

**NON-RACIAL SCHOOLING IN SELECTED
CAPE TOWN SCHOOLS:
LANGUAGE, ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE LEARNING**

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Anne M J Schlebusch

Supervisor: Prof D N Young

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ABSTRACT

This study examines some elements of the language environment, language learning processes, and language inter-actions between child and teacher, and child and child in the changing South African education system. As more classrooms become non-racial, new dimensions are arising in language use and in learning: classrooms are perforce multilingual as different language groups come together to receive instruction through the medium of English. What dynamic do these multilingual elements bring to the standard classroom?

I focus on part of the Standard Six population of 5 Western Cape English medium schools. The schools are different in many respects and similar in others; some have more Black pupils than others. By using a variety of research methods, including questionnaires, worksheets, personal observation, interviews and essays, I explore the experiences and attitudes of pupils, teachers and principals.

My object is to try to identify trends: to look for positive features arising out of present classrooms and to look for possible points of tension as well, in order to extract central features to analyse. These are highlighted, and cross-referenced with relevant international studies, as matters of interest for practitioners in the classroom and for education planners.

The field is immense : the study essentially provides a broad-based platform for further research. I tried not to have any preconceptions about what I would find, so made it a comprehensive and far-ranging study. It uncovers important elements which teachers and schools may attend to, relatively easily, indicates the importance of development of one's Mother Tongue and exposes deeply-felt emotions about Language and identity. It asks questions about Bridging Programmes and about the language of the teacher in the classroom and in testing. I also ask about the future of English in this country, about feelings about learning Afrikaans and about learning Xhosa.

The main target in the recommendations is the teacher, as the generator of learning opportunities in the classroom. I call for more specific communication between teacher and pupil and the evolution of child-specific language learning processes. It is every teacher in every classroom who needs to adjust consciously to the new classroom profiles.

Differing patterns clearly emerge from the schools with different intake profiles. This suggests the need for further studies to examine these findings for generalisability. The situation in schools is both volatile and exciting, calling for concrete and imaginative attention to aspects emerging from the personal, perceptive and wide-ranging input of the sample studied in this research project.

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CHAPTER 1: General Background: Posing the Question

THE RESEARCH QUESTION:

Given South Africa's present education dispensation in its embryonic non-racial stage, what language education factors are beginning to emerge from and impact on non-racial¹ classrooms?

BROAD FOCUS:

The focus is on the Language education environment and associated features of Standard Six (first year at High School) Cape Education Department (CED) pupils at 4 Model-C (previously White² and state) schools and at 1 previously designated Coloured (Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives - DEC) school.

REASONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE DEC AND MODEL-C SYSTEMS

Although South Africa may only be in an interim phase for state-aided education, we have already experienced nearly three years of a state or state-aided education system, with the previously statutory segregation of race groups no longer enforced.

Certain privately funded schools had been "opened" to all races since 1976, but statutory changes from January 1991 introduced a far more affordable, broader-based

¹In using 'non-racial' I distinguish between classrooms previously organised on a racial, discriminatory basis and the present racially mixed classrooms, where, theoretically, there is no such discrimination.

² For practical purposes I need to refer to the various racial groups in South Africa : White; African; Coloured and Indian (these last three groups referred to, collectively, as Blacks) - South African Institute of Race Relations terminology.

possibility for Black pupils to enter previously White schools. Although these non-racial, State-funded models lasted only until semi-privatised schooling was introduced in August 1992 (prompting steep fee increases), figures released in Parliament in 1993 (Weekly Mail, October) indicate that about 60 000 Black pupils are in Model-C schools. While this may seem insignificant in terms of the 10 million pupils altogether (8 million Black, 1992), it is a massive increase on the 7 000 of 1992.

DEC schools could enrol African pupils from 1985, but it was only in 1991 that numbers saw a sharp upturn. Hence here, also, integration is in an embryonic phase. The separation of groups in South Africa has been so extreme, and so prolonged, that developments in education demand study and analysis of their implications for the future. Any future system will necessarily involve racially mixed classrooms, so research in this area is vital.

BROAD SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

Liberation before Education:

Medium of instruction (MOI) triggered wide-spread uprisings of Black pupils in Soweto, Cape Town, and elsewhere, in 1976. This turmoil caused the reversal, in 1979, of the State decision that certain subjects be taught through the medium of Afrikaans. Since then there have been sporadic interruptions to schooling (sometimes sustained boycotts), with another major upheaval in 1984, giving rise to slogans like *Liberation before Education* and to speculation about the so-called *Lost Generation* - pupils who failed to complete their schooling because of general disruption.³ The 1991 Matriculation pass rate for Africans was only 41%, compared with 83% for Coloureds, 95% for Indians and 96% for Whites.

³ Unless otherwise stated all statistics in this section will come from the 1992/93 publication of the Institute of Race Relations. See Bibliography.

Conversion to State-aided Education:

By December 1991, 174 previously Whites-only schools had been closed. An estimated shortage of 4596 Department of Education (DET - African schools) classrooms by the end of 1992, showed a system in turmoil.

In August 1992, the majority of White State schools (2044 out of 2082) became semi-privatised "Model-C" schools, empowered to decide their own selection criteria. This promised far-reaching effects: financial stringency could prompt more aggressive enrolment of Black pupils; for schools struggling to keep numbers up (in order to keep functioning at all) and those keen simply on an affirmative action programme, new rules offered scope for changed enrolment patterns.

The advent of Model-C schooling⁴ was sharply and widely criticised. The Conservative party called it *a recipe for disaster* (in Institute of Race Relations: 592) and a Democratic Party spokesman said it was *damage control at its very worst* (ibid). The NECC said (ibid:593) it was a ploy to erode the fundamental right to free education and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) said (ibid) one now would have to buy one's way into the system. The African National Congress (ANC) opposed (ibid) the change, arguing that it would equate access (to education at previously White schools) and privilege.

Recent Developments:

- significant retrenchments for staff of Model-C schools (1992)
- contentious moves for retrenchment of Coloured teachers (1993),
- major DEC and DET teacher boycotts (about conditions of service)
- inequities still present in per capita expenditure (African R1248; Coloured R2701; Indian-not available; White R4448)
- massive proportion of national budget spent on education (19,3% in 1992/3)

⁴Note: Used here as a descriptor, although this system is presumably soon to fall away in its present form.

Blacks' Attitudes to Model-C schooling:

There is some community resentment of the Model-C system. Certain families make massive sacrifices for children to be enrolled at these schools - often financial, often social (antagonism because families are seen to be taking a selfish option, while Black schools are still in turmoil). The move has seldom been made lightly.

The apartheid legacy of residential segregation is important: the Model-C school is a neighbourhood school only for the handful of the Black middle classes who have moved into White areas. Black pupils generally have to travel, often great distances, to reach their new schools, increasing social upheaval and alienating those remaining at their local schools.

In schools, Whites are seen to be the power elite (schools staffed by Whites). Only a few previously White schools have enrolled pupils in proportion to national population figures. This imbalance strengthens the impression that these are White schools, graciously admitting only the elite.

Status of Blacks in Model-C schools:

Schools have embedded traditions and, despite the fact that we are a society in transition, these are not going to change overnight. The 1990 Department of Education and Culture, Administration House of Assembly document on Additional models for the provision of schooling said (Point 3.7): *A change in the admission policy of a school may not detract from the traditional values and ethos of such school.* This still permeates thinking, behaviour and attitudes.

GENERAL LANGUAGE BACKGROUND TO THIS RESEARCH⁵

Model-C schools in the early stages (1991 and 1992) of non-racial education:

Initially schools enrolled relatively few Black pupils, because legislation was changed too late in 1990 to affect the 1991 intake. Principals largely commented on the ease of the transition and on a sense of unreality, as numbers involved were small. These schools had few Black pupils in senior standards. Schools were reluctant to take chances on failure.

Some principles of decision-makers were shaped to ensure that the school would be minimally affected by the advent of Black pupils:

...one should not take a chance on a child already seen to be under-achieving at her present school...we look for pupils who have not only a real desire to join such a school, but who have a good chance of being able to cope well with the situation academically, socially and in the extra-mural areas...Standards within the school would not be compromised.

(Headmistress of Parktown Girls' High School, in Transvaal Education News-March 1991: 6).

Teachers articulated feelings of inability to cope with the perceived Language needs of their new intake. They felt there must be experts somewhere "out there" and that they had neither the time nor the vision to proceed in any creative or systematic way. Language teachers regretted that their colleagues expected them to resolve all perceived problems of understanding or expression. Reference to the so-called *language problem* predominated. Most popular "remedy" suggested was Bridging Programmes.

⁵ I base my comments here on two main sources : a weekend seminar, arranged by the Open Schools' Association (late 1991), attended largely by principals from about 20 Western Cape schools, and to 3 seminars for English Teachers (1991 and 1992).

Classroom methodology shifts and decisions about content and nature of help to be given to the *disadvantaged* pupils were occurring in an ad hoc manner. No guidance from the Education Department was forthcoming. The Open Schools' Association provided some general tips about Language and started planning future (expensive) Training programmes.

Multiculturalism and Multilingualism

Multilingualism in this country is a socio-linguistic fact. Education systems will have to adapt to this. Presently the term *Multicultural* is used loosely in schools and by organisations to mean a multitude of things. As racial, and hence language, mix on a large scale is a novelty here, *Multiculturalism* has become both a buzzword and a screen. The word euphemistically veils realities and allows schools which are simply racially mixed to represent ANYTHING they are doing as multicultural and to make well-meaning but dangerous observations about being *colourblind*.

They forget that in being colour-blind you are being, or need to be, blind to a core and not to something peripheral.

My teacher is always telling me that she does not see my colour and that she treats all children the same. If she does not see my colour, then she does not see me.

(a child, from Ramdeen, L, cited in Klein, G. 1993: 128).

They gloss over the traumatic socio-historical background of the oppressed communities, now moving awkwardly and eagerly into a new society. Calling schooling "non-racial" is immediately a pretext for ignoring social realities that must, at least in the initially exploratory phases, be made explicit in classrooms. The concept of true non-racial education lies unexplored (in White circles). It is a source of concern that these distinctions are treated so lightly.

Language Policy, Bantu Education and Antipathy:

Ever since the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which imposed Mother Tongue (MT) education in African Primary schools, there has been argument that this was an inferior education, designed to divide the African people on tribal grounds (Desai, Z.: 113).

Before January 1993, African pupils were instructed in this MT until the end of Standard 2, followed by a change to English (or Afrikaans) as MOI. From 1993, parents could choose the MOI. This clumsy approach to a policy problem and the nature of the actual decision (with many parents choosing the "straight-for-English" option) are sharply criticised in many quarters.

African pupils moving from these DET schools to schools where others have had all their schooling in English as a First Language (L1), must find themselves at a linguistic disadvantage.

Language and Nationalism:

How come you're Black and you don't understand your own language?

(Schlebusch, A: 1993)

Has a nationality anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought domain, its tradition, history, religion and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good. With language is created the heart of a people.

(Herder, J , cited in Fishman, J. 1973, introduction).

In a changing kaleidoscope what happens to MT and identity?

What should post-apartheid re-structuring do to address this question?

MOTIVATION FOR THIS RESEARCH:

Given this general Education background, and that Language and Education are inextricably intermingled, a study of evolving Language issues seems essential. With South Africa poised to create new language syllabi this study is well-timed to ask the questions below, in attempts to generate practical suggestions.

- Does South Africa indeed have language-related problems in the classroom? What language-education factors impact on the education of Black pupils in previously White classrooms?
- Do international research and insights suggest anything helpful?
- What does the advent of mixed classrooms introduce regarding language attitudes and language use?

THE RESEARCH ITSELF:**Pilot Studies:**

In anticipation of this research, I undertook two earlier related studies (May/June 1993).

1. One involved language and culture, where I interviewed 5 Black girls extensively, canvassing opinions on language, culture, prejudice, experiences in a Model-C school, and links between these, their English and their self-concept. This survey yielded rich data, convincing me of scope for similar work.
2. I also compiled a questionnaire (See Appendix 1), suggested by aspects of the NEPI report on language policies, medium of instruction and attitudes to language. This was completed by pupils at 3 schools. Responses revealed

tantalising areas for further investigation and interesting opinion shifts since the opening of schools, when compared with Young's 1991 survey of Language attitudes amongst Western Cape 15-18 year-old pupils.

Outline Description of Main Study:

I wanted to expose as many layers of the whole school language environment as possible, to identify important aspects impacting on or arising out of the currently evolving situation in schools.

The net cast needed to be a wide one. To pre-select a limited specific focus actually seemed dangerous as this might exclude important variables:

It is often difficult, and probably largely counter-productive, from an ethnographic point of view, to select certain specific facts or details beforehand, while at the same time aiming to be true to the participants' perspective and to the interactive and wider social context.

(van Lier, L. 1988: 88)

I chose to study Standard Sixes as they are still a relatively naive group, with many of the Black pupils in L1 schools for the first time. They come from various feeder schools and are probably at this age linguistically and socially in a state of flux.

4 schools (plus 1 for a pilot study) were chosen because of their different racial (and socio-economic) composition, to examine variables affecting teaching, language and attitude.

I shall be using the composite definition of attitude arrived at by Young et al (1991:5).

Attitudes are hypothetical mental constructs, acquired through experience, which predispose or influence a person to act in certain ways in response to certain objects, people, situations or issues. They are complex, consistent and deeply felt, but not immutable.

Beliefs will also impinge on this discussion. They are regarded as falling under the heading *attitude* - attitude and belief are not interchangeable; attitude can be defined as one's *feeling* about one's *belief* (Ryan, E B and Giles, H. 1982: 20)

I evolved a multi-faceted, ethnographic and qualitative research plan (involving interviews, Classroom observation and questionnaire-type collection of data) to look at:

1. The role, observations and attitudes of teachers:

Is attention to teachers' spoken and written input (**Academic Development**) rather than a critical focus on the perceived inadequacies of pupils (**Academic Support**) a promising option?

What can teachers say about the new socio-linguistic profile of their classrooms ?

2. The performance, adaptations and attitudes of the pupils:

To look **diagnostically at skills' levels** of pupils, both overall and in terms of the varying schooling to which they are being exposed, I created a series of written tests/worksheets. These also sought input on attitudes and beliefs.

What are the nature and types of pupil-verbal interactions in class and with peers?

Much research revolves around the importance of actually **talking oneself in language learning** (Levine, J. 1990: 23,36; van Lier, L. 1988: 74, 80, 133, 173; Stubbs, M. 1990: 567, 568). What is the extent and nature of verbal participation of Black pupils?

What about the **multilingual classroom** and evidence of the effect (both affective and practical) of the **use of MT**? Is MT used at all? Is its use encouraged or discouraged? Numerous studies [eg le Roux (1993: 23, 159) and Giles (1977: 27, 137, 142, 143 and 166)] examine the importance of group identity and its effect on sense of self and language learning. What is the role of MT in language and other learning? If children use MT, why and when do they? What is the effect of MT use on their **group identity** and on peer **attitudes**?

What **language learning techniques** have Black pupils evolved for themselves? How do they feel about **Bridging Programmes** and extra help? In my earlier (May 1993) study, for example, I found that the girls criticised the extra English group, feeling it had a judgmental racial basis for selection.

... there are others - White - who are not told to go to extra English - and I do better than them - and they're not told to go to extra English ...

Are **accent, vocabulary sentence and discourse structuring** being affected? Evidence about the actual situation and grassroots attitudes could give a periscopic view into the future of English in South Africa.

What about **language and identity**? This was an important issue - **who am I in/because of this new environment?**

I know I'd probably be different if I weren't at this [Model-C] school but that's too hard to think about, so, I just tell myself - I mean I'm me - that I'd be the same.

(an African girl, *ibid*).

3. The effects of differing mixes of racial groups:

How do differing racial mixes affect the whole dynamic of Language teaching and **group identity**? Does group racial composition affect **attitudes** to languages, language speakers and to the future of languages in South Africa?

POSSIBLE OUTCOMES:

This is a severely limited survey and this first wave of Black pupils is probably not a normal sample, for the socio-political reasons already outlined.

Value of pupil response:

My May 1993 research highlighted the absurdity of the fact that schemes had been planned for L2 pupils, and imposed on them, about which they had strongly-held views. Yet no-one had taken the simple step of consulting them, or letting them listen to one another. *I had no idea you guys like felt this way. I thought I was the only one!* (ibid)

In this context, we need to listen to the children's views on language-related issues.

Constructive Change through teachers:

The teachers will remain a constant in future educational developments. Herein lies scope for generalisation and the potential for this study to generate constructive change. Teacher unease about new classroom profiles is so pronounced that research seems imperative.

CHAPTER 2: A Review of the Literature:

FOCUS: the disadvantage or the child?

Disadvantage is a popular coinage in South Africa. I suggest this focus on deficit needs more analysis. Knapp and Shields (Phi Delta Kappan, June 1990) say we must examine what is implied by focusing on the presumed "deficits" of disadvantaged children because

a focus on the poor preparation of disadvantaged children often distracts attention from how poorly prepared the school may be to serve these youngsters.

(p 754)

This concentration of focus on dysfunctional communities or families, while it may be apt in limited cases, should be replaced as a perspective by the assumption that all pupils arrive at the school

with ways of speaking and interacting with adults and peers and with ideas about the purpose of schooling and the likelihood of their success

(p 755)

A sharp **focus on the child**, its potential and own perceptions is what I want for my study: what can the child tell us? To lose the child in the system and in the web of the assumptions of others would be absurdly complacent.

Analysis of recent journals for related research revealed interesting accounts of mixed language groups, but based on small samples (eg Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992; Li, S. 1991 and Oladejo, J. 1991). Local writing on the theme of language in linguistically-mixed classrooms is very limited: Leibowitz (1990) and Austin (1991) have reported usefully, but wrote their dissertations prior to the "opening" of schools (1991). Bot (1992), Christie (1990) and le Roux (1993) largely examine schooling and social matters in general.

As mine is a **broad-based study** of language education-related matters I therefore refer to the more traditional body of writing on aspects of:

- **Language and identity**
- **Theories about practical language learning**

I largely nominate, fairly uncritically, some areas of interest suggested by the literature. I put some to the test in my research and refer to them in more detail in later chapters.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY:

Bilingualism

Whole language programmes have been founded on the assumption that access to English offers enhanced social mobility (Williams and Snipper. 1990: 52). Black parents oppose MT tuition in favour of English immersion programmes. What happens when the home structures cannot support the bilingual situation?

Is imposed bilingualism successful only for Upper Middle Class children with strong linguistic support structures and motivation in place (eg the successes of immersion teaching in Canada)?

What does appear clearly from the literature is that successful bilingualism appears in contexts where the environment allows for the full and harmonious development of the individual and where tensions and conflict are not exacerbated by linguistic oppositions

(Baetens Beardsmore, H. 1986:116)

Lambert (1963), identified the problem of feelings of ethnic anomie, giving rise to a *subtractive bilingualism*, where the learners abandon their First Language because of the perceived benefits of merging with members of another group. Does this prevail

locally? With the current "Language-as-a-problem" orientation in South Africa should we not emphasize the positive implications of additive bilingualism?

Anomie

Baetens Beardsmore (ibid: 1986: 153) describes anomie as a *feeling of personal disorientation, anxiety and social isolation* and discusses *bewilderment and frustration brought about by the conflict of loyalties and aspiration generated* in clashes between cultures (referring to Child, 1943). Presumably the minority groupings of Africans in Model-C schools would be experiencing some of the aspects of anomie.

Researchers have also identified a crisis phase where, particularly in adolescents, a certain critical level of advanced bilingualism is reached when the learner perceives s/he is at a turning point in terms of adopting (or not) certain norms or conventions associated with the second language group.

Acculturation

Schumann (ibid:161) proposes a model of second language development, which links with anomie and is based on the social phenomenon of acculturation. The model was designed to account for the problem of differential success in L2 acquisition of immigrants but could also apply to a developing bilingualism.

Factors affecting acculturation are:

Social Distance:

- Levels of Assimilation could determine whether speakers of a minority language (presently the situation in Model C schools) have given up anything of their language.
- Cohesiveness and size of the language group determine the amount of contact between speakers of different languages.
- Social distance is also measured by the level of enclosure of language groups and possibilities for cross-lingual contacts.
- Congruence between the two cultures affects potential to learn language.
- Positive attitudes towards the community increase the likelihood of language acquisition.

Psychological Distance:

- Culture shock, disorientation created by the new environment and stress, can cause rejection of the new community and a minimizing of efforts to learn the new language.
- Ego-permeability relates to inhibitions felt in using a weaker language - the more permeable one is the more likely one is to take risks in trying out the weaker language.
- Motivation is important: types are instrumental (how can it help me?) or integrative (do I want it so I can join the community in question?). An

integrative motivation is more likely to allow for sustained effort than an instrumental one which may apply for limited time or purpose duration only.

These points posit a wealth of aspects for further investigation.

Ethnicity:

Fishman (1977: 16) says *ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders*. In Africa's linguistic whirlpool, language change has been prompting a revival of ethnic energy: I cannot omit this element. Fishman refers to mobilised and unmobilised ethnicity, as though one is always part of an ethnic absolute, with it sometimes merely dormant.

Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology

(ibid: 25).

An important social determinant as a moderator to Second Language development is the issue of **threat to ethnic identity**. At present, in the Model-C schools, African children are in a minority and many of them are struggling with scholastic requirements: what threats does this impose to identity?

(Given South Africa's turgid educational legacy, and admission to Model-C schools sometimes mythologised as "the solution" to learning difficulties, I shall need to examine carefully, for all ethnic groups, whether the *anticipated rewards of learning a second language do [not?] balance out the perceived costs in terms of loss of ethnic or cultural identity* (Taylor, Meynard and Rheault. 1977: 103).

Accommodation Theory

Studies have looked at whether or not ethnic communities choose to accentuate linguistic differences as a *symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness* (Giles, H. 1977: 323) - so-called *divergence* - or at whether disparate groups tend to a *convergence*. Accommodation theory was developed to account for changes in speech style in the course of conversations. With the present state of flux in schools and debate about the future of English I am keen to look for local examples. Similarly, pupils' use of Xhosa at schools could be either to strengthen learning processes or be the *verbal abuse* referred to (ibid:330) where the

maintenance of or switch to another language in the face of an outgroup speaker (in a bi- or multilingual setting) [could] be among the most potent forms of psycho-linguistic distinctiveness.

Community rejection of linguistic change

Segalowitz and Gatbonton state:

a community may frown upon mastery of a second language that is too native-like if there is a belief that native-like control of the language is associated with a weakening of identity with the home group and a desire to integrate with the other group.

(ibid, 337)

Each child emerges from a distinct speech community with shared norms. Guy's article (1988: 44) examines the distinction between overt and covert norms (Labov) stressing that for working class groups the non-standard linguistic norms of the group may possess some covert prestige, with an important social significance. Kroch (1988: 58) asks why some resist linguistic change despite their social mobility.

I want to look for variations on this theory: for example, are the Coloured children (suggested because of unique flavour in English structures and pronunciation) in the White majority schools retaining their preferred forms more or less than those in Coloured schools? Are they even aware of them?

TALKING AND LEARNING: PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

Mother Tongue Use:

Contemporary theorists (eg Kalantzis, M ; Cope, B and Slade, D. 1989) are concerned about the spectre of *semi-lingualism* (Hansegard, 1968), where pupils might be experiencing a cognitive void because no language is sufficiently strongly established. They are concerned about effects which emerge, sometimes only after years of uneven language development, where apparently adequately bilingual (called co-ordinate bilingualism) children find their mainstream language is not a functional alternative to MT. What the pupils are experiencing in relation to Cummins' Threshold Level (Cummins, J and Swain, M. 1986: 6) proposal (reasonable degree of proficiency in first language before being immersed in L2) seems an important area of focus. Although the actual term *semi-lingual* has a fearful connotation of a linguistic void, the notion of an under-languaged child seems a useful one.

Kalantzis et al also warn about *uncritically* hailing and entrenching linguistic diversity as that very act could lock people into disadvantage. The chief thrust of their discussion is that motivation for celebrating difference should be valid. They propose a *holistic* model of culture (ibid: 24) which details a sensitive link with language.

Mercer and Mabin (Mercer, M. 1981: 84) say that to eliminate pupil dialect forms would be impractical and dangerous because identity is bound up in speech forms. They add that pupils will reject school if their MT is regarded as worthless, urge development of bidialectism and the enthusiastic incorporation of the pupils' own language and forms.

Should there not be a *whole school policy* to acknowledge the worth of the child's own language?

Linguistic Vitality

When upwardly mobile African parents have made sacrifices of MT development to encourage their children's English skills, maybe MT vitality is affected making it vulnerable to erosion (eg when they do not have the ability to read in the MT). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977: 308) say:

the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context. It follows too that ingroup members would turn more to one another in intergroup situations rather than functioning as isolated individuals.

Their article defines structural variables most likely to influence vitality of ethnolinguistic groups as:

- status (configuration or prestige variables)
- demographic (sheer numbers and distribution throughout territory)
- institutional support (formal representation in important institutions)

Although the authors describe the continued existence of a language in a community I shall use these terms to examine a minority language in the microcosm of the school.

What about pupils talking?

A definition of *communicative competence*:

Hymes (in F Newmeyer (ed). 1981: 213) says:

We have to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner.... This competence, moreover, is integral with attitudes, values and motivations concerning language, its features and uses...

I want to explore the necessity and scope for verbal interaction. In Wells' description of MT acquisition (Wells, G. 1981: 102) he details the gradual mastery of forms through conversation, the development of the turn-taking principle and the notion of continuation of a topic (ibid: 103), emphasizing the need for mutuality and reciprocity (ibid: 115). Bridges, Sinha and Walkerdine (ibid) discuss the co-operative principle, requesting, and asking for clarification - all of these are verbal skills, developed, obviously, through verbal interaction.

Wells' own view is that *The interaction (or social) model of language acquisition holds that language learning occurs in and through participation in speech events* (van Lier, L. 1988: 74). Seliger (ibid: 80) has shown that pupils who initiate more interaction perform better on proficiency tests. van Lier details several interaction types (ibid: 171): conversation, telling, elicitation, ritual, group work and also says that it is during unplanned sequences that language is used most creatively (ibid: 214). French and Woll (Wells, G. 1981) discuss participant asymmetry which shows how the nature of classroom interaction, with a dominant teacher, can restrict pupils' verbal participation. I need to question the relevance of all these theories and to find room for implementation if desirable.

"Pseudo-questions" and "teacher talk"

Barnes (ibid: 211) has analysed teacher questioning closely and accuses teachers of asking "pseudo-questions", requiring minimal verbal (or cognitive, for that matter) input. A significant verbal distinction between home and school is that at home the child is more often the one who can initiate questions. This seems to me crucial in addressing the developmental needs of the L2 students in my study. Are they given enough scope to talk, initiate, to "be"?

"Teacher talk" is described by Sacks et al (ibid: 229) as necessitated for practical reasons: where fragmentary conversation is allowed, conversational schism tends to result.

Boggs (van Lier, L. 1988: 225) has shown how Hawaiian children are happy to contribute to chorus recitations, but are reluctant to be singled out. As the mode of instruction in traditionally Black schools depends commonly on this collective interaction with the teacher (suggested as a possible cultural preference, van Lier: 225) awareness of this is important in any analysis of teaching methods and their effect on the Black child.

CONCLUSION: QUALITY EDUCATION - A DREAM FOR BLACKS?

What has restricted access to quality education in America? Kochman (In Mercer, N: 1981, Chapter 5) cites problems with the way Blacks are intimidated when their manner of asking questions is corrected while the question itself is not answered; cultural bias in questioning; interruptions to reading to make trivial corrections; delayed access to instruction; restricted access to quality instruction (Bridging programmes or streaming - Black pupils mark time while White counterparts move on); dialect-specific testing. Reading is seen as a culturally-alien activity.

My study will attempt to take these findings and to test them in local schools. Despite South Africa's oppressive history decisions need to be *based on long term pedagogical objectives and not short term genuflection* (Kalantzis et al. 1989: 28) so research into the many aspects detailed thus far is imperative.

CHAPTER 3: Obtaining a Data Base.⁶

PILOT STUDY:

I piloted the study at the elite girls' school (School E) where I teach, and have easy access. 50 pupils and the whole staff participated.

Since I subsequently adjusted some written questions, E will not be compared directly with the other schools. Its teacher responses will be included, however, as that sample has the advantage of being representative of the whole staff.

THE MAIN STUDY:

Selection of Sample:

The initial selection of schools could be described as a "judgement" sample (Oppenheim, A. 1992: 43). On the basis of "knowing" the schools by reputation, I selected 4 with varying racial mix. All are co-educational, English medium schools.

School A is an elite school, achieving outstanding results in all spheres and having enormous, traditional pressure for admission. It was chosen to examine effects on Black children and on the school of their being in such an environment and in a small minority.

School B is a community school, isolated in terms of public transport and surrounded by major freeways. The community is a varied one, with homes both humble and upmarket. The school-leaving results reflect a wide range of academic levels. With the

⁶ Permission was granted by the relevant principals and the Cape Education Department.

advent of "Open" schooling, this school was well positioned to include Black children. It has a larger Black population and reflects a broader class range than School A.

School C had been losing numbers prior to the "Opening" of schools. It is relatively newly established, in a modest residential area, and near many prominent academic schools. Few candidates attempt University entrance examinations and several pupils are from children's homes or are problem children, removed from other schools. Numbers have markedly increased since 1991 and 70% of the pupil body is Black. This school, with its rapidly shifting social structure, was an important object of study.

School D is a Coloured school. It is stable in terms of pupils, staff and routine and situated away from zones affected by boycotts. There is little surrounding residential area and many pupils travel great distances, because this is the school their parents attended. The social range is substantial (similar to school B perhaps?). The examination results are good. The school has enrolled 75 African children, with a broad class representation.

Overview of sample:

Thus the only *constants* are that the pupils are all in standard six at co-educational schools and that English is the MOI. The legacy of the apartheid system and the pre-existing, self-selective factors (Oppenheim, A. 1992: 15) were variables beyond my control: previously "full" schools remain full because of their traditional clientele and only schools previously struggling because of numbers have accepted pupils of other race groups in appreciable numbers. Thus the effects of changing racial mix and of class are inextricably linked. Only an elite school's aggressive "affirmative action" policy would alter this. Such a policy would prompt (White) parental resistance, because the Zoning ruling, that pupils in the immediate vicinity be given preference for admission, is still enforced. Parents are not opposed to integration (see Chapter 4) but will nevertheless not want their own children to lose places in their neighbourhood school.

The normal "random" sample feature is absent: for practical purposes I was allocated a whole class at each school. Because I wanted to study groups including Black children, each school allocated me its most mixed class. This was often a "weaker" class, giving a satisfactory feature in fact, as the classes mostly had a similar profile with similar pupil and teacher expectations.

Data Gathering:

Because of the complexity of the field I elected to follow a "hybrid" approach (van Lier, L. 1988: 12) - both qualitative and quantitative research, with use of data triangulation. In "between method" triangulation the same data is viewed from differing angles. This ensures both a depth and a stability of features identified, because there is cross-confirmation from more than one source.

The research fell into 3 broad types:

- **Observation of classroom situations**
- **Interviews**
- **Written responses**

OBSERVATION OF LESSONS - JOINING A CLASS:

To observe the full language environment of the class selected, I attended all its lessons for at least one school day, mostly two days. I made notes and used Discourse Analysis to cope with the mass of data.

I introduced myself, making general reference to my research role. I was not a distant and unknown observer. The teachers would have a mixed attitude to me, obviously: some keen to show off a bit, and some studiously ignoring me, most probably only barely tolerating me. I would clearly experience some degree of the *observer's paradox* as noted by Labov (in Milroy, L. 1987: 59).

I was interested in the contention (van Lier, L. 1988: 74) that language learning occurs *in and through participation in speech events*. I might be able to get some sense of the nature of written work required of pupils. I would note code-switching and compare the 5 schools.

As this observation was only part of an analysis, I would not record all verbal interactions but note trends and record relevant comments. The emphasis was to be on subtle gradations and behaviours and not on an intricate account of linguistic detail. I was keen to analyse "data as *they are*" (van Lier, L. 1988: 2).

I wanted to record at first hand:

Aspects of the teaching style

- posing of questions to evoke longer or shorter responses
- glossing of terms
- attitudes to language/special needs in the room

Pupil performance

- degree of verbal or other involvement in the lessons
- nature and extent of pupil or peer interaction
- actual languages spoken in the classroom and in the corridors
- relative performance - did pupil action vary from class to class, and if so WHY?

INTERVIEWS:

I interviewed each principal, the class English teacher, the Head of English, any other interested teachers and representative groups of the pupils in the class.

Interviews with the Principals

I spoke to the principal of each school about:

- its linguistic/racial composition
- power roles held by various groups in the school (because of my interest in ethnic group identity/societal-social orientation and self-image, Pretorius. 1993: 18)
- his/her own feelings about a whole-school language policy
- selection/admission procedures (How had these evolved through time?)
- philosophies about non-racial schooling
- some sense of successes, problems and evolution of policies.

Interviews with English teachers

Here I was interested in:

- Bridging programmes or any other adaptations, schemes, successes or failures.
- attitudes
- a sense of current teacher mood
- attitudes to communicative competence, language proficiency, importance of "standards" etc
- teacher description of the impact of the new racial groups on teaching dynamics
- selection of networks and passages for analysis.

Interviews with Pupils

I used group interviews (tape-recorded) rather than individual ones, because of problems with access. I interviewed pupils in separate linguistic/racial groups to investigate **shared** experiences. My earlier research had also shown the value of useful cross-group dialogue, which could permit an interviewer to be fairly passive. Obviously there are also disadvantages to group interviews. The dominant voice can sway group attitude (Oppenheim, A. 1992: 79) and the silent ones can opt out. I would need to be aware of this tendency and to direct matters subtly.

Because affective factors can influence language development (Scarcella, quoted by Lemmer, E. 1993: 159), with possible problems arising because of lack of congruency of home and school environment I was keen to examine some of these and pupils' "Integrative motive" (Clement et al. 1982: 142)

I questioned *all* groups about:

- shared linguistic experiences
- attitudes to members of other groups - group membership and intergroup relationships are key factors in language development (Accommodation theory, Ellis 1987)
- reactions to the notion of a multi-lingual classroom
- attitudes to learning other languages
- reading preferences
- colloquialisms, accent and attitudes to "accuracy".
- perceived shifts in English, attitudes and playground talk

I asked the Black children about:

- use of their MT in learning
- need for one another (if any)
- methods of language learning
- how they felt *language across the curriculum* affected their studies

WRITTEN RESPONSES:

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

I made this (see Appendix 2) short and easy to complete, bearing in mind throughout the strictures of Oppenheim (1992). In order to woo the teachers I included a few cartoons, assured anonymity and allowed primarily for Yes/No responses (with a few other gradations: eg Somewhat, Generally, Not Sure). The questions largely asked for observations either about their or their pupils' behaviour. Intermittently I included scope for an open-ended comment.

- I asked about questioning, evaluation and **teacher talk**. I surveyed feelings about the language of texts and provision of worksheets.
- A vital section sought observations on the **degree and nature of L2 pupil participation and verbal interaction**. This also indirectly tested the nature and degree of teacher/pupil inter-relationship. It is hard to comment on such aspects unless you hear the pupil talk.

This section provides a sharp and focused platform for comparison between the schools - a central reason for the research. A picture of the ethos of each school would possibly emerge - based on long-term observations by a group of experienced professionals.

- I asked about **standards** and about attitudes to the speaking of MT in classrooms

PUPIL RESPONSES:**Basic data sheet: (Appendix 3)**

To establish a frame of reference about parental socio-economic status, the pupils anonymously provided data about parental occupation and education and their own aspirations.

Disguised Questionnaire and Essay:

As I wanted varied and unique responses, the first questionnaire was presented with a number of headings, as if it were a *planning sheet for an essay on Language and Me* (Appendix 4). Opinions on a variety of aspects (eg accent, text book language etc) were sought. I hoped the fun element would prompt fresh reactions. Some of their responses (eg on accent and language mixing) could be compared with answers on other worksheets, to check on stability of response.

The pupils then used some of these ideas to write the actual essay, so I could see which issues seemed MOST pressing (and get information on proficiency levels).

WORKSHEETS (See Appendices 5, 6 and 7)

Rather than accumulate cold, and perhaps superficial, attitude responses, I used a *worksheet* approach, where pupils reacted to information in passages. I kept the input and tasks lively and varied and the presentation playful.

I wanted a proficiency profile for each pupil and decided to interweave questions on attitude with others which required insight/cognitive/language skills. This intermeshing would disguise or muffle the test element, providing so many open-ended questions that pupils could relax and answer freely. On the other hand this very no-right-answer aspect could intimidate those keen to "succeed".

Layout:

I wanted it clear that I understood that there were questions which required varied approaches: some asked for attitudes, some for beliefs, some for cognitive leaps and some seemed to expect them to understand another language. I therefore introduced the programme carefully, explaining the system of little logos to mark different types of questions.

Scope:

There were 3 worksheets (about 1 hour each):

WORKSHEET A (Appendix 5):

The passage for study was a very parochial, British one about robins on Christmas cards (illustrated). I imagined that this theme would alienate some readers and planned to use this in the questions. I obtained most of the 50 marks for the proficiency test (30/50) here as this was the only passage entirely in English.

Although question types were spread throughout the worksheet, I broke them into categories for later analysis: there were 9 marks (out of 30) for vocabulary and idiomatic usage; 8 marks for visual literacy and common sense type questions, and 8 Multiple Choice plus 5 open-ended marks for higher order questions (requiring analytical skills). I kept them fairly easy as I had promised the school some marks.

WORKSHEET B (Appendix 6):

Firstly a passage from a comic-strip about prejudice about language or accent was given. This addressed tolerance, one of the central questions in this study.

The main piece was from a play by Athol Fugard, *Boesman and Lena* (a Coloured couple), where it is necessary to understand Afrikaans to follow the dialogue well. The piece is fairly sophisticated, so I included very clear clues.

I asked pupils what they felt about the task (and about Afrikaans and the compulsory study of Afrikaans or African languages) in multiple choice questions afterwards. I rated some answers - basic comprehension, tenses and sentence completion - used towards the overall proficiency rating (10 marks).

Further probes about attitude involved feelings about language mixing in the play and wishes for the English/languages of a future South Africa.

WORKSHEET C (Appendix 7):

The task was based on a comic-strip about Black youths, where some understanding of an African language is necessary, unless you study the pictures.

Firstly I removed the text and asked the meanings of 5 "unknown" words (*skyff, heyta, bra, umbhemi, popomalo*), requiring them to work these out from sentences, without looking at the pictures.

I also asked pupils to "correct" (into standard English) 3 sentences. I was interested in attitudes to correctness (previously asked in the essay on "Language and Me").

The chief task was to re-construct the whole comic strip, linking the words (provided) with the given pictures. I wanted to probe the enjoyment factor, so I left fairly crude aids (eg the cut out words showed bits of the pictured background), making it possible to use a jigsaw-like logic.

CONCLUSION:

By the end I had interviewed several key members of each staff and about 100 pupils; obtained written responses from over 100 teachers and 3 - 4 hours worth of written data from 180 children. I had observed about 60 hours of lessons in 5 schools.

Pupils' and teachers' responses to these interviews and tasks are presented in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4: The Schools - Adults' Views from Within and from Without

THE ADULT AND SITUATIONAL VOICE:

In this chapter, I outline the schools from the perspective of the principals and the Heads of English Departments, analyse the teacher responses to the questionnaire and record my observations from the period I spent with each class. In the next chapter the children's voice will be heard.

While I comment briefly on responses and observations, the mass of data emerging and the potential for cross-referencing makes it premature for me to analyse deeply before all the data has been exposed. Detailed synthesis and analysis in terms of the questions posed in Chapter One will be delayed until Chapter Six, where I will group discoveries under salient headings and link with the theories explored elsewhere and outlined in Chapter Two.

MATTERS OF CLASS AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

Pupil responses to questions about parental background were quantified so I could comment accurately on matters of class, particularly important when comparing Black pupils at the various schools. For the analysis I used the categories adopted by Christie (Christie, P. 1991). The figures given are percentages. The size of the sample is 30 at each of schools A - C and 31 at school D (the previously Coloured school).

TABLE 3A 1:

Employment

Father	A	B	C	D
Owner large business	4			
High Level Office	21	26		
Professional	64	26	7	17
Clerical, Sales, Service	7	4	13	8
Owner small business			10	17
Worker skilled/unskilled		30	33	38
Other		4		
N/A	4	11	37	21

TABLE 3A 2:

Mother	A	B	C	D
Professional	53	11	23	8
Clerical, Sales, Service	11	48	37	33
Worker skilled/unskilled			7	8
Housewife	36	30	13	29
N/A		11	20	21

TABLE 3B 1:

Education

Father	A	B	C	D
University/Coll.	89	33	30	22
Secondary School	4	37	30	68
Primary			3	5
Not sure	7	30		5
N/A			37	

TABLE 3B 2:

Mother	A	B	C	D
University/College	93	41	37	9
Secondary school	4	41	37	82
Primary school				9
Not sure	4	18	7	
N/A			20	

COMMENTARY:

Interesting is the strong similarity between schools B, C and D on the skilled/unskilled level for fathers, with tertiary education for fathers also similar. As many pupils at C are in special care, figures there reflect a large N/A proportion. I find the higher educational levels for mothers, perhaps reflecting something of the increasing mobility of women, very interesting. Superficially schools B - D are surprisingly close to one another, with B having a fairly broad class representation.

When parents voted (1990) on school de-segregation, the votes gave an indication of commitment. This is interesting to consider in conjunction with present non-racial enrolment:

TABLE 3 C:

	% Vote	% in favour
School A	98	95.73
School B	92.66	84.42
School C	97	89.79
School D	90.78	87.37

(Figures: Metcalfe, M. 1991)

In 1990 schools A and E and to a lesser extent B were "full", and could not enrol many Blacks, but C enrolled an additional 100 pupils, arranging a staggered increase, so as not to destabilise the school too much.

TABLE 3 D:

Present Enrolment (number of staff at each school in brackets):

School A	852 (51)
School B	862 (48)
School C	350 (19)
School D	665 (41)
School E	640 (37)

(Figures from the CED, 1993)

INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCIPALS:

Racial composition of schools:

The principals were unsatisfactorily vague about numbers of Black pupils (had made a point of not "knowing") on the whole. There are about 90 at A (about 10%), of whom 20 (about 2%) are African pupils, B has about 50 African pupils (about 5%), and C has about 30% White, about 43% Coloured and about 27% African pupils. D has about 75 African pupils (11 %) of the school population and E is similar to A, with somewhat more African pupils.

Admission:

It seems that Black pupils with poor primary school academic results will not easily find accommodation in these schools. All principals feel it important for the child's long-term self-esteem that s/he not be enrolled, simply to fail. Only at C and at D is there (some) talk of taking chances and that *We must give them the opportunity*. "Fitting in" (the right *type* of child) seems a vital criterion everywhere.

No school has an admission test as such, but B asks for a paragraph and an oral input to register language ability (which all schools regard as paramount).

A and E (7,5% of the hostel residents are African) are elite schools, where the traditional parent body exerts strong pressure for admission for children in the area. Realistically ratios of White and Black will not change much here, unless some kind of legislation enforces this. A full school remains full. Although there is careful (and conscious) enrolment of Black pupils, there is no talk of vigorous affirmative action.

Status of Mother Tongue, L2 users and L2 in the school:

No principal enforces a rule against MT use. At A and E the feeling is that use of English should be encouraged, at B he had noted the congregating of Xhosa speakers at break, at C he stresses the richness of diversity and at D although he has learnt some Xhosa phrases (eg Happy Birthday) he speaks of staff lack of understanding for the plight of African pupils. These few observations encapsulate neatly: anglocentrism (A and E); linguistic separation (B); diversity (C); and an uneasiness at D.

Only at C are pupils of all race groups clearly established in status positions, although there are good sportsmen everywhere and Hostel prefects at E. Perhaps the fact that initially schools tended to enrol junior pupils is still a factor here.

Xhosa is fully established as a subject only at A, with B and E starting it now (juniors). C offers no Xhosa, though the principal is interested in it. The principal at D, although convinced of the need to offer Xhosa, says the teacher must not be a Xhosa person, as they do not know how to teach. At some schools there are Black parents on the management council.

"Bridging" programmes:

Nowhere is there currently a "bridging programme". Various plays had been tried but abandoned because of pupil resistance of some kind (generally because of withdrawal from regular school activities or because of feeling of stigma attached to the process). At B, C and D there is reference to a language "problem". All report a period of 4 or 5 months when Black children are rather quiet and battling before "settling down".

Generally schools refer to "success" stories, at least socially, commenting on the enormous efforts of the Black children. However the 1990 intake is only now reaching matric and at D at least the principal admits grave language problems with the children straight from the "hinterland" (his reference to the "township" children). At C

the English teacher comments on the pupils' inability to construct simple sentences and everywhere teachers refer to problems with understanding "the question". A and E feel the children are more or less coping, but this could be related to the nature of their intake.

TEACHER RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE:

The staff at A, not wanting to generalise off small numbers of Black pupils, resisted completing the questionnaire. The 38% who did complete the forms were largely Language teachers, skewing the sample and declaring sections "not applicable". I have therefore incorporated here responses from the pilot study (school E) as the questions were the same, the school very similar and the whole staff answered. Generally A responses can be assumed to be similar to those at E.

At B 20 teachers (about half the staff) completed the forms and at C it was also 20 teachers, the whole staff.

Teachers at D objected to completing the questionnaire. I think they were suspicious of me and my assumed agenda. As only 7 participated, I discuss this separately.

The global pupil body at C is represented (by the principal) as having *improved* academically and socially with the advent of other race (and language) groups. Teachers interviewed informally said that they teach all their children "the same" because all struggle. This will be seen to impact on their responses.

To simplify access to the questionnaire I adopted the crude descriptor, L2, to refer to non-MT speakers of English.

1. TESTING AND EXAMINING - ACCOMMODATING THE L2 PUPIL:

[Numbers used to correspond with the numbering on the questionnaire]

1.1. Do you make special provision for students' varied language backgrounds in setting tests/exams?

At E very limited special provision (by 16% of teachers) is made when setting tests and exams, compared with the approximately 42% at B and C. Possibly they feel numbers of L2 pupils at E do not justify this.

1.2. Has your subject department agreed on any modification to marking to accommodate pupils' language problems/their different backgrounds?

Some in all 3 schools had informally discussed the matter and had loosely agreed to "be tolerant".

1.3.1. If the work has been written by a L2 candidate is it difficult for you to keep perspective when you are marking it ?

	School E	School B	School C
Yes,very		5	
Yes	20	28	22
Slightly	43	39	34
No	37	28	44

B showed most insecurity about keeping perspective when marking the work of L2 candidates (72%), compared with the 63% at E and the 56% at C.

However, overall, this is a significant response because, despite the *small* numbers of L2 pupils at E, one is already looking at a massive 63% finding it difficult to keep perspective. Despite the *large* numbers at C more than half do not yet have a routine.

1.3.2. Does marking the work of L2 candidates make your marking more lenient?

	School E	School B	School C
Much More		10	
Yes	40	32	28
Slightly	37	21	28
No	23	37	44

The table shows that 77% (E), 63% (B) and 58% (C) have difficulty in setting standards for L2 pupils. C seems to have settled into a confident practice with only 28% saying yes.

Only 23% at E say they are **not** more lenient. B (37%) is more securely placed.

These are very striking statistics: *if there is already such a powerful shift in internal standards, then what are the implications for the whole external examining system?*

The apparently confident practice at C may hold hopes that teachers will settle into solid assessment once numbers of L2 pupils increase (or may simply reflect a greater homogeneity of pupils there).

1.4. Is your evaluation process affected by concerns about acceptable standards in the external examinations?

	School E	School B	School C
Yes	61	78	47
Somewhat	24	11	35
No	15	11	18

C is again most blase with only 47% worried about external standards, compared with 61% at E and a strong 78% at B.

Again perhaps B is the most unstable at the moment. Has C worked through it ? Or is their relative tranquillity because they have fewer candidates for Matriculation Exemption?

1.5. Would you like official Education Department Guidelines about evaluation?

	School E	School B	School C
Yes	58	33	53
Suggestions	26	44	37
No	16	22	10

Paradoxically, here B is least interested (77% vs 84% at E and 90% at C).

Clearly education authorities must act. Proper (and informed) information and guidance **must** move through to the schools. Only a handful want NO guidance whatsoever (16% overall)

2. CLASSROOM PRACTICE - "TEACHER-TALK" AND TEXTS:

2.1. Do you consciously provide simplified explanations (more so than for the English First Language students)?

	School E	School B	School C
Yes	59	79	79
Sometimes	32	5	21
No	9	16	

E (59%) definitely lags here. It will be interesting to compare pupil results on proficiency tests, verbal competence etc.

2.2. How about text books? Do you feel their language is obscure/difficult?

	School E	School B	School C
Always	10	5	
Often	40	61	63
Sometimes	43	33	26
Never	7		11

Possibly in an indication of the overall expectations at E only 50% of staff find the textbook language problematic, while B and C register about 64%.

However, looked at in another way, the figure of 50% **at best** saying the language is **seldom** too difficult must have a resounding impact on the publishing world. For text to be accessible is surely the aim of an author. This conclusion by a body of teachers deserves attention: the plight of L2 pupils, to whom work may be linguistically opaque, must be serious.

2.3. Does your subject department produce alternative material eg worksheets?

Is this:

A: to give the pupils more practice?

B: to simplify the material?

C: to enrich the material?

D: to provide material which is not in text books?

E: to clarify the language used in text books?

All schools produce worksheets between 60 and 70% of the time (another message for publishers). The most important reason (overall) is to **provide material not in the text** (93% "yes"). The second reason is to **give more practice** (90%) and the third to **enrich** (85%).

This interesting selection sidelines both items I thought important for the second language pupils: the options to **simplify** (68%) and finally to **clarify language** (64%).

While teachers **do** care about text book language matters, each school gave this option bottom slot, so one must assume that other matters are thought more pressing.

3. L2 PUPILS' CLASSROOM PERFORMANCE, GENERAL INTERACTION: WHAT TEACHERS HAVE OBSERVED:

I see this section as contributing enormously to our understanding of what is happening in the classrooms. Here teachers at five schools, who are teaching daily, convey their observations of classroom interactions. Such sustained analysis of minutiae would be impossible to conduct on an experimental basis or over a limited observation period.

3.1. In class, do L2 students contribute to general discussion (hands up; calling out answers etc)?

	School E	School B	School C
Generally	31	22	40
Sometimes	23	39	55
Seldom	40	39	5
Never	6		

E (31%) and C (higher, at 40%) feel the pupils *generally* contribute to the classroom discussion, as opposed to 22% at B. Perhaps the pupils at E are perforce assimilated and the C children are simply liberated by their numbers and the general composition of the class. Perhaps the B children are inhibited at this stage in the process.

The hunch about C pupils is confirmed by the ratings for *seldom* with A, B and E all at about 40%, compared with a mere 5% at C. This is clearly a massive difference. The social issues require discussion here - why are C pupils so much more at ease than their counterparts, who are in the minority?

The question is whether sheer pupil number shifts will make a similar difference to all schools. Will the global status afforded in schools to members of other language groups and to their languages affect classroom performance?

Reference to the table indicates that B, with the second highest number of Black pupils, does show slightly higher percentages (on *generally* and *sometimes*) than the schools with only a few Black pupils. It will be interesting to examine this further when assessing pupil performance.

3.2. Do the L2 students speak in their home language to each other?

	School E	School B	School C
Generally	46	70	60
Sometimes	29	18	30
Seldom	17	12	10
Never	8		

70% of B teachers say the children *generally* speak to one another in MT. The B children described a strong picture of linguistic separation at breaks and linguistically segregated groupings within the classroom (as far as they knew). The principal confirmed that Xhosa pupils tend to group together at breaks. This socialisation could be what is affecting linguistic patterns. The custom of not speaking English is more true of the junior classes, where they have higher ratios of Black pupils than in senior classes: the tendency is perhaps affected by pupil numbers.

The difference between B (70%) and C (60%) is possibly that Black pupils at B, being fewer in number than those at C, feel more beleaguered than their counterparts. Alternatively this is perhaps simply a feature which has developed at B.

Looked at differently, the 60% vote at C is surprisingly low.

3.3. Do L2 students chat informally to L1 students?

	School E	School B	School C
Generally	50	44	65
Sometimes	30	56	35
Seldom	20		

This is a particularly interesting question: it is really asking about a degree of socialisation. The picture already developing remains consistent : 65% of C teachers feel L2 pupils generally chat informally to English-speaking students as opposed to 50% (E) and only 44% (B). This indicates a most relaxed relationship at C.

3.4. Will L2 students answer you, in classroom discussion, when asked?

	School E	School B	School C
Generally	66	67	95
Sometimes	34	33	5
Seldom			

The most positive indication of a relaxed approach by the pupils at C comes from this question. The response is 95% "generally" as opposed to 66% at the other schools.

Interestingly, A teachers also record a high positive vote here, this response possibly reflecting the academic worth of the pupils at A.

3.5. Do the L2 students initiate class discussion by raising a point of interest or asking for a public explanation?

	School E	School B	School C
Generally	3	6	16
Sometimes	47	24	53
Seldom	41	65	26
Never	9	5	5

C's positive profile continues, with 16% answering *generally* to this as opposed to only 3% (E) and 6% (B). All told, 69% (C) and 50% (E) will initiate such discussion *generally* OR *sometimes* as opposed to only 30% at B.

I am not sure why there are so few at B, unless the linguistic clustering in class means that pupils help one another more. The pupils did admit to helping one another frequently. They regretted that they sat together and spoke so much Xhosa at the expense of English. I discuss this further in chapters 5 and 6.

3.6. Do the L2 students sit anywhere special in the room?

Generally they do not sit anywhere special in the classrooms. Teachers at all schools commented that Black pupils sit *together*.

3.7. Have your L2 students' accents modified to fit in with those of their classmates?

	School E	School B	School C
Yes	9		11
Somewhat	50	28	17
No	17	28	56
Not sure	24	34	17

59% (E) felt pupils' accents had modified or somewhat modified. I expected the biggest weighting here. Both B and C recorded 28%. Only at C (56%), though, are teachers so sure about actually saying *No* (vs 17% at E and 28% at B).

SUMMARY:

Apparently C pupils are most relaxed in linguistic performance in the classroom and with peers. The B pupils may be affected by a climate of social and hence linguistic separation. It is important to note that they are very happy and not finding school a problem, they tell me. E pupils seem to perform much as one would expect from a group which is numerically small - compulsory interaction with the L1 pupils and strong assimilation.

4. GENERAL:

4.1. Are you making a conscious effort to "preserve standards in language"?

	School E	School B	School C
Definitely	16	17	
Yes	48	47	72
Sort of	34	18	22
No	2	18	6

Figures at E and at B are identical, with 64% saying *yes* or *definitely*. It is at C, though, that opinion is strongest, with a 72% *yes*. I wonder if this is because they feel language standards are being seriously eroded?

4.2.1. Is language teaching the preserve of language teachers?

Here I test the common cry of language teachers that other staff leave language work to them. The vaguely ambivalent response

(*No* by 85% [E]; 82% [B], and 79% [C]), instead of the ideal 100%, is therefore quite interesting.

4.2.2. Do you correct language errors in written work?

	School E	School B	School C
Often	74	82	58
Sometimes	24	18	26
No	2		16

This was the logical sequel to 4.2.1., yielding the interesting response of 74% (E) for *often*, a firm 82% (B) and a mere 58% (C).

It is interesting to speculate about the effects of this pattern on the pupils and about reasons for this attitude. Will the fierce grip by the teachers at B prevent the widespread difficulties that one suspects accounts for the approach at C? Are the teachers at B pushing for accuracy strongly because they see standards threatened?

Another perspective raises questions about the support given to language teachers and simply to the language development of the pupils themselves. Should other teachers commit themselves more to language awareness?

4.3. How do you feel about pupils speaking their home language in your class?

	School E	School B	School C
Extremely Happy	12	13	
Happy	67	68	43
Not very Happy	15	13	57
Very unhappy	6	6	

At E the tendency was to embrace the MT, with 12% feeling *extremely happy* and 67% *happy*. Only 6% were definitely *very unhappy* (stating *they have come here to learn English*, glossing over other social and historic motivation).

Important is the significant 57% *not very happy* at C, with nobody there *very happy*. Teachers were keen to comment here on feelings of being excluded if other languages are used. There is no school policy to prevent MT communication - the principal, an Afrikaans teacher, consciously stresses the power of variety.

I found the C teacher attitude fascinating - they have a significant number of Xhosa speakers and this is the attitude which has developed. Is the E approach destined to alter with the advent of more Xhosa speakers? Is the time coming where conflict might arise at C because of this feeling by the staff? The remarks were serious and concerned, not illiberal, but the fact remains that this is a source of concern and of interest for the classrooms of the future in South Africa.

At B the figures are surprisingly almost identical to those at E and do not fall between the others or occupy a more extreme range.

At all schools strongest resistance to MT use comes from Afrikaans teachers, who say they are there to teach Afrikaans. English teachers also say that they teach "English". I think the shift will have to move to *I have to teach the child*.

4.5. Do you feel the questions asked on this questionnaire are generally relevant or irrelevant to your situation?

Answers followed situations at the schools clearly with 55% yes (E), 71% (B) and 83% (C). Reasons given for "not relevant" at A and E were largely related to pupil numbers.

SCHOOL D RESULTS:

As only 7 teachers responded, I report briefly. They (83%) agreed with the others in seeking official guidelines on assessment of work of L2 pupils. Most (71%) joined the majority of others in saying their marking was somewhat more lenient for L2 pupils.

66% said that L2 pupils seldom or never initiate classroom discussion. Only C had a much better average here with 31% in this category. At D there was the strongest "no" to whether pupils had modified accents with 80% (vs 28% average on all 4 others). [Yet it is here that pupils **themselves** report the **highest** level of experimentation with accent].

All (100%) agreed that African pupils speak to one another in their MT. This linked with the impression of 60% of them (vs 6% overall average) that the pupils "seldom" use the general colloquialisms of the others. Apparently L2 pupils speak very little English informally, remaining socially and linguistically isolated.

GLOBAL REMARKS:

Is C in a situation that B (in flux) and A (fewer Black enrolments) are not really facing yet? What are promising or disturbing features at C ? Do we all need the type of questions and angst prevalent at B to keep feeding honest responses? Can this study make some suggestions to help circumvent problems?

The general pupil interaction seems most relaxed at C. Is this largely/solely because of pupil ratios (either in class or in the school as a whole - eg pupils of all race groups are clearly in positions of power and admired at C - no tokenism) or is there some other feature (eg uniformity of ability levels, similarity of class structure/family background etc) responsible for the comfort at C ?

If significant proportions of language groups, as at C, are what is needed for pupil language performance to become relaxed, and if certain schools are not going to increase their Black pupil numbers significantly, then what alternative measures can they adopt?

RECORD OF MY OWN CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS:

I now juxtapose some of my own classroom observations against these teacher opinions. I spent one or two days with each class, attending all lessons. This gave me an ideal opportunity to observe teacher language and general language interaction. I shall first make general remarks and then isolate some specific lessons and subjects for analysis of their particular problems or power to excite.

Use of MT in social and educational interaction:

At A there was only one African pupil in the class, a girl from Nigeria. At E there were occasionally two. Overall, the many Coloured pupils (66) generally spoke English, or their accustomed mixture of English and Afrikaans. Therefore my main observations, under this heading, will be based on the 17 African pupils I saw at schools B,C and D.

At all schools the children used their own languages in the corridors and whenever the opportunity arose in class. There was a fairly steady undercurrent of Xhosa conversation at B, C and D, generally connected with work. At D a teacher asked the child who was better at English if she were helping the weaker one and approved this. While this was probably most useful, it is also interesting that the teacher actually abnegated personal responsibility for sorting out this problem. One teacher resented pupil aid and said *I just told him and I said it in English and you're saying it again in English!*, seemingly affronted that the (African) child was not even using Xhosa.

One particular boy only looked remotely alert and at ease when he found a chance just to chat, in Xhosa. At each school there were apparently some "more" and others "less" verbal in English (I shall call them MV and LV) children, with the quieter ones very dependent on the verbal ones, who were sometimes reluctant to break concentration to help, yet generally did. In each case the African children either all sat together or sat together in certain pairings or groupings.

The short explanation for membership of each category is: those who had been at White schools for longer were far more verbal and hence more flexible in social groupings. When these MV children were pre-occupied or talking to the others then the inarticulate LV children just kept absolutely quiet. The LV children appeared to work very slowly indeed. In a Maths class I found one could not even multiply 5×3 but the teacher had not uncovered this, describing the child as naughty and idle.

Verbal interaction with the teachers:

The MV children (only) were at all times happy to contribute when asked directly, and frequently put up their hands. They asked their own questions when the teacher was circulating but not in public forum. The LV children generally froze when questioned directly, frequently not saying anything at all.

The language of teaching and testing:

The teachers generally use a reflex glossing: use a word then rephrase simply. Often the word was marked out *This is a funny word. It means...There's that funny word again.* I was amazed at the number of complex words and the extent of idiomatic usage, eg *debt bondage, emancipation, rings a bell, systematically, gone haywire, demarcated, meridian, explain the underlying principle, aesthetic value.*

The most obvious distinction between the teaching at schools B,C and D (all similar, except for more rote, corporate "calling out" of answers, orchestrated by teachers at D) and that at A and E was the type of questioning used. I am particularly interested in the nature and frequency of verbal interaction required of the L2 children. If questions **only** require straight recall or if the entire programme is teacher-spoken, then when is an extra stretch required of the child? The classes at A and E were regularly (not invariably) asked more open-ended questions, requiring an extended verbal input of the child. Group work (even for Maths) was also favoured at these schools.

Some teachers used a colourful mix of English and Afrikaans and I find this an interesting issue. One child spoke rather wistfully of the fact that they only hear Afrikaans from their subject teacher. In the haste to affirm African languages people must not underestimate the effect of this codeswitching too. The teacher who said *they were all sommer sold and stomp around* was not making herself incomprehensible and in fact maybe was enhancing her power to communicate. The Coloured community have long "authorised" such taal-switching and I certainly noted well-tolerated use of Afrikaans words by teachers, previously unthinkable in our pseudo-British system.

Afrikaans : Problems for some, massive affirmation for others.

In every school African children battled with Afrikaans. When two teachers used oral groups pupils responded cheerfully to the challenge, but their work was extremely threadbare (a few very poor sentences), which was glossed over by the teachers.

One Afrikaans teacher at C described a multilingual technique of using parallel African Language and Afrikaans texts (African stories translated), with dramatically powerful effects on her Xhosa-speaking pupils, who *suddenly came alive*.

In Afrikaans classes the transformation wrought in the Coloured children is hard to capture in words. The silent, passive or frankly naughty child of other lessons here blooms and rejoices in its power, yearning to answer every question. This forces recognition of rewards inherent in a system where one's control of one's own language is the generator and the electricity all in one. Here the Afrikaans or English/Afrikaans LV child outstripped any MV child in one eager lunge.

When DID the African Children respond?

There were 4 situations where the African children palpably blossomed. There is no doubt that these were exceptions to the normal classroom pattern.

1. In a Library period where the teacher had constructed a task which was really a multi-cultural one, they revelled in the opportunity:
 - to be on equal footing with others (all had to look up data - they literally ran to the shelves when the order was given and elbowed out the opposition, although they were otherwise a restrained group. The Coloured boys joined in this surge to the shelves).
 - to help when the teacher had set a "Zulu"-oriented task and had erred in the use of a Zulu word
 - to work in groups (own language; could ask the teacher for individual help)

2. In an Accountancy period where the teacher spoke in a teasing pidgin Xhosa (just a few words but liberally interspersed in the lesson). The teacher was Afrikaans-speaking and actually rather rude to the children (he called one boy a baboon in Xhosa, then said the word for boy was very similar and he could choose whether he was a baboon or a boy), frequently adopting a jocular mock Xhosa accent for his English. Yet, in two full days of observation, this was when the African children's faces fairly blazed with interest. They sat at the front calling out answers to every question. Those previously passive passengers were transformed and actually controlled the momentum for the group. I must ascribe their buoyant mood to the teacher's style and, presumably significantly, to his saying, however crudely, in his use of their language: *I see who you are.*

3. Fascinating was the transformation, in an English lesson, of a girl recently from the Transkei, who was miserable in all lessons (except the Library class in 1 above). She emerged entirely from her shell to gyrate and sing in an oral presentation. The groupwork had stimulated these girls (all the groups were racially segregated by choice) to create Television interviews with (Black) performers and to mime and dance to hit songs. Clearly groupwork and the exploitation of drama, song, movement and mime deserve much attention.

4. In a Science lesson, where the class swept off with creative answers to rather clever, higher order questions, requiring extended answers, which were sensitively acknowledged. I think that here the secret lay in this open-ended and peaceful voyage where everyone's remark was acknowledged as important. Here also the teacher specifically said that the Xhosa speakers were working well (and better than some English counterparts).

SUMMARY:

Undoubtedly the generally subdued pupils were sparked by:

1. The teacher's use of their language or references to their language
2. Group work
3. The *Zulu* ("Multicultural") exercise
4. Open-ended questioning allowing for free talk
5. Definitely by opportunities to *perform* (dance, enact, sing or mime).

CONCLUSION:

Clearly teachers are seeking guidance. They are reflecting on the changing educational situation and confused about their roles.

White teachers in particular are driven to find a philosophical position for themselves: either **I treat them all the same** (denial of difference, often motivated very nobly) or **somebody must do something** (denial of personal responsibility, but recognition of a problem).

Coloured teachers seem to have less guilt or sense of personal liability and respond to the African pupils in more rational, uninvolved terms: **they should not come here straight from township schools** (their problem is theirs) or **we have a real problem here but the other teachers do not understand** (I care but I'm in a minority, and therefore the little I could do would not be enough).

Bearing in mind the experiences and complex attitudes of teachers it will be interesting to unravel pupil attitudes in Chapter 5 and to draw the strands together in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5: Pupils Talk about themselves, their Learning and their Attitudes.

Why are people afraid to say 'Black'? a voice asks. Yes. I know I'm Black. I'm proud of it. Me too. Questions of group identity and language attitude, discussion of learning methods and ideas for the future form the core of this chapter.

TEST RESULTS:

They wrote tests, with proficiency-type questions interspersed amongst attitude-type questions. These worksheets were administered by teachers. Unfortunately at D (and to a lesser extent at A) the children were not really committed and did not answer all the questions. This factor makes generalisations about scores a bit questionable but I shall discuss the results, as a foundation for this study. Figures in brackets are scores of the African children in each group. At A there are 3 Coloured/Muslim children (generally with other languages in their background - Afrikaans, Arabic etc); at B (7) and at C (14).

TABLE 5 A:

Schools

Test description + totals for subsections (TEST/50 marks)	A n=30 (1)	B n=30 (5)	C n=30 (7)	D n=31 (5)
vocabulary/idiom (9 marks)	5.1 (7)	3.4 (4.2)	2.8 (2.8)	3 (2.4)
visual literacy/general knowledge / simple comprehension (8 marks)	5.5 (6)	4.4 (3.8)	3.8 (3.6)	3.7 (3.2)
higher order comprehension (8 marks)	4 (4)	3.96 (3.8)	3.4 (3)	3 (1.4)
Total (30 marks, includes 5 marks for longer comprehension questions)	18 (21)	13 (12.8)	12 (11)	11 (7.6)
Worksheet B (English and Afrikaans (10 marks)	4 (6)	2.7 (3)	2.17 (2.14)	2.3 (1)
Worksheet C (African language/comic) (10 marks)	6.8 (10)	6.8 (5.3)	7.5 (8)	6.3 (5.8)
Total (50)	29 (37)	24 (19.6)	21 (21)	18 (12.8)
%	58 (74)	48 (39.2)	42 (42)	36 (26)

ANALYSIS OF TEST RESULTS:

The African child at A is the daughter of a Nigerian English academic. She came to South Africa at the beginning of the year. Her scores are so high that analysis is not very pertinent to this study, except perhaps insofar as they are an example of attainable excellence.

The schools fall into 4 distinct categories, with the **African pupils** generally scoring below class average. As their parents are in similar categories with a full range of occupations (from professional to petrol pump attendant) and qualifications (from 1 primary at D to mostly High otherwise with 6 college educated mothers at C) some variations are interesting:

1. The relatively higher score for vocabulary at B. All these African pupils recorded extensive "self-help" dictionary and reading programmes. Also more of them had been at a Model-C primary, with more exposure to an L1 environment.
2. D's poor performance on higher order questions. This was extended into the section requiring them to fill in answers (5 marks) where they made little effort. Poor results could be related to their attitude to completing the worksheets. However their essay writing was also very poor in terms of skills, although rich and fresh. Scores could link with their poor vocabulary skills: to their exposure to English in general.
3. The effort of the pupil at A on the "English and Afrikaans" section (Appendix 4) shows clearly how comprehension depended on simple logic (she only started Afrikaans this year). Numbers of D pupils did not try or copied one another's work - again a feature of how uncommitted they were.

The results on this were disappointing to me. I had hoped that the Afrikaans pupils would excel but the probing quality of the questions ruled out good performances, it seemed, unless they were also good at reasoning/English.

4. The generally good performance on inserting words into a comic strip (Appendix 5) is heartening. Almost every African child independently mentioned enjoying comics so exploitation of this is indicated.

Significantly the scores (for all) were most even in the 2 sections requiring some visual literacy.

Africans' test scores close to each school's average: Implications?

Each group of African pupils is scoring close to its own school average, with C confirming the impression of homogeneity in the room by scoring a perfect tie. However, scores at B and C are very close, although B has a few pupils who have been at "Model C" schools for three years and all at C are straight from either Coloured or African schools.

If one could predict that differing language skills would arise out of attendance at different schools then this would be very important. Pupils at E (whose writing was fluent and relatively error-free, who scored well in the tests and whose English is relatively un-accented) were adamant that their English skills had been enhanced by their being in a linguistic minority and HAVING to speak and hear only English. There is a clear need for longitudinal studies to look at effects of L1 schooling for African pupils at various types of school.

Comparison of Mid-Year Internal marks with Marks Obtained on my tests (August/September):

TABLE 5B 1:

School A	English	Afrikaans	Aggregate	This test
White (25)	62	55	62	58
Coloured (3)	58	53	53	50
African (1)	67	22 (new)	47	74
Overall	62	54	61	58

TABLE 5B 2:

School B	English	Afrikaans	Aggregate	This test
White (17)	48	49.8	41.8	49
Coloured (7)	39 (3 Fail)	58	41.6	41 (3 Fail)
African (4)	38 (1 Fail)	42	32.75	43 (1 Fail)
Overall	45	50.7	40.45	48

TABLE 5B 3:

School C	English	Afrikaans	Aggregate	This Test
White (10)	49	46	44.3	45
Coloured (13)	46 (5 Fail)	50	43.5	41 (5 Fail)
African (7)	37 (2 Fail)	26 (7 Fail)	39.5	42 (3 Fail)
Overall	44.9	43	42.8	42

Analysis of this Comparison:

I do not analyse this data in minute detail because of lack of space. Nevertheless the comparison introduces several important elements:

- 1) Results overall on my test are fairly close to results obtained on the mid-year examinations. This (crudely) indicates my test to be fairly **reliable**.
- 2) Results of the African children on my test are better, **relative** to their mid-year results, than results on my tests of the others. As my test contained a **high Multiple Choice component, careful selection of wording** and a clear **Visual Literacy** component perhaps it is these elements which advantage them.
- 3) Perhaps, however, the marks differ because the teachers carry an (unconscious) **prejudice** when marking the work of African pupils. They themselves comment on their difficulty in this respect.
- 4) Marks show clearly why the Coloured children are so happy with their Afrikaans classes and why the Africans are not at all happy.
- 5) School C has the most consistent averages overall, underlining again the homogeneity of that group.
- 6) Close analysis of the internal results shows that only at C are overall aggregates of the African children higher than their English/Afrikaans results would predict. If one assumes they are not working harder than their counterparts at A and B, then what makes the difference?

At C the teachers might be described as using a somewhat "restricted code" (Bernstein) in routine teaching (based on my classroom observations). Instructions were spelt out very meticulously and largely in simple terms. There was little scope given for critical analysis. The group at C was homogeneously rather weak

academically, which might have affected teaching style. C teachers largely "presented" material to relatively passive children (interactively and verbally). Perhaps the teaching style accounts for the difference; perhaps it is the homogeneity of the group. Maybe, however, the answer is primarily in the evidence of the C teachers that they generally work on providing vocabulary glosses as they teach.

The academic nature of A clearly handicaps the African child (at this stage), who, despite her good English result (67%), only manages an aggregate 20% lower (47%). Is the answer in the language of teaching and testing at that school? Will this child **eventually** advance faster than those exposed to a more limited style at C?

What accounts for the low average of the African children at B? Since their language scores are adequate, are they sharing the problem of the girl at A?

All this points in the strongest possible terms to the **need for further research**, to probe for answers to these key questions.

The specific case at D:

Test scores of the Africans at D are very poor. On observation I saw only 2 really talking in English in class. This link with verbal interaction could be important, especially as the tendency at this school appears to be infrequent use of small group work. Groups were simply children working in parallel situation, rather than working together towards a common goal. Teachers here marshalled rote, collective responses rather than answers which required elaborated wording.

Although I did not award marks to their compositions, as was originally my intention (because so many at A and D did not do them), the D syntax was generally cruder than elsewhere. Yet there was a sense of a need for English: *language is important and reading and writing. Without those three stuff⁷ you will get no where...you get so imparous if you cant speeak English (child D16)⁸*

D teachers speak despairingly of changing reading standards : children do very little reading, except for "You" magazine (short, sensational articles). *My parents do not like it when I talk English and Afrikaans mixed. They say it is not nice. (A15)*

Important data about ALL Coloured families is the reported tendency for parents to be insisting that children speak English, even though virtually every family has strong Afrikaans links. Their background is thus automatically bilingual so even though the teaching at D, say, has English as MOI, the general heritage is neither unilingual nor particularly enriched either, as the parents themselves are not strongly "English". Parents are shifting away from a perceived 'bilingual taint' rather than *through* strong bilingualism to something.

⁷ Children's own language and spelling used throughout

⁸ When I quote from a child's essay, I shall use the child's number and the code letter of the school

PUPILS' VOICE (from Interview, Essays and Worksheets)

Far from romanticising language the pupils had a very pragmatic approach to it: *I care about my language in order to matriculate and then get a job* (C9) although also some sense of the power inherent in it: *To have an extra language brings in more understanding and also increases the brain.* (E51)

Language and Identity

What is the new situation doing to those whose language now seems threatened - the present linguistic minority groups? The children talk of pride in their MT. They equate language and identity: *children must learn Xhosa..It is vital that they know who they are* (E51). Also (C3) *If they do not know their home language its the same as if they do not know who they are.* A more chilling and sadly realistic note adds: *Yes it is important to me that my children to speak my language. Because if they don't they might get killed one of these days* (C18).

Is there subtractive bilingualism or not?

Child B4 wistfully describes the agonies of trying to suppress one language in favour of another. Parental ambition for (subtractive) bilingualism is a common strand, with many children describing a programme imposed from earliest childhood and consequent gaps in their MT ability.

I tried so hard to forget Xhosa. My parents wanted me to talk English at home but I was so used to talk my home language...I enjoy speaking other kind of slenging words but not everyday because I'll get used in that slegging.... I'm a good speaking my home language but English... but don't like to talk in public or in lot of people. I can talk at home and friends...

She is a silent and withdrawn child at school. Her African friends are worried about the distance she keeps and her difficulties with English.

The Xhosa children worry about loss of MT or feel guilty about not speaking English if that is what their parents insist on *When I get home I speak English mixed with Xhosa and I have discovered when I do this my Xhosa gets less vocabulary* (E52) is echoed by *I sometimes use English to mix with Xhosa because I have been in Cape Town a very long time and I am forgetting a few very hard Xhosa words* (E14). Alternatively: *With my friend we mix english and slugging Xhosa but Xhosa is what we talk to much* (B4).

Loss of own identity?

A tit-for-tat attitude of a Coloured boy at B (11) perhaps explains his extremely active role in the Afrikaans class and gives insight into the psycho-social pressures at work for him (and several Coloured children at Model-C schools)

I got a little problem with my nervous english reading. Always in my reading a have a bit of a Afrikaans accent and every looks at me thats why I get nervous. Afriçaans is some thing they cant do write thats were I can do the same thing with them. I can read well, speak well and write well. My friends which comes from the same hometown will understand my way of talk...I like my hometown vocabulary. I like it because it sounds cool or iron in my hometown language.

His plaintive sense of two languages is echoed by a friend (B12)

Because the vocabulary that we use to that of so-called Whites and other South Africans has a big difference... I don't mean to be rasist or anything

indicating a clear linguistic polarity, although a conciliatory attitude.

These boys (both at B) show the very problems suggested by Taylor et al (Giles, H. 1977: 103) where the *anticipated rewards of learning a second language do not balance out the perceived costs in terms of loss of their ethnic or cultural identity*. Their state of conflict is further recorded under *accent and vocabulary* later.

Additive bilingualism: effects on self-esteem

On the other hand powerful exhilaration and pride are emerging and glowingly recorded: *My schooling is so fantastic because we always understand each other in class...I prefer English to improve my speaking (D4) and I feel great because some of my friend dont know the mean of the word and they will ask me the means of the words, so I feel proud.*⁹

The positive effects of bilingualism are significantly recorded by D5:

Sometimes I feel good in speaking english just to speak another language make me proud of myself than I can do anything I want to and nothing can stop

The theme of pride reverberates through D14's enthusiasm:

When it comes to speaking english I think I'm real good. English is a real cool language when I talk it I feel it because it's tomorrows language, its tomorrows jobs its everything to me. I like using big words in english I think they make me feel intellegent, words like extraordinary and superstitious. English is the best up with english up.

Child B3 (Xhosa-speaking) echoes: *I love speaking different languages. It makes me fill as if I'm clever, intelligent and I feel great.* I find this energy delightful and in contrast to the more remote sentiments of the English children. The most pressing feature to emerge from this study of Black children, in particular the Africans, is their rigorous and unfailing determination to drive themselves to mastery of English. In fact C18 boasts: *I now think in English since I started in Moraseous schools (White, Coloured schools).* [*Moraseous* seems to be *Model C*, highlighting our absurd labelling morass].

⁹ All remarks quoted from D are by Xhosa-speaking children, unless otherwise indicated.

Xhosa in the schools:

The role and status of Xhosa are important if we wish to bolster additive bilingualism and students' self-esteem.

D4, for example, boasts about her teachers' interest in her language: *my teachers don't my [mind] about language [errors] instead they wan't to learn my language.*

In all schools the Xhosa-speaking children wanted to take their own language as a subject and spoke of using it in class to help one another. At B, the Xhosa pupils, who worked together using Xhosa throughout the day, felt strengthened by that bond saying it had been very necessary initially to feel the support of others. They wished that now they could be put into other groups by the teachers "to improve their English" (an idea not popular with the LV ones).

This was NOT the wish of the C children, who were surprised at the suggestion, saying they needed one another for linguistic and moral support. Perhaps this is because at C they are in a more integrated situation, whereas at B the children feel as though they are at a "White" school, with different pressures.

At B, in particular, with its strong linguistic separation, the others said they felt alienated by the closing of the ranks of the Xhosa children. I asked the Xhosa children if they felt they might be alienating others and they laughed, saying the rest thought it "funny" when they spoke Xhosa. Two Coloured children comment on a commonly held view:

You feel very left out if other people is speaking another language. You may think that they are talking about you

(C14)

Something when my friends talk a nother language they mite talk about you that why I hate my friends talking other languages

(B14)

This sense of alienation was also expressed by teachers in their comments on the speaking of Xhosa in their classrooms, as they feared the potential for "verbal abuse" from Ingroups (Giles, H. 1977: 330). I do not think the pupils were aware of their power to exclude by recourse to their MT, although some did smilingly admit to chatting rather than working.

Xhosa is offered as a subject only at A and to juniors at B and E (compulsory for all Standard Sixes at E).

My language is very fussy..it also needs plenty of practise in order for you to be able to speak it. At school we have Xhosa as an extra subject. This really makes me feel good knowing there are plenty of people interested in my language. I find there is a great big difference between the Xhosa we learn at school and the Xhosa we speak at home with our friends. We tend to shorten things and say everything fast.

(E51).

This girl makes two important points:

- She is proud because her language (and hence its speakers) has been given **status** in the school
- She actually needs lessons to promote language skills giving her MT a **vitality** (Giles, 1977: 308) to help prevent possible erosion (because of inadequate MT skills).

Should the study of XHOSA be made compulsory in schools?

This question drew a fascinating response.

"Yes" votes for taking Xhosa as a subject

A	B	C (Coloured ave in brackets)	D	African overall	Ave
65	65	40 (21)	78	81	62

Coloured Response:

The resistance of the Coloured pupils at C compared with the liberal sentiments at D is extraordinary. Has the more sustained integration at C had a negative racist kickback, is one question? An alternative, related, explanation is that their experiences at an integrated, as opposed to "Coloured", school has strengthened their own communal, ethnic identity to the point where they feel that if a **choice** exists between Afrikaans and Xhosa, then Afrikaans must win. The threat to identity has resulted thus in a strengthening of a metaphorical laager. The D children are very keen, in interview, on "communication" with the Xhosa people.

African Response:

The reason the "African" 81% vote is not even higher is that all who voted against compulsory learning of an indigenous language **also** voted against learning Afrikaans (ie not responsive to languages in general).

White Response:

The White vote at C is also about 65%, as at A and B. A possible explanation for the Model-C vote being lower than at D is the fact that virtually all the Whites have learnt some Xhosa already, at primary school, with varied degrees of retention and with plenty of reservations about the difficulty level.

In conversation, there is a vagueness amongst the Whites about the need to learn Xhosa *for jobs*. Some are convinced but many think it will only be important one day

for their children. Some feel learning other languages should follow automatically on non-racial schooling

Well now that I am in a high school with pupils of different races and languages, I should be able to start understanding, maybe even learning to speak another language

(C10)

There are concerns about the demise of Xhosa:

I believe that Xhosa should be the accepted second language at English-speaking schools in the SW Cape....I would prefer to learn Xhosa more than Afrikaans because it feels more homely. After all if no other place speaks Xhosa and a lot of people in the SW Cape don't, the language will slowly fade away

(A2)

while E18 blissfully denies her South African position: *I think I'm going to take French because I don't have much use for Xhosa.*

AFRIKAANS in the schools:

Negative feelings about Afrikaans were strongly held, ranging from *prefer my children no to learn Afrikaanse because our country will become Xhosa-speaking soon so what is the point of speaking Afrikaanse* (A27, White girl) to *I don't want to do Afrikaans but I have to do it because the government have decided already. I do it as my second language but it is my fourth language...in the new South Africa afrikaans won't play any role* (C24, African girl).

Without exception the Xhosa children revealed a bleak battle with Afrikaans, although one or two recognised its importance for jobs.

"Yes" vote for taking Afrikaans as a compulsory subject:

A	B	C	D	Africans Overall	Ave
41	65	73	74	53	62

The reaction at A is possibly a reaction to the compulsion in the past. The support overall is fairly strong, remembering that the Coloured vote at C is 13 to 1 for Afrikaans, and that their 73% is diluted by the strong negative vote of the Africans.

The worksheet exercises invited comment on feelings about Afrikaans with 31% of Africans saying *I don't like to use Afrikaans* vs, for example, only 4% at A. While pupils generally were fairly happy to have to answer questions requiring some knowledge of Afrikaans, they thought this was a bit unfair (45%) although only 1% were *very unhappy* about this.

Teaching methodology is examined probingly. This should be addressed if the compulsion to take Afrikaans remains:

During Xhosa the teacher speaks a little bit of Xhosa and a little bit of English and I am comfortable with it. During Afrikaans the teacher speaks Afrikaans all the time and half the time I hear her and half the time I do not hear her

(A;14)

Accommodation: what kind(s) of accommodation, if any, occur?

I shall not limit this definition conventionally but will include code-switching, accent and vocabulary under this heading, as these might be most in flux in the volatile present.

Code-switching:[called language mix on the worksheets]

School A, whose pupils least use it, voted cheerfully with only 7% calling it a bad idea. Other schools had a similar rating (with about 26% strongly opposed). The children illuminated this, saying: *It mess up your language (D15); it sounds very rude (D10); if I had children I would not speak like that in front of them (C22)*. B13 is very firm: *This mixing of languages is nonsense I think. A person will understand a language better if he doesn't use a other language with it.*

On the other hand there is ebullience and a sense of fun: *Mixing language is a good thing and its cool. I mix with my Africaans with my friend but not a school (B 14)* and a White child says:

I think its great its like a whole new language (B 20)

Accent:

The children are sure about the importance of accent as a passport and an indicator of origin:

Its great to have an accent. You dont really have to say where you come from

(C7)

I feel accents are quite cool because it shows what nationality you are and it makes it a lot more fun then everybody talking just the same

(A1);

Accents in flux:

Accent was most discussed in essays. 57.5% say they have never tried to change accents. The ratings seem to be in descending order, though, of who might feel threatened [A = 85% never; B = 67%; C = 52%; D = 26%].

I find the instability at D very interesting, as they are largely cut off from MT English speakers, upsetting the theory that it is peer pressure from English speakers that precipitates the wish to change.

It is significantly the Black children at all schools who are changing or care about changing accents, and in particular the African children.

B11, who was loyal to his *hometown* speech retains his individuality:

I think my accent is cool. Why I say this is because when I look at other people speaking with a sort of rich, posh well speaking accent. I mean, whats the big thrill. I just cant see myself speaking like that. I think my or we so-called Coloureds accents are the best.

His friend, however, sees his accent as a bit of a burden:

Well my accent is like a gangsters one because of my primary school. Lots of people spoke like that. So I picked it up and now I am stuck with it.

(B10)

Home and School accents (schizophrenia?):

Several others reject their accents or describe how they are affected by companions; there are SCHOOL and HOME accents: *with my friends I usually speak cool and funny* (D14); *ever since I attended the Coloureds school my accent changed a little* (C24); *When I am around my friends I change my accent into a "cooler" one* (A18);

At E I speak like most of the others but when I am at home I speak naturally (E20).

Effects of the schizophrenic aspects of this would be interesting for further study.

Judgmental aspects: Whose accent is "In"?

If you have a accent of someone who lives at Mitchell's Plain then you are very lower class and if you have a posh accent you are a snob. I think I have a normal accent but my aunt tells me I 've acquired a posh accent from E.

(E45, Coloured girl)

Two children at B again mention judgmental aspects. It does seem to be a feature, at least in their class. *I don't think its ver nice to mock someone about how they speak or about their accents. They did not create themselves to speak like that (B4) and People's accent 's should not be jugde..some peopl'e background isn't good (B8).*

Regional (anti-Transvaal) bias shows amongst the White children and an Anglo-bias is also strong: *My accent is quiet English or as some say 'snobby, or 'pommy'. But I hate the Afrikaaner accent (E24) and The accents of some people are quite painful and their language could just barely even be considered English (E47).*

Generally the children say theirs are ordinary South African accents, plain and simple, and one at least is very proud of her efforts: *I feel great of my accent because the no school fro pronousation (D4).*

A teacher at C had noted clear accommodation, where members of sports teams, visiting other schools, ALL shifted to a common mode of speech, presenting a united front to others.

Vocabulary- what to do with it when you have it: [Hanging on to group identity]

Discussion about vocabulary and correctness reveals an uneasiness about "posh" talk:

some people at my school speak lanny, like uses the write words all the time...theres a another thing I just though of. You should all speak english propably.

(C19).

B21 has some fears:

My speach is all right but I don't have the currage to speak up in public or with people...on the odd occasion I do use an posh word here and there. I no quite a lot of posh words but don't no what they mean

and B11 (the "loyal"one) is embarrassed by his own potential:

When I used a dictionary and found a new word, I don't usually use it. I'll feel funny, embarresed.

Most L2 children ascribe great vocabulary enhancement to moving to Model-C schools: *My vocabulary has improved a lot since I came to B. I have been hearing all this big words and have been looking it up in the dictionary.*(B13)

Colloquialisms and using one another's slang:

At D there is no such language sharing, although one little boy (the one who says *Up with English, up*) teaches his Coloured friends some Xhosa words. I heard a White girl (at C) ask the meaning of *ewe* (yes), surely a really basic word to borrow. The children at A, B and E use common (White majority) colloquialisms extensively but only one exclamation *saluut*, otherwise only current at Coloured schools, had moved in to (dominate) C. The Xhosa children at C use NO general White colloquialisms.

Language learning/acquisition: the Process:

The pupils reveal a disturbing insecurity:

sometimes I hesitate to say words that I am not sur of because I feel like other peopls are going to laugh at me when I am making a mistake or when I am pronouncing the word wrongly. Even if I do that sometimes I know that some people will correct me. Even if people

always laugh at me I know that we all learn from mistakes and that no one always does things correct at the beginning or from the start

(C3).

For me some words in English are very difficult for me to understand. If a person who starts calling you stupid, because you don't know his language very well, you also have a right to call him stupid, because he also does not know your language... Sometimes you feel really bad when someone says that you are stupid, because you said something wrong. Well, he can't expect you to be correct because it's not your home language.

(C5)

I am very care about languages...you must be very careful when you don't understand languages because some people can laugh at you so that's why you have to learn to talk languages.

(C4)

I quote these at length because they get to the root of the matter. If language learning and talking the language are intertwined, then confidence must be nurtured and unthreatening opportunities for verbal communication must be provided. If children are worried about others' scoffing attitude, then they are not going to talk in public. They lose, then, on aspects bound up in communicative competence and all the ingredients of natural acquisition of language.

They may be developing only such linguistic proficiency as can be tested and measured on paper, but be deficient on interpersonal English communication skills. Study of the structure of the extracts just quoted reveals such a plethora of "errors" that purists might feel that even written proficiency is still only a distant dream.

Language Learning; Why and How are they doing it?

Motivation:

There is mixture of integrative and instrumental motivation. For most the motive is primarily instrumental. English is the passport to jobs and to overseas. Nowhere are pupils really shifting social orientation except where there are very few of their race group on the campus.

Methodology:

They are a fount of useful tips: their dedication to committed learning is quite astonishing. The African children all speak about borrowing books from travelling libraries with teenager fiction most popular. There is fair support for reading indigenous books to *learn more about one another* but the Black children in general fantasize extensively about overseas. The attitude is beautifully summed up by D14:

I always try to speak perfect and to do this I must read and read and read....I see that English is one heck of a language. It has rules, rules that I have never seen before...I like stories about teenagers like me...know what people like me in the outer world think or have in common in their heads

Dictionary use is essential, with pupils either seeking out interesting words as an exercise or reading with a dictionary on hand:

When I find new words I use them when I speak to someone. But I first find the word in the dictionary. Then I use the word when I'm in conversation. I like reading books everyday to improve my English. Without books reading say now I'm not perfect in my English. But I don't mean perfect 100%. But to know what you are reading and understand. Then rather starring at the picture don't know what's going on. I read everyday 30 minutes. Then I make a list of words that I don't understand. Then I look for the word's meaning then I write it next to it....If I don't do hunting meanings of words I wouldn't know what's going on in books. And I like writing to practice English. Like I always write to my friends and cousins.

(B3)

Thus various language learning techniques (practice - oral and written; consolidation; generating a variety of stimuli) already form part of this girl's armoury.

The children read magazines and comics (very popular), listen to music tapes and several like to read aloud. *I love reading aloud because my previous English teacher claimed I was very good in reading* (E51) shows the teacher's important role in building self-esteem. *People think I'm INSANE (to read and write so much). They wonder why I go through so much trouble to be a nerd. Why they think of it this way I do not know* (A4). [Note use of "nerd"-common colloquialism]

They like to watch television (several spoke of Tele-school and Kiddio, a programme for much younger children) and to listen to English radio, also singing along with the tunes. All these are co-ordinated activities, undertaken very consciously. They mention all the levels at which to operate: *I tried to learn.. by reading, listening to music, watching english programmes and speaking english. The thing that I do when I find a new word I look it up the dictionary and try to use it* (D3)

Language shifts in the home:

Their reports of linguistic interactions at home are interesting, especially the efforts of the parents to move to a 'better' English for their children.

The children are assuming teaching roles:

My brother and I sometimes rectify our parents to speak proper English because slang was part of their young days and is not good.

(D7)

When I learn new words I like to experiment with them on my parents or friends by using the word in a sentence especially when they don't understand what the word mean then I feel proud that I knew what the word meant and my parents and friends did not.

(E20)

The last word here has to come from B22 in his tortured hypercorrection, a feature of his English/Afrikaans background and his desire to please:

I got to be very convoluted with these two languages, by mechanism of my parents...I speak both languages, principally English and Afrikaans on a eccentric circumstance...My family can all apprehend each other ...we communicate decisive as we can all speak the equivalent languages.

Intergroup Attitudes: Shifts because of racial mixing?

I included an exercise on intergroup attitude in Worksheet B (using Afrikaans) to see whether non-racial schooling had any impact on attitudes to other racial groups. Amongst questions on the characters in the play was one about whether or not Boesman and Lena (2 Coloureds) are *poorly educated*. This is not strictly about race, but the clues to an answer would be provided by language, so an answer would be revealing.

Answering yes about Boesman were: A = 65%; B = 55%; C = 47% and D = 69%. I suspect that the children at D were indicating their rejection of the language mixing in the script or holding perhaps an ego-defensive attitude (Bouchard-Ryan and Giles. 1982: 189), but otherwise the gradation in scores is interesting.

[In assessing this I must also indicate that about 10 pupils at D answered none of the comprehension questions, but were quite happy to give opinions about characters. Several had also copied one another's answers. I must thus regard their opinions of characters as suspect].

Even more interesting is the decision on Lena A = 73% *yes, poorly educated*; B = 19%; C = 43% and D = 52%. Again A and D are closest but the gap at A is immense. It is echoed by the score of E in the pilot study and must show occupation of a kind of high moral ground. B and C have about 30% saying *can't tell*, to A's 8% but even that is interesting as A's pupils are quite happy to vote *can't tell* elsewhere, yet have chosed to commit themselves here.

This vote suggests that the mixing in classrooms might be affecting attitudes towards other groups, in fairly subtle ways, causing B and C to diverge from A and E.

The future of English in South Africa:

The Coloured children (about 50%) at all schools feel most strongly that South African English *should* diverge from Standard English, with only about 15% saying we should remain close to SE. Overall (all schools and race groups) 38% are happy to carve out a new language but 62% feel we should remain *close* (23%) or *fairly close* (39%) to SE. The Coloured reaction probably supports their already relatively freer English forms.

CONCLUSION:

The children speak infinitely more eloquently than any academic can.

The White pupils are encased in a peaceful neutrality, while predicting changed circumstances for their children.

Many Black pupils have simply been set adrift and find the expert navigators, the teachers, strangely silent on ways of coping. Teachers, who are accustomed to being experienced mentors in a familiar, comfortable system, are similarly adrift, many of them, and grateful when the Black children set up coping mechanisms on their own.

Recent retrenchments have left the Model-C schools under-staffed (see Chapters 1 and 4), so teachers are more burdened than before. They react by withdrawing and by being unnaturally courteous to their Black pupils, who feel the White teachers are far too polite. They wish they could be treated more normally.

This is the paradox: where teachers should intervene, they do not and where the pupils want to be seen as "the same", the teachers emphasize differences. In the next chapter I work on some recommendations to clarify and regularise interactions and to help with language learning.

CHAPTER 6: Drawing Everything Together.

INTRODUCTION:

This broad-based survey aimed at identifying:

- Trends arising out of differing language mixes in schools.
- Areas of flux (eg MT use, accents, socialisation and attitudes to language use)
- Areas where intervention is appropriate (eg effective language learning methods)
- Areas for further research

Throughout, the question has been whether or not schools with differing racial mix have different patterns emerging and whether others could benefit from these experiences. The intention was never to reify race but history in South Africa presently dictates a racial element to the discussion.

After a general comparison of the 5 schools, I refer to some major trends under their own headings.

"WHO AM I?": THE QUEST OF THE CHILDREN

"Language and Identity" has emerged for me as the most important issue. The question *who am I* paradoxically both overrides and is overwhelmed by matters like performance and marks. It seems to me that, despite the importance of marks in moulding self-image, the matter of selfhood - dignity and an inner integratedness - is more important than an ill-timed/paced assault on a discrete skills-package, the

contents of which are determined by teachers who have made assumptions about standardised needs.

TEACHER-EDUCATION: THE MAIN THRUST

The answer to those teachers (Chapter 1) who felt *there must be some experts out there* is that, after all, **they** are the experts. The simple truth is that their **pupils are their partners and expert resource**. Mutual understanding (for teachers, L2 and L1 pupils) of the complexities and sensitivities involved is needed. Negotiated provision of a variety of language-learning opportunities is called for.

NEEDED: WHOLE - SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICIES:

Need for a school-wide language policy, with every teacher and child sure of his/her role, is the logical outcome of my studies. Creative responses to the so-called language dilemma are very simple, provided one can break away from the panic-stricken notion that these ("disadvantaged") children are empty moulds to be filled indiscriminately with resin, without checking **who they are, what they have and what they are capable of mastering within what time-frame** (presumably differing from child to child).

MAJOR DISTINCTIONS EMERGING FROM THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SCHOOLS:

Lessons for each other: What the different schools represent:

Based on both teacher and pupil response, it seems B is most in flux. B could hold lessons about the future for schools with similar enrolment profiles to A and E; similarly the more settled conditions at C could indicate a promise for the B-type schools. The Coloured pupils at D act as a control group for those Coloured children who have changed schools.

As the general conditions at the schools are similar, with concerned and self-critical teachers at each institution, it is tempting to say that the often sharply differing attitudes recorded at schools are a factor of the numbers of Black pupils enrolled. To be convinced of the generalisability of the findings one would need to repeat the research elsewhere.

Acculturation:

Schumann (Beardsmore, H. 1982: 161) has identified variables which affect language learning and acculturation in an alien environment (see Chapter 2). I discuss the schools in the light of his theories.

The Language Learner vs The Whole Child

In tension is the distinction between what is best for the mechanical **learning** of English as such, presumably the discrete objective of many language teachers (certainly evidenced in many responses) and what is best for the overall development of the "whole" child. In pure English language learning terms Schumann's theories clearly apply. The groups ARE isolating themselves linguistically (*enclosure*) and perhaps thereby limiting actual verbal practice of language skills and maybe hence retarding overall language development. I think this must be seen as natural control of pacing rather than the erection of barriers to language acquisition in the long term.

No teacher intervention can artificially impose changed life-views or intrinsic motivation of the pupils and clearly current **natural practice** at schools involves the linguistic support (interim, at least) of other MT speakers. My creative response must be to find constructive ways of using MT for language acquisition and for whole child development.

Culture Shock:

I think that African children at all these schools are experiencing some degree of culture shock with some disorientation caused by the new environment and, at least initially, rejection of the new community. I do NOT think though that this prompts them to minimize efforts to learn the language, on the whole. The period of disorientation lasts for a few months but is characterised by very hard (desperate?) efforts of the child to learn (as opposed to "acquire") English.

The Blacks at A and E maintain an initial aloofness, in an isolation characterised by incomprehension of the motivations and social norms of the White pupil body. Elsewhere, where there are more Black pupils, they form "counter" support groups. The term "counter-group" is particularly true for B. At C the groups do form on linguistic or cultural basis but they see their groups as co-groups rather than as out-groups as at B.

Linguistic groupings and Learning: Establishing a Context:

It seems at all schools that language groups do dictate their own language experiences. Once the group has sufficient members (can be as few as 3) to form a cohesive identity, cross-lingual contact is framed on its terms (consider links with "critical mass" theory - Christie, P. 1990 - where marked shifts in attitude occurred when numbers in racial groups passed a certain point).

I shall examine the paradox: Should MT users be separated and English use imposed? Or is language learning enhanced through MT use ?

The situation at B:

The African group at B offers members security and rich learning assistance but is suffering a current (after about 8 months together) yearning by the MV children, who all use White colloquialisms freely, to cross the (perceived) gap to link with the Whites, "to improve our English". They would continue to need intermittent translation but want change for group activities. It is hard structurally/socially for them to insert themselves into other groups, so they feel teacher intervention would help inject a new dimension into their language learning as, paradoxically, the very aspect which is helping (translation), and which is such a resource, is hindering. The need to use spoken English is reduced and the dependent role of the LV children continues. It is only the MV children who want to shift, the LV ones are quite uninterested.

They feel they are running parallel to the linguistic and social mainstream and do not realise that the White pupils feel excluded by their use of MT. The linguistic bunching alienates the English-speakers, perpetuating mutual social isolation and feelings of being on the fringe.

The B Coloured pupils are experiencing the sharpest anomie (Beardsmore, H. 1986: 156) of all, with a clear disorientation and defensiveness about the desirability of their "hometown" language.

Depending on the compatibility of the two cultures [the bilingual] may experience feelings of chagrin or regret as he loses ties in one group, mixed with the fearful anticipation of mixing with a relatively new group.

(Lambert, 1972, in Beardsmore, H. 1986: 156)

While they are not classic examples of "bilinguals" the accommodations they are needing to make amount to abandoning their "MT" and they are not ready for this. Some of these tensions are also expressed by the Coloured group at C and by a few at A and E. They are tempted to accentuate their linguistic differences as a *symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness* (Giles, H. 1977: 323) and to "diverge" from the norm rather than to accommodate, but teacher imposition of "standards" and predominance of White norms is forcing shifts to a higher prestige variety.

The situation at C (The way ahead?)

At C differing linguistic groups are also running in parallel. However, the African children at C, who were also linguistically isolated saw **no need whatsoever** to change this - probably because they do not see themselves as appendages to a White system but as part of an integrated classroom with no particular "In-group" (Mercer, N. 1981: 330) to aspire to. Their ready appreciation of a mutually supportive group perhaps indicates the future for classrooms with comprehensive racial mix, when the stress for linguistic minorities in the interim configurations is past. Here there is evidence of mutual accommodation by language groups with no dominant prestige variety.

Tranquillity at D:

Here the areas of flux are restricted to accent. I suspect the pupils at D are peaceful about language forms because their peers and teachers are also using them. Although their families are also pushing (as are all Coloured families) for English, they are at ease about their vocabularies.

The situation at E: The paradox again

The African children, paradoxically, specifically commented on the fact that now that they HAD to use English their English had improved greatly.

How can all these pieces of the puzzle fit together?

Clearly a duality exists and the most creative response must be for the teacher to stage all types of interaction, consciously allowing for a range of interactive possibilities. Teachers must develop sensitive antennae about re-modelling groupings to suit the need of the day and the desires of the child.

I say **desires** rather than **needs** (remember that it is the ineffective educator who assumes *I KNOW what s/he needs*) because these are bound up together in **attitude** and return discussion to the definition in Chapter 1 where I said of attitudes *they are complex, consistent and deeply felt, but not immutable* (from Young, D et al.1991: 5) and that they can *predispose or influence a person to act in certain ways*.

If the child is **not** predisposed to learning through verbal interaction, then mere imposition of a change of medium will not transform the process. This **process** is exactly that - an evolving, shifting, not immutable, process, and not an event which can be dictated from above.

SUMMARY: THE QUESTION/CHALLENGE POSED BY B:

Does every school which increases numbers of Black pupils have to enter this questing and unstable phase as part of the natural process? I think pupil numbers do play a vital part (See above for my reservations). The children at A and E are largely assimilated (not without pain) into the community and the weight of numbers at C seems to dignify groups but the groups (one of Coloured children and one of African) at B, despite telling me they are "happy", are under stress.

Although it may be that all schools have to move in a measured way through a "process" of adaptation, I think that **teacher education** could lead to heightened awareness and maybe circumvent some of these tensions.

For example, if teachers and pupils are going to feel like outsiders because of extended MT use, then open discussion about the isolating effects and the possible sensation of being victims of verbal abuse (Giles, H. 1977: 330) could let people air their worries and be enlightened about the support (psycho-social and linguistic) offered by MT use.

Teachers must ascertain sensitively **for themselves** from **their** pupils what their backgrounds, needs, aspirations and optimum learning methods are. The polite glossing over of differing background elements, however kind in intent, erodes individualism and isolates children onto a self-help campaign for which most are poorly-equipped.

I stress thus that B is in a **transitional category** before commencing discussion of general trends.

AREAS OF FLUX (FOR CHILDREN) IN SCHOOLS :

A note on ETHNICITY: dormant or awakening?

Group ethnic identity is generally strongly maintained apparently because of spontaneous employment of a linguistic resource or because of community links (the Coloured children). No overt racism is significant, apart from some examples of determination *not* to learn the language of others. What is clear is that the Black children want to be called Black and resent coy euphemisms.

It is worth noting the possible emergence of an ethnic polarisation at C, the school where the group is most significantly mixed. The Coloured rejection there of the notion that everyone should learn an African language (only 21% "for") contrasts sharply with the vote at D, a mostly Coloured school, (78% "for"). Although the overall picture at C, in terms of apparent adaptation to the new situation, seems superior to that at the other model-C schools, what can this dissimilarity to their D peers suggest other than some influence of the racial mix or the ethos at C?

If the comprehensive integration at C has served to heighten an ethnic awareness, either by causing the Coloured children to think they must learn Afrikaans at the expense of Xhosa (because they fear their language is threatened) or to feel that they, having been exposed to numbers of Xhosa people do not WANT to learn that language, then planners **must** work warily with ethnic mix in the future. Mere combining of racial "ingredients" as it were, is a complex issue. Fishman's notion of dormant ethnicity (Giles, H. 1977: 16) is important here. As racial mixing is inevitable in a new dispensation, ongoing research in this sphere is essential.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY:

It is only the Black children who talk about language and self being utterly bound up in one another; only they talk about threats to identity and say if you don't know your language, you don't know yourself. The Whites are more removed and talk about accent and foreign travel, their reading habits and why their children might need Xhosa *to get jobs*. The raw notes and the genuine introspection are all introduced by Blacks: they are the ones who see their languages under siege and the pain of giving all to learning English.

Subtractive Bilingualism

Children report a present situation of **subtractive bilingualism**. The schools, parents and children themselves are pushing for enhancement of English skills at the expense of MT. The motivation is instrumental (English implies education, implies jobs, implies status and a future).

Superficially most children are happy, seeing the immersion in English (eg I must talk English with my parents) as **language learning** but probes reveal their restlessness about loss of MT skills, their rejection by members of the extended family because they cannot talk their own language well enough (Africans) and an almost militant concern that their children at any rate should definitely have better MT skills than they have.

Influence of the Community - Language and Model-C schools:

Gardner (1982: 143) discusses the influence of the community on language learning. In tension in the Black children is the distinction in reactions to changes in them (vocabulary and accent) by their parents on the one hand and by extended family and peers on the other. The children are sure about parental motivation (positive and ambitious and evidenced in their financial commitment), concerned about reactions in the broader family (ambivalent and often negative) and confused about their rejection by the children who have not changed education systems.

The *African community* seems supportive of the development of English vocabulary and even of standard accent patterns, although the children report some objections to their changed "White" accents by their families. The children are proud of their achievements, not because of any implied merging with the White community (ie no "integrative" motivation), but because of enhanced prospects. They are conscious of familial pride: the children have something to prove.

The *Coloured* children though are troubled about accent and vocabulary in their home situation and employ home and school versions (sometimes having 3 or even 4 registers to accommodate home and school friends too). Possibly as the Coloured people have always spoken some English at home the "new" version introduces social discomfort and alienation. The children comment on how their parents are insisting on English being spoken, although the family is bathed otherwise in Afrikaans. This is imposing a separateness on the children and a resistance to (perceived) loss of identity - bound up in restraints on playful or colourful use of language.

Figures show a **community in flux** with the children ambitious to push beyond the present family limits. This ambition is influenced by increased expectations, country-wide, of previously oppressed groups. When asked what they wanted to do on leaving school the Coloured children were most unsure. Both their uncertainty and their upwardly mobile inclinations (school C and D largely) are revealed in this chart.

TABLE: 6A

Plans on leaving	A	B	C	D
Not sure	14	7	27	50
Work			7	
Technical College	7	33	23	12
University	79	48	40	38
Other		12	3	

Disjunction between parental and child ambition - Interference with Language Learning:

Where parent and child motivation differ, a variety of effects is observed, primarily poor language learning and restlessness in class because of poor social adaptation and weak extrinsic motivation (*I must please my parents*). Where pupils' personal motivation is high, internal harmony is obvious and generally language learning is good and social needs well met. Clearly the flux is so new in nature that diachrony is not yet confirmed by the power establishment (St Clair, R. 1982: 166) and the children feel unstable in the community at large. This impacts on their self-concept and on language (and hence other) learning, particularly as they are the first generation to experience this process and parents would find it hard to advise them.

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS:**Let the children talk to you:**

Significant positive attitude changes in the classroom resulted from discussions I had with African children (at E) in my May study. Some teachers were alerted to how the pupils felt they needed to be brought into the class discussion, how they needed acknowledgement and were battling with establishing their identities in a White environment. Teachers report marked changes in the attitude, performance and general mien of the pupils, after these discussions with me. In other words, the simple conjunction of **awareness** of sensitive matters on the parts of both children and teachers brought about significantly more comfort, exchange and social and linguistic vitality in this school.

The children are powerfully transparent and insightful about their situations, if approached sympathetically. They need the involvement of interested and sensitive others.

Recognise the power of MT at school:

Although it is difficult to encourage reinforcement of MT skills at home, steps taken at school can confirm MT status. Tension felt by teachers about MT use in the classroom (especially at C) must be removed. Pupils report pride in being asked to translate in class, enjoy the singing of their songs, respond powerfully to the use of Xhosa words and talk of their dependence on one another linguistically. I split discussion into various elements.

Introduction of Xhosa as a subject:

Impact on linguistic vitality and the future of the language:

Following Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (Giles, H (ed). 1977: 308), who talk about factors influencing vitality of ethnolinguistic groups in the area where a language is used, I feel that this theory affects the role of Xhosa at schools too. If the status, demography (numbers of speakers) and institutional support for Xhosa are not in place, then the language and its users will falter in the schools and hence maybe in the broader community. The importance of role-models in the school must not be underestimated. This could be a powerful factor at C, where the Xhosa group is well represented in leadership positions. I definitely urge introduction of Xhosa to consolidate its status.

Further, Xhosa pupils themselves all comment on their need for enhanced MT skills: they speak shamefacedly about the fact that they speak "slang" or "low" Xhosa, have limited vocabularies or cannot read much. They are adamant that they could *never* do academic subjects through the medium of Xhosa. They also worry about their imperfect linguistic legacy for their children.

Learning Xhosa and earning high marks improves the aggregate and enhances self-concept. The children have a RIGHT to study their own mother tongue.

Status for Language implies status for its MT speakers:

African pupils welcome the status afforded them through their effectiveness in the Xhosa classroom and are proud that others care sufficiently about them to want to learn their language. They describe problems with learning Afrikaans because Xhosa is not, in turn, compulsory. General goodwill, with 63% overall supporting compulsory study of Xhosa (twinned by the support for Afrikaans) sets the scene for change and improved communications. Even if the Whites do not develop adequate African language skills, the **attempt** to learn is an affirmation of goodwill, inspiring reciprocity.

The comment by Mercer and Mabin (1981: 86) that *children are more likely to reject school if their MT is treated as educationally worthless* should be heeded. The glee

of the Coloured children at B who could demonstrate their prowess in the Afrikaans room must not be forgotten and lessons from this about the possible effects of removing Afrikaans study cannot be overlooked. The impact on the Africans of simple use of Xhosa was marked, as was the effect on their participation when Xhosa and Afrikaans translations were paralleled. Any situation which allowed the Africans to parade their MT knowledge was eagerly welcomed, even when they were called on to translate Zulu words.

Freeing children to use MT informally:

The emphasis is on "freeing" here. I saw clearly that significant translating was taking place in undertones and I observed children who were otherwise silently invisible to the teacher, LV children, whispering ideas in Xhosa to the MV ones, who would then present them to the class in English. While the argument that these LV children must mobilise their own spoken English is important, their intellectual grappling indicates the children are at least **understanding** the work and wishing to engage. This **listening** phase of natural language acquisition must be acknowledged.

Generally they said they were mentally translating before speaking, except those with very poorly established MT skills. Mercer and Mabin (ibid, 87) say *Probably the richest resource teachers have at their disposal - and it is often an under-exploited one - is the children's own language and their knowledge about how it works.* The children are spontaneously using their MT. Teachers must accordingly relax and recognise that active involvement is ego-enhancing and productive, even if English participation is initially only limited.

Specific Language learning measures:

Most impressive is the positive attitude of the L2 pupils, except for those where parents are more ambitious than their children (discussed earlier). The children are adopting numerous ploys anyway and now teachers need to incorporate them into their training of the child. Ironically, this very teacher involvement could cause rejection of the techniques, as a pronounced factor to emerge is that of the child's pride, so a key is sensitivity.

BRIDGING PROGRAMMES OR NOT?

This pride dominates the pupils' attitude to special "help" from the school. They feel *the Whites also have problems so why should we be singled out?* Those who have had extra classes complain bitterly about the stigmatisation yet those who have not had any think it might be a good idea (if they had enough time). Only at A, B and E do they think they **need** extra English as such. African pupils at C only talk about extra Afrikaans and Maths: they are just children who need help. The B L2 children feel most urgently in need of English help, in keeping with their more precarious social and linguistic position. Direct, personal teacher assistance as part of the normal daily routine is what they really want - tailored and integrated aid.

TEACHER EDUCATION:

More useful than Bridging Programmes, then, is **TEACHER EDUCATION**. I think that general education **ABOUT** language learning will help remove barriers.

The need to provide classroom space and sound:

The concerns expressed by L2 pupils (especially at B) about being laughed at when they talk, must be addressed.

I think **ALL** the theory about natural acquisition of language, the need for conversation, interchange, initiating of conversation (discussed in Chapter 2) is important. At the moment the MV children are progressing rapidly on a curve far more exponential than that of their LV friends (although these LV children feel they are also progressing comparatively well).

It seems clear that verbal confidence begets more verbal interaction and progressively more skill at sentence formulation. **Small group work** was the only time when the L2 children all spoke, so using this approach is imperative.

What resources are helpful?:

To build on the pride and hard work of the children the school needs to provide:

- **verbal opportunities**
- **vocabulary gloss (all are very busy with dictionary work)**
- **a system of noting idioms and vocabulary (a personal dictionary)**
- **books (about teenagers, local and foreign)**
- **magazines and comics (well-supported by L2 readers)**
- **drama and music (powerfully supported)**

Teacher Talk

While the "teacher talk" I heard had strong pupil-centred glossing, there is scope for more. The pupils speak of vast gaps in general background, perceiving the gaps to be in knowledge packages - a topic is introduced and they know nothing about the context but, because their peers do, they are ashamed to mention it, as then everyone "looks" at them. I think lessons need to be very carefully **framed**. The value of asking **open-ended questions or those that require elaborated response** must also be stressed. **Teacher talk and the language of testing** is a vital area for the **school language policy** to address.

Language and testing:

I think concerns about evaluation must be aired and the question addressed. Euphemistic worries about "standards" was a theme for the early days of de-segregation and the comfortable, distracting, *we are all colour-blind here* does not mean that evaluation is not a problem - remembering that from 50% (C) to 77% (E) teachers are battling to mark objectively, and that 84% would like official guidelines on the matter. The pupils feel that teachers are unaware of their language difficulties and that they could be more tolerant.

OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES:**Relative Proficiency Levels:**

I have not analysed in minute detail the scores on the proficiency tests. If they had all completed the tests equally responsibly, then I could have attached more weight to the results. I glossed over the possible direct differential effect of one type of schooling as opposed to another. The interesting results obtained suggest this would be an important direction for further study.

Language skill training:

I have not dwelt on specifics of discrete skill training. Many children are well-drilled on theoretical points. They lack vocabulary and higher order verbalising or comprehension skills/ practice. Text books will obviously have to address the situation imaginatively. Other development should be sufficiently assisted by the various methods I have outlined elsewhere (verbal participation, teacher talk, working through and not against the MT etc)

The future of Language(s) in South Africa:

Pupil views about the future of languages and the opinions of the Whites have been addressed fairly sketchily. Interesting are the nebulous feelings of general goodwill and a strong South Africanness (the Coloured group in particular) but the general sense that the future is fairly distant and belongs largely to **someone else**. Pupil attitude will be a dominant factor in effective implementation of possible new official language policies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY:**Longitudinal Studies:**

Further, longitudinal, studies are clearly indicated.

This research surveyed primarily standard six children. Others who have been at High school for up to 4 years now, since the opening of schools, would have rich insights.

A separate study should look at the question of whether the pupils are going to adapt anyway through time - is language learning/acquisition simply a factor of time? Do inter-group tensions evaporate anyway once numbers of different groups shift or does mixing predicate some contraction into a linguistic laager?

Other studies, once it is not just the relatively monied classes changing schools, are also indicated.

Differing motivation to learn, if children and parents are ambivalent about what they are undertaking, could affect language learning significantly.

Other studies must introduce other comparisons:

[These may fall away as a result of new policies in 1994]

More Coloured and African schools could be incorporated in such studies, so the pupils' behaviour established through convention could be contrasted with their behaviour in altered circumstances.

Further comparisons of teaching styles could deepen understanding of the effects on the child of changing systems (eg the distinctions between rote learning and critical study; between transmission teaching and group work).

The same schools could be studied longitudinally:

In my opinion this would be the most valuable subject for further work.

If certain recommendations were implemented (eg the teaching of Xhosa, more attention to the use of MT, changed classroom procedures, Language across the curriculum) then would attitudes and learning be affected? What role does language play in this?

The schools studied fall usefully into categories and yet have significant overlap of central features. That they have already hosted this foundation study means that some turf is marked out. That each school somehow stands as a symbol for others means that positive outcomes of this work could be transmitted to others.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

As co-ordinators of learning in schools, teachers must respond firmly to the complexities of the new situation. A mere web of goodwill is inadequate. While critical mass or the simple passage of time may be conduits of learning beyond the control of the teacher, teachers need to enjoy and release the wide potential for mutual enrichment and edification presented by new classroom configurations. They must develop sensitivity and sensibly recognise that they must say goodbye to the past.

The scope of this research was always going to be very broad. Awareness of the breadth of the field I was tackling did not prepare me, though, for its depth. This study has changed me. My awareness of the feelings of and driving forces in others, the sense of the inter-relationship between language and me-ness, the feeling of the urgent pulse of Africa all envelop me. The children's innocent yet profound words and analysis, their projections about language, their urges for mastery of life and its promises through language, their passions about language and **their** children give this study a truly terrible relevance.

Space constraints have obliged me to omit much. I must convey convincingly the inter-relationship between language, self-concept, attitude, language learning and personal development. Ostrich-like devotion to entrenched, status quo systems and behaviours will continue to confuse, limit and damage children. That attitudes **ARE NOT immutable** represents the saving grace here.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire about Attitudes to Language

This survey is to help with Research only.
You remain completely anonymous.

Some Definitions to help:

Medium of Instruction (MOI) means the language through which all your subjects are taught

Mother tongue means your home language (the one you learnt as a young child and know best)

What about your languages?

1. Home Language:

1.1. Name the language(s) in which you are fairly fluent (underline the one in which you are most fluent)

.....

1.3. Name any other languages, which you understand a little but do not really speak.....

2. Name any other languages you know.....
How well do you know them? Circle the best answer. eg read but not speak ; speak but not read ; read / speak a little or fairly or very fluently

3. What was the Medium of Instruction for your schooling:
Pre-Primary:.....
Junior Primary (up to end of year 3 at school).....
Senior Primary.....
(Please circle Education Department for Primary Schooling: CED/DEC/DET/Other SA Province/Private School/Overseas)
Highschool.....

4.1. Age... 4.2. Standard... 4.3. Sex...
Your Ideas about Things

5. For the suggestions below RING the version which seems most attractive/reasonable to you for a future policy (language plan) in this country and put a STAR * next to the one you consider next best:

- 5.1. Official Language(s)- for the country as a whole:eg think of official documents, road signs, announcements etc
 - #English only
 - #Afrikaans only
 - #One of the Indigenous Languages (State Which)
 - #English and Afrikaans
 - #English and Afrikaans and the 11 other indigenous African languages
 - #Indigenous language(s) and Afrikaans
 - #1 or two African languages and English and Afrikaans
 - * Indigenous language(s) and English

6. Languages in Schooling: Medium of Instruction

6.1. If you were in charge of the education system in this country what language(s) would you use to teach the children ? Rank each of the suggestions below, using the 5 point scale given

below (ring the appropriate number each time);

(1:bad idea 2:fair idea 3:good idea 4:very good idea 5:excellent)

6.1.1.#Straight for English (all schooling in English from the first day at school) 1 2 3 4 5

6.1.2.#Mother Tongue instruction until end of year 5, with English as a subject,thereafter all subjects through the medium of English 1 2 3 4 5

6.1.3.#Mother Tongue instruction with English as a subject, then gradual introduction of other subjects in English from year 3, till all in English by end of year 7. 1 2 3 4 5

6.1.4.# Mother Tongue instruction available in all languages , until the end of Matric 1 2 3 4 5

6.1.5.# Mother Tongue instruction available in all subjects until the end of tertiary (post school) education 1 2 3 4 5

6.1.6. # Multilingual classrooms (some kind of accommodation of various languages in all classrooms , eg can write exams in own language) 1 2 3 4 5

why? why?

6.2. If you gave a 1 or a 2 for any of the above then choose the reason(s) below that you feel explain your answer(s) best. FILL IN THE NUMBER(S) OF THE POINT (eg 6.1.1 etc) NEXT TO THE REASON

- 1. Too hard for the pupils
- 2. Too hard for the teachers
- 3. Too hard for the pupils and teachers
- 4. Not enough text books
- 5. Would lead to schools divided on the basis of language
- 6. Other reason(s).....

6.3. If you gave a 4 or 5 for any answer in 6.1.then choose the reason(s) you feel explain your answer(s) best: FILL IN THE NUMBER(S) OF THE RELEVANT POINT NEXT TO THE REASON

- 1. Gives equal benefits to all
- 2. Good for national unity
- 3. Very Practical
- 4. Seems reasonably fair
- 5. Other reason(s) Specify.....

#####

this-next-bit-only-for-some

6.4. If you have personally experienced one of these shifts in Medium of Instruction then please comment:

6.4.1.# When did you change medium of instruction (Age and Std).....

6.4.2.# I would want to do it the same way again: Yes/No

6.4.3. Please give more information, by circling the best answers below:

a) Home language known well by time of changeover
Yes/ Fairly/ Not very

b) Speed of change from one medium (eg Xhosa to English) to another : Slow enough / a bit fast/ too fast / far too fast
Explain a little.....

c) My language ability affects my marks: not much / a bit / a fair amount/ a great deal
Explain a little.....

d) Do you feel shy to speak because of language differences?
not really/ a bit / a fair amount / yes definitely

e) Are you shy with those who speak your own language?
not at all/ sometimes / a bit / fairly / yes

this bit for all

7. Language at school : What do you think the future plan should be? This question refers to languages AS A SUBJECT and NOT as MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION
Use the scoring grid 1-5 as above (in 6.1).

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 7.1. Only English compulsory throughout schooling | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.2. English AND Afrikaans compulsory throughout | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.3. English AND Afrikaans AND a Regional African Language (the language dominant in the area where you live) compulsory throughout | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.4. English AND a Regional African Language compulsory throughout | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.5. English OR Afrikaans AND a Regional African Language compulsory throughout | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.6. ANY OF THE ABOVE COMBINATIONS BUT WITH THE LANGUAGE(S) ONLY TAKEN TO YEAR 11 OF SCHOOLING
STATE WHICH COMBINATION(S)..... | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.7. For mother tongue English or Afrikaans speakers have a Regional Language compulsory with at least 3 years tuition at Primary school level | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.8. Provision to drop a local language in favour of a foreign language in year 9 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7.9. Keep local languages and add foreign language(s) in year 9 | 1 2 3 4 5 |

SUMMARY : 1. DO YOU FEEL 2 LANGUAGES OR 3 ARE THE IDEAL?
Circle the number you choose 2 / 3
2. SHOULD THE LEARNING OF ANY PARTICULAR LANGUAGES BE MADE COMPULSORY? Circle answer. yes / no
Any comments.....

8. What do you think about language?
(Use scale : 1:hardly important 2. fairly important 3. important 4. very important 5 absolutely vital)

Important because of cultural/historical links	1 2 3 4 5
Important as means of communication	1 2 3 4 5
Important for expressive purposes	1 2 3 4 5
Important for scientific purposes	1 2 3 4 5
Important as language of wider communication (international language)	1 2 3 4 5

9. Now read the passages below .



There is a big gap between what the children have to know at the end of Standard 2 and what they have to cope with in Standard 3. The jump between standards is very clearly illustrated by what happens to the subject: Environmental Studies. In Standard 2, the subject occupies the children for three periods a week with rather vague topics. In Standard 3, Environmental Studies splits into History, Geography and General Science, which are all very specialized and have specific vocabulary. Each subject takes up two, three or four periods a week.

Here is a sample of the vocabulary load on a Standard 3 pupil over a three-day period for only three subjects: History, Geography and General Science.

Geography:	rotation, imaginary line, equator, planet, globe, heavenly bodies, hemisphere, continent, island, ocean, coastal plain, escarpment, plateau, relief
History:	appoint, refreshment, journey/voyage, expedition, depart, fort, barter, diary, industrious, inferior, tedious
General Science:	germination, mineral salts, adventitious (roots), radicle, embryo, fibrous (roots), vegetative reproduction.

The volume which children have to learn in Standard 3 is reflected in the pile of textbooks they have (or are supposed to have): one book each for Geography, History, Health Education and General Science, as well as a Mathematics book and books for three languages. The content subject books are in English, about 400 pages in all. If the English teacher did her job properly over three years of schooling (Sub B to Standard 2), learners may have a vocabulary of about 800 words. Now, in Standard 3, they will suddenly need a core vocabulary of about 5 000 words in English to cope with all these new subjects. That supposes an increase of 600%, which would be unreasonable even for first language speakers of English.

(From the THRESHOLD Report)

In post-colonial Africa many children respond to the task of learning in English, French or Portuguese by rote-learning, unstructured guessing and code-mixing (using a mixture of languages)

37 of 47 African countries which opted not to use first language tuition are re-considering and 41 African states have given or are about to give full teaching status to national languages within their curricula.

(from NEPI Language document)

9.2. Has your opinion about anything you answered EARLIER changed, now that you know a bit more ? If so, please comment briefly below:

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP- your responses matter. It is really valuable to be able to hear them.

APPENDIX 2

2.1.3. Does your subject department produce alternative material eg worksheets?

3.

Always Often Seldom Never

2.1.3.1. Is this

A: to give the pupils more practice? Yes No

B: to simplify the material? Yes No

C: to enrich the material? Yes No

D: to provide material which is not in text books?

Yes No

E: to clarify the language used in text books?

Yes No

● Please arrange these 5 reasons in order of importance

1 2 3 4 5

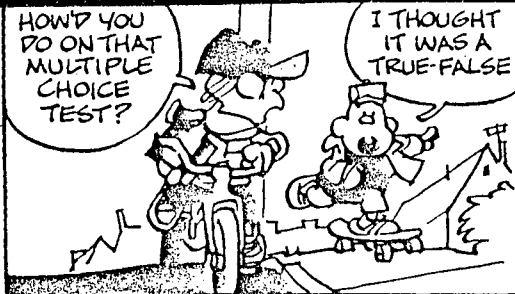
(can show ties by brackets:

eg 1 D 2 A 3 E 4 B 5 C 1



2.1.4. Does your subject department provide simplified lists of technical terms?

Always Sometimes No



Verbal Participation of L2 students:

Your observations

3.1. In class, do L2 students contribute to general discussion (hands up; calling out answers etc)?

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never

3.2. Do L2 students chat informally, in English, to one another?

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never

3.3. Do the L2 students speak in their home language to each other?

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never

3.3. Do L2 students chat informally to English-speaking students?

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never

3.4. Will L2 students answer you, in classroom discussion, when asked?

Generally Sometimes Seldom

3.5. Do the L2 students initiate class discussion by raising a point of interest or asking for a public explanation ?

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never

3.6. Do L2 students sit anywhere special in the room?

Generally at the back/Generally in the middle/Generally in front/nowhere special

3.7. Do you think your L2 students' accents have modified to fit in with those of their classmates?

Yes No Somewhat Not sure

3.8. Do the L2 students use the same general colloquialisms as their classmates? (eg "you guys"; "like" or whatever is common to your school)

Generally Sometimes Seldom Never Not sure

3.9. Any general comments about verbal performance:

.....

General (tricky bit)

4. Do you feel you are making a conscious effort to "preserve standards", in language?

Definitely Yes Sort of No

5. Do you think language work is the preserve of English teachers?

Definitely Yes Mostly No

6. Do you correct language errors in written work?

Often Sometimes No

7. How do you feel about pupils speaking their home language in your class?

Extremely happy /happy /not very happy /very unhappy

Comment:.....

8. Do you have any general observations about the language profile of the pupils who have been in your system for a few years:

.....
.....

10.1. Do you feel the questions asked on this questionnaire are generally relevant or irrelevant to your situation ?

relevant irrelevant

10.2 Reason for your answer in 10.1.....

.....

thank you!

APPENDIX 3

INFORMATION SHEET

NOTE: No name is required on this sheet. Data for statistical survey only.

1. Language(s) spoken at home:

2.1. Number of primary schools attended:

If more than one, state reason(s) for change:

.....

2.2. Medium of instruction at your schools ie In what language were your lessons taught (tick if correct)

If more than one language at a time was used (eg mixture of English and Afrikaans for your lessons) then say so:

	English	Xhosa	Afrikaans	Other (state what)
Sub A				
Sub B				
Std 1				
Std 2				
Std 3				
Std 4				
Std 5				

3. Father's job (if applicable).....

4. Mother's job (if applicable).....

5. Educational qualifications of parents: Just tick the block with the highest level obtained:

	Primary	High	College	University	Other (say what)/Not sure
Mother:					
Father:					

6. When you leave school, what do you plan to do: Tick the block:

Not sure:

Work immediately:

Study further:

Tech	University	Other

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 4

"Language and Me"

How DO I write an essay , if someone says I must talk about something in 400-500 words??

At last!! something to help!
Work slowly through all the steps on these 3 pages and - YES - you will know how....!

If you are asked to DISCUSS something:

* You read the title and jot down some main ideas (like HEADINGS)

* * * * *

** eg if the title is "Language and Me" what are some ideas to think about ?

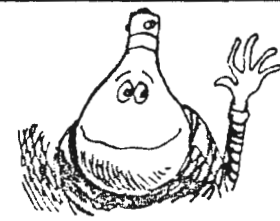
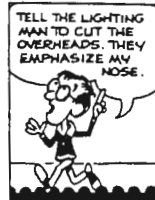
** Look at the Ideas Headings below.

** Now, write down , on this page , in short form , the points YOU would fill in under EACH heading.

** Use every heading for now. You will want to leave some out later.

ideas ideas ideas

"SAY IT LIKE IT IS...."



ideas ideas

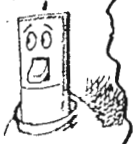
What languages do I speak? A.



Talk about your schooling in your learning of them. C.

How well do I speak/read/write/understand each of them?

Which language(s) do I speak at home? with friends? D.



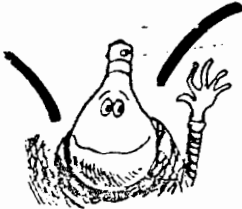
Which languages do my close relatives speak? E.

What DOES my language mean to me?

F

[to help:

1. Maybe you can think about your children one day - is it important to you that they should speak/read/write your language? Why?



2. What about your family? Does a particular language or form of language (eg always "correct") seem to mean a great deal to a relative? Does this affect you?

G

How about ACCENT (the way you say your words) [eg sometimes you can tell from the way someone speaks where he/she comes from]

How would you describe your own accent ? That of other South Africans?
What do you feel about accent? Is a certain one important ? Where ? Why ?

H.

How about your vocabulary -
how do you find and use new words?

Do you use "teenager talk",
or speak different "Englishes"
with different people - talk
a bit about it.



I.

How about text books and lessons - when is the language used there a problem for you?

J. K.

Do you read a lot? Write a lot? Why?
What sorts of Reading or Writing do you like?

How much do you care about language usage? Do you try to be "correct"? How do you know what IS correct?

m
How about LANGUAGE MIX - do you use other languages mixed in with your Home Language? (Do you think this is a good thing ?)

What do your teachers say about your use of Language ?

Which language(s) do I think in? Dream in?

O.
P.

A
pick-me-up
DO YOU ♥ anything about LANGUAGE?

NOW... to write your 400-500 word essay (piece of writing):

- ** Look at all the headings again. Think about how you would need to sort them out to write about LANGUAGE AND ME.
- ** You will probably decide to leave some headings or points out.
- ** You may want to use other ideas which are (not) suggested here, yet.

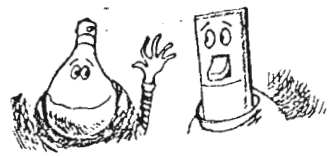
eg Say you choose to concentrate on 5 main ideas.

Choose which ones and arrange them in the order you want.

NOW USE THESE POINTS TO WORK OUT YOUR ESSAY (piece of writing)

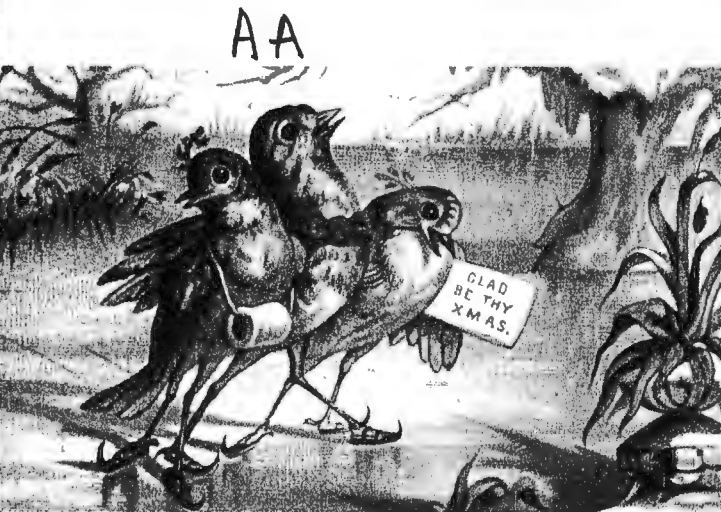
The points must be put into PROPER SENTENCES and you need to write in PARAGRAPHS

REMEMBER to HAND IN this IDEAS WORKSHEET with your essay!



NB

APPENDIX 5



Why should the robin red-breast have become such an instantly recognisable symbol of Christmas? Why not a thrush or a swallow or even a partridge in a pear tree?

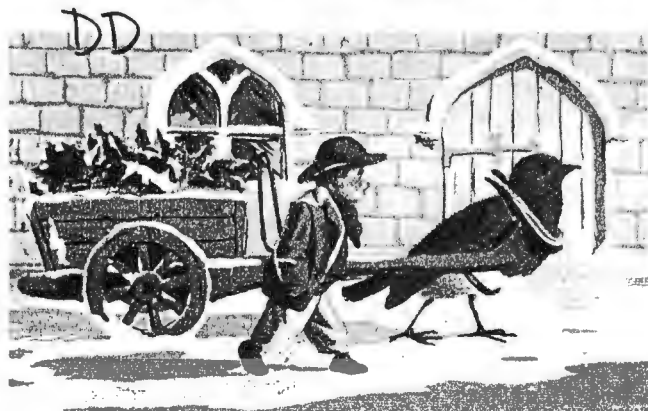
DAVID WATKINS explains why robins bring

A message of goodwill



This Christmas, like every other, we shall all receive Christmas cards through the post with cheery robins upon them. Indeed, someone once estimated that only a quarter of our Christmas cards bear illustrations depicting the Christmas message of the Holy Birth; the other three-quarters will have more secular illustrations and in Britain the little robin red-breast is even more popular than Santa Claus and his reindeer, not to mention the holly and the ivy.

Many people might well be mystified as to why the robin is featured on so many of our cards of goodwill at this time of year. When Christmas cards first became popular in this country, just before the middle of the last century, the robin was not to be seen on them at all. Very early Victorian Christmas cards featured beautiful summer flowers, bare landscapes and family gatherings at the seaside or even decorative and fashionable ladies' fans. In fact, the reason why robins became suddenly so popular as Christmas card birds was all to do with the colour of the postman's uniform at the time.



EE

Christmas cards were first delivered by carriers of the Post Office who looked most impressive in their smart cut-away scarlet frock coats and vivid red waistcoats. This colourful uniform led the public to call them 'Robin Postmen' or 'Redbreasts' and people waiting for the postman in the morning would often ask: "Has the Robin called yet?"

Artists of the early Christmas cards decided to depict Robin Postmen – but as real robin birds – delivering the Christmas mail. From then on robins carried Christmas cards in their beaks and were often shown calling at fashionable Victorian houses with their tiny beaks.

In the 1890s Christmas cards became even more elaborate. Robins appeared in the red uniforms of soldiers, and when a lever was pulled they strutted and presented arms. Robins were secretly hidden on cards so that they could only be seen

Harnessed to a tiny cart the robin was shown pulling a load of holly or strutting proudly on the top of a giant Christmas pudding.

when the card was held up to the light. Yet another ingenious card showed a robin feeding in the snow, and when the fan-like card was opened other robins could be seen coming to join in the meal. However, as the practice of sending Christmas cards through the post became more popular the robin began to appear more regularly on them, and soon this most popular bird was depicted doing some very spectacular and ingenious things.

Harnessed to a tiny cart he was shown pulling a load of holly to be sold to the public, or strutting proudly on the top of a giant Christmas pudding or heaving a huge Christmas



FF



cracker through the snow. He was also to be found perched on impressive snowmen or driving a coach or skating gracefully on ice.

These robins were often dressed up in top hats, poke-bonnets and Victorian skirts and cloaks, and they sometimes sheltered under umbrellas or carried shopping baskets under their wings.

Today we have all but forgotten the historical reason for the popularity of the robin on our Christmas cards, even though the story goes back only a hundred years or so. But the robin has never lost its popularity on Christmas cards, and it has been truly said that a single robin is all that is required for sending good wishes at Christmas. It seems quite natural that the robin is the bird that we choose to carry our messages of goodwill to our friends and relatives everywhere over the festive season.

PICTURES: DAVID WATKINS

READ:



See well: Be a detective

*** Some of these questions ask for "thinking" answers and some for "feeling" answers.

* Special "thinking" questions (asking you to use your brain/ bright ideas) will be marked like this:



* The "feeling" (emotions/heart) questions will be marked like this:



* You will maybe have trouble with some questions, which need you to work things out in steps or that use ideas or languages you do not know.

Do not worry if you struggle with those.

Just try your best.

Most of these thinking questions will be marked like this:



If a choice of answers A B C D etc is given, use the SEPARATE ANSWER SHEET and COLOUR IN the answer you choose

eg A B C D ● F

If you think 'e' is the answer



** Otherwise write your answers on this paper in the spaces provided (gives you an idea of how much to write).

** It DOES NOT MATTER IF YOU CANNOT ANSWER A QUESTION. DO TRY TO ANSWER ALL YOU CAN

** Sometimes you may give MORE THAN ONE ANSWER. If you can then it will say so.

**** This programme is arranged like a detection exercise.

Clues are given in stages

Please answer at the time you are given the questions - do not go back to improve an answer later.

ENJOY YOURSELF!!



A.

NOW READ " A MESSAGE OF GOODWILL" and answer the questions:

PLEASE NOTE: THIS ARTICLE IS ONLY ABOUT PICTURES AND NOT ABOUT CHRISTMAS ITSELF.

1. PICTURE STUDY This is a question!



Look at all the pictures

(Each one has a letter next to it)



1.1. Which picture(s) do clearly look like Christmas cards ?

AA BB CC DD EE FF GG

1.1.1. Reason(s)

- A. Bird is a Robin
- B. Snow
- C. Holly
- D. Winter
- E. Food
- F. Other.....



1.2. Are there any that do not seem like Christmas cards ?

AA BB CC DD EE FF GG

1.2.1. Reason(s)

- A. Bird does not look friendly
- B. Bird looks like ordinary bird
- C. Picture not clear
- D. Bird does not look like Robin
- E. I do not know enough about Christmas
- F. Not South African idea
- G. Other.....

1.3. Do any of the cards appeal to you (ie would you buy them?)

AA BB CC DD EE FF GG

1.3.1. Reason(s)

- A. Look cute
- B. Look friendly
- C. Good symbol of Christmas
- D. Unusual
- E. Well drawn
- F. Other.....



1.4. If there are any you would NOT buy - give reason(s).

- A Not South African
- B Too old-fashioned
- C Bird looks uninterested
- D Do not send Christmas cards
- E Other.....



READING CAREFULLY:

PARAGRAPH 1

2. The words *like every other* (line 1) are there because:



- A They mean *the same as everyone else*
- B They mean *like at every Christmas*
- C. To stress that there always have been and always will be robin cards

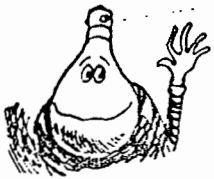


3.1. When he says *we shall all receive Christmas cards* (line 1), what very important thing is the author assuming (thinking it is a fact) about his readers?

.....
.....

3.1.2. Would you say thinking this about all his readers shows the author is (can choose more than 1 answer):

- A Arrogant (superior/proud)
- B Careless
- C Smug (happy to be in more important position)
- D Old
- E Young
- F Other.....



3.1.3. What does this assumption (thinking something is a fact) of *we shall all receive Christmas cards* make you FEEL about the author and his writing?

.....
.....



Change *we shall all receive Christmas cards* so that YOU do not make this assumption.

.....

4. Which picture(s) have robins that do NOT look *cheery* (line 2)

- AA BB CC DD EE FF GG H None

5.1. The author says (line 3) *someone once estimated*, which sounds rather vague (uncertain/unsure). Which word is the **strongest** in making this seem vague/uncertain?

- A. someone B once C estimated?



6. *depicting* (line 4) means:

- A picturing
- B including
- C pointing out

7. The word *secular* (line 6) means:

- A ordinary
- B casual
- C not to do with the church
- D primitive
- E pagan



PARAGRAPH 2

8. What do you think *this country* (line 11) is ?

- A America
- B England
- C South Africa
- D Canada
- E Other... ?



9. What did early Victorian cards NOT have on them?

- A Beach scenes
- B Ladies' fans
- C Beautiful ladies
- D Flowers
- E Scenery

10. What is surprising about the SEASON shown on the earliest Christmas Cards?

.....



PARAGRAPH 3

11. The early postmen were dressed well

- A True
- B False

12. Which picture shows best some of the clothes the early postmen wore?

- AA BB CC DD EE FF GG

13. Another word for *called* as it is used here (line 24) is:

- A. Shouted
- B. Visited
- C. Been



PARAGRAPH 4

14.1. What sort of people sent the very earliest Christmas cards?

- A Rich
- B Poor
- C Everybody

14.2. Say which word in the writing helped you answer 14.1.

.....

15. The author says *real robin birds* (line 26) because:

- A He needs to show the difference between postmen and birds
- B He is trying to make the text seem longer
- C It is a mistake

16. I think *beaks* in *tiny beaks* (line 29) is a misprint (mistake). What word would you put there instead?

- A gardens
- B messages
- C Christmas cards



PARAGRAPH 5

18. *strutted* (line 32) (see also *strutting*, line 43)
means:

- A marched/ing
- B moved/ing
- C moved/ing proudly

19. After some time fewer robins were used on cards

- A True
- B False

20. *ingenious* (line 34) means

- A clever
- B dull
- C complicated

21. *the practice* (line 37) means

- A the fact of
- B the effort
- C the habit

22. The word *most* in front of *popular* (line 40) means

- A There was no bird more popular
- B The bird was very popular

PARAGRAPH 6

23. *the public* (line 43) means

- A the shopkeepers
- B the people
- C the rich people

24. Another word for *heaving* (line 44) is:

- A pulling
- B pushing
- C carrying

PARAGRAPH 8

25. *All but forgotten* (line 52) means:

- A Mostly forgotten
- B Nearly forgotten
- C Not forgotten
- D Many of us have forgotten

26. The words the author uses *truly said* (line 56) and *quite natural* (line 57) tell me he is:

- A Sure of his facts
- B Sure of his ideas
- C Stating the truth

NOW THINK ABOUT THE WHOLE ARTICLE

27. What IS the best answer to the question in italics above the title (*Why should the robin red-breast have become such an instantly recognisable symbol of Christmas*) ?

- A The postmen of that time were called robins
- B The artists of the early Christmas cards used the robin idea

5.

Keep thinking



28. Imagine you have to change the heading (A message of Goodwill). Choose a heading which you think is best

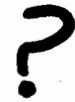
- A Why the robin?
- B A tradition
- C A friendly agent
- D Friendly contact



LOOK AT THE PICTURES...

29. Which PICTURE(S) do(es) not look like any of those described in paragraphs 3 - 7 ?

- AA BB CC DD EE FF GG



30 How do you feel about having the robin on a South African Christmas card?

Is it a good idea ?

- A Yes B No C A bit

IMAGINATION

31.1. Imagine you must design some new South African postage stamps (not Christmas stamps).

You have been asked to choose symbols of South Africa (things that are important and tell about South Africa) eg protea; rugby ball etc

What 5 things would YOU put on YOUR stamps ?

.....

.....

31.2 Think back to " A message of Goodwill". Some people would feel left out because of the Christmas story itself or because of the robin because they are not part of the culture/ group that sees this/these as important.

Look at your ideas in 31.1. Which do you think are only special to your culture/group?

TALK ABOUT THIS WORK

[YOU CAN CHOOSE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER]

32. Was this work:

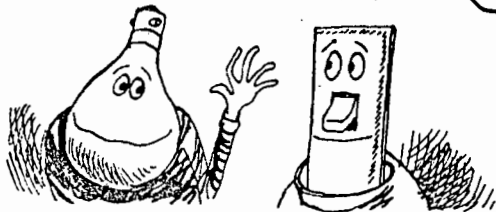
- A Interesting
- B Boring
- C Easy
- D Hard
- E Fine (mixture) ?

33. Reason(s):

- A Words too difficult
- B Sentences too hard
- C Felt left out
- D New knowledge
- E Easy/interesting
- F Not South African

Anything else about this work?

Did you mind that it was not South African?

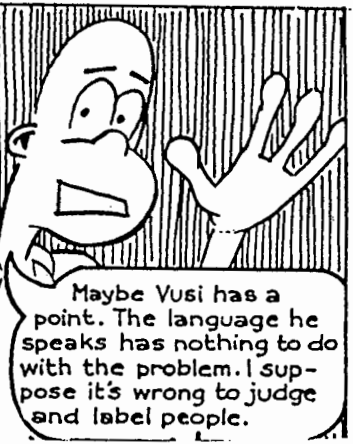
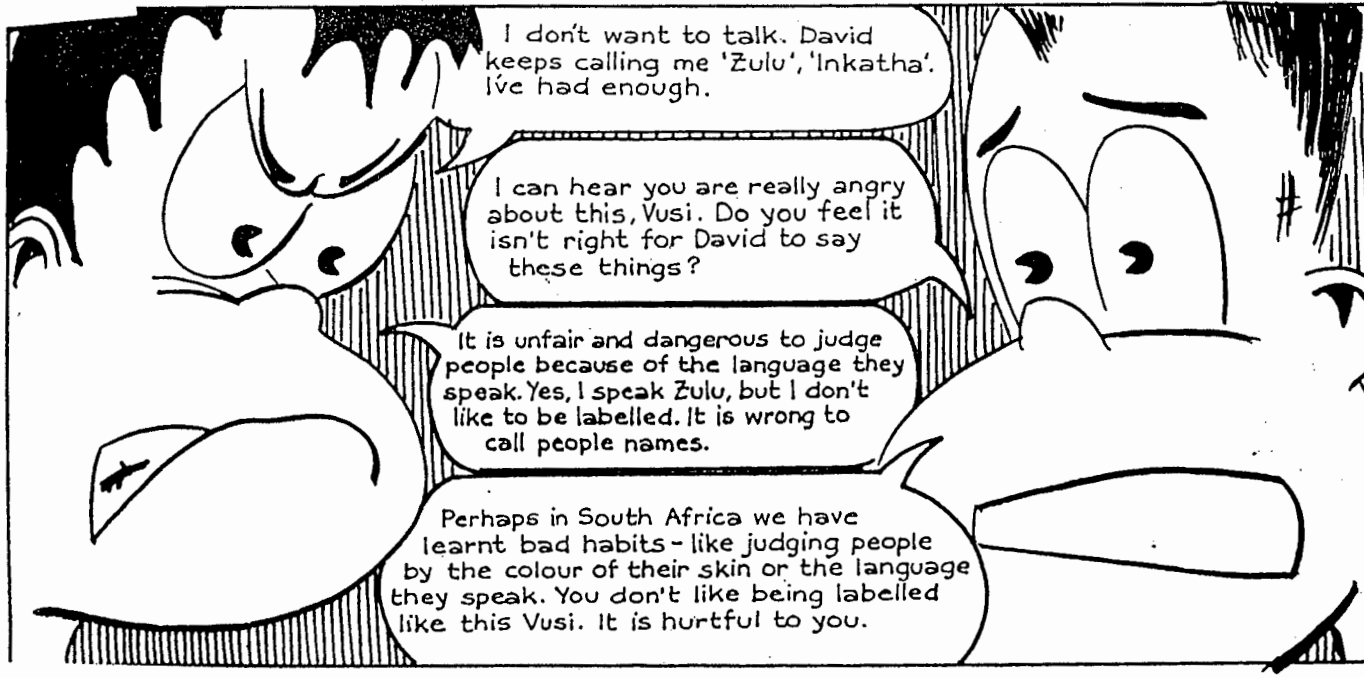


APPENDIX 6



What's the problem? Let's try and talk about it.

B.



1. Do you sometimes want to label people because of their languages or accents (the way someone speaks)?

- A always
- B often
- C sometimes
- D never

2. Do you think other people label you?

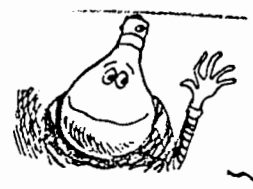
- A Yes
- B Probably
- C Not sure
- D No

because of your accent?

from: Upbeat?

3.1. Have you ever tried to change your accent?

- A Yes (a lot) *tried very hard - made a big change.*
- B Yes (something small)
- C Only for school
- D No



Want to say anything else?

3.2. If your answer was "yes" then say why.

- A Felt something was wrong
- B Wanted to be like others
- C Other

.....
.....

C.

THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

It may not be politically correct in our multi-lingual society, but isn't it time we acknowledged that English is the most practical way to make ourselves understood?

Barry Ronge writes about a speaker at a festival.

At the Arts Festival the main speaker chose to make a trilingual speech. She started in English. Then after a carefully calculated and fair interval, she switched to Afrikaans and then to Xhosa. As a communications exercise it resembled a train smash.

The English bit was fine. I was standing next to an American journalist from a distinguished Chicago establishment and two arts reporters from Natal. We were all scribbling away merrily, recording everything.

Then came the switch to Afrikaans and the Chicago woman's pen faltered and stopped. "I suppose she's speaking Afrikaans now," she said, disapprovingly as the words drifted on without her.

After a time the talk shifted to Xhosa, which is where my pen faltered. Noticing this, Miss Chicago said: "I guess this isn't Afrikaans any more".

"No, I replied, "I think it's Xhosa," as I too lost the thread of what the speaker was saying." Oh, is that what it is", said the Zulu-speaking reporters, who had also been stymied by this new linguistic flourish. There we stood, dazed and not understanding.

When the ANC speaker got up to speak, however, he did it all in English. Everyone understood everything he said.

(This is taken from an article by Barry Ronge and simplified)



MUST ALL SPEECHES BE IN ENGLISH?

YOU SAY!

How do YOU think such speeches should be managed?

- A Sounds fine to me, the way it was
 - B Should all be in English
 - C OK, as long as there are translators to help those who do not understand
 - D Other
-
-
-
-



Barry Ronge did not like this kind of Language mixing.

From

Boesman and Lena

This is a play by Athol Fugard.



Do your best on this one.

You might have to guess if you can't understand the Afrikaans.



Lena is alone on the stage. She is trying to remember the order of the places she and Boesman have lived in.

LENA: Where is... it's round all right... where is... 1
 Hey! I'm right in the middle. No wonder I get drunk when I try to work it out. ...
 [Sudden desperation.]
 Think, man! It happened to you. 5
 [Closes her eyes in an effort to remember.]
 We were here. Then we left. Off we go. ... We're walking ... and walking ... where we walking? Boesman never tells me. Wait and see. Walking. ...
 Somewhere, his shadow. In front of me. Small man with a long maer shadow. It's stretching back to me over the veld because we're walking to the sun and it's going down. ... 10
 Veeplaas! That's where the sun goes. Behind it there into the bush. So Veeplaas is. ...
 [Looking now for the sun.] 15
 Waar die donner is ... ?
 [Pause.]
 Finished. So what. I got it in here [pointing to her ____].
 Redhouse—Swartkops—Veeplaas!
 [She is very pleased with herself.] 20
 Get a move on now. I'm nearly here. Redhouse—Swartkops—Veeplaas. ...
 [She carries on working, laying out mugs, filling a little pot with water, etc. ... all the time muttering to herself the sequence of places she has established.] 25
 It's coming! Korsten! Empties, and the dog. Hond! How was it now? Redhouse—Swartkops—Veeplaas—Korsten. Then this morning the bulldozers ... and then. ...



[Pause.] Here! I've got there!
 [She is very happy.] 'Here', sister. You ran that last bit. Bundle and all. 30
 [She is humming away happily to herself when Boesman returns with a few odds and ends—an old sack, few pieces of wood, another piece of corrugated iron, an old motor-car door, etc.—out of which he will fashion their shelter for the night. He registers Lena's good humour and watches her suspiciously as he starts to work. Lena realizes this and laughs.] 35
 Why you looking at me so skeef?
 [He says nothing. Lena hums a little song.]
 Remember the times I used to sing for us? 40
 'Da ... da ... da ...'
 BOESMAN. What's the matter with you?
 LENA. Feeling fine, darling. I'm warm. You know why? I've been running. You should have seen me! I'm not as old as I thought. All the way from Redhouse. ... 45
 [The rest of her sentence is lost in laughter at the expression on his face.]
 ... and now I'm here. With you.
 Da ... da ... da ...
 BOESMAN [after watching her for a few more seconds]. 50
 Show me the wine!
 LENA. Look for yourself.
 [Boesman leaves his work on the shelter. He goes through his bundle and examines two bottles of wine. They are both intact. Lena laughs at him.] 55
 How's it for a dop?
 [He puts away the bottles and goes back to work.]
 Hey, you know what I was thinking just now. Blikkie kondens melk. What do you say? If we get lots of prawns. Sugar's not enough, man. I want some real sweetness. Then you can be as bedonnerd as you like. 60
 [She starts singing, shuffling out a few dance steps at the same time.]



Try to work out the answers to the questions below:

1. Do you think Lena would say *man* (line 5) with an English or with an Afrikaans accent?

A English B Afrikaans C don't know

2. Why does Lena change tenses in line 7 ?

.....



3. What other words help you understand why Lena says *Waar die donner is...*?

.....

4. How does Lena's talk of the *maer shadow* help her remember *Veeplaas* (line 13)

.....

5. What word is left out in line 18 ?

.....

6. Why is Lena *very pleased with herself* ? (line 20)

.....

7. What do you think Lena means by *Empties* (line 26)?

.....

8. Why do you think she says *Hond* (line 26)?

.....



9. Why does *looking at me so skeef* (line 38) describe Boesman's feelings well?

.....

10. Why does Boesman say *Show me the wine* (line 51) ?

.....

11. How does Boesman actually answer Lena's question (line 56), *How's it for a dop* ?

.....

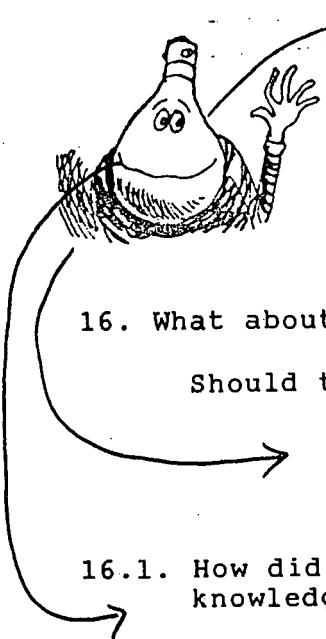
12. Why would *blikkie kondens melk* mean that Boesman could be as *bedonnerd* as he likes (lines 58-61)?

.....



14. Tick the blocks next to the answers below to show what you think about Boesman and Lena.

	Boesman				Lena		
	Yes	No	Can't tell		Yes	No	Can't tell
clever							
stupid							
poorly educated							
unkind							
kind							
suspicious							
talkative							



15. What do you feel about the language mixing in this play?

- A Normal- it's fine
- B A bit much, but OK
- C Bad

16. What about the future of language(s) in South Africa.

Should the English stay close to British English?

- A Yes
- B Fairly close
- C No, we are not England

16.1. How did you feel about answering questions where some knowledge of Afrikaans is required?

- A Quite happy
- B Happy, but think it's not always fair
- C Not happy
- D Very unhappy

16.2. Reason(s)?

- A SA is multilingual (many languages)
- B Don't know Afrikaans
- C Don't know enough Afrikaans
- D Don't like to use Afrikaans
- E I know Afrikaans, but I know it is a problem for others



APPENDIX 7

C



MORE LANGUAGE

Look at the next page

The words ~~below~~ come from a comic story. They have been muddled up.



See if you can answer these questions **WITHOUT LOOKING AT THE PICTURES.**

This is for FUN...Please just try...

1. What do you think "skyff" (in D) is?

If you have an idea, how do you know?.....



2. Why does someone say "Heyta bra?"(C).....

3. What is an "umbhemi"(F) ?.....

4. What is the "stuff" (A) ?.....



5. Why must the "popomalo"(B) be taken away?.....

.....

6.1. "Where you been?" and " I got" (both in A) and "How you doing?"(E) are grammatically incorrect. Correct them.

.....

.....



6.2. Why would something " incorrect" be used here ? Isn't this very wrong?

~~test yourself... test yourself...~~

7. Look now at the pictures, which are given in the right order.

A fun job.... a big job....

Time yourself time yourself time yourself

(if you want to.....)



Try to match up the pictures and the words correctly.

You can cut out the words and stick them in if you like. Don't lose the pictures.

8.2. Do you NOW know what the answers are to numbers 1 - 5 ?

Do NOT change your original answers. Just give the new answers here.

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

How long did you take?
minutes



Here you are...
your words
for the
comic



1. CHICCO GOES TO THE TREATMENT CENTRE FOR 3 MONTHS

2. A FEW WEEKS LATER AT THE CENTRE

3. 3 MONTHS LATER

4. A WEEK LATER AFTER SCHOOL

5. LATER THAT WEEK

6. Thanks Elaine.

7. No, Tom... No thanks.

8. Look what I've got for you. You'll love this stuff.

9. Don't talk to him, Chicco!

LATER THAT EVENING

A Hey, Chicco, where you been? I got some great new stuff!

B Are you really my friend? You want to destroy me! Take your popomala and get away from me.

C Heyta, bra!

D I need a skyff! I hate this place. I don't know why I came here...

E How you doing, man?

F Here comes that umbhemi. Let's move away.

Q No! I must say no!

G I... I don't know if I can cope. I wish I was back at the centre.

H And yes to life!

Y It feels so strange..

I Sometimes it's so hard without the drugs. But I know I am going to win!

R We've done it! We've got enough money to pay for Chicco's treatment!

W It's OK.

N We're missing you, man!

S We want to help you Chicco.

X For a minute I thought you were going to say yes. I'm proud of you!

J Hi Tom.

O You aren't alone in this. Your friends are behind you all the way!

Y Let's have a party!

K How are you feeling?

M What's wrong, Chicco? You are so quiet.

T Chicco's back!

Z CHICCO!

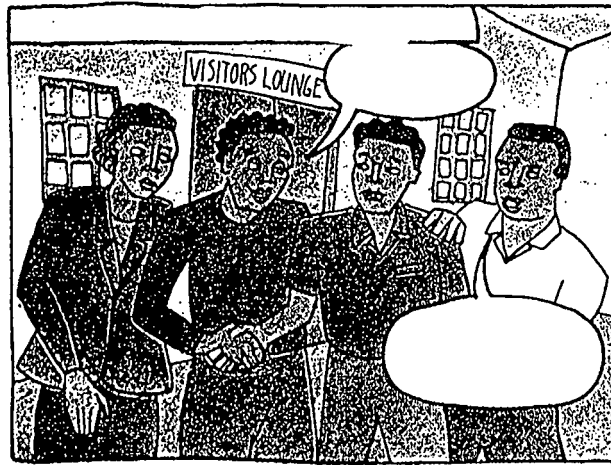
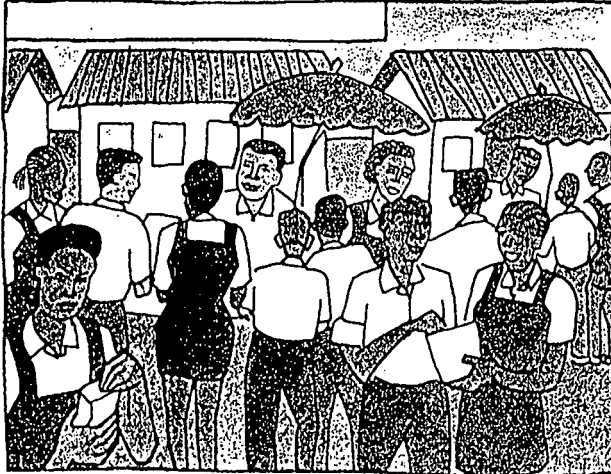
L I want you to help me... but it is so difficult.

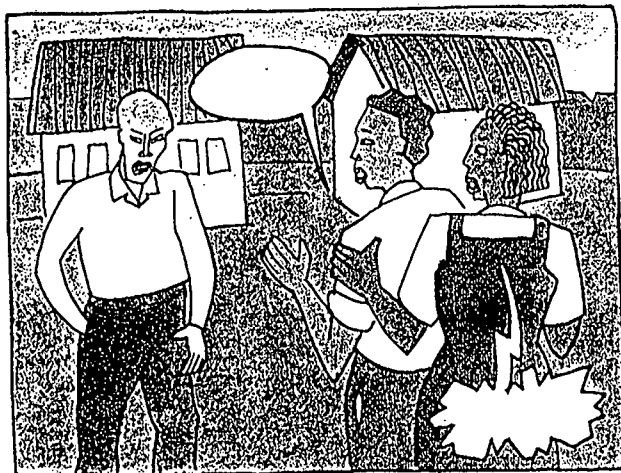
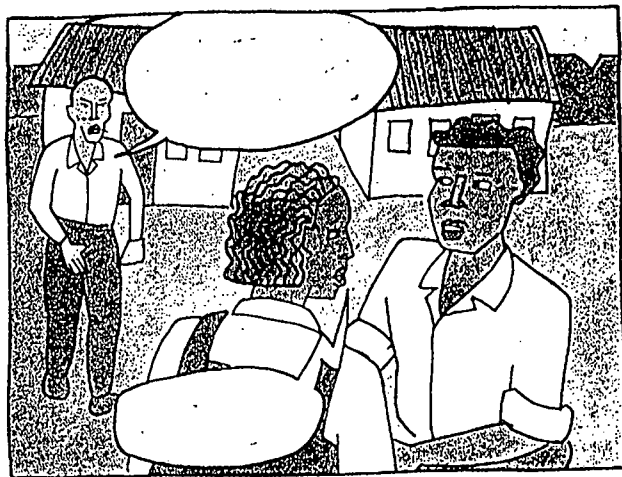
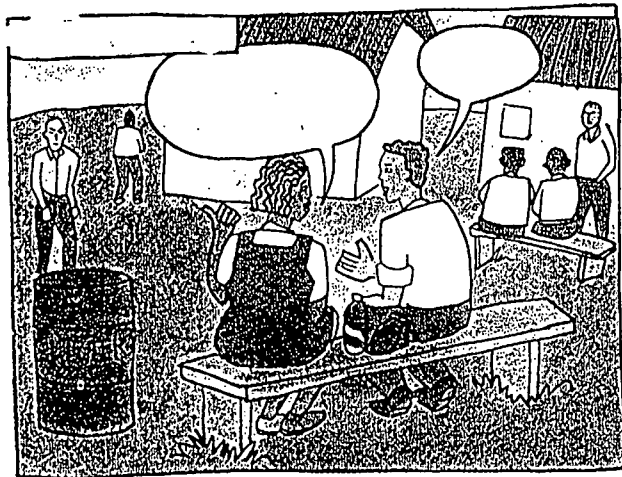
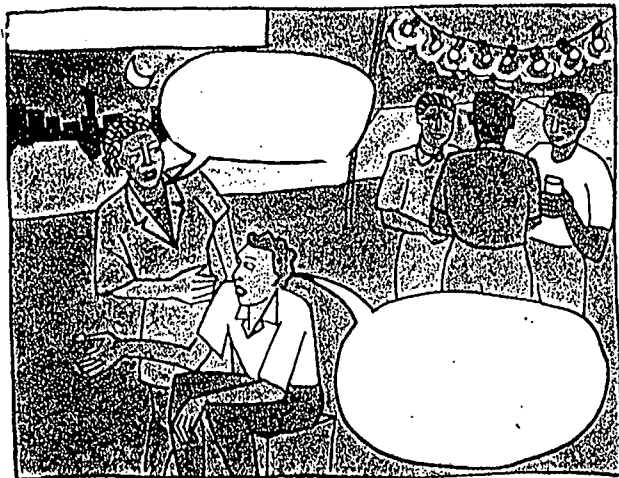
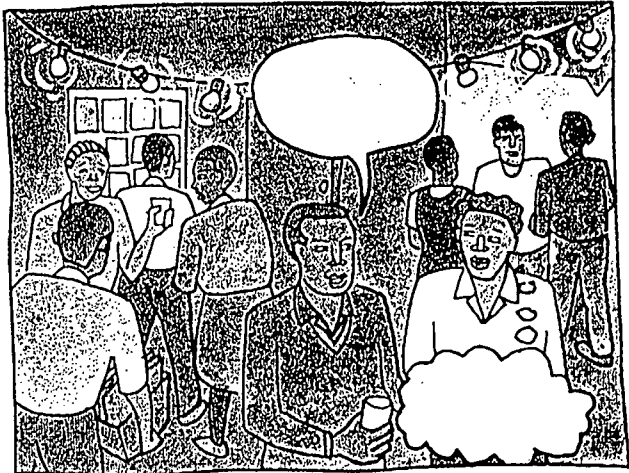
P No way! I learned my lesson the hard way. Now I say no to drugs...

AA Hey, what's the matter with you? I thought I was your friend.

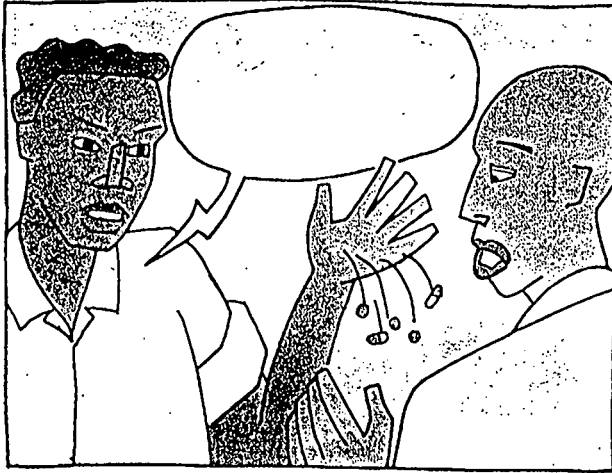
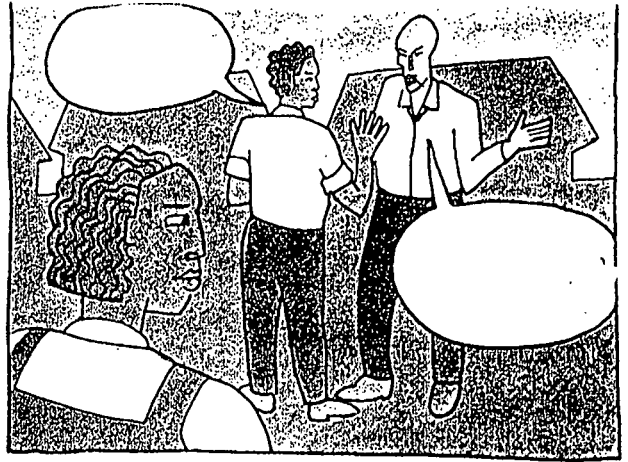
AS SEEN ON
TURN ON TO ENGLISH
TELETSCHOOL SABC

ARE THEY REALLY YOUR FRIENDS?






C



ARE THEY REALLY YOUR FRIENDS?

ORIGINAL STORY BY: Pippa Stein.
 COMIC STORY BY: Peter Esterhuysen.
 ILLUSTRATIONS BY: Phillip Small.


 A Storyteller Group Production.
 (Printed in 'Upbeat')

Has this work changed anything you think

or feel about language?



Talk about it in about 20 - 30 words

How do pictures and language work together?



Mixing language? What do I love about language?