You've got to have smaller classes .... You'd just have to have smaller classes (senior English teacher).

When apprised of the opinions that had been expressed on the subject at School B, the **School C** teachers unhesitatingly agreed:

> [T]he fewer children you have in your class, it's obvious the more attention you can pay them. You can spend more time with each individual child, marking their books, showing them where they have gone wrong .... You don't have that opportunity with thirty-four children ... (English teacher).

6.2.4 CURRICULAR DECISIONS: WHAT TO TEACH? SKILLS VS CONTENT

The issues dealt with in the previous three sections have addressed questions relating to the organisation of a school programme for LEP pupils. Associated with, but separate from, these is the key question of what ought to be included in these children's curriculum. In all three schools at which interviews were conducted, it had been accepted almost as a matter of course that an adjusted curriculum of some kind was needed to meet the unique needs of the LEP pupils.

At **School A** the following was reported:

> I've worked right back to basics. In the first term I concentrated just on vocabulary and comprehension; second term I started bringing in grammar rules, the ones that the English teachers identified as being particular problem areas ... and to concentrate on things like listening comprehension ... and I've been trying to push reading .... I have got a series of "early readers" - not in terms of being suitable for seven-, eight-year-olds who've just learned to read, but in terms of simple-language stories[1] ... (Enrichment class teacher).

Confirmation of the appropriateness of this teacher's approach is provided in the work of Krashen and Terrell (1983: 56; v. 3.3.1.2.b); as well as in the emphasis placed by Cummins (1979: 238) on vocabulary development (v. 3.3.2.1.e).

School B based its whole approach on the need to design a special course for its LEP pupils, even choosing to identify it by a name that specifically reflected the curricular independence of the special group:

---

[1] The reference is to reading material of "high interest" (i.e. subject matter suitable for older readers) but "low difficulty" (in language terms only), sometimes referred to by teachers and educational library personnel as "hi-lo readers."

> ... we called it the "independent course" for a very important reason, and that was that we felt that we want it to be separate from the timetabling restraints, we want it to be free from the syllabus restraints, the work-planning restraints that the other pupils would be under (English HOD).

The curriculum that the school has followed for the LEP group takes account not only of the children's linguistic/academic needs, but of the assimilation of the whole child into an unfamiliar education and social system:

> [O]ur primary aim is ... the education of these children in its broadest sense .... They're ... very bewildered, coming from such vastly different backgrounds .... [T]he kind of attention that the black children are getting is to ... even expose them to taking them out as a group - going out on a field trip. Many of them have never been on anything like that (English HOD).

Associated with this approach there is always the danger of the school being accused of failing to integrate children of different races, of discriminating between children of different cultural groups (cf. 6.2.2). At **School B**, where adjustments had been made to the broad curriculum in addition to releasing teachers from the normal constraints of subject syllabi, it was felt that such a situation could be dealt with if handled objectively by all concerned:

> Initially, we've had a few queries from the parents of these children .... But ... we said to the parents, "Look, these children are not equipped to start Standard 6 in our system, but we are prepared to accept them into the school and try and bring them up to the standard fives that normally attend the school; but to enable us to do that we must ... take away all the non-exam subjects and we double up on ... ones like English, ... Maths, and the like." And once we'd explained ... the motivation ..., they were very happy ... (Principal).

How long the LEP pupils would remain in the independent course would depend upon the progress shown by each individual child. Nor would placement in the independent course necessarily imply the need for a child to spend an extra year at school:

> [A]t the end of Standard 6 we will assess these children. If we find that they have progressed enough to continue with the independent course on the second level, which is Standard 7 (but it's not really Standard 7, it's the second level of the independent course!) we will transfer them to the second level. And then we envisage at the end of the second level, they will be able to choose the six subjects for Standard 8 (Principal).

In their search for a curriculum that would meet the unique needs of the group in question, the school acknowledged the need for teachers to have the freedom to explore, and to adjust their courses according to what they discovered of their pupils' needs from one day to the next:

> [W]e needed to feel that we could teach this course without feeling that we were bound by any sort of previous methodologies, that teachers are actually free to break away at any stage, to do what they feel is necessary; and for this reason they're not bound by the examination system ... there is assessment, obviously, but teachers are free to take their classes out of the classroom, out of the syllabus ... (English HOD).

The task set for them is not related to the completion or mastery of the prescribed syllabus. They are challenged, instead, to

> take the children as far as they possibly can move them. I haven't set an end-point; there isn't an end-point. And so in a sense it's actually quite terrifying ... (English HOD).

The importance of this policy is fully recognised by the teachers involved, who were able to exploit their own independence by making whatever adjustments they felt necessary without the pressure usually created by the need to progress systematically through a syllabus:

> I think our independent course has been so successful simply because we've been allowed, as teachers, freedom ... I mean, incredible freedom. [The Principal and the HOD] recognised that things are totally different [in the independent course classroom]. You could plan what you were going to do with them, and I think if you ended up actually doing your planning, it was a miracle ... (English teacher).

An obvious implication of the freedom offered to (in fact, forced upon) teachers in such a situation is that highly competent personnel need to be chosen. This will be explored in section 6.2.5, which follows.

The English teachers at **School B** are inevitably aware of the mainstream syllabus, and have made use of it as a starting point but never as a blueprint:

> [W]e took out various aspects of that syllabus, and ... we've been trying to keep up aspects of the Standard 6 syllabus, but not at the pace that the other Standard 6s[1] are doing it ... (English teacher).

The notion of working at a reduced pace and on a limited syllabus formed the core of the approach adopted by **School C**, which will be described shortly.

Another modification adopted by **School B** teachers in the light of their experience involved a change of methodology:

> I have a lot of oral lessons, the lessons are very oral. They prefer you to sit and to actually talk to them. A comprehension, for example ... take it apart bit by bit and look at it in context and so on and so forth, and do that orally (English teacher).

Changes of emphasis have also taken place, one in particular closely consistent with principles established by Krashen and Terrell (1983: 57-61) in their advocacy of the "natural approach" to language acquisition (v. 3.3.1.2.c):

---

1 Mainstream groups.

> I've concentrated on comprehensions, simply because I have found that there are ... big gaps in their knowledge ... and on understanding, on language as a tool for understanding, rather than on the literature element of the syllabus, ... or rather than the formal grammar (English teacher).

The deliberate lack of design of the independent course was justified as follows:

> One of the reasons that the independent course is unstructured is that ... because of the nature of the learning that was going to take place these children had to be able to make lots of mistakes. ... [L]iken it to the idea of a toddler trying to walk. That toddler is going to fall and fall and fall, and ... will walk only if it's in a supportive environment (English HOD).

That *supportive environment* reflects the spirit of the lowered affective filter that Krashen (1987: 30-32) cites as an important factor in successful language acquisition (v. 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2.d). The need for error tolerance is incorporated in Chamot and O'Malley's observations (1989a: 233) of learning strategies identified in research with LEP students (v. 3.3.3.1.a).

Although the independent course staff at **School B** did not specifically re-design the syllabi for their LEP classes, it was evident that the possibility of covering a reduced amount of ground was embodied in the spirit that produced the independent course in the first place:

> I would rather ... that we cut down on the bumff in the syllabi, because it's all about retention .... [C]ut away all the nonsense and let these teachers have the time to teach (Principal).

The independent course teachers responded by introducing a fundamental change of emphasis:

> Why, in this modern day and age, when all this information is at finger-tip, teach people to still memorise reams and reams and reams, and not teach them to use information at hand, structure it, co-ordinate it and get a decent answer out of it ....? That's the basis on which we tried to get this independent course going (Principal).

This switch of emphasis from content to skills was strongly evident at **School C**, where the decision about what to teach was at the very heart of evolving LEP policy at the school. The curriculum designed for the new children reflects closely key components of the CALLA model (v. 3.3.3.1.b) in its two especial characteristics: firstly it is based on the mainstream syllabus but covers selected essential material only:

> We have taken the Science, the Biology, the Geography, the History syllabus ... together with the English syllabus .... Each of the heads of departments has extracted what they consider to be the most important, and the 6Cs, Ds and Es[1] have had all their tests and exams based on that content (Principal);

and, secondly, it concentrates on equipping pupils with *skills* - intellectual and academic, as well as practical (cf. the emphasis placed in the CALLA model on mastery of learning strategies: 7.3.2.2, as well as Cummins's and Collier's findings in 3.3.2.2.f) - instead of on the memorisation of content:

> [W]e've tried to base the whole approach on the skills-based approach to education ... so that, for example, what you're teaching them [in History] is relevance - to be able to pick out main ideas and supporting details - which is really far more important than shoving all the dates of the battle of Blood River down their throats .... [O]nce you've been given the skills you can go back and ... on your own ... actually catch up the content, if you've got the skills (Principal).

The emphasis on the development of comprehension skills is consistent with Cummins's belief that the primary academic task for a child is *learning to extract information effectively from*

---

[1] The three Standard 6 classes in which the LEP pupils have been grouped, and which follow the school's "limited syllabus" curriculum.

printed text (1979: 237; v. 3.3.2.1.e). A close affinity can also be discerned in this policy with the importance placed by Chamot and O'Malley (1989a: 235) on using the new language that is being learned to study real and important components of the content-subject syllabi (v. 3.3.3.1.b.i).

The implications for teachers of the "limited syllabus" policy (cf. Krashen and Terrell 1983: 57-61 on comprehensible input) were enumerated by the staff:

> You can work more slowly ... more thoroughly ... with more repetition ... making use of more examples ... (staff members).

In English, for example,

> we [do not try] to cover everything that's been laid down - all the poetry, because they just don't cope ... you can't do a whole novel ... [we] select passages (English teacher).

Then, in dealing with the pieces and passages selected, the development of the children's ability to understand input is strongly emphasised:

> We concentrate on giving them the comprehension skills ... (Principal).

Allied to both of these strategies has been the emphasis of certain parts of the syllabus at the deliberate expense of others:

> [W]e have made that shift to comprehension teaching ... the whole approach of prediction ... survey ... questioning ... dictionary skills ... (English teachers).

In its modification of syllabi the school has emphasised

> information-retrieval skills and ... comprehension skills ... focusing more ... changing emphases ... listening comprehension skills ... those are areas that we should really be concentrating on ... (Principal).

Project work plays an important role, with the provision of clear guidelines for pupils constituting an essential element in teacher-preparation:

> [T]his is the information I want you to look up ... and that ties in with the gathering of information from a media centre ... (Principal).

> You don't actually have to teach them - they must actually find out for themselves (English teacher).

The implementation of a syllabus limited in extent found unanimous favour among teaching staff at the school:

> [If] your main aim is to finish the syllabus ... there's no time for them to discover; I've just got to teach, and they must learn. You've just got time to tell them something, say, "Right, understand it, learn it, that's the end now." We don't have time to say, "Right, discover it ...." And then we're doing them a disservice, because then you are not improving any of those skills ... (English teacher).

The staff agreed that their skills-focused teaching demanded a more patient attitude to completion of lessons or units of work - a general willingness not to be rushed by syllabus demands:

> [I]f we are going to be more facilitators, that takes much longer ... (English teacher).

The school has set as one of its goals the production at the end of their school careers of pupils with life skills:

> ... turning out thinkers ... [rather than] churning out people with matric certificates (Principal).

If there is no absolute consensus as to the exact nature of the programme that ought to be offered to LEP pupils (cf. Cummins 1990: 145; v. 3.1), there is at least a general agreement that simply to submit them to a mainstream-class curriculum, without tailoring it to the perceived needs of the LEP child (whatever it may be decided in each individual school that those needs are) is not a recipe for success.

6.2.5 DEVELOPMENT OF SOPHISTICATED TEACHING SKILLS

At a very early stage of the "independent course" **School B** identified not only the absence among their LEP pupils of the kind of general knowledge that teachers had previously been inclined to take for granted; but, emerging from that realisation, a strategy that needed to be built into a successful didactic approach to the LEP children:

> We've got huge gaps in their general knowledge. When we started I assumed that they would know what a zoo was, and what a war museum was, etcetera, and they didn't. They had no idea. We took them on a field trip, it went very well, they thoroughly enjoyed it, and it stuck with them; but what they get from books they ... don't really take it in, it's got to be living for them, it's got to be something that they can actually see for themselves (English teacher).

This represents a realisation that teaching strategies which may have worked in other times and in other circumstances cannot be expected as a matter of course to work as effectively for the teaching of LEP pupils. The validity of this teacher's perception was acknowledged at management level:

> We've been so used to pupils coming from ... our feeder primary schools, and we know these are the things you can expect from them .... When you come across these children[1] you find that those things do not exist; and the teachers have to find new

[1] LEP children.

> methods - specially your high-school-trained teachers - find new methods ... (Principal).

A similar experience was reported at **School A**:

> I walked round the class and I thought, "This is not working," so I said, "Everybody put your pens down;" and I had to go back to teaching as if I were in a primary school situation (senior English teacher).

Repeated references were made during the interviews to so-called "primary school/high school" methodologies; the essence of the idea so expressed seemed to be a more carefully planned, more methodical and systematic approach to the transfer of information and to the explanation of concepts; child-centred discovery approaches, in which less would be taken for granted about prior knowledge than might otherwise be the case, pupils would be given visual introductions before conceptualising, and use would be made where appropriate of strategies such as games:

> [O]ne has to introduce new concepts in a visual fashion, in an experiential fashion ... reinforcement is something which only takes place right at the end ... (English HOD).

The use of visual aids to assist comprehension is strongly implied in Krashen's input hypothesis (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 55-56; v. 3.3.1.2.a). Chamot and O'Malley (1989a: 236-237), too, stress the importance of using visual aids, concrete objects, and other non-verbal cues, in order to contextualize language and so make it more comprehensible (v. 3.3.3.1.b):

> Mrs T decided that she wasn't going to go and give them any notes, and she worked from the idea of doing the experiments first in Biology .... [S]he did the Science experiment first, and everybody looked at it, and things happened, and then they talked about it, and tried to unravel it .... They love magicians, and this little box is now

going to be called "x"; so I overcome that[1] with my "primary school" type of teaching (Mathematics teacher, **School B**).

The same point was expressed differently at **School A** (cf. 7.4.1):

> First of all ... let's look at teaching techniques; we have to learn to be teachers again. Especially in a high-school situation we've become lecturers .... We've got to *teach*. We've got to actively teach (senior English teacher).

At **School C** the comment was almost identical, with an emphasis being placed on the importance of teaching in a way that leads pupils towards their own personal discoveries, instead of simply supplying them with information:

> [W]hat we need to get back to is teaching skills that are not lecturing skills ... teachers talking to two-thirds of the class and pupils sitting listening - we've got to actually get pupils out there discovering the rules for themselves ... (Principal).

The feeling was strongly expressed at **School C** that there is a real responsibility on teachers to

> start moving towards the idea of "I'm a facilitator, I've got to get these children thinking, to bridge that gap between what I'm teaching in the class and for them to ... be able to apply, in slightly different situations" ... we've got to become more and more of a facilitator ... (Principal).

A strong message therefore emerged from the interviews that the didactic focus in a LEP situation needs to be first and foremost on the teaching methodology rather than on the subject matter that has to be conveyed. This was the emphasis that teachers at **School B** were referring to in their mention of "the primary school approach":

---

1 The teacher being quoted is explaining how she has managed in Mathematics lessons to overcome the barrier to comprehension that might have been created by her LEP pupils' language shortcomings.

> What we have done ... is specifically to de-emphasise content (English HOD).

> The emphasis *totally* moved away from content to approach (Mathematics teacher).

> We are both primary school teachers, so [this] is how we taught anyway - we taught visually and then more factual .... (Mathematics teacher).

The shift to a skills-focused approach that was described in section 6.2.4 strongly implies the need for skilled teaching staff:

> [T]hey have so much time to do some really innovative teaching .... [M]y idea is not to pump as much as possible into the children's heads and have them regurgitate it on paper. I'd like the teachers to have time to teach again ... (Principal).

The school therefore identified the existence of competent teachers as an essential factor in the success of a course such as their "independent course":

> [E]verything depends on the teacher and their initial attitude ... the success of any lesson depends on the cue that you give those children when you walk into that class (English HOD).

Credence is thus lent to the teachers' own belief that critical professional thinking is needed in the planning and selection of didactic approaches:

> [T]he single most important factor is the teacher; a well-equipped teacher ... who is happy, content, and willing to take chances; and a teacher who is given the autonomy and the freedom to take those chances. ... We have ... a body of very good members of staff .... We are actually re-learning the meaning of the word "education" [cf. 7.4.1], in the sense that you've actually got to ... look at the child and say, "Well, what can we do? Where can we go?" instead of saying, "Oh, the book says this ... if it's Tuesday we should be at this particular thing" (English HOD).

At **School C** the need was recognised for a formal programme of staff development, with a view to developing the kind of methodological skills that are needed in the new circumstances:

> [W]hat is need is a lot of in-service training, where we actually ... perhaps even visit one another's classes, and see how this whole ... approach should be taking place - teacher as facilitator and so on. ... Any principal is faced with the challenge of doing a lot of in-service training ... (Principal).

The professional responsibility demanded by this kind of curricular freedom was clearly recognised; it is worth noting that the quote that follows was made not by a member of the management team of **School B**, but by an independent course teacher herself:

> [Y]ou need responsible teachers, because it's easy for someone to go in with that freedom, sit back ... and say, "Well, I'm doing things," when you actually aren't (English teacher).

An added responsibility for the teacher of LEP pupils was also described:

> The other thing is, that ... their relationship with their teacher is quite different to the normal school pupil's; because these teachers are such a lifeline. They spend more time with the teachers ... more personal (English HOD).

It was recorded that effective teaching of the LEP pupils is tiring and demanding, which also implies the need for an unusual level of commitment on the part of staff members:

> It's harder for the teacher ... it's more preparation, to get the materials organised, to facilitate that learning. It's easier and quicker for you to just sort of ... teach it (English teacher, **School C**);

> ... the whole idea of the energy of the teacher ... the amount of energy that you need in a classroom, because ... the more abstract, the more remote you can be; the more that

> you are dealing with experience, the more you end up by being the magician, the puppeteer, the mother ... (English HOD, **School B**).

The school was quite willing to concede that not every teacher on the staff could be expected to operate successfully within the independent course structure:

> It's just ... not her cup of tea; perhaps her background is not the right type of background .... We must accept that - that is what teaching is all about .... (teachers at **School B**).

At **School C** it was similarly admitted that not every member of staff could be depended on to take up the methodological challenge:

> There are some teachers who are very willing to make the shift, but there are some who feel, "I've been teaching like this for twenty years, it worked then, why isn't it working now?" (Principal)

However, the professional benefits for teachers who were willing to "make the shift" were appreciated:

> [The] experience that you're having every day [is] going to be of benefit to you as teachers in the general sense; you're going to be better equipped to do your job as a teacher, it doesn't matter who's sitting in front of you. This ... is going to make a far better teacher out of me ... (Principal).

Cognisance should be taken of this in the context also of what was recorded in section 6.1.3; and cf. 7.4.1.

The importance of skilful teaching was so highly valued at **School C** as to lead to this comment:

> [I]f all of us became really good teachers, then this problem[1] would go away. Now that sounds like a simplistic statement, but if we really started teaching pupils and thinking of innovative ways of doing the syllabus ... if we really started teaching with a tremendous amount of energy and dedication, we wouldn't have to worry about quick-fix solutions ... (Principal).

6.2.6 CHOOSING APPROPRIATE MATERIAL: LINKS WITH THE PUPILS' OWN REAL WORLDS

In the previous two sections reference was made to the importance of allowing children to visualise before conceptualisation was introduced. Allied closely to this principle is the strongly-expressed need to present material that is part of the real world in which the LEP pupils live, and with which they can associate (cf. Krashen on the input hypothesis, 1987: 20-30; v. 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2.a; cf. also Cummins on aspects of his interaction model of bilingual education, 1979: 240; v. 3.3.2.1.f); or at least to recognise sympathetically that their worlds are possibly different from those of the mainstream children, and to make the necessary accommodations:

> [W]e were doing a comprehension that dealt with an octopus, and they had no idea what an octopus was. ... I drew one on the board ... we went off to the library ... we got pictures. They accepted it, but they still weren't sure. It was only when I went to the Pick 'n Pay, and I actually brought a little squid, and I brought it to school and I showed them, and then they could smell it and they could feel it .... From there we were able to move on, but it took a good three days before that concept actually sank in and they knew what they were reading about (English teacher, **School B**).

The importance was stressed at the same school of relating the subject matter of lessons to life beyond the school situation:

---

1 That is, how to deal with all the challenges associated with the enrolment at a school of LEP pupils.

> Give the kids opportunities to ask questions about life, and build your subject - that little bit of subject matter they need to know - build it in slowly into life experiences (Principal).

The point was supported at **School C**:

> [I]f you explain the cognitive skill that they are developing ... and then you relate it to real life situations ... even Robbie, who is going to have to measure the height of a wave, before he can decide whether he's going to surf-ski it or not ... if you can show them what is relevant about the skill ... (Principal).

The English teachers at **School B** related the difficulty they - and their LEP pupils - had experienced when working with inappropriate printed material:

> Initially ... we had passages from [text book title] that dealt with England and English constables and so on - that was totally beyond them. So we went to the library and took out aspects like ... elephants ... and now we've got a very nice text book ... that is definitely within their realm of experience, and from there we're actually going very quickly (English teachers).

A suitable word of warning was, however, offered:

> [Y]ou can't assume that just because they live in South Africa things like wild animals are ... even cattle and cows, you would think, "Okay, they know what cattle are," but they don't, because they're suburban children (English teacher).

The validity of the principle that lessons at school should all have relevance to "the real world" was asserted even in the context of activities outside the classroom:

> [S]chool is all about lessons in life. You've got to learn on the soccer field [that] you get fairly and squarely tackled, and your knees bleed, and you ... want to walk up to

> this gentleman who tackled you and kick his shins ... but you can't do it, because it was fair, and it was legal, and that's life (Principal).

The children's own life experiences have been found, at **School C**, to be a rich and popular resource for dynamic interaction:

> Once a week I have what I call the "current affairs" period, where they bring an article or they watch the news and we actually discuss things ... they can actually talk about their life experience .... This week we had a discussion about Sophiatown, and they were so excited, because their grandmothers had told them all about it ... (English teacher).

The relative scarcity of appropriate reading material, in particular, places a distinct responsibility on the teacher to search for texts that are meaningful and accessible to pupils:

> [M]ost of our books are very Eurocentric, so you really have to look for something that is relevant to them all (English teacher).

This comment was not intended as a recommendation that "indigenous" or "African" or "local" literature and texts should be used exclusively. The following observations with regard to film study, for example, revealed that the inappropriateness of one particular title for an audience of black children had nothing to do with the fact that it was written, and set, in North America; and that the suitability of another could be established despite its foreign origins:

> I'm speaking of something like *The incredible journey* - their attitude to animals is so different to ours ... they will not appreciate a story like that (English teacher);
>
> [W]ell, I did *Never-ending story* with those little Standard 6s ... it's very archetypal and ... it appeals to children, it doesn't matter where or who they are, that kind of thing will appeal to them and they will love it, they will really enjoy it (Principal).

6.2.7 COMMUNICATION WITH PARENTS

Staff at desegregation-model schools have discovered that the systems and philosophies of education that they espouse are often strange not only to their newly-enrolled LEP pupils, but to the whole family unit:

> He said to me, "I thought there was now equality in education; I thought that if you were going from a government school ... to another, surely the standards are all the same." I said to him, "Mr M, you must ...understand that any child has a period of adjustment moving from one school to another. ... She's having problems fitting in ... and you must understand that while we have a syllabus, perhaps at S High School[1] something that they intended covering in the fourth term some of our teachers have already covered in the first term" (senior English teacher, **School A**).

> Parents, too, have to be educated (Acting Principal, **School A**).

Close liaison with parents has been found to be a vital element in a school's overall LEP strategy, not only in order to win their co-operation and support, but also to familiarise them with the school itself, the system within which it operates, and the kind of outcomes that can reasonably be expected of the school and of their own children:

> I called in the parents ... and I said to the father, "Your daughter will never ever be a doctor!" I said, "We must distinguish between goals and dreams" (Acting Principal, **School A**).

At **School C** a similar approach was followed, in order to ensure that parents' expectations of success were not unrealistic (cf. certain implications of the BICS/CALP distinction discussed in 3.3.2.2.e):

---

1 The child in question was moved from one school to another during the course of the academic year; this is the child who was mentioned in 5.4.1 and 5.4.2.

[W]e have explained to parents who have enrolled their pupils here that the chances are that their child[ren], coming straight from DET schools, are going to find it very difficult to adapt, and to cope, and that they must expect that their children are not going to be able to just pass on the first round (Principal).

At **School B** it was found that direct, frank communication successfully defused the initial suspicion shown by parents towards the placement of LEP pupils in a separate class on their own:

> Initially ... parents felt that it might be a discriminatory thing .... [But] once we'd explained to them what the motivation behind this is ... they were very happy (Principal) (v. 6.2.2).

Encouraged by this to depend even more heavily on a strategy of involving informed parents in the school's decision-making about their children, it has been decided even to involve parents in promotion decisions:

> It'll be an assessment where we will have to take each individual child[1] and see where, in our opinion, his best interest lies. There are no rules .... [I]t will be a decision that will be taken together with the parent. ... We will have ... the child, the teacher and the parent present, so it's a group decision ... (Principal, **School B**).

6.2.8 CONCLUSION

In section 3.4 the argument was presented for the design and implementation within a desegregation-model school of a whole-school language policy. The present section (6.2) has described a number of broad organisational strategies that were identified by the educators interviewed as strong foundations on which to build such a language policy.

---

1 In the school's "independent course" programme.

In the section that follows, those principles will be set down that were identified during the interviews as being important elements in the planning and realisation of a whole-school language policy. Support for these principles will be provided from the research literature discussed in Chapter 3.

6.3 SOME IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES THAT EMERGE

A carefully-conceived whole-school language policy will show evidence of recognition of the following, on which general consensus was expressed during the interviews that were conducted. A summary of the essential differences between the approaches at the three schools is given, for ease of reference, in tabular form at Figure 6.1 (pp. 200-201).

6.3.1 THE LACK OF VALIDITY OF PRIOR ASSUMPTIONS

For reasons mentioned in sections 5.2. and 5.3, teachers of LEP pupils need to come to terms with the fact that many of the assumptions about pupils and lessons and homes that might have been perfectly valid in the past no longer apply:

> [W]e take so much for granted. One of the teachers asked them to cut out an article from a magazine and the child was in trouble because he or she hadn't done it, and it transpired there *were* no magazines at home. ... We assume that you can merely [instruct pupils to] copy something from the board (senior English teacher, **School A**).

At **School B** it was realised that the same kind of accommodation needed to be made in the light of unexpected gaps in the LEP pupils' cognitive background:

> Their experience is very limited ... you cannot take for granted that there are certain areas of knowledge that you could expect, in numeracy and what have you; ... we actually built up trying to bridge that whole Grade 0 to Standard 5 syllabus in the first

Figure 6.1

Summary: Differences in school programmes

CATEGORY	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	SCHOOL C
Central theme of interview	The cultural divide	The independent course	Limited syllabus
Placement of LEP pupils within the standard	No special groups created; pupils withdrawn from some mainstream lessons for "extra English"	Grouped homogeneously in "LEP classes" according to ability and educational background	Grouped homogeneously in "LEP classes" according to ability and educational background
Syllabus modifications for LEP pupils	Minor departures from mainstream syllabus, limited to English classes	Open-ended syllabus in all subjects, tailored to the perceived unique needs of each group	Syllabus limited in extent, and focusing on skills rather than content, in English, Science, Biology, Geography and History
Personnel responsible for special features of syllabus/curriculum	Enrichment class teacher, with some opposition from content subject teachers	Absolute freedom allowed to subject teachers to design and implement what they consider to be relevant syllabi	Heads of subject departments identify essential aspects of the syllabi; teachers encouraged to experiment with methodologies

Continued overleaf ...

CATEGORY	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	SCHOOL C
Essential features of LEP programme	Language mastery; bridging the "cultural divide"	General educational development: academic, social and linguistic, to bridge the gap between pupils' prior educational experience and the new school system	Acquisition of relevant educational skills and the ability to apply them in a wider context; development of cognitive-thinking skills, and recovery of the culturally-deprived child
Involvement of school principal in LEP planning and organisation	Sympathetic and supportive, but peripheral	Central to curriculum planning; valuable contributions made to general didactic policy development	Central to policy development in every area - a former language teacher who understands deeply the whole nature of the LEP situation, and is the organisational focal point of the LEP programme
Probability of LEP pupils having to spend an extra year (or more) completing their school careers	High - numerous pupils have repeated standards on more than one occasion	Low - accommodated in planning, but not an integral element of the school policy	Low - recognised as a possibility in individual cases, but not considered an essential stage in the LEP programme

> two or three weeks .... [W]e took them from ... grass roots level - right from the beginning (Mathematics teacher).

An English teacher at **School B**, aware that comprehension - both of texts and of her explanations - could not be taken for granted, recorded the futility of merely asking her LEP children whether they had understood what she had explained to them:

> [Y]ou would say, "Does that make sense to you?" and they would simply say, "Yes," and there would be a big smile, and you'd think, "Oh, good!" And they would go back and they would sit down, and[1] .... Well, I just stopped asking that question.

At **School C**, where it had also been discovered that understanding could not just be assumed, the warning was offered that constant checking is necessary to establish whether comprehension had taken place:

> I have constantly to ask them, "Do you understand that word?" Even just words, in any subject, otherwise you can lose them straight away, just one word will throw them out totally (English teacher).

6.3.2 THE TIME FACTOR IN PUPIL PROGRESS

Many of the staff interviewed expressed the feeling that the challenge with which they were confronted by the arrival in their schools of LEP pupils would be less daunting if they had more time available to rectify the shortcomings. Without it, the expectations of Cummins (1980) and Collier (1987 and 1989) become reality (v. 3.3.2.2.f): *We must have these children integrated from Grade 1* (senior English teacher, **School A**).

---

1 At this point the teacher shrugged her shoulders in despair, signifying the complete lack of understanding that she discovered on the part of the pupil, which she had *assumed* the child would have confessed in response to her question.

The same teacher referred to progress made (despite the absence of sophisticated LEP teaching programmes at the school) by some of the pupils who, now in Standard 9, had first come to the school as LEP Standard 6s: *I can see there's been a tremendous development and improvement.*

She attributed this not to enlightened programming or particularly skilful teacher intervention, but to *exposure to our system* (senior English teacher, **School A**). A colleague agreed:

> At St D's[1] most of the children who were in my matric class ... came from the prep school, so by the time they got to the high school they were well schooled - they understood what was expected and what we did (Acting Principal).

The point was made that *all* children in the education system need to enjoy a high quality of education throughout their school careers, so that there are no parts of the system producing the cognitively disadvantaged pupils who invariably find their way into LEP groups, or at least into LEP classification.

The possibility in some individual cases of extending the length of their LEP pupils' high school careers, though the concept of "failure" or "repeating a standard" is not an inherent element of the independent course policy, had been contemplated by **School B**, suggesting an acknowledgement at that school also of the potential significance of the time factor in the progress of LEP pupils:

> [I]f we find at the end of level one they're getting frustrated ... when they meet more difficult work, we will recommend that they stay in level one for another year (Principal).

The school had, however, taken the precaution of warning parents (cf. 6.2.7) of the possibility that the child's high school career might last for six rather than for five years: *They're fully aware of that* (Principal).

---

1 A private school at which the Acting Principal had previously taught.

A possible reason for the slow linguistic development (cf. 3.3.2.2.f) of children in the LEP course was offered:

> [L]earning is a very slow and incremental process .... [J]ust as if one were learning a musical instrument, you would spend an enormous time acquiring all those little independent skills which would go into playing your instrument: it would involve listening, learning, producing, experiencing, researching, there's a whole range of skills, and it takes a very, very long time until you hit your next phase, [which] is where you actually start manipulating language and then afterwards, where - the third stage - where language will become the means for you to change your world. These children will not reach that stage for a very, very long time ... (English HOD, **School B**).

These observations are supported by Chamot and O'Malley's accommodation in their CALLA model (1989a: 223) of Anderson's belief (1981, 1983, 1985) that the acquisition of procedural knowledge (such as language skill) is a gradual process (v. 3.3.3.1.a); and by Cummins's general contention (1979: 237, and elsewhere) that CALP acquisition takes many years.

The value of a single extra year was appreciated at **School C** also, although (as at School B) the principle of "repeating" is not integral to the management of the school's LEP children:

> Time is a big factor ... (English teacher).

> In many cases we've found that the child who has repeated Standard 9 has coped excellently in the second year (Principal).

This need for time does not necessarily indicate a solution for the school or for the teacher who is faced with the challenge of teaching a LEP pupil without the advantage of some years of schooling still to come. It might, however, be of practical use to school managers in the establishment of school policy, and more especially in the development of an understanding

among educators, legislators and parents of what is realistically possible and what is not (cf. 7.3.1).

6.3.3 THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN CONTENT-SUBJECT LEARNING

At **School C** the interdependence of language and knowledge (cf. 3.3.3.1.b, where the CALLA model takes specific cognisance of this) forms a foundation for the development of the school's policy with regard to the programming and teaching of its LEP pupils:

> Language *is* cognition ... language is cognition. ... I'm planning to actually bring it[1] in as part of our English-Maths curriculum here at school .... [T]hose are areas - deficiencies - that are language-related. I mean, how else do you think, except through language (Principal)?

The simplest application of the approach - vocabulary building - is recognised at the school as being more than just the acquisition of words, but an essential element of concept-development; significantly, in the example given, the responsibility for subject-related vocabulary (and therefore concept) development was laid firmly at the door of the content-subject teacher:

> [I]n Geography class, you've got to tell him what we mean by "urbanisation," the concept, the idea ... you've got to teach him that word, you've got to keep building vocabulary all the time ... (Principal).

The school's Standard 6 policy of allocating the limited syllabus groups to (in most cases) content-subject teachers who are also qualified to teach English, enables a genuine language-across-the-curriculum (v. 3.2.3) approach to be implemented:

[1] The formal teaching of cognitive-thinking development skills.

> [H]e spent a double period explaining four concepts to do with urbanisation - forced removals, resettlement ... there were four different terms, that he spent a whole period talking to Standard 8s just about what is meant by each of those terms, before he could do, or even start to do, urbanisation (Principal).

The commonality of the responsibility was recognised and expressed by one of the teachers of the limited syllabus Standard 6 groups:

> [T]hey have to be able to read the questions, so they have to know things ... like how, what, where, when, analyze, differentiate, you know , I mean, those are all language issues; they're not specifically Science or History related, they're general language terms ... (English teacher).

The centrality at **School C** of language acquisition within the context of the study of content subjects, and the allocation of limited syllabus groups to staff trained to teach English, accords with the role envisaged for English teachers by Chamot and O'Malley, in whose CALLA model all the teaching is done by the language teacher (v. 3.3.3.1.c).

An observation from **School B** provides a caution, however, that there are times and circumstances when language can and should be omitted from the situation:

> [I]n the content areas the children[1] are doing very well. In fact in History, they did exactly the same test as the other History pupils, and the children in the independent classes had the higher average ... substantially! Because they could learn. And they learned. And because of the nature in which History is being taught ... spelling is not important, they weren't asked for full sentences and things like that, and it was very good that they weren't getting bogged down in the mechanics and they could just simply achieve ... or bogged down in language difficulties (English HOD).

---

[1] In the independent course.

O'Malley's belief (1989a: 239) that learning strategies can and should be taught forms an important element of the whole CALLA model (v. 3.3.3.1.b.iii).

The issue of the role of language in content-subject learning leads inevitably to the need to recognise where (in terms of teachers' roles) responsibility lies for pupils' language acquisition; this will be discussed in the section that follows.

6.3.4 THE QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY: LANGUAGE TEACHERS AND CONTENT-SUBJECT TEACHERS

Traditionally the responsibility for improving pupils' language skills has typically been considered, among the staff of a school, to be that of the language teachers:

> [E]verybody expects the English department to "do something about it." ... [T]hey expect us to carry the load now .... It's the English department's fault, it's the English department's responsibility (senior English teacher, **School A**).

Efforts by those English departments to persuade the rest of the staff that language acquisition is a responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the whole staff (Bullock 1975: 529; Gatherer 1977: 44) have not always been well received or clearly understood: *I tried to bring all that*[1] *to their attention, but I really don't know that anyone grasped it* (senior English teacher).

It was felt at the school, in agreement with the position of Gatherer (1977: 62), that some knowledge of the principles and practices of language acquisition skills needs to be part of the teaching skills of all teachers:

---

[1] Reference had just been made in the interview to lectures and courses at which both the "joint responsibility philosophy," and specific guidelines for effective communication with pupils in content-subject classrooms, had been dealt with.

> [T]he universities or the colleges should actually be offering some sort of course here [cf. 6.3.11] to give us as teachers guidelines. We have very little to go by .... I'm talking about *all*[1] teachers (senior English teacher).

The school's Acting Principal agreed: *I think it*[2] *must be something that becomes part of the teaching consciousness ....*

At **School B** the independent course operates within the context of a policy that has been discussed with the whole staff, in order to instil an acceptance of the centrality of language, and of the importance of teachers using a form of language that children can understand (v. 3.3.1.1. and 3.3.1.2.a, where the implications of Krashen's theory of comprehensible input are shown to support this policy):

> It's something which I've gone through with the entire staff. It's a document which every teacher has ... and the policy ... it's not actually just a language policy, it's a language-and-learning policy ... it's titled as such. There are certain things that you have to be vigilant about ... [for example] one has to introduce new concepts in a visual fashion, in an experiential fashion ... [and] you're going to have homework failure if the language demands are too high (English HOD).

It was pointed out, however, that intensive linguistic input from the language teachers themselves had been extremely effective:

> [F]rom the language people they have got such intensive teaching that in the beginning, where I could give them only two or three phrases or just a very limited kind of instruction, they're now managing ... English in such a way that I can give longer sentences; my instructions can be more complex, because they have gained from the language department (Mathematics teacher, **School B**).

---

1 Not just teachers of the first language.

2 That is, a recognition by *all* teachers of their language-acquisition responsibilities in respect of LEP pupils.

School C believes that it has to a large extent cleared the obstacle of the belief, held at many schools (cf. comments by School A's senior English teacher, above) that language acquisition is the sole responsibility of the first-language department:

> I think that we might be better off than a lot of other schools because we haven't been able to afford to specialize[1] - most of our teachers teach one or two subjects (Principal).

In this sense, the topic presently under discussion is clearly related to the notion of teacher specialisation, which will be further explored in 6.3.8.

Associated with the obstacles to language acquisition that are created on a staff of teachers that considers it to be the responsibility of the English department, are the difficulties under which those language teachers can labour when the school's managers (professional and parent representatives alike) share the attitude. The need for the support provided by an official language-across-the-curriculum policy is asserted by Bullock (1975: 529: v. 3.2.3) and will be discussed in the section that follows.

6.3.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORT FROM SCHOOL MANAGERS

Despite the lack of sympathy reported on the part of content-subject teachers at **School A** (v. 6.3.4) for the language-teaching responsibilities of the English staff, appreciation was recorded for the understanding and support of the school principal, who had made additional funds available for the English department to spend on LEP pupils:

> [H]e[2] specifically said to me, "This will not come out of your English budget; this will come from the school, so go ahead and buy extra books" (senior English teacher).

---

1 School C is smaller in numbers than either of the other two where interviews were conducted; in such circumstances, teachers often have to fill up their timetables with lessons in more than one subject.

2 The school principal.

> I think he's saying to the English department, "... this is not simply your problem, this is a problem that we all face, we're all focusing in on, and it's not just for your account" (Acting Principal).

At **School B**, as recorded in 6.2.3, the complexity of the task confronting teachers in a school with a large LEP enrolment was sufficiently well understood by the principal for a complete revision of traditional school philosophy to be contemplated, in order to provide teachers with the necessary time, facilities and circumstances to teach the LEP groups effectively:

> I ... plan ... to attempt ... to run this school on a 'varsity-type system ... no extra-mural activities whatsoever ... (Principal).

At **School C**, the Governing Body undertook to pay the costs incurred by staff members who had enrolled for an enrichment course in the cognitive-thinking skills development that the school believes needs to be taught to (especially) its educationally-disadvantaged LEP pupils:

> [O]ur GB agreed that they would pay for ... eight of our teachers that are actually doing it (Principal).

A facet of the need that teachers of LEP groups feel for the sympathetic support of school managers relates to the amount of time involved in the lesson preparation for, and teaching of, language- and cognitively-disadvantaged children. Two aspects of this will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.6 THE TIME FACTOR FOR TEACHERS

The importance of teachers being able to devote more time than usual to their LEP pupils (cf. 6.2.3) was insisted upon at **School B**:

> [It is important to] reach the weak child ... have enough time to mark their work .... What makes the difference ... is the quality time that you spend in marking; and I think that the public perception of a teacher's duty is of what you do in the class, and that is actually a very, very small part of teaching (English HOD).

The staff at **School C** pointed out the additional demands made upon teachers' time by their determination to teach skills instead of content to the limited syllabus groups (cf. 6.2.4), and to be facilitators of learning (cf. 6.2.5) whenever possible:

> [T]o be that kind of teacher, it requires much more ... preparation ... it's harder for the teacher ... it's more preparation, to get the materials organised, to facilitate that learning (English teacher).

The belief was expressed at **School A** that the professional demands placed upon teachers are such that it is not possible for them, with the best will in the world, under present circumstances to give to LEP groups and children the time that they need:

> You know how busy we are. It's extra-murals, it's this, it's that, there's always something happening .... I believe the day has got to come when we have to say ... "Let the schools rather employ people on a part-time basis after school." I believe there are lots of mothers and fathers out there who could train our sports teams. If not, then the children must go to clubs (senior English teacher).

It should be pointed out that these comments were not made as complaints, but simply to emphasise that there is a finite amount of time available for professional work, even to the most self-sacrificing teacher:

> ... running around trying to organise sports all afternoon ... trying to do their marking at night ... doing their prep at eleven ... (enrichment class teacher).

The unique plight of the English teacher was also pointed out:

> [O]ther departments don't understand an English department ... many other departments are totally unsympathetic, or they are aware of the fact and that is why statements are made, "I will *never* teach English" ... (senior English teacher).

At **School B**, where observations were offered on exactly the same theme, some accommodation had been made to provide a small degree of relief for teachers of the independent course:

> Because of the fact that they're taking an independent course class, it doesn't quite fit into the normal timetable allocation, as such[1]. It's not one class, and it's ... not as much as two classes. ... [T]he person who's in the independent groups[2] is actually scoring by having a few more "free periods" ... and that was intentional (English HOD).

A second aspect of the way in which shortage of time creates a sense of urgency for teachers was expressed at **School B**, where mention was made of the constant pressure to progress through a lengthy syllabus:

> I'd like the teachers to have time to teach again. If they want to talk for ten minutes about a current affair thing that happened, they can slowly ... bring that back into the subject matter that they'd like to teach for that particular period. ... They don't have time any more to teach like in the old days (Principal).

However, the school's independent course policy of not specifying a set syllabus to be covered during the year has contributed to a lessening of that pressure: *I haven't set an end-point; there isn't an end-point* (English HOD).

---

1 The independent course groups are taught English for twelve periods per week, as opposed to the seven periods that is the standard allocation for mainstream groups at their level.

2 That is, the teacher of the class.

The usefulness of a particular commercial teaching aid[1] was measured by a teacher at **School B** in terms of the time it created for her to make the *quality of [her] attention* (English HOD) available to her pupils: *[I]t frees me to walk around and help where help is needed* (English teacher).

The concept of "limited syllabus" introduced at **School C** has the same effect, suggesting that the curtailment of the mainstream curriculum is a key area in the development of a policy to cope with the LEP pupil:

> [E]ach head of department for [English, Science, Biology, Geography, History] has extracted what they consider to be the most important ... (Principal).

The benefits for the teacher of this approach were described in 6.2.4.

6.3.7 LANGUAGE TOLERANCE AND ACCEPTANCE OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Experience at **School A** identifies a positive outcome of the enrolment of black children:

> I think it has brought in ... racial tolerance; there was much antagonism at first ... in a classroom situation now the white children are far more aware of the blacks and they are starting to learn about their problems and they are more sympathetic. ... [O]ne of the white children stood up [during a class discussion] and she said, "Let's be honest, when we all were here in Standard 6, and black children came into our classes for the first time, we didn't know what to do." She said, "But now we accept you, we don't even realise that you're black any more." And I thought, "Well, something has happened" (senior English teacher).

[1] The SRA "reading laboratory", one of the features of which is that answers are marked by the pupils themselves from key cards.

At **School B** the encouragement of the use of other languages than English has enabled a situation to be created in which children can be helped, when they experience a difficulty in class, in a medium familiar to them. The variety of mother tongues is thus not viewed with suspicion, but is celebrated and utilised as a rich resource:

> Within the first ten or fifteen minutes I establish who has grasped the concept, and I then say ... "You teacher, you teacher, you teacher" - and they take up their positions. Now in the beginning I used to allocate two children that didn't understand to a particular "teacher" and then I saw the hesitance ... and I very quickly realised that language was the problem. [Subsequently] I allowed them to choose their pupils, and they would say, "Motsadisi, you come and sit with me," because of language. I have one child ... the children love to go to him, because he seems to have a command of more than one language (Mathematics teacher).

A similar approach was applied at **School C**:

> [Y]ou must allow them, if they don't understand ... so often they actually know the Sotho word, but they can't find the word in English, so then they discuss it with their neighbour, and they'll come out with something that is similar, and then we'll talk about that (English teacher).

At **School C** a firm pragmatic attitude also emerged about the insistence by some schools that English be used exclusively by their LEP pupils:

> [E]verybody is politicising the whole issue of language, and what your language policy should actually be in a school, and people are making all sorts of demands that their languages be recognised. So I think that at this time for any school to try and ... enforce a policy of "You speak only English or you will be punished" - you're asking for trouble (Principal).

Furthermore, it was felt that usage in the school - even if only occasional usage - of all eleven of the country's official languages would reveal an attitude of tolerance that could even have advantages for the LEP pupils' acquisition of English:

> You have a day per week, where ... today, we greet in Sotho, and the next day you greet in Zulu .... [T]hey will see that you are actually tolerating and accepting and making an attempt to learn the other language and then their attitude towards English will be more receptive (Principal).

6.3.8 TEACHER SPECIALISATION

At **School C** a specific advantage was identified in teachers being able to draw on more than one subject specialisation, especially when content-subject teachers have a knowledge of principles of language acquisition (cf. 6.3.4):

> Sometimes specialization is not such a good thing. I'm an English specialist, which is good, in some ways ... but if you are, for example, a specialist only in Maths, would your ... Maths teaching be as enriched as it is by English (Principal)?

The teachers of the school's limited syllabus groups referred to opportunities offered them to work on English fluency and comprehension skills during content-subject lessons:

> [Y]ou pick up the verb ... spelling mistakes ... loose sentence structures ... when I teach Maths, I'll stop and I'll say, "Now ... what does that word mean in *English*? If I look, for example, at parallel lines, and I say to them, "Right, now, what are corresponding angles?" So I say, "Don't think corresponding angles, don't think Maths, think English ... what does the prefix *co-* mean? Right, then, find other words where you use that same prefix ..." (English/Mathematics teacher).

O'Malley's insistence that language skills be consciously taught as a tool for learning (v. 3.3.3.1.b) is readily accommodated by this aspect of the school's policy. Closely allied to O'Malley's position in this regard are the implications of Krashen's input hypothesis (v. 3.3.1.2.a), and his advocacy of the natural approach which centralises the role of comprehension in the language acquisition process (v. 3.3.1.2.c); this, too, is reflected in the approach adopted by the school. The positive motivation generated by the process of acquiring language in the context of meaningful content-area activities contributes to the lowering of the affective filter that forms an element of Krashen's monitor model (v. 3.3.1.1).

6.3.9 STAFF ALLOCATION: CHOOSING THE RIGHT TEACHERS FOR THE JOB

A warning was sounded at **School A** that much depends, in the provision of effective education[1] for LEP pupils, on a positive attitude among the teachers chosen for the task:

> [T]he staff have to be receptive, and I think this is a major problem. Ninety percent of teachers, their attitude is this, they've[2] come into our schools, that's their problem, they must get on with it (senior English teacher).

While the wisdom of the warning (that is, that committed teachers will make more successful teachers) is willingly recognised, the attitude reported, and the extent of that attitude as estimated at School A, was not shown during the interviews at Schools B and C to be generally true. At **School B** it was, however, readily agreed (cf. 6.2.5) that staff needed to be carefully chosen for allocation to their independent course groups:

> D, I think, would not take her History again; I get the feeling that she says, "Look ... this is not my cup of tea." We must accept that (Mathematics teacher).

---

1 All aspects thereof, that is: linguistic, cognitive and scholastic.

2 The black pupils.

6.3.10 THE BLACK CHILD WHO HAS COME THROUGH A SOUND PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

The extent to which disadvantagement among LEP pupils can be attributed to shortcomings in the education systems to which they were previously attached is revealed in contrast with those children who are now entering the desegregation-model school system after a more accountable prior education:

> I think the children who are starting to come in now are a little more sophisticated ... possibly because they're coming from ... our feeder primary schools (senior English teacher, **School A**).

A similar comparison at **School C** - in this case, with a particular Standard 7 child who had attended a *sound primary school* (Researcher) - led to the same conclusions: *You know immediately. Oh, yes* (English teacher)*! Language, work ethic ... motivation - self-motivation ... enquiring minds ... and more critical as well* (Principal).

The implications of this realisation, in terms of the importance of providing an accountable education of high quality throughout a child's school career, were referred to in 6.3.2.

6.3.11 THE NEED TO EQUIP TEACHERS DURING INITIAL TRAINING

The key role of the skilful teacher in the LEP environment (cf. 6.2.5) was emphasised in a widely-expressed belief that more pertinent initial training for prospective teachers is required. The feeling was expressed that teachers felt inadequate, in terms of the didactic equipment with which they had been provided during their training, to plan and present successful programmes for their LEP classes:

> You need teachers with special training. ... [T]he universities or the colleges should actually be offering some sort of courses here .... [W]e have very little to go by (senior English teacher, **School A**).

A large measure of responsibility was placed, during interviews at all three schools, on teacher-training institutions to equip teachers to deal with the various challenges embodied in the LEP-pupil situation:

> I would like that process to already have begun at the university, if not finished ... or at the teachers' training college (Acting Principal, **School A**).

It was strongly suggested at **School B** that the initial training provided had been, at least in respect of the needs of teachers at desegregation-model schools, misdirected and inadequate:

> [W]hen I was trained ... our lecturers could foresee what they called "multicultural education," and we were given ... a three-month course ... on multicultural education. But ... what they taught us that we could expect is totally different to what actually happened. I mean, you had "How to deal with racial issues" - you know, white against black, sort of thing, and it's actually got nothing to do with that, nothing at all (English teacher).

The same teacher questioned also the overall design of the university English course that she attended:

> [I]t's a literature course and a poetry course, there's no language at all; and I feel that if ... you're going to be a teacher, your English lectures should be different from somebody majoring just in English ... (English teacher).

Criticism was also levelled against the particular institution's didactics training in general:

> [T]hey had a didactics course ... they would put you in front of a camera, a video camera, and you had to give a lesson ... and what they concentrated on was ... one of my basic faults was I said "Um" too much and I used my hands too much. Now I felt that's got nothing to do with teaching. That's not as distracting to a child as a teacher who waffles around the point. She ... knows basically what she's talking about, but she can't get there because she doesn't understand the concept herself (English teacher).

The importance of good training was strongly asserted at **School C**: *[E]ven more important is our teacher-training ... that is so important ...* (Principal).

Little enthusiasm was expressed, however, about the amount or quality of preparation provided for prospective teachers for teaching in a LEP environment:

> We did an ESL, an English second-language component in our methodology ... that was the only thing they threw in ... but this is not second-language teaching, it's teaching first-language skills to non-mother-tongue speakers, and that's what makes it difficult. I think they meant English second-language as you teach at an Afrikaans school or wherever ... (English teacher).

It is strongly implied by Chamot and O'Malley (*metacognitive strategies which can be applied to any type of learning ...:* 1989a: 242) that it is important for all teachers, not just teachers of English, to be able to use the linguistic markers that promote selective attention among students - and, logically by further implication, to be trained to use and teach to their pupils appropriate learning strategies.

When invited to propose what ought to be included in teacher-training courses, the following suggestions were offered:

> I would put into teacher-training courses the mediation skills ... that teaching does not mean that you stand in front of a class and impart knowledge like Gradgrind ... teaching teachers how to be mediators and facilitators ... definitely a whole course on

> mediation skills is a necessary component ... some notion of language acquisition, some notion of language-teaching skills ... how language works .... I think that if you had an idea of language, and ... how language, together with cognition, [is] very important ... if you had that background, I think it would make you more aware of the problems that the child is dealing with (Principal).

A teacher at the school did, however, confess how difficult it was in practice to implement some of the useful and relevant training that she had received:

> We were ... told in all our subjects, in all our methodology ... relevancy, it must be relevant ... it was all skills-based - Geography, English, whatever subject we were doing ... it was all skills-based, relevant, and it was that you must be the facilitator, you're not there to be this rote teacher. But then, I mean, I think you leave College with this great idea, I want to be a real different teacher, I want to be a facilitator, and I think when you start teaching various things sort of "crush" your ideal ... (English teacher).

See, in the light of this comment, the observations about time constraints in section 6.3.6.

6.3.12 THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM: WHO ARE THE LEP PUPILS?

In a description of the cultural deprivation of many black children identified as LEP at **School C**, this important observation was made:

> With a culturally-deprived child you're actually having to go right back to building up cognitive-thinking skills that we take for granted in our white children, and in this area many of our white children don't have those cognitive-thinking skills, either (Principal)!

A related observation followed, during a discussion of the importance of reading aloud to children:

> Any child likes it, but those [black LEP] children, because, too, they have not been read to in their lives - though there are many white children that haven't been read to in their lives ... (Principal);

and in similar vein:

> [I]t's not just your black children ... some of my 8As[1] had a problem ... didn't know what the words at the top of the dictionary were for (English teacher).

Similarly at **School A** where, after the enrichment class teacher had bemoaned her LEP pupils' lack of historical background, it was observed that *[o]f course, that's a problem with some of our white children, too* (senior English teacher).

The enrichment class teacher at **School A** agreed:

> ... [I]t is not just the black children. ... I have got a Chinese child ... I have a Greek child .... I've frankly taught some so-called English-speaking, South African white-skinned kids, Geography, and when I marked their work I decided they needed extra English!

It was widely suggested, therefore, during the interviews, that the concept of limited proficiency should be allowed to extend to all who could benefit from a so-called LEP programme, rather than imposing a limit that extended no further than the black child described in sections 2.4.3.3, 5.2 and 5.3.

The importance of the general points made in section 6.1.3, therefore, can also be strongly asserted in the light of these observations, nor is that importance diminished by **School B**'s deliberate decision not to include any white children in their independent course, citing as their

---

1 A mainstream group, consisting mainly of white pupils.

reason the strong emphasis placed in the course on socialisation and the need to familiarise the LEP pupils with a (to them) strange school and system (v. 5.3.1):

> [T]hey have come through the feeder schools; and the kind of attention that the black children are getting is to try and do very simple things like ... taking them out as a group .... They have no sense of ... identifying with a body which is a school (English HOD).

The spirit that underlies these policy directions accommodates comfortably the functions envisaged by Chamot and O'Malley (1989b: 111) for the CALLA model, namely that it is a bridge between special language programmes and the mainstream; that it accommodates all the cognitive needs of LEP children rather than just the development of language skills; and, especially, that the CALLA approach is not designed to offer initial instruction to pupils who have no English at all (3.3.3.1.b).

A sombre warning was offered at **School C** that even when a revitalised national education system became able to offer a high quality of education from the earliest stages to all children, the effects of cultural deprivation (v. 5.2.1) on children would continue to place on teachers the kind of responsibilities that were presently most readily recognised in the LEP environment:

> [There will always be a problem] because we've got problems among our white children ... of cultural deprivation (Principal).

6.3.13 THE QUESTION OF STANDARDS: A CHANGING FACE OF EDUCATION QUALITY IN DESEGREGATION-MODEL SCHOOLS

Some concern was expressed at **School A** that the changes taking place in desegregation-model schools, especially in the form of the enrolment of LEP pupils and the special programmes and approaches that need to be introduced to deal with them, could lead to far-

reaching changes in what has been recognised as an effective and successful (if not democratic) education system: *I'm just scared that we'll lose ... the very gist of education* (Principal).

This was not an attempt to defend the previously racially-exclusive character of such schools, nor to justify the inequality in provision of education that prevailed in the past (v. 2.2); merely a recognition of the quality of education that was provided at such schools, albeit to an unnaturally-contrived pupil body. Nor was it denied that some change on the part of educators, to accommodate the changing circumstances in which they find themselves working, is inevitable: *[W]e've got to prioritise what is our role as an educator at the moment* (senior English teacher).

At **School B** the hope was expressed that as provincial education policy evolved, the need for viable education - in this case, for classes of manageable size (v. 6.2.3) - would not be submerged under political considerations:

> I think that Gauteng ... will have to come to their senses. ... [E]ven though we've got this attack on model-C schools at the moment, I would hope that ... if they are only paying teachers' salaries[1] in model-C schools, the teacher ratio should then be permitted to be different (English HOD).

The importance was referred to at **School C** of ensuring - through imaginative curriculum planning, wise school management and skilful teaching - *that we are really turning out thinkers* rather than *churning out people with matric certificates* (Principal). Teachers at the school felt - with regret and resentment - that they were beginning to be forced to ensure that pupils are promoted to the next standard, at the cost if necessary of patient, effective education:

> [W]e're being pushed into a situation where we've got to get children through ... many of us are getting to a stage where we're not even enjoying our teaching any more,

1 That is, and not paying for pupils' text books, stationery and other *per capita* expenses.

because you've got to get through, get through the syllabus, finish ... push these children ... it's a question of education or certification, and there's a gulf between them (English teacher).

At the same school, reference was made to the danger of providing pupils at matric level - as a result of a course and a final examination lacking in credibility - with an unmarketable qualification:

[T]hey're going to regret it when they're walking around with matric subjects at lower grade .... At the age of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen, when they're just ... coasting along, it's a lovely way of getting through school (Principal).

6.3.14 ROLE MODELS

At **School C** an unexpected obstacle to educational progress was identified in the context of a discussion that was at the time addressing the problems associated with the absence in formerly-black schools of a well-developed culture of learning (v. 5.3.2):

... no role models for them to model themselves on in a teaching situation, where a boy, for example, might model himself on a male teacher, if he has no father at home [cf. 5.2.2] ... they haven't really had that kind of opportunity in schools that they've been to ... (Principal).

It was subsequently pointed out that fellow pupils, in senior classes, could fulfil a similar function (setting a good example of diligence and commitment to school work) in cases in which such pupils exist at a school:

Bongane ... was an exception. He ... had brought himself up ... he was left ... to his own devices ... so he motivated himself ... he got a distinction ... he won that speech

competition ... and he's a presenter on TV ... he's now at Wits ... he's got a teaching bursary (Principal).

Such pupils, however, cannot always be found at a school:

> I sometimes think, if we had someone like him ... back here, it would make such a difference to these pupils ... if they could see, because they haven't really seen what can be achieved (English teacher).

Confidence was expressed, nevertheless, that the desired situation would slowly develop:

> I think things will improve, because if we look at the children that are coming up from 6, 7 and 8, I mean we've got some *very* strong Standard 8 children ... (English teacher).

6.3.15 THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TEACHERS

In their descriptions of the CALLA model (v. 3.3.3) Chamot and O'Malley (1989a: 236, and elsewhere) make much of the importance of regular communication between the individual teachers working within a LEP programme (v. 3.3.3.1.c). The principle was readily accepted, and frequently mentioned, during the interviews:

> [C]ommunication for me makes so much sense, because if your teachers are your most important ... people in the school [cf. 6.2.5] ... then the one thing that should flow from that, is that your teachers must speak to each other all the time (English HOD, **School B**).

Not many formal meetings of independent course teachers had been held at **School B**, and those that did take place dealt for the most part with administrative issues:

> ... nuts and bolts issues ... we had to first of all grapple with the idea that the lower grade had vanished ... [t]hen what we were going to do for the mid-year examinations ... then we had a meeting where we had to actually make an adjustment to the timetable (English HOD).

However, communication between the teachers involved, and on didactic matters, certainly did take place:

> [T]hough we don't have formal meetings, you will find in the staff-room at break teachers ... you know, the History teacher speaking to the English teacher, and chatting about how they dealt with that problem, and so on (English teacher).

An example was offered of how professional communication had led to time-saving co-operation, and more effective education for the children:

> Maths and Geography we had to work together, because they start with map-work in Geography, and needless to say those children had no idea about scale. ... I had to help out the Geography department and ... teach them[1] how to use rulers ... (Mathematics teacher, **School B**).

The same teacher mentioned with gratitude the sense of support generated by the close proximity of a colleague engaged in precisely the same programme with other LEP groups:

> [T]hat there's two of us ... made it also easier. I go to Miss C and I say to her, " ... I'm experiencing the following difficulty," and she'll say, "No, I didn't have any difficulty in this chapter." I said, "What did you do?" So we would learn from each other constantly (Mathematics teacher).

---

[1] The LEP pupils.

Mindful of the value of what had been learned by teachers in the independent course so far, the school's management was considering ways of passing that experience on to teachers of the course in subsequent years, as the group expanded and involved more staff members:

> I envisage ... each of you ... playing "foster mother" to another teacher and letting them come in (English HOD).

Following the interview, teachers at **School C** (where informal communication takes place among teachers but, as at **School B**, not a great many formal meetings have been held to discuss the LEP child) made reference to what they themselves had learned from each other as a result of exchanging ideas during the afternoon on which the interview was held:

> [W]hat's really brought it home ... to me this afternoon is that we as a staff don't actually have meetings like this, and we *should*, it takes an outsider to come along and now we've actually learned ... because so often, B and I talk quite a lot, but I don't speak that much to K, and I don't speak that much to another teacher ... and we're all facing more or less the same thing, and we can all ... get different ideas ... we should actually do this ... (English teacher).

6.3.16 ACCELERATED ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS

Less importance than was originally expected by the researcher was shown in strategies designed specifically to accelerate the LEP pupils' acquisition of CALP English, presumably because (v. 5.1) it was generally agreed that a much wider approach needed to be adopted to help the LEP children than merely accelerated language acquisition (v. 5.2 and 5.3).

At **School A**, in an effort to enhance the LEP children's linguistic skills, the enrichment class policy provided an opportunity for the teacher to withdraw children from a few mainstream classes each week to give the pupils a little more exposure to the language: *You give them*

"extra" English .... You give them "more minutes of English per [week]" ... (Enrichment class teacher).

The timetable at **School B** provides the independent course classes with significantly more English lessons within the scheduled timetable: *They spend more time with the [English] teachers .... Twelve English lessons a week*[1] ... (English HOD).

Positive and encouraging though this is, the findings of Cummins (1980) and Collier (1987, 1989) do, however, appear to place distinct limitations on the extent to which language acquisition can be hastened (v. 3.3.2.2.f), as does the soundly-based conviction of Chamot and O'Malley (1989a: 233) that procedural knowledge takes considerable time to acquire (v. 3.3.3.1.a).

The twelve lessons provided at **School B** are important, however, for more than just the language teaching that takes place at those times:

> [T]hese children ... their relationship with their teacher is quite different to the normal school pupil's; because these teachers are each a lifeline. They spend more time with the teachers, there's a more ... personal ... (English HOD).

Clearly, then, within the context of the extended language-teaching opportunities, general educational and developmental support is provided by caring, concerned teachers who perceive the need for a programme that extends beyond the provision of language.

6.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has described the experiences of staff at the three schools at which interviews were conducted, in relation to strategies found in practice to be either or ineffective for the teaching of LEP pupils. Their recommendations for the development and implementation of

---

[1] As opposed to seven periods a week, which is the prescribed minimum time allocation for mainstream classes.

programmes and approaches to apply to the needs of such pupils have been expressed both explicitly and implicitly during their descriptions of their experiences.

In the final chapter, guidelines will be offered for the development and implementation of a whole-school language policy, in the light of the experiences of educators recorded in this present chapter, and in the context of the theories of language acquisition and cognitive development described in Chapter 3 . Final conclusions will then be presented.

Clearly, in the light of the findings of Chapter 5, such a policy will, if it is to be effective, have to address not just the language problems of LEP pupils, but the whole range of skills and experience where deficiencies have been identified (v. 5.2 and 5.3). Schools will have to develop their language policies after coming to terms with the realisation that what they had originally expected to be only (or largely) a language problem is in fact much more complex.

CHAPTER 7: GUIDELINES FOR A WHOLE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY, AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The final chapter opens with a general overview of the investigation in order to show that the aims originally expressed in 1.3 have been addressed and achieved.

Theory (in the form of the principles expounded by Krashen, Cummins and O'Malley *et al* in Chapter 3) and experience (of the educators whose encounters with LEP children, and views on the same, were described in Chapters 5 and 6) are then brought together to produce guidelines to help schools deal with the various needs of their LEP pupils.

Final conclusions summarise the investigation, comment on its applicability, and make certain specific recommendations, including an indication of possible areas for further research.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE INVESTIGATION

The aims of the present study that were identified in 1.3 are reiterated below. An indication is provided of the sections in which each of the aims has been dealt with:

* to identify the aspects of education policy in South Africa between 1910 and 1991 that led to the widespread academic and linguistic disadvantagement of a majority of black pupils: v. 1.1.1, and 2.2.2 to 2.2.4;

* to identify language and education provisions in the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that will influence the evolution of education policy in post-apartheid South Africa: v. 2.3.1;

* to recognise the position that the African National Congress adopts in relation to language-in-education, that could influence the way in which future South African school populations are constituted, and the way in which children in need of unusual assistance are to be accommodated in schools: v. 2.3.2;

* to understand how various stakeholders, including ordinary black families, perceive the role of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and in particular its role in education: v. 2.3.3;

* to identify any limitations that exist in the terminology and concepts presently available for research in the field, and justify the use of new terminology where appropriate: 2.4.1.2;

* to debate and assess the relevance that the concept "Standard English" has in a consideration of the type of language that it would be appropriate for black South African non-mother-tongue users to learn: v. 2.4.2;

* to record the characteristics that the LEP black pupil brings to the multilingual classroom, and describe the cognitive problems that exist in the new environment: v. 2.4.3;

* to search the literature presently available in the field of second-language acquisition and learning in order to identify areas where theory could assist classroom practice: v. 3.1;

* to identify theories of second-language acquisition, and descriptions of bilingual education programmes, that could offer guidance that might be relevant in the South African situation: v. Chapter 3;

* to design (v. Chapter 4) and conduct research that will record and categorise the useful discoveries that managers and teachers in selected schools have made in relation to the development of a general school policy designed to accommodate the special needs of

LEP pupils; and relate these to the theoretical framework previously explored: v. Chapter 6;

* to incorporate their discoveries and experience, gleaned over the few years since LEP pupils arrived in their schools, into practical guidance towards the creation of a whole-school language policy: v. 7.3;

* to suggest the direction that further research might profitably take in the field: v. 7.3.

7.3 GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY TO DEAL WITH THE NEEDS OF LEP PUPILS IN DESEGREGATION-MODEL MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS

In the development of a policy that accommodates a programme for LEP pupils, what is suggested in this section ought not to be regarded as a fixed proposal that will suit all schools. Cognisance should, however, be taken of these points when designing a strategy that will fit the particular needs and circumstances of each individual school, the community that it serves, and its pupils.

7.3.1 CREATING A SUITABLE ENVIRONMENT: PLANNING A PROGRAMME FOR LEP PUPILS

From the research described in Chapter 3, as well as from the data collected during the interviews, the following emerged as sound principles that could with advantage be incorporated in a school's LEP programme, or that ought to be given consideration when such a programme is drawn up.

7.3.1.1 General principles

These factors should form the foundations of a whole-school language policy:

* A clear understanding, on the part of school principals and other managers, teachers, and parents of pupils involved, is needed of what is realistically possible in terms of the needs of LEP children and the time available to provide for those needs (v. in particular 5.4, 6.3.6 and 3.3.2.2.f).

* It needs to be accepted generally by members of a school staff that the responsibility for language acquisition by LEP pupils does not rest solely with the teachers of language (v. 6.3.4).

* Care needs to be taken in the selection of staff to work in the LEP programme, so that teachers who have no enthusiasm for the challenge of teaching LEP classes are not forced into a situation in which they are unlikely to be successful (6.3.9).

* Regular communication between all teachers of LEP groups serves to identify common problems, and to generate and share solutions to these problems (v. 6.3.15).

* A distinctly different programme needs to be provided for children who enrol at a school with no English whatsoever, from that designed to bring LEP children up to mainstream level in all academic areas (v. 3.3.3.1.b).

* Informative communication with the parents of LEP children helps to avoid misunderstandings about the school's policies and approaches, and encourages those parents to become partners in the education process (v. 6.2.7).

7.3.1.2 Organisation and administration

To identify some of the data that emerged from the interviews as more important or more interesting than other data would be subjective and invidious. It should, however, be recorded that the following emerged as very strong recommendations based on convincing experience at one or more of the schools, which should influence decisions taken at the whole-school language policy planning stage:

* The complex needs of LEP children are best addressed when they are grouped in homogeneous classes separately from the mainstream pupils (v. 6.2.2).

* Weaker children are placed at a considerable educational advantage if they are taught in small classes (v. 6.2.3).

* LEP children are more quickly equipped with the cognitive skills that they need for academic achievement if they are offered a curriculum (in all subjects) that concentrates on skills rather than on content (v. 6.2.4).

* The speed at which LEP children work and master new knowledge and skills in content-area subjects makes the implementation of a shortened syllabus (in terms of content) desirable (v. 6.2.4).

* The contribution that can be made by a skilful teacher who makes thoughtful use of effective methodology, and who is careful, using sound didactic techniques, to teach children rather than to lecture to them, is considerable (v. 6.2.5).

7.3.1.3 Simulation of initial conditions

The negative effect that stress can have on a child's academic progress and, particularly, on his or her acquisition of a second language, was referred to in section 2.4.3.3.c.viii (q.v.)

> According to this viewpoint, English input can only result in language development when motivation is high, self-confidence is strong, and anxiety low (Lemmer 1993a: 159).

The importance is therefore stressed of creating a language-learning environment for LEP children that takes cognisance of the need for high motivation, confidence building, and absence of anxiety. Krashen expresses this need in terms of the *affective filter hypothesis* (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 37-39; Krashen 1987: 30-32; v. 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2.d).

Scarcella suggests that language learning takes place more quickly when LEP pupils find that the traditions and lifestyle of English-speakers concur with those of their own homes:

> Conversely, when they find that the lifestyles of middle-Americans are incongruent with their own, they usually acquire the second language slowly and may stop learning before they gain native speaker proficiency in English (1990: 57).

Evidence of Krashen's affective filter hypothesis in operation is recognisable in such circumstances.

Prompted by similar concerns, Lemmer (1993a: 155) points out that the LEP child is typically expected to learn a new language in circumstances far removed from those that pertain to initial language acquisition. Consideration of the initial conditions that govern mother-tongue acquisition is of relevance to the LEP pupil who, admittedly, is learning a second language (to which the conditions associated with natural first language acquisition have traditionally not been applied), but who will need to use that second language for applications normally reserved for mother-tongue users - most pertinently, as a language of learning - and who will therefore need to develop a level of cognitive academic proficiency that has traditionally not been an objective of second-language instruction.

Lemmer (1993a: 155) lists the following conditions that characterise the natural process according to which the mother tongue is initially acquired:

* The process commences during infancy.

* It takes place within the orbit of intimate human interaction.

* Interactions between child and adult are verbal, functional and communicative.

* The child learns primarily through response to and imitation of adult models.

* The complexities of the rules governing language usage are thus unconsciously internalized.

It is then argued that second (or multiple) language learning, by contrast, takes place *under an entirely different set of conditions* (Lemmer 1993a: 155):

* English is learned at an older age; some of the implications of this factor are pointed out in section 3.3.2.2.f.

* Learning takes place within a group.

* It happens within a formal environment - that of the classroom.

* The language is introduced through the printed word.

* The rules of the language are learned mechanically.

The following points therefore emerge as elements of a strategy to be striven for in the design and implementation of an effective LEP programme within the context of a whole-school language policy. It is readily recognised that not all the recommendations can easily be implemented within the context of a typical school; nevertheless they are given here as an indication of ideal circumstances against which managers and teachers can measure the conditions that prevail in reality:

* Immersion rather than submersion in programme design (v. 3.2.2).

* A care-giving teacher who talks without expecting a response from learners (v. 3.3.1.2.c) ...

* ... who to begin with do not understand.

* Functional usage of language, immediate to the learner's world (v. 3.3.1.2.a and 6.2.6)

* Accompaniment of language usage by demonstration and modelling (3.3.3.1.b).

* Completely confident expectations of linguistic acquisition by the learners.

* Acceptance of the principle of approximation in pronunciation, grammar and syntax.

* Correction by modelling of correct forms.

* Correction more usually of truth value than of grammar.

* Initial learning of language in spoken rather than in written forms (v. 3.3.1.2.d).

* Recognition as normal of a period during which the learner listens without response or usage (v. 3.3.1.2.c).

Having addressed in section 7.3.1 the principles and rationale that ought to be considered in the establishment of an environment in which to teach LEP pupils, it is appropriate to give attention in the section that follows to practical suggestions for curriculum and lesson design.

7.3.2 CALLA AND THE LANGUAGE CURRICULUM

Much of what is recommended in section 6.4.1 is incorporated in, or is consistent with, the spirit that underlies the CALLA approach espoused by Chamot and O'Malley (v. 3.3.3). This section therefore focuses specifically on practical directions offered by Chamot and O'Malley as elements of a programme based on the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach. An essential characteristic of the CALLA model is its accommodation of the need both for language acquisition and for mastery of skills and knowledge in content-area subjects. Therefore, although in practice the CALLA model is taught by the language teacher (Chamot and O'Malley 1989a: 236), it provides valuable didactic guidance for teachers of all subjects, and the CALLA lesson plan model (v. 7.3.2.3) can with advantage be accepted as just such a model, and not exclusively for the use of teachers of language.

7.3.2.1 Aspects of language that should be included

The English curriculum should include, according to Chamot and O'Malley, the following aspects of language:

> [D]evelopment of the specialized vocabulary and technical terms of each content area; practice with the language functions used in academic communication, such as explaining, informing, describing, classifying, and evaluating; development of the ability to comprehend and use the language structures and discourse features found in different subject areas; and practice in using the language skills needed in the content classroom, such as listening to explanations, reading for information, participating in academic discussions, and writing reports (1989a: 239).

7.3.2.2 Learning strategy instruction

Chamot and O'Malley have made learning strategy (study skills) instruction a pervasive part of the CALLA programme (1989a: 240). The following differentiation of learning strategies into

three categories is useful in showing teachers how to integrate strategy instruction into their daily lessons:

(a) Metacognitive strategies

These involve planning for learning, monitoring one's own comprehension and production, and evaluating one's achievement of objectives. Among the metacognitive strategies are listed:

* selective attention by students to aid comprehension (facilitated by the teacher's use of linguistic markers to indicate the kind of information that is about to be supplied: "Today we're going to ..."; "The most important thing to remember ..."; "An example of ...");

* self-monitoring, whereby students spend time actively involved in the comprehension and learning tasks, correcting themselves during speaking or writing;

* self-evaluation by students of how well they have understood a text or accomplished a learning task, leading if necessary to the work (or aspects of it) being reviewed or re-learned.

(b) Cognitive strategies

In these the learner interacts with content material by manipulating it mentally (e.g. making mental images, relating new information to known concepts or skills) or physically (grouping items, making summaries). The following examples of cognitive strategies are given:

* elaboration, a powerful strategy involving the recollection of prior knowledge, the conscious interrelation of parts of what is being learned, and the integration of new information into existing schemata (knowledge structures): "What do I already know about ...?" "How does this fit in with ...?";

* grouping, which takes the form of organizing or classifying new information (particularly important in science and social science subjects, where classification systems and cause-and-effect relationships have to be understood), especially useful when information is learned on new topics where prior knowledge does not exist, making elaboration impossible;

* the use of imagery, which can help students to make diagrams (mental or actual) of the structure and arrangement of new information.

(c) Socio-affective strategies

Socio-affective strategies involve interaction with another person (e.g. to ask questions for clarification), or some kind of affective control to assist learning (1989a: 242); these include:

* co-operation, in which the language skills directly related to an academic task are practised by students working together;

* questioning for clarification, in which students not only seek information, but learn to ask appropriate questions about aspects they do not understand;

* self-talk, a useful strategy in which students allay anxiety by reassuring themselves (for example in a test situation) of their knowledge and ability.

7.3.2.3 A CALLA lesson plan model

The lesson plan model incorporates the three components of CALLA (v. 3.3.3.1.b): content-area topics, language development activities, and learning strategy instruction. The lessons are divided into five phases (1989a: 245):

1. Preparation: teachers indicate in advance the ground to be covered, and students identify prior knowledge, using elaboration as a strategy.

2. Presentation: new information is presented, using techniques to make it accessible (encouragement of selective attention, for example, as well as of self-monitoring, summarizing, etc.)

3. Practice: students apply learning strategies such as grouping, imagery, and questioning for clarification.

4. Evaluation: students reflect on their own learning, and plan to remedy any deficiencies.

5. Follow-up expansion: opportunities are provided for students to apply the new information learned to their own lives, call on the knowledge and expertise of family and friends, and relate what they have learned in school to their own cultural experiences.

7.3.2.4 The amalgamation of language and content studies

The integration of language learning with content learning is fundamental to the CALLA model:

> The purpose of CALLA is to provide a broad framework for using language to learn through the integration of language and content. Content-based English language development is not only important for developing academic language skills, but is also inherently more interesting to many students than ESL classes which focus on language only (O'Malley 1988: 51).

Collaboration between the English teacher (who teaches the CALLA lesson) and the content-subject teachers (who need to make recommendations as to what content material should be included in that lesson) is therefore an essential organisational element of the process.

(a) The role of the content-subject teacher

Brennan and van Naerssen (1989) concede the difficulties that may attend the establishment of the necessary communication (v. 6.3.15) between English and content-subject teachers:

> ... because of conflicts with time schedules and teaching commitments - and sometimes the unwillingness of departments - it may be difficult for the [language teacher] to pursue these more formal contacts. But, if any of these channels of communication can be opened up, the [language teacher] will be able to gain important information about the standards and status of English within the particular departments (1989: 197)

and, by implication, about the language needs of the pupils studying those content subjects.

This suggests the need for the incorporation in a whole-school language policy of scheduled opportunities for formal contact between the relevant staff members (v. 6.3.15), as a specific professional activity expected by the principal:

> Some institutions actually assign a [language teacher] to the staff of each of the various departments (Brennan and van Naerssen 1989: 198).

Such contact is intended to help the English department to establish priorities which should be reflected in language courses so planned that the linguistic skills needed by pupils for specific academic use in the various content-subject areas are taught:

> To select content topics for the CALLA lessons, [the English teacher] can co-ordinate with classroom teachers and consult subject area textbooks for the grade level concerned (O'Malley 1988: 52).

(b) The use of text books

O'Malley asserts the need for teachers of English to be familiar with the text books used by their CALLA pupils in the content subjects (cf. 3.3.3.1.b):

> Science, mathematics and social studies textbooks can be used as a source of specific information to be presented. Having used these resources to identify lesson topics, [the English teacher] can build language development activities onto the content information selected (1988: 52).

Brennan and van Naerssen (1989) show how collaboration between various staff members in the selection and usage of subject resource material (such as, for example, text books) can result in an enriched programme for LEP pupils. Their observations, though made in the tertiary situation, are clearly relevant, with a simple change of focus, to secondary education:

> In one programme a four-step approach ... was used to familiarize students with format and content of various journals in the students' field (1989: 203).

They describe content teacher (identification of relevant subject material), librarian (supply of work space and reading material) and language teacher (analysis of the layout and nature of content of the materials supplied, note-taking and summary, and location of information) co-operating in the task of familiarizing students with subject-related academic resources.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS

7.4.1 SUMMARY

Chapter 7 opened with an overview of the whole investigation, and went on to set out guiding principles for the establishment of a whole-school language policy, based both upon the literature survey of Chapter 3 and on the analysis of researched data. The chapter then moved on to practical recommendations for the establishment of such a policy, incorporating a

description of the role that the CALLA lesson model can play within the context of the school's language policy as a whole.

Among the wide range of observations and recommendations that were offered by the teachers and school managers interviewed, those that were asserted most strongly as being central to the success of managing and teaching LEP pupils are set out in sections 7.3.1.1 and 7.3.1.2.

It seems important, however, to make special mention of one particular theme that ran strikingly through all the interviews. This revealed teachers *re-evaluating the role that they had automatically accepted for, in some cases, many years; discovering the necessity to fill a new role, that of developers of cognitive skills rather than of sources of information; and recognising the essential need for the acquisition (or perhaps the resurrection) of skilful teaching habits.*

This amounts to a shift of the responsibility for language deficiency (and for the reparation of that deficiency) off the LEP child and onto the child's school and teachers; which attitude places the educators involved encouragingly in accord with Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) in their criticism of the "deficit view" of minority education (3.2.2), which typically characterises the submersion model of language-acquisition programmes.

Accordingly, as a discovery of, and a commitment to, a productive way forward for teachers and schools confronted with the challenge of LEP pupils; and as a manifestation of an optimistic change of direction from the negativity with which educators at desegregation-model schools originally, in many cases, responded to the advent of the multicultural and multilingual classroom; and because it reveals one of the benefits with which the multicultural and multilingual classroom with its LEP pupils can, contrary to what is still widely believed, enrich rather than only impoverish a school, this therefore seems to be the seminal finding to emerge from this study.

7.4.2 APPLICABILITY AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Factors such as those discussed in section 5.2 receive - understandably - scant attention in the work of language theorists such as Krashen, Cummins and O'Malley. The unique plight of the LEP child in South Africa's desegregation-model schools - a product of socio-economic, cultural and general educational deprivation (v. 2.2), as well as of language deficiencies - does not fall neatly into any one of the many "minority-language pupil" research models that have been developed; nor does the solution to that pupil's plight emerge conveniently from research carried out in other countries.

Relevance can certainly be found in the available research, as has demonstrated in Chapter 6, but clearly schools and teachers will have to go beyond these traditional, almost purely linguistic-focused, resources if the education of these children is to be managed successfully. This was asserted with conviction during the interviews that took place.

This is even implied in the work of Cummins himself, in his insistence (v. 3.3.2) that simplistic perceptions will fail to produce a relevant framework within which to plan strategies and solutions: though he does not refer particularly to the kind of cultural and environmental problems described in section 5.2, he specifically condemns, for example, purely linguistic explanations for LEP children's educational difficulties (v. 3.3.2).

7.4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.4.3.1 Policy evolution

The findings of Cummins (1980), Collier (1987 and 1989) and others in relation to the age at which children should begin to learn a new language for schooling purposes, and the circumstances under which that learning should take place (v. 3.3.2.2.f), provide clear guidance for education policy-makers. Cognisance of these factors should ensure that realistic expectations exist of the school, its teachers and the pupils involved, and that the possible is clearly distinguished from the impossible.

In particular, the ultimate failure of LEP pupils who are forced at a relatively late stage into desegregation-model schools, with insufficient cognitive or linguistic background, should not necessarily be blamed on the school or its staff; more importantly, policy should try to avoid putting children into probable-failure situations, by providing effective education throughout the school career; or sympathetic staffing ratios (v. 6.2.3); or a school curriculum that reflects a knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the demonstrated curricular needs of LEP pupils[1] ; or even by ensuring the provision and ready availability of effective mother-tongue education, possibly in dual-medium or multi-medium schools.

The need on the part of policy-makers for a genuine understanding of the complexities of second-language acquisition, of the theory underlying submersion and immersion programmes and the research that has emerged in this field, and of semi-lingualism and the notions of additive and subtractive bilingualism, can therefore hardly be over-stated.

7.4.3.2 Training of teachers

The point was strongly made at all three schools at which interviews took place that teacher expertise should be considered a vital factor in the teaching of LEP pupils and classes (v. 6.2.5 and 6.3.11).

The initial training of teachers needs to incorporate meaningful didactic (as opposed to sociological: v. 6.3.11) components on multiculturalism and language-acquisition theory.

7.4.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

Most of the current research in the field of multilingualism and second-language acquisition uses immigrant children as its pupil-material. Factors such as socio-economic

---

[1] For example, by providing for the continuing development of first language while CALP second language is being acquired (v. 3.3.2.2.a).

disadvantagement, and limited prior scholastic experience, are recognised, but not sufficiently to make the investigations entirely applicable to the unique phenomenon of the black South African LEP child.

Furthermore, as Cummins (1990: 146; v. 3.1) points out, transferability is not reliable in the field. Therefore extensive studies need to be done with South Africa's own LEP children to establish the kind of information resource for this country's circumstances that Cummins (with others) has established for the Canadian situation, and Skutnabb-Kangas for Scandinavia, to mention only two examples (cf. 1.6, in which the recognised limitations of the present study were expressed at an early stage).

In particular, the implications of Cummins's threshold and developmental interdependence hypotheses need to be tested, if possible by researching a group of children who have indeed continued to receive instruction in their first language while learning CALP-level second language; who have also received content-area instruction, or at least continuing development of cognitive skills, while the second-language acquisition process has been taking place; and who can build in the secondary school upon a sound education from the first year of primary schooling.

These studies need not necessarily be limited to the black LEP child - much can be learned from conducting such research among South Africa's foreign-language groups: the Portuguese and Greek communities suggest themselves as immediate possibilities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, G 1991. English across cultures: The Kachru catch. *English Today*, 7: 55-57.

African National Congress Education Department 1994. A policy framework for education and training. Unpublished discussion document, January. Johannesburg.

Ahulu, S T 1992. English in Ghana. D.Ed. dissertation. University of Cambridge, Cambridge.

Al-Arishi, A Y 1994. Role-play, real-play and surreal-play in the ESOL classroom. *ELT journal*, 48 (4): 337-346.

Alexander, N 1989. *Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania*. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Anderson, J R (ed) 1981. *Cognitive skills and their acquisition*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Anderson, J R 1983. *The architecture of cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Anderson, J R 1985. *Cognitive psychology and its implications* (2nd edition). New York: W H Freeman.

Baker, C 1993. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Barry, A L 1994. The staffing of high school remedial reading programmes in the United Sates since 1920. *Journal of reading*, 38 (1): 14-22.

Beardsmore, H B 1993. *European models of bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bekker, J 1993. Continuity and change in the Polish educational system. M.Ed. dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Bennett, C I 1990. *Comprehensive multicultural education*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Bialystok, E 1991. *Language processing in bilingual children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, J D 1977. Linguistic perspectives on bilingual education. In Spolsky, B and Cooper, R (eds) *Frontiers of bilingual education*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House: 106-118.

Brennan, M and van Naerssen, M 1989. Language and content in ESP. *ELT journal*, 43 (3): 196-205.

Brown, H D 1994. *Principles of language learning and teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents.

Bullock, A 1975. *A language for life: Report of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the chairmanship of Sir Alan Bullock F.B.A.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Burgess, R G 1984a. *In the field: An introduction to field research*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, R G 1984b. *The research process in educational settings: Ten case studies*. London: The Falmer Press.

Burgess, R G 1985a. *Strategies of educational research: Qualitative methods*. London: The Falmer Press.

Burgess, R G 1985b. *Field methods in the study of education*. London: The Falmer Press.

Butler, I 1992. From Krashen to Bangalore: Possibilities in ESL teaching. *Crux*, May: 47-52.

Cairney, T H and Munsie, L 1995. Parent participation in literacy learning. *The reading teacher*, 48 (5): 392-403.

Carlson, B K 1992. The "Enrichment Class" project: Bridging black children into the new South Africa. *Crux*, February: 18-24.

Chamot, A U and O'Malley, J M 1989a. The cognitive academic language learning approach: A bridge to the mainstream. *TESOL quarterly*, 21 (2): 227-249.

Chamot, A U and O'Malley, J M 1989b. The Cognitive Academic Learning Approach. In Rigg, P and Allen, V G (eds) *When they don't all speak English: Integrating the ESL student into the regular classroom*. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English: 108-125.

Chick, J K 1992a. English as a medium and as a subject in a post-apartheid South Africa. *South African journal of applied language studies*, 1 (1): 29-40.

Chick, J K 1992b. Language policy in education. In McGregor, R and McGregor, E (eds) *McGregor's education alternatives*. Cape Town: Juta: 271-292.

Christie, F 1990. *Literacy for a changing world*. Sydney: Australian Council for Educational Research.

Cohen, A D and Swain, M 1976. Bilingual education: The immersion model in the North American context. *TESOL quarterly*, 10: 45-53.

Cohen, L and Manion, L 1983. *Multicultural classrooms*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.

Collier, V P 1987. Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL quarterly*, 21 (4): 617-641.

Collier, V P 1989. How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language. *TESOL quarterly*, 23 (3): 509-531.

Come, B and Fredericks, A D 1995. Family literacy in urban schools: Meeting the needs of at-risk children. *The reading teacher*, 48 (7): 566-570.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill 1994.

Cope, B and Kalantzis, M 1990. Literacy in the social sciences. In Christie, F (ed) *Literacy for a changing world*. Sydney: Australian Council for Educational Research: 118-142.

Crandall, J 1991. A content-based approach to ESL teaching. Unpublished keynote address at the National English Second Language Association for Teacher Training (NESLATT) Conference, 16-17 September. Vista University, Pretoria.

Cuevas, G J 1984. Mathematics learning in English as a second language. *Journal for research in mathematics education*, 15 (2): 134-144.

Cummins, J 1979. Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of educational research*, 49 (2): 222-251.

Cummins, J 1980. The cross-lingual dimensions of language proficiency: Implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue. *TESOL quarterly*, 14 (2): 175-187.

Cummins, J 1981a. Empirical and theoretical underpinnings of bilingual education. *Journal of education*, 163 (1): 16-29.

Cummins, J 1981b. Age on arrival and immigrant second language learning in Canada: A reassessment. *Applied linguistics,* 11 (2): 132-149.

Cummins, J 1986. Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard educational review* 56 (1): 18-35.

Cummins, J 1990. Multilingual/multicultural education: Evaluation of underlying theoretical constructs and consequences for curriculum development. In Vedder, P (ed) *Fundamental studies in educational research.* Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger BV: 141-174.

Cummins, J and Swain, M 1986. *Bilingualism in education: Aspects of theory, research and practice.* London: Longman.

Cunningham, J W and Wall, L K 1994. Teaching good readers to comprehend better. *Journal of reading*, 37 (6): 480-500.

Davidson, K, Durbach, F, Steinman, R and Button, A 1991. "Model B" schools: Teachers' perspectives. Edited transcript of a panel discussion organised by the ESL Forum, 30 May. Johannesburg.

Davis, F and Parker, R 1978. *Teaching for literacy: Reflections on the Bullock report.* London: Ward Lock Educational.

Deegan, D 1994. Literacy in the content areas: Ain't no need to sing the blues. *Reading improvement*, Fall: 177-185.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1991. Education models: Objective handling of opinion polls. Unpublished Transvaal Education Department circular minute (no. 74 of 1991). Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1992a. The declaration and continuance of a state-aided ordinary (model C) school. Unpublished information document. Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1992b. Manual for state-aided (model C) schools. Unpublished manual. Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1992c. Declaring schools model-C state-aided schools. Unpublished Transvaal Education Department circular minute (no. 62 of 1992). Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1992d. Declaring schools as model-C state-aided schools. Unpublished Transvaal Education Department circular minute (no. 88 of 1992). Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1992e. Constitutions of state-aided schools. Unpublished Transvaal Education Department circular minute (no. 123 of 1992). Pretoria.

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): Administration: House of Assembly 1994. Implications of the new constitution for educational institutions. Unpublished Transvaal Education Department circular minute (no. 52 of 1994). Pretoria.

Doak, C C, Doak, L G and Root, J H 1985. *Teaching patients with low literacy skills*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Downing, J 1974. Bilingualism and learning to read. *The Irish journal of education*, 8: 77-78.

Ediger, M 1994. Meaning in the reading curriculum. *Reading improvement*, Spring: 49-51.

Edwards, P A 1991. Fostering early literacy through parent coaching. In Hiebert, E H (ed) *Literacy for a diverse society*. New York: Teachers' College: 199-213.

Eisenhart, M A and Cutts-Dougherty, K 1991. Social and cultural constraints on students' access to school knowledge. In Hiebert, E H (ed) *Literacy for a diverse society*. New York: Teachers' College: 28-43.

Elley, W B 1991. Acquiring literacy in a second language: The effect of book-based programs. *Language learning*, 41 (3): 375-411.

Fetterman, D M 1988. *Qualitative approaches to evaluation in education: The silent scientific revolution*. New York: Praeger.

Fitzgerald, J 1994. How literacy emerges: Foreign language implications. *Language learning journal*, 9: 32-35.

Fitzpatrick, K 1994. Improving reading comprehension using critical thinking strategies. *Reading improvement*, Fall: 142-144.

Floch-Lyon, E and Trost, J F 1981. Conducting focus group sessions. *Studies in family planning*, 12 (12): 443-449.

Fradd, S H and Weismantel, M J 1989. *Meeting the needs of culturally and linguistically different students: A handbook for educators*. Boston: College Hill.

Fradd, S H, Barona, A and Barona, M S 1989. Implementing change and monitoring progress. In Fradd, S H and Weismantel, M J (eds) *Meeting the needs of culturally and linguistically different students: A handbook for educators*. Boston: College Hill: 63-105.

Fraenkel, J R and Wallen, N E 1990. *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Frederikse, J 1992. *All schools for all children: Lessons for South Africa from Zimbabwe's open schools*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Garcia, G E 1991. Factors influencing the English reading test performance of Spanish-speaking Hispanic children. *Reading research quarterly*, 26 (4): 371-392.

Gatherer, W A 1977. Language and education. In Marland, M (ed) *Language across the curriculum*. London: Heinemann Educational Books: 28-64.

Geffen, D 1994a. The 1994 South African/Namibian Summer English Teaching Institute (SETI) held at the University of South Carolina. Unpublished report. Johannesburg.

Geffen, D 1994b. Assisting the child with limited English proficiency in a multicultural system - a workshop. Unpublished notes from the symposium of the Education Aid service of the Transvaal Education Department, 26 and 27 September. Johannesburg.

Geffen, D 1994c. The child with limited English proficiency in the English-medium school. Unpublished Educational Aid Centre teachers' guide. Johannesburg North.

Genesee, F 1983. Bilingual education of majority-language children: The immersion experiments in review. *Applied psycholinguistics*, 4: 1-46.

Glazer, N 1993. Where is multiculturalism leading us? *Phi delta kappan*, 75 (4): 319-323.

Gosher, S P 1995. Chief Superintendent of Education (HSO): English, in the Transvaal Education Department. Interview of 23 March. Pretoria.

Hadaway, N L and Young, T A 1994. Content literacy and language learning. *The reading teacher*, 47 (7): 522-526.

Hafiz, F M and Tudor, I 1989. Extensive reading and the development of language skills. *ELT journal*, 43 (1): 4-13.

Hammond, J 1990. Is learning to read and write the same as learning to speak? In Christie, F (ed) *Literacy for a changing world*. Sydney: Australian Council for Educational Research: 26-53.

Handscombe, J 1989. A quality program for learners of English as a second language. In Rigg, P and Allen, V G (eds) *When they don't all speak English: Integrating the ESL student into the regular classroom*. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English: 1-14.

Harley, B, Allen, P, Cummins, J and Swain, M 1990. *The development of second language proficiency*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hartshorne K 1992. *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910-1990.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Hiebert, E H 1991. *Literacy for a diverse society.* New York: Teachers' College.

Hopkins, D and Nettle, M 1994. Second language acquisition research: A response to Rod Ellis. *ELT journal*, 48 (2): 157-161.

Hudson, T 1991. A content comprehension approach to reading English for science and technology. *TESOL quarterly*, 25 (1): 77-104.

Hunter-Grundin, E and Grundin, H U 1978. *Reading: Implementing the Bullock report.* London: Ward Lock Educational.

Jarman, J G E 1994. *Monographic studies of English second-language learning in an inner-city school.* D.Ed. thesis. Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.

Kachru B B 1991. Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern. *English today*, 25: 3-13.

Klein, G 1993. *Education towards race equality.* London: Cassell.

Krashen, S D 1987. *Principles and practice in second language acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Krashen, S D 1988. *Second language acquisition and second language learning.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Krashen, S D and Terrell, T D 1983. *The natural approach.* Oxford: Pergamon/Alemany.

Langhan, D P 1992. *The textbook as a source of difficulty in teaching and learning.* A final report of the Threshold Project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Lanham, L W 1984. Stress and intonation and the intelligibility of South African black English. *African studies*, 43 (2): 217-230.

Le Roux, J 1993. *The black child in crisis: A socio-educational perspective.* Pretoria: J L van Schaik.

Legg, E 1995. Principal of Forest ("model-C") High School. Interview of 24 August. Johannesburg.

Leibowitz, B 1991. Learning English as a first language in a multilingual classroom. *ELTIC reporter*, 16 (1): 16-24.

Lemmer, E M 1989. The re-entry of women into the labour market and the implications for educational provision. D.Ed. thesis. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Lemmer, E M 1992. Addressing the needs of the limited English proficiency pupil in the multi-cultural classroom. Unpublished paper presented at the cross-cultural conference, 22-24 June. Vista University, Pretoria.

Lemmer, E M 1993a. Addressing the needs of the black child with a limited language proficiency in the medium of instruction. In Le Roux, J (ed) *The black child in crisis: A socio-educational perspective*. Pretoria: J L van Schaik: 143-170.

Lemmer, E M 1993b. Meeting the needs of the limited English proficiency pupil in South African schools. Unpublished lecture notes from a Transvaal Teachers' Association seminar, 23 October. Johannesburg.

Lemmer, E M and Squelch, J M 1992. Multilingual education: Teaching literacy skills across the curriculum. Unpublished manual for in-service teacher training. Pretoria.

Lemmer, E M and Squelch, J M 1993. *Multicultural education: a teachers' manual.* Halfway House: Southern Book Publishers.

Macdonald, C A 1990a. *"How many years do you have?": English language skills evaluation.* A final report of the Threshold Project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Macdonald, C A 1990b. *Ballpoint pens and braided hair: An analysis of reasoning skills and the curriculum.* A final report of the Threshold Project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Macdonald, C A 1990c. *Crossing the threshold into standard three in black education.* The consolidated main report of the threshold project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Macdonald, C A 1991. Writing comprehensible text for second language learners of English in the primary school. Unpublished report on keynote address at National English Second Language Association for Teacher Training (NESLATT) Conference, 16-17 September. Vista University, Pretoria.

Macdonald, C A 1993. *Towards a new primary curriculum for South Africa.* The main report of the Threshold 2 project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Macdonald, C A with Burroughs, E 1991. *Eager to talk and learn and think: Bilingual primary education in South Africa.* Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Machet, M P 1992. The effect of sociocultural values on adolescents' response to literature. *Journal of reading*, 35 (5): 356-362.

Marland, M 1977. *Language across the curriculum: The implementation of the Bullock Report in the secondary school.* London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Mashishi, L 1987. English across the curriculum with reference to black primary schools in South Africa. *ELTIC reporter*, 12 (3): 20-27.

Mathiane, N 1989. The triumph of English. *Frontline*, September: 7-9.

May, S A 1993. Redeeming multicultural education. *Language arts*, 70 (5): 364-372.

McGeogh, R T 1995. Principal of Northview ("model-D") High School. Interview of 24 May. Johannesburg.

Menke, D and Davey, B 1994. Teachers' views of textbooks and text reading instruction: Experience matters. *Journal of reading*, 37 (6): 464-470.

Miholic, V 1994. An inventory to pique students' metacognitive awareness of reading strategies. *Journal of reading*, 38 (2): 84-86.

Mirramontes, O B and Coremins, N L 1991. Redefining literacy and literacy contexts: Discovering a community of learners. In Hiebert, E H (ed) *Literacy for a diverse society*. New York: Teachers' College: 75-89.

Morgan, C 1994. They think differently from us. *Language learning journal*, 9: 4-6.

Morgan, D L and Spanish, M J 1984. Focus groups: a new tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative sociology*, 7 (3): 253-270.

Mphahlele, E 1984. Prometheus in chains: The fate of English in South Africa. *English Academy review*, 2: 91-104.

Murdoch, G 1994. Language development provision in teacher training curricula. *ELT journal*, 48 (3): 253-265.

National Education Co-ordinating Committee 1992. *Language: report of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) language research group*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press/NECC.

National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Framework Report 1993. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Ndebele, N 1987. The English language and social change in South Africa. *English Academy review*, 4: 1-16.

Nunan, D 1987. *Applying second language acquisition research.* Adelaide: National Curriculum Resource Centre.

O'Malley, J M 1988. The cognitive academic language learning approach (CALLA). *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 9 (1 & 2): 43-60.

Penfield, J 1987. ESL: The regular classroom teacher's perspective. *TESOL quarterly*, 21 (1): 21-39.

Piper, T 1993. *Language for all our children.* New York: Macmillan.

Putnam, L R 1995. An interview with Noam Chomsky. *The reading teacher*, 48 (4): 328-333.

Quirk, R 1988. The question of standards in the international use of English. In Lowenberg, P H (ed) *Language spread and language policy.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press: 229-241.

Quirk, R 1990. Language varieties and standard language. *English today*, 21: 3-10.

Quirk, R 1993. Cultivate your lexicon, if you know what I mean. Article published in *The Times*, 12 July. London.

Ramey, E K 1995. An integrated approach to language arts instruction. *The reading teacher*, 48 (5): 418-419.

Raphael, T E and McMahon, S I 1994. Book club: An alternative framework for reading instruction. *The reading teacher*, 48 (2): 102-116.

Reyes, M de la L and Molner, L A 1991. Instructional strategies for second-language learners in the content areas. *Journal of reading*, 35 (2): 96-103.

Rhoder, C A and French, J N 1994. Workplace literacy: From survival to empowerment and human development. *Journal of reading*, 38 (2): 110-120.

Richard-Amato, P A and Snow, M A 1992. *The multicultural classroom: Readings for content-area teachers.* White Plains, New York: Longman.

Richards, J C 1978. *Understanding second and foreign language learning: Issues and approaches.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Rigg, P and Allen, V G 1989. *When they don't all speak English: Integrating the ESL student into the regular classroom.* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English.

Romaine, S 1989. *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Rose, B and Tunmer, R 1975. *Documents in South African education.* Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

Sasaki, M 1993. Relationships among second language proficiency, foreign language aptitude, and intelligence: A structural equation modeling approach. *Language learning*, 43 (3): 313-344.

Sasaki, M 1993. Relationships among second language proficiency, foreign language aptitude, and intelligence: A protocol analysis. *Language learning*, 43 (4): 469-505.

Saunders, M 1982. *Multicultural teaching: A guide for the classroom.* London: McGraw Hill.

Saville-Troike, M 1984. What really matters in second language learning for academic achievement? *TESOL quarterly*, 18 (2): 199-219.

Scarcella, R C 1990. *Teaching language minority students in the multicultural classroom.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents.

Schmied, J 1991. *English in Africa: An introduction.* New York: Longman.

Schumacher, S and McMillan, J H 1993. *Research in education: A conceptual introduction.* New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Seidner, S S 1983. *Issues of language assessment: Volume 2: Language assessment and curriculum planning.* Wheaton, MD: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Shanahan, T, Mulhern, M and Rodriguez-Brown, F 1995. Project FLAME: Lessons learned from a family literacy programme for linguistic minority families. *The reading teacher*, 48 (7): 586-593.

Shih, M 1986. Content-based approaches to teaching academic writing. *TESOL quarterly*, 20 (4): 617-649.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T 1981. *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T 1988. Multilingualism and the education of minority children. In Skutnabb-Kangas, T and Cummins, J (eds) *Minority education: From shame to struggle.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd: 9-44.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T and Cummins, J 1988. *Minority education: From shame to struggle.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Smith, J L and Johnson, H 1994. Models for implementing literature in content studies. *The reading teacher*, 48 (3): 198-209.

Snow, M A and Brinton, D M 1988. Content-based language instruction: Investigating the effectiveness of the adjunct model. *TESOL quarterly*, 22 (4): 553-574.

Snow, M A, Met, M and Genesee, F 1989. A conceptual framework for the integration of language and content in second/foreign language instruction. *TESOL quarterly*, 23 (2): 201-217.

Spanos, G 1989. On the integration of language and content instruction. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 10: 227-240.

Spolsky, B and Cooper, R 1977. *Frontiers of bilingual education.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Sprinthall, R C, Schmutte, G T and Sirois, L 1991. *Understanding educational research.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Squelch, J M 1992. Meeting the needs of black pupils in state schools: The school reform challenge. Unpublished paper presented at the African Studies forum on 12 August. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Squelch, J M and Lemmer, E M 1994. *Eight keys to effective school management in South Africa.* Halfway House: Southern Book Publishers.

Strevens, P 1977. *New orientations in the teaching of English.* London: Oxford University Press.

Swain, M 1978b. Home-school language switching. In Richards J C (ed) *Understanding second and foreign language learning: Issues and approaches.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House: 238-250.

Tancock, S M 1994. A literacy lesson framework for children with reading problems. *The reading teacher*, 48 (2): 130-140.

Tiley, J L 1994. Advisers' perceptions of their work in the subject advisory service of the Department of Education and Training. M.Ed. mini-dissertation. Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.

Titlestad, P J H 1994a. The Standard English debate: A discussion paper. Unpublished paper compiled for submission to the core syllabus committee revising the South African English first language syllabuses. Pretoria. Subsequently published in *SAALT Journal for Language Teaching*, 29 (3) September 1995: 178-193.

Titlestad, P J H 1994b. Comments on behalf of the English Academy of Southern Africa, on the chapter *Language in education policy* in African National Congress Education Department unpublished discussion document: A policy framework for education and training. Unpublished paper. Pretoria.

Titlestad, P J H 1994c. Analysis of language clauses in the constitution: English Academy of Southern Africa. Unpublished paper. Pretoria.

Titlestad, P J H 1994d. The language clauses and language issues. Unpublished paper. Pretoria.

Transvaal English Medium Parents Association 1990. Unpublished letter to chairpersons of management councils, 5 April. Johannesburg.

Tucker, G R 1977. The linguistic perspective. *Bilingual education: Current perspectives. Volume 2: Linguistics*. Arlington, Va: Centre for applied linguistics.

Van Rooyen, H 1990. *The disparity between English as a subject and English as the medium of learning*. A final report of the Threshold Project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Vedder, P 1990. *Fundamental studies in educational research*. Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger BV.

Verhoeven, L T 1994. Transfer in bilingual development: The linguistic interdependence hypothesis revisited. *Language learning*, 44 (3): 381-415.

Wales, L 1990. Literacy for learners of English as a second language. In Christie, F (ed) *Literacy for a changing world*. Sydney: Australian Council for Educational Research: 167-186. Pretoria.

Watson, D J 1994. Whole language: Why bother? *The reading teacher*, 47 (8): 600-607.

Weismantel, M J and Fradd, S H 1989. Understanding the need for change. In Fradd, S H and Weismantel, M J (eds) *Meeting the needs of culturally and linguistically different students: A handbook for educators*. Boston: College-Hill: 1-13.

Wenden, A and Rubin, J 1987. *Learner strategies in language learning*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Whitt, A G 1994. Whole language revitalizes one high school classroom. *Journal of reading*, 37 (6): 488-493.

Wilkens, F 1994. A language programme in the multicultural pre-primary school. Unpublished paper delivered at the Teachers' Centre, 1 February. Johannesburg.

Zuengler, J 1993. Encouraging learners' conversational participation: The effect of content knowledge. *Language learning*, 43 (3): 403-432.

Appendix 1

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

As part of a research project for the degree of M. Ed. (University of South Africa) for which I am presently enrolled, I am conducting a limited research project into strategies that are being applied in multicultural (formerly white) English-medium secondary schools to provide for the special needs of minority-group pupils who come from a non-English mother-tongue background.

I would like to interview a small group consisting of the principal, the English subject head, and any teachers of English (or other subjects) who have been especially involved in the development of policy, or in the implementation of programmes, strategies and approaches, designed to assist this particular group of pupils.

The interview will take the form of an unstructured discussion, which will be tape-recorded. Although verbatim use will be made of comments recorded during the discussion, neither the name of the school nor the identity of the participants will be divulged at any time, the anonymity of both the school and the individuals interviewed being completely protected. The analysis of the data collected will be shown to you for comment before it is used in the thesis.

If you are willing under the circumstances described to participate in such an interview, please sign below to indicate your consent:

NAME OF SCHOOL: ....

DATE OF INTERVIEW: ....

We consent to participating in an interview on the topic described above, and to the use of the material recorded during that interview for the purpose and in the manner indicated:

PRINCIPAL: ....

SUBJECT HEAD (ENGLISH): ....

OTHER PARTICIPANTS: 1. .... Capacity: ....

2. .... Capacity: ....

3. .... Capacity: ....

J.O. HENDRY

SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION: ACADEMIC
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE: SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Appendix 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. STIMULUS QUESTION

What I would like to hear from you about is the way the school has coped, or has tried to cope, since desegregation was permitted, with the special needs of black pupils who come to an English-medium learning environment with a limited proficiency in the language.

B. GENERAL STRUCTURE

Areas that need to be covered during the course of the interviews.

(i) General departure point

1. Description of the nature of the problem: the appearance of the non-racial school in the "white" education system; the enrolment of black-Taiwanese-Portuguese-Eastern European-etc pupils.

(ii) Language policy issues

2. The importance of having a whole-school language policy.
3. The principle of "language across the curriculum" as a general school policy.
4. Bridging programmes.
5. Theories of language acquisition as a departure point.
6. The essence of the linguistic problem - Cummins's four general principles of language acquisition (v. 3.3: opening comments).

(iii) The role of teaching staff

7. The special role of the first language department.
8. The responsibilities of the content-subject teachers for language acquisition.
9. Formal co-operation between language teachers and content-area teachers.

(iv) The role of school management and the parent community

10. The role of the school principal.
11. The importance of an informed governing body.
12. Parents: the need for realistic expectations.
13. The school timetable.
14. Finance.
15. Attitudes in relation to administration, expenditure, organisation, (including facilities).

C. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

These will be used to prompt discussion if any of the areas described above have not been sufficiently thoroughly handled in response to the stimulus question.

(i) General departure point

1. How many pupils who should be classified LEP are enrolled at the school?
2. On what basis are they so classified by the school?
3. Are all the children "of other races" in the school classified as LEP? If not, how do you distinguish?
4. How many mother-tongue languages are represented among the school pupil community, and in various English classes?

(ii) Language policy issues

5. Does a formal language-across-the-curriculum policy exist in the school?
6. Does a whole-school language policy exist, and does it have the sincere support of the school executive? Of the management council?
7. What new policies have been introduced to assist the LEP pupils and their teachers?
8. How has policy been modified in the light of growing experience?

(iii) The role of teaching staff

9. What are English teachers doing to meet the special needs (both linguistic and general cognitive needs) of LEP pupils?
10. What is the attitude of content-subject teachers to the opinion that every teacher needs to accept responsibility for pupils' language acquisition?

(iv) The role of school management and the parent community

11. Does the school management (including representatives of parent bodies) understand the nature of the LEP pupil problem?
12. Does the school recognise the socio-economic and affective obstacles - such as stress, as a result of various circumstances - to academic success, and especially to the acquisition of English (Mirramontes and Coremins 1991:81; Scarcella 1990); and does the support programme for the LEP pupil make provision to deal with these obstacles?
13. Is the school management sympathetic to the difficulties facing the English teacher who has to teach the language to LEP pupils?
14. What has the school management done to help teachers and the LEP pupils whom they teach?
15. Of all the things that management has done, which are considered to be the most important, and why?

16. If you as an individual were able to do so, what changes to school policy would you make to help the LEP pupil?

(v) Evaluation of strategies and policies

17. Is the school coping successfully with the LEP pupils?
18. What are the main factors contributing to the success (or failure)?

(vi) Conclusions

19. How hard do your LEP pupils work in an effort to master English? Do some cultural groups work harder than others?
20. Do the LEP children perform academically less well than/as well as/better than white pupils?
21. In your opinion, are the LEP pupils less intelligent than/as intelligent as/more intelligent than white pupils, and to what do you ascribe this?
22. Has the arrival of the LEP pupil in your school brought any advantages, as opposed to the disadvantages on which we tend to concentrate?
23. What have you learned from teaching LEP pupils that has equipped you better to teach the "regular" pupils?
25. To what extent did your initial teacher-training equip you to deal with the multi-cultural classroom? Did you - as a student - read (or hear about) the work of Cummins, O'Malley, Krashen? Did you learn anything about language acquisition by second/other language speakers?

Appendix 3

EXTRACTS FROM TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS

3.1 SCHOOL A

INTERVIEWER: Just tell me about the enrichment class ... what constitutes the English enrichment class?

ENRICHMENT CLASS TEACHER: Okay, the children who were ear-marked as having major problems, really really major major problems ...

INTERVIEWER: Language problems ...

ENRICHMENT CLASS TEACHER: ... language problems, I take them out of certain non-examinable subjects, like Guidance, PT and so on, and I give them a couple of extra lessons a week depending where it fits in with the rest of my other teaching timetables. And I've worked back right to basics. In the first term I concentrated just on vocabulary and comprehension; second term I started bringing in grammar rules, the ones that the English teachers identified as being particular problem areas.

INTERVIEWER: You work with the English department ...

SENIOR ENGLISH TEACHER: Yes ...

INTERVIEWER: Do you work with any other departments in the school?

SENIOR ENGLISH TEACHER: Mrs P was teaching Geography, but now she's been absorbed into our department totally from this term. But first term and second term she was teaching Geography and doing the English enrichment as well.

INTERVIEWER: Does this imply that the school is actually sort of willingly carrying an "extra" teacher? How do you afford a person to do a wonderful thing like this? To run an enrichment class? Do you make the other teachers work harder? Do you ...

ACTING PRINCIPAL: Well, I think our policy has always been, we have, what is it, five governing body posts that we're prepared to pay if the need arises ... but of course not all schools can afford this, you know, that's a lot of ...

INTERVIEWER: But the principle behind this is ... I think I hear you saying the school recognises the need for a person to do a specialist job - a specialist language job - never mind whether other schools can afford it, you know, if that's a factor in what's making things work ... Are things working? ... that's it.

ENRICHMENT CLASS TEACHER: I have found it can be a problem pulling them out of their main classes because they lose continuity in some cases ...

INTERVIEWER: Who makes it a problem? Headmaster ... subject teachers ...?

ENRICHMENT CLASS TEACHER: Well, for the children it can be because they've got to catch up with the work - they miss work - and some of the teachers have a problem with it as well, which I can understand ....

3.2 SCHOOL B

ENGLISH HOD: No ... no .... Because of the fact that they're taking an independent course class, it doesn't quite fit into the normal timetable allocation, as such. It's not one class, and it's ... not yet as much as two classes. So what is happening is that the person who's in the independent groups is actually scoring by having a few more free periods ... and that was intentional. And so - and this is across the board - it's ... I think that one of the things that I'm actually worried about is that kind of "hair and teeth" way in which people approach the lesson, and you cannot walk into the

independent course in that fashion. When I said to you that everything depends on the teacher and their initial attitude ... the success of any lesson depends on the cue that you give those children when you walk into that class, it's quite obvious .... The other thing is, that these children ... their relationship with their teacher is quite different to the normal school pupil's; because these teachers are each a lifeline. They spend more time with the teachers, there's a more ...

INTERVIEWER: How many periods a week?

ENGLISH HOD: ... personal ...

ENGLISH TEACHER: Twelve.

INTERVIEWER: Twelve English lessons a week?

ENGLISH HOD: ... correct, as opposed to seven ...

INTERVIEWER: ... as opposed to seven.

MATHS TEACHER: ... the staff that are not involved with independent, when they walk past your classroom, they stop and they listen ...

ENGLISH TEACHER: Mmm ...

MATHS TEACHER: ... which tells me a great deal; it is so different from what they are used to.

INTERVIEWER: Are there two teachers or a couple of teachers in every department that are involved with this independent group?

PRINCIPAL: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Do those ... does that group of independent teachers ever meet as a group and talk about things?

ENGLISH HOD: Seldom ... but we do ... we have had a few meetings.

INTERVIEWER: And what do you talk about - when you talk?

ENGLISH HOD: Basically ... nuts and bolts issues about ... we had to first of all grapple with the idea that the lower grade had vanished. Then our second major [... *unintelligible* ...] we had to deal with things ... what we were going to do for the mid-year examination; you know, what kind of assessment, what kind of reports. When I say "nuts and bolts" it hasn't been teaching matters, it's been ...

INTERVIEWER: Administrative ...

ENGLISH HOD: ... the school business ... and then we had a meeting where we had to actually make an adjustment to the timetable; and what happened there was that we found that the children had got to the stage - because they do not have the non-academic subjects in their programme ...

INTERVIEWER: Yes ...

ENGLISH HOD: ... and we found that we needed to introduce a bit of physical exercise, and so we introduced physical education.

MATHS TEACHER: Computers ...

ENGLISH HOD: And computers.

ENGLISH TEACHER: And though we don't have formal meetings, you find in the staff-room at break teachers ... you know, the History teacher speaking to the English teacher and chatting about how they ...

INTERVIEWER: Yes ... that's the way we tend to do it, isn't it? Yes ...

ENGLISH TEACHER: ... dealt with that problem, and so on.

3.3 SCHOOL C

ENGLISH TEACHER 1: They ... like "A" was saying, they've got to ... they might understand the concept when you teach it, but I think a lot of my children go home, and when it comes to learning, they can't link what they learned and understood ...

PRINCIPAL: That's right ...

ENGLISH TEACHER 1: ... with what's written in the book; so they learn this thing by rote, and then when they write it they're actually not really understanding what they're learning, either ...

ENGLISH TEACHER 2: Ja, no, you're right ... my experience as well ...

ENGLISH TEACHER 1: ... it's sort of two separate things - the understanding of the concept, and the written stuff never really come together for them.

INTERVIEWER: What are you doing to bring them together? As a school, I mean, not you as "K" ... Is this a common problem? I saw heads nodding when "K" was describing it.

ENGLISH TEACHER 3: I don't think it's just a problem for our black children. I'm thinking ...

PRINCIPAL: It's a common problem ...

ENGLISH TEACHER 3: ... about my own daughter, for example. She comes home with this little story about the theorem of Pythagoras. Now, she knows the story - very well! And I say to her, "Now, what does it mean? What happens now if I give you a sum and I'm asking you to calculate the side instead of the hypotenuse?" Lost! Totally lost!

PRINCIPAL: I think what we are on our way to doing is - there are eight of us that are doing this course, which includes a bit of mediated learning - and I think that we're going to have to do a lot of in-service training, because there are no "quick-fix" solutions, there are no magical computer programmes that can do this ... what we need to get back to is teaching skills that are not lecturing skills ... teachers talking to two-thirds of the class and pupils sitting listening - we've got to actually get pupils out there discovering the rules for themselves, doing the things for themselves. Where you perhaps have a problem where a child doesn't quite understand, we've got to allow translation to take place - the report-back must obviously be in English - we are going to have to shift our teaching methods ...

ENGLISH TEACHER 4: Mmm ...

PRINCIPAL: ... we're actually going to have to improve ourselves as teachers to rise to the challenge that's being faced; and that requires a lot of in-service with teachers that are prepared to make the shift. There are some teachers that are very willing to make the shift, but there are lots who feel, "I've been teaching like this for twenty years, it worked then, why isn't it working now?" And the reason it's not working now is because we're dealing with completely different pupils ...

Appendix 4

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO THE DATA ANALYSIS

Respondents at the three schools at which the interviews were conducted were given copies of Chapters 5 and 6 (v. 4.5.2) and asked to confirm the accuracy of quotations and interpretations contained therein. Among other general comments, the following reactions were submitted:

School A:

The respondents presented an extensive commentary on the contents of the two chapters sent to them, noting especially the relevance of many of the findings to their own school situation. In the general context of that commentary, it was confirmed that the problems that were mentioned in the data analysis were continuing to receive attention, and many of the strategies developed and implemented, at the school:

> *The following aspects of School A policy seem to have been vindicated by your findings ...* (senior English teacher).

In addition, specific references to the *very careful look at the problems* (recorded in the data analysis), as well as an association of the school with the circumstances and strategies dealt with in Chapters 5 and 6 (*We strongly agree ...*), reflect the acceptance by the respondents of the accuracy with which the interview had been recorded and interpreted.

School B:

The reaction from School B took the following form:

> *I have read through the documents you sent me and am satisfied that the quotations used are a satisfactory record of the discussions which took place* (English HOD).

School C:

In addition to confirming the school's continuing commitment to the programmes and approaches already being implemented, the following statement was made:

> *The information* [sent to us] *constitutes an accurate account of our perceptions as regards the problems discussed* [during the interview] (Principal).

General comments:

Informants at all three schools remarked on the similarity of response, in very many cases, between the three schools; of the uniformity of experience and interpretation of factors at the different institutions despite the absence of prior communication between them; and of the sense of professional encouragement that was created by the realisation that colleagues at other institutions were experiencing, by-and-large, the same difficulties as themselves, and generating similar strategies to deal with them.