

**AN EXPLORATION OF
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE TEACHERS'
PERCEPTIONS, CONCERNS AND CHALLENGES
IN THE DESEGREGATED
SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOM**

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**Submitted as the dissertation component (which counts for 50% of the degree) in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education
in the Department of Education, University of Natal,
Pietermaritzburg.**

December 1997

For
Jow'hara, Shahir and Shahan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Great appreciation is expressed to my supervisor Jackie de Haas for her guidance, encouragement and advice at all stages of the research process, and for her patience and generous understanding of the personal and other setbacks which arose during the protracted writing-up of the dissertation.

I wish to thank Professor Ken Harley for his encouragement and support.

I should like to pay special tribute to the ten teachers who shared their perceptions and experiences with me and let me in to gain an inside view of "living in the interregnum" in schools. I trust I have represented their voices faithfully.

The successful completion of this project would not have been possible without my acknowledgement of:

- My children Jow'hara, Shahir and Shahan, who sustain and inspire me always, and who have waited so long to see the finished product.
- Pat for his love and support, and for help with editing.
- My mother Shanthee for her help with the transcription of interviews and for her caring support and love.
- Jashwin and the Manjoo and Ramchundra families for their support, love and encouragement in the long years of study preceding the M.Ed., and during the coursework and examination components of the M.Ed.
- Marsha for her expert, efficient and unstinting help in putting the work together on computer.
- Madhuri Lalloo for her enthusiastic and efficient help in the earlier stages of typing the dissertation, and Marj Murray for help with emergency typing.

ABSTRACT

In September 1990, historic legislation enacted by the South African Government made it possible for schools that had been previously racially exclusive to admit students of other races. As a follow-up to the Penny *et al.* study (1992) which explored the changes brought about by the legislation in secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg through interviews with principals, this study acknowledges **teachers** as crucial actors in the transformation process. By focusing on the perceptions, concerns and challenges facing teachers at the "chalk face", the researcher was able to obtain a view from the inside on how the processes of desegregation were unfolding in schools.

By means of in-depth interviews with ten English First Language (E1L) teachers, the researcher embarked on an exploratory study based on discovery, describing and understanding, rather than explaining. The interview schedule was designed to allow the teacher's voice to emerge clearly and to allow teachers to reasonably portray as many significant dimensions of their situation as possible. Despite the fact that teachers came from a diverse range of secondary school settings, the research design saw all teachers interviewed as educational mediators confronting the consequences of fundamental educational change in the classroom.

The research argues that schools and teachers were not equipped to meet the challenges of desegregation. This was due largely to a lack of educational leadership and support, and because schools were entrapped in assimilationist modes of operation. Although all teachers interviewed were committed to desegregation, and while at least two schools showed evidence of the beginnings of a change orientation, the research argues further that deeper patterns of everyday change in schools were still to emerge.

The study reveals that both the new arrivals in recently desegregated schools and their teachers faced a context of formidable challenges. Firstly, the findings highlighted the isolation of the teacher in the classroom. Navigating the unfamiliar territory of English Second Language (ESL) teaching, and changing their methodology to teach ESL students in E1L classes, emerged as their greatest challenge. Secondly, the data was permeated with evidence of teacher concern over the fact that the new student intake in schools was marginalised academically, linguistically, culturally and socially.

The research findings highlighted the need for further research to be devoted to teachers, as it is clear from the literature that they tend to be neglected by educational administrators in the planning of policy and reform. The findings in this study suggest strongly that teachers are crucial as mediators of change. Further, teachers need school and departmental support if they are to contribute to educational change. The study demonstrates that an awareness of teacher experiences in the classroom is vital if educational and curricular reform is to succeed.

PREFACE

This thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own work.

"The old is dying and the new cannot be born: in this interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms."

Antonio Gramsci

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This chapter deals with the choice of the research topic (discussed more fully in Chapter Three), the aim of the study, and the decision to make teachers focal in the study. It also describes the educational background to desegregation, the context in which the study was conducted, and defines key terms.

In late 1990, legislation enacted by the South African Government enabled previously segregated schools to admit children of any race as from January 1991, marking what Penny *et al.* (1992, p. 1) describe as "a fundamental U-turn" in educational and political policy. This exploratory study focuses on how teachers of English First Language (E1L) at secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg during 1992, perceived and were affected by the challenges posed by this change in legislation.

This significant and historic announcement signalled the beginnings of the crumbling of the entire apartheid edifice, which had been upheld in no small way by the Verwoerdian pillar of "separate and unequal" education. This research thus arose out of a need to respond to a momentous educational development - the desegregation of schools in South Africa. By late 1992 one would have had to have had one's head buried in the sand to ignore the fact that the educational community in Pietermaritzburg was abuzz with debate and discussion around the desegregation of schools and the consequences.

At the time of the study, South Africa was at the beginning of a phase of major political and social transition, still 17 months away from her first democratic elections, undergoing what Nadine Gordimer (in Clingman, 1992, p.193) would call "Living in the interregnum". Her phrase was inspired by Gramsci (*Ibid.*, p.193) who wrote: "The old is dying and the new cannot be born: in this interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms". Interviews with teachers for the research were conducted in November 1992 during this period of interregnum, between one order and the next.

While the 1990 legislation undoubtedly heralded the beginning of a new non-racial educational era, the "interregnum" status of South African society at the time the research was conducted implied that schools would probably not be in a position to pursue pro-active anti-racist strategies to empower their students and to facilitate change. In a period of transition members of a society typically range along a continuum, with those adhering to the traditional values of the society at one end, and those espousing the values of the new order at the other (Drover and Smith & Cox in Vice, 1991, p. 1). This study aimed to gain a sense of where teachers and schools were situated on this continuum.

The research had started on a hunch, as suggested by Meier *et al.* (1989, p.4) that the desegregation of schools was often not more than the mere mechanical mixing of races in classrooms, and was usually only the initial step in any process of transformation. Accordingly she was aware that desegregation might not necessarily ensure an outcome offering equality for all students, or a move away from previous apartheid mindsets and assimilationist educational models for schools. However, it is important to emphasise that the researcher entered this study with the former comments as research questions, and not as hypotheses she had to set out to prove. She was completely committed to faithfully depicting the teachers' viewpoints during the interregnum period.

This chapter describes the educational background to desegregation, the decision to make teachers focal in the research, and also defines key terms. While the aim of the study has been touched on already, a full motivation for the study is outlined in detail in Chapter Three.

1.1 BACKGROUND

When apartheid was institutionalised in 1948, a racially segregated and complex bureaucracy of multiple education departments was established to oversee the education of the four major population groups. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed; in 1963, the Coloured Persons Education Act; in 1965, the Indian Education Act was passed and in 1967 the National Education Policy Act. The Acts laid down the guiding principles for African, Coloured, Indian and White education, apartheid education being characterised by segregation and unequal provision along

racial lines. There were 19 education departments in South Africa, including the departments in the self-governing homelands, at the time the research was conducted (Carrim, 1992, p.5). The education departments governing the education of each population group in schools in Pietermaritzburg were the Natal Education Department (NED) – White education; the Department of Education and Culture within the House of Delegates (HOD) – Indian education; the Department of Education of Culture within the House of Representatives (HOR) – Coloured Education; and the Department of Education and Training (DET) – African education. The language of learning in NED, HOD and HOR schools in Pietermaritzburg was E1L.

At the time, Pietermaritzburg was the capital city of the province of Natal (now called KwaZulu-Natal) and was situated in an area which had suffered from significant political violence and unrest from 1985 to 1991. African students had experienced severe disruption of their schooling and their personal lives (Gultig & Hart, 1990, p.11). Due to these reasons and to the historical differences in resourcing, the provision of schooling for all population groups other than the African population was good (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.5).

Financial discrepancies in state funding had ensured that White education was always favoured, with Indian, Coloured and African education following in descending order. African education had always been very poorly provisioned. White schooling, while just as racist and authoritarian as that provided for other groups, generally met the expectations of the white community (Frederikse, 1992, p.vii). By the end of the 1980's, *per capita* expenditure on white education still exceeded that of African education by almost four and a half times (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.3).

This resulted in what Penny *et al.* (*Ibid.*, p.3) speak of as the "informal status hierarchy" of schools under apartheid education, with White education serving as the reference point in discussions on standards of schooling, and Indian education not far behind. Most African students and parents believed their schools were inferior to those the state provided for White, Coloured and Indian students, while Coloured and Indian students and parents felt their facilities were not as good as those in the White schools (Frederikse, 1992, p.7). This partly explains why so many students from DET, HOD and HOR schools sought admission to schools perceived as being higher up the ladder. Another reason for students leaving schools designated exclusively for them

in terms of race was their preference for racially integrated schools. Generally, African schools were seen as being inferior to those the state provided for White, Coloured and Indian students. This was due largely to the policy of Bantu Education.

1.1.1 The Legacy of Bantu Education

The legacy of apartheid education and particularly of Bantu Education, features significantly in the literature. Beard & Gaganakis (1991, p.114) and Carrim (1992, p.1) confirm that African students in desegregated schools, as a consequence of their earlier schooling, experience learning difficulties, and that this has implications for the teachers in their new schools. This by no means infers that White students in NED schools were not negatively affected by apartheid education and Christian National Education (CNE). However, Molteno (in Kallaway, 1984, p.94) confirms that Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education were specifically designed to control the direction of thought, to delimit the boundaries of knowledge, to restrict lines of communication, and to curtail contact across language barriers. It should be emphasised that there was always resistance to Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education, and to apartheid education in general, in DET, HOD and HOR schools, and that teachers and students were able to achieve success despite being caught up in educational systems designed to systematically generate inequality and repression. However, there is no doubt that the system of Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education perpetuated and became synonymous with inferior schooling. This was exacerbated by a language policy under Bantu Education which promoted the use of the mother-tongue as the language of learning. This disadvantaged students further - in the past 4 decades, while English and Afrikaans-speaking children, under all education authorities, could have their schooling through the medium of either language, speakers of African languages could not: they had to use two, and, from 1955 to 1977, they were supposed to use three. Memories of Bantu Education, combined with their perception of English as a gateway to better education and economic empowerment have made the majority of Black parents favour English as the medium of instruction from the beginning of school, even if their children do not know the English language before they go to school (NEPI "Language" Report, 1992, pp.13-14). This is despite the fact that most research findings on the role of language in cognitive development suggest that mother-tongue medium of instruction in the initial years of schooling is best for children's cognitive development (Baker, 1993; Genesee,

1994; NEPI, 1992; Stibbs, 1987).

1.1.2 The Evolution of Desegregation in State and Private Schools in South Africa

1976 was a significant year. Not only did it mark, with the Soweto Uprising, the beginning of a period of concerted resistance to apartheid education, it also signalled the first challenge to the government's policy of segregated education. This challenge came from the Catholic private schools, thus beginning the open schools movement (Christie, 1990a, p.1) and establishing their value as the "harbingers of non-racialism" (Orkin in Randall, 1982, p.207). These private schools were called "open" rather than "integrated" to imply that integration was available but not compulsory (Vice, 1991, p.8). Randall concedes that private schools did achieve standards of excellence, and that their pupils often developed a greater social concern and awareness than their peers in the state system. Coutts (in Vice, 1991, p.8) describes how a few private schools adopted a broader approach, with emphasis placed on multicultural and even anti-racist programmes to address the disadvantaged. However, "open" (i.e. private) schools were seen inevitably as part of a system of institutionalised inequality (Randall, 1982, p.204 & p.207).

The desegregation of HOD and HOR schools had begun unofficially in 1985 (Carrim, 1992, p.3) and pre-dates the similar process within White state schools, with a considerable increase in the enrolment of African students following the government announcement of 1990. Changes in these schools had occurred relatively unobtrusively without official public announcements or the intense media attention generated by the opening up of White schools (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.4; Carrim, 1992, p.1). Thus, while Indian and Coloured schools had begun an open policy which they could now pursue more vigorously in the light of the 1990 announcement, the September 1990 legislation gave White state schools the option of retaining their *modus operandi* or changing. The "Model B" option was that favoured by the majority of White schools in the Pietermaritzburg area, allowing the school the right to determine its own admissions policy (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.4). Once the school changed status it had to continue to provide a Christian and broadly national education and to use the mother-tongue. It had to give preference to students from the feeder area, and the ethos of the school should remain unchanged. Students who wished to leave the school because of the change of status would be accommodated elsewhere (Vice,

1991, p.10).

Nearly all the primary and secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg which had previously catered exclusively for students of one particular population/race group viz. White, Coloured or Indian, were affected by the legislation. As schools for African students were still catering for African students only and were unaffected by the legislation except for "losing" students to the schools run by the NED, HOD and HOR, (Penny, 1992, *et al.*, p.6) they were not included in the study. Apart from the perceived hierarchy in the quality of schools (*Ibid.*, p.5), the following comment explains further why African schools were unaffected, indicating the limits of the movement for desegregation:

Though we are all convinced in principle that integration should work both ways, that Blacks should be admitted to White schools and Whites to Black schools, we realize that in the existing situation it can in fact mean only admission of Blacks to White schools, since Black schools are far too over-crowded and ill-equipped to be able to cater for White pupils. (Christie, 1990b, p.39).

Thus the deracialisation of schools has been complicated by the continued existence of racially separate schools (Carrim, 1992, p.1).

Teachers from a range of secondary schools, including private schools, were interviewed in this research. The rationale behind the choice of school contexts is explained in Chapter 3.

1.2 THE DECISION TO MAKE TEACHERS FOCAL IN THE RESEARCH

This study is a follow-up study to '*Just Sort of Fumbling in the Dark.*' *The Advent of Racial Integration in Schools in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa* (Penny *et al.*, 1992) which had been undertaken at an early stage of school integration, in late 1991 and early 1992. Through interviews with principals, the authors had focused on how schools in Pietermaritzburg perceived and responded to the resultant challenges posed. Almost a year after the Penny *et al.* study, and after 2 years of desegregation policy having been enacted in schools, the researcher wished to examine similar dimensions of school life to those explored in '*Just Sort of Fumbling in the Dark...*'. This time the exploration would be conducted through the eyes of teachers, and would

highlight their perceptions, challenges and concerns in the desegregated secondary school classroom.

The researcher was also influenced by Gillborn's assertion that to understand the workings of the education system, particularly at a critical moment of change, one has to examine the problems and solutions which are experienced and created by teachers at "the chalk face" (1990, p.11). Goodson & Walker (1991, p.1) in unreservedly highlighting the significance of persons in the education system, also encourage research on teachers, for to understand teacher development and curriculum development and tailor it accordingly, one needs to know a great deal more about teachers' priorities and their lives (*Ibid.*, p.138). As educational mediators who administer, manage and deliver educational services on a day to day to basis, it is in teachers' personal relationships with their pupils in the process of learning that the real meaning of education lies. The quality of this relationship has important bearings on the success or failure of schooling. To quote Hartshorne: "Whatever the educational problem that has to be faced, the key to the situation is the teacher"(1992, p.218). By focusing on teachers - on their concerns and their perceptions of the challenges in their classrooms and in their chosen vocation, the researcher took cognisance of the fact that despite all the expectations that society has of them, it should be remembered that teachers are also human beings, not trained, programmed automatons. Much education and curriculum policy has failed precisely because it lacks the appreciation of teachers' humanity (*Ibid.*, p.219).

Even though teachers and classrooms are difficult to research, the researcher's decision to base her research on teachers was further influenced by the fact that not enough research energy has been devoted to teachers, with the culture of teaching, in particular, being sadly neglected in curriculum planning (Harley, 1991, p.4). This point is reinforced by David Hargreaves (in Claxton, 1989, p.6): "...neglect of the occupational culture of teachers... has led us to underestimate the significance of the teachers' culture as a medium through which many innovations and reforms must pass".

Thus it was very early in the research planning that the researcher became concerned with how teachers perceived and responded to change as a result of the 1990 legislation. How had this

change impacted on teachers in the classroom? If change was to start in the classroom, how did the teachers reconcile their ideals with practical problems? Were they overwhelmed with practical problems? If so, what solutions were they able to find? Did teachers themselves believe that they were in the business of transforming anything?

The exploration of teacher attitudes and concerns in this area was seen as a very valuable field of investigation, and it was hoped initially to structure and pilot some kind of an anti-racist workshop that would become the basis of the research. The researcher had spent a short study attachment at the University of Leeds where she had studied anti-racist multicultural education, and was anxious to give something back to teachers which would be of use to them. At a MEDU (Midlands Education and Development Unit - based at the Education Department of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) workshop for teachers on "Teaching in a multilingual classroom" in September 1991, the researcher discovered that teachers themselves were mooted the idea of a workshop to sensitise themselves around issues of race. There was an awareness among many teachers that anti-racist strategies could help transform classroom practice. At the time, the researcher could not help being caught up in the euphoria that accompanied the legislation, and this explained her status as a novice and starry-eyed researcher, full of hopeful and idealistic notions of not merely "using schools and teachers" but of offering something in return once the research was over. The workshop was thus initially seen as an integral part of the research. However, as the research developed further, the idea of the workshop was soon dropped. To include it would entail embarking on a study of vast dimensions, one entirely beyond the scope of the research requirements.

A number of other factors had prompted the researcher to make teachers focal in her research. Prior to her appointment in 1988 to a management position in a part-time centre for community learning and arts education at a local technical college, the researcher had accumulated ten years of teaching experience in primary and secondary schools. She had worked alongside many teachers who were stimulated by and committed to their vocation despite apartheid education. She was aware, however, that there were growing numbers whose methodology and motivation had become steeped in mediocrity and much less, who merely "went through the motions". How would the latter group of teachers display their allegiance to desegregation and to moves towards

non-racial education? Would these teachers, in particular, be able to change their mindsets and methodology to incorporate in their teaching, in line with national moves towards a new curriculum and educational dispensation, the NEPI (National Education Policy Investigation) tenets of non-racism, non-sexism and redress of historical imbalance?

The researcher's professional association with progressive teacher organisations such as NEUSA (National Education Union of South Africa), TASA (Teachers Association of South Africa) and later SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers' Union) had provided clear evidence of the vital role teachers play in the restructuring of education in South Africa. In focusing on teachers during this period of transition towards a post-apartheid society, the researcher wished to evaluate the extent to which teachers were capable of meeting the demanding challenges inherent in influencing the nature and form of the future non-racial South African education system. The researcher was also concerned with exploring the role teachers played in facilitating or impeding the curriculum change that had to accompany political and social change. Most teachers in the South African education system had become adept at serving the ends of curriculum maintenance by operating as curriculum receivers (Harley, 1991, p.1). However, various factors, such as the aforementioned desegregation of schools, calls for a unitary system of education, and development in national curriculum policy outside the official departmental sphere, now exerted tremendous pressure on those same teachers to initiate curriculum change by becoming curriculum developers who were critical and reflective practitioners capable of facilitating critical and dynamic learning.

Christie (1990) in her comprehensive study of open schools *Open Schools: Racially Mixed Catholic Schools in South Africa, 1976 - 1986* concentrated on student outcomes in private schools as a result of desegregation. Studies investigating the change process in countries where desegregation has been official policy for more than a decade have also tended to examine the effects of integration on the students involved. Only recently has attention begun to be given to teachers' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour in mediating desirable outcomes (Vice, 1991, p.14). By focusing on teachers, this study hopes to contribute to the growing body of literature in this area.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY

As this study is a follow-up to the Penny *et al.* study (1992), similar terminology is used to refer to the school populations discussed. Terminology used in this study also accurately reflects the interviewees' actual usage viz. referring to student groupings in terms of race. The terms African, Coloured, Indian and White are used in the text. These do not refer to a biological concept of race, but to the political system of racial classification which underpinned apartheid education (*Ibid.*, p.38). The researcher rejects the racism implicit in racial categorization and emphasizes that in all cases terms are used for technical clarity in the study.

Other terminology and abbreviations used consistently in this study include the following:

- ESL - English Second Language.
- E1L - English First Language.
- Language of learning - this term is used in preference to the term "medium of instruction" and is acknowledged as the more acceptable term in language-in-education policy in South Africa today (Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996, p.453).
- L1 learner - the E1L student.
- L2 learner - the ESL student.
- BICS - Basic Communication Skills.
- Dominant Language Group - the "dominant language" in all cases in this study is English, but the dominant group of students in each school changes according to "race" i.e. Indian students in HOD schools, Coloured students in HOR schools, and White in NED schools.
- Non-Dominant Language Group - in Chapters 4 and 5 this refers to English Second Language Zulu-speaking students. A very small minority of Taiwanese, French and Xhosa-speaking students were found at a private school in this study, but are not referred to specifically in terms of the discussion around ESL issues.
- Dominant group students - this term refers to the mainstream students in schools e.g. Indian in HOD, Coloured in HOR and White in NED schools.
- Non-dominant groups - this term refers to the non-mainstream and marginalised groupings in each school. e.g. a combination of African, Coloured and Indian and possibly other groupings in NED schools, and to African students in HOR and HOD

schools.

- Assimilation. As defined by Heugh, (1994, p.2) this term may be understood to mean the subordination of marginalised groups under a dominant group. Marginalised groups are generally always at the disadvantage of the culture, language and value system of the dominant group.
- The term "black" (lower case) is a generic term and refers collectively to all racially oppressed groups (including Coloureds and Indians), and not just to Africans.
- The term "Black" (upper case) refers to African students only.
This confusing use of terminology ("black" and "Black") is regretted but was necessitated through the actual usage among interviewees. After the Tricameral elections of 1983 the term "black", which had previously referred to Indians, Coloureds and Africans collectively, began to be used more commonly to refer to African people only.
- Containment/change - containment refers to preserving the *status quo*; change refers to changing the *status quo* (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.39).
- Educational authorities - refers to the education departments viz. the NED, HOD and HOR.
- Educational management - refers to the superintendents of education (academic) and the educational directorates within the education departments as well as the management within schools (principals, deputy principals, heads of department).

1.4 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTERS

The research material is structured according to the following framework:

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| Chapter One | : | An introduction to the study. |
| Chapter Two | : | The literature review. |
| Chapter Three | : | The Methodology |
| Chapter Four | : | The Findings. |
| Chapter Five | : | Discussion. |
| Chapter Six | : | Presents a brief summary of the main findings and offers some concluding comments. |

In terms of the scope of the project it became apparent very early in the study, especially as increasingly complex areas of data emerged in the interviews, that it would not be possible to do justice to the many categories which appeared to be germane to the areas being probed. The researcher had to accept that due to the exploratory nature of the study she would have to focus on key concerns in the area of desegregated schooling such as those outlined in the introduction to Chapter 2, and that many other important areas would have to be omitted.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

In South Africa, due to the fact that the process of desegregation in state schools began only in 1991 (Carrim, 1992, p.1; Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.1) and in the private "open" school sector in 1976 (Christie, 1990, p.1), there has been a general dearth of research evidence in this area (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.5).

However, all the available research, internationally and in South Africa, highlights the complexity of educational processes that unfold with desegregation. The literature reveals much consistency in the nature of the **concerns** and **challenges** facing teachers in desegregated classrooms. These are:

- the overriding "**linguistic problems**" that **ESL students** experience, and the range of **language needs** in any one classroom
- the problem of the so-called "**educational underachievement**" of certain groups
- the problem of combatting **racism**
- the tendency of schools to lock into a curriculum policy of **assimilation** when encountering students of different cultural and social backgrounds (Barton & Walker, 1983; Carrim, 1992; de Haas, 1992; Gillborn, 1990; Penny *et al.*, 1992; Vice, 1991).

Under the following headings, this chapter aims to provide a theoretical framework which can best facilitate an understanding of the concerns listed above:

- 2.1 Education and inequality
- 2.2 Racism in the desegregated school
- 2.3 A knowledge base for language and ESL issues in the desegregated school
- 2.4 The curriculum and change
- 2.5 Factors affecting teacher ability to facilitate change.

In overviewing the significant concepts which informed the research, and influenced its design and the modus of investigation, the researcher has discussed the issues listed above (2.1 – 2.5) separately in this chapter for the sake of clarity. It should be emphasised however, that these areas

are closely interwoven due to inextricable links between language, society, education and power.

2.1 EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY

Liberal views of schooling have always upheld the meritocratic ideal of universal education – i.e. compulsory and free schooling for all, with its promise of social mobility, offering each individual - through the acquisition of academic credentials – the dream of equality. In reality, as Mirza (1992, p. 1) and Gillborn (1990, p.141) point out, **inequality** among certain groups has remained endemic. Radical educators have thus not viewed education as the great equaliser and provider of opportunity, but saw the objectives of schooling as achieving the opposite – as Paul Willis states, "Education is not about equality, but inequality" (Aranowitz and Giroux, 1985, p.69). This was more so in pre-democratic South Africa, and especially during the interregnum period, where schooling has justifiably been seen as intertwined with and serving the interests of apartheid and capitalism, where the aim of schooling has been to reproduce and perpetuate the *status quo*, and where the school will inevitably "mirror" the repression and inequality that is deeply rooted in the society (Randall, 1982, p. 205).

2.1.1 Reproduction in Education and the Role of the Hidden Curriculum

Radical educators have given Karl Marx's concept of reproduction a central place in developing a critique of liberal views of schooling (Aranowitz and Giroux, 1985, p.69). Lynch describes how schools are simultaneously involved in **universalistic** and **particularistic** practices (1988, p.151). While schools do create some universal experiences for all students and are universalistic in offering greater equality and opportunities than other social institutions, they are partisan or particularistic in that they tend to **reproduce inequalities** through the unequal treatment of students depending on their class, race, sex and ability. To understand social reproduction one has to take account of the unique interplay that occurs between the universal and the particular (Lynch, 1989, p.xii). The reality however, is that particularism has been the reigning feature of school life.

Schooling is thus a powerful instrument of social control. While education at first sight seems

to operate a very **formal** system of social control, many argue that the **informal** aspects of schooling such as the **hidden curriculum** are just as, or even more important than the overt formal curriculum. McDonald has written that she sees the hidden curriculum as the most crucial component of the mechanisms of social reproduction (Taylor, 1984, p.6). Bowles and Gintis concur, arguing that the actual content of school knowledge is of little importance - what is really significant is the hidden curriculum, which refers to the transmission of implicit norms, values and beliefs through the underlying structure of the curriculum, and more particularly, the social relations of the classroom and the school (Sarup, 1986, p.47).

Within the functionalist tradition it was P.W. Jackson who identified the hidden curriculum of the school as the social requirements of its learning situation (Lynch, 1989, p.1). Robert Dreeban, the other main proponent of the functionalist view of the hidden curriculum, posits that it is through "the structural arrangements of schools that students learn the norms necessary for success in adult life" (*Ibid.*, p.4). The chief limitation of this approach is that he speaks of the hidden curriculum as a unitary, undifferentiated entity, ignoring the fact that students' social class, race, gender and/or cultural background are all important in determining the kind of social experience they may have in school.

2.1.1.1 The Work of Bowles & Gintis

The political-economy model of reproduction which developed primarily around the work of Bowles & Gintis has exercised the most conspicuous influence on radical theories of schooling (Aranowitz and Giroux, 1985, p.74). What is valuable about their work is that they redirect attention from the alleged failings of the **individual** (in terms of IQ, ability, motivation, low self-concept, etc.) to the failings of the **education system** in a capitalist society (Sarup, 1986, p.47). Unlike Jackson, who tried to attain an understanding of the hidden curriculum of schools by focusing purely on the internal dynamics of the classroom, Bowles & Gintis emphasised that education and society are inextricably linked, and that the complexities of classroom life are fully comprehensible only when one takes cognisance of the structural processes outside schools where power becomes the property of dominant groups and operates to reproduce class, gender and racial inequalities that function in the interest of the accumulation and expansion of capital.

Bowles & Gintis have been severely criticised on many points. Most significantly, as Apple has noted, a correspondence theory is too reductionist to do complete justice to the complexities of school life or to the struggles and contradictions that exist in the school and the workplace (Apple, 1982, p.8). Highlighting yet another inadequacy, Apple (*Ibid.*, p.8) reminds us that correspondence theories have neglected the vital area of **cultural reproduction** of class relations and the lived responses of class and gender actors. Willis, too, is highly critical of the lack in Bowles & Gintis' work of any notion of **cultural production** in the dominated class. He stresses that they display no commitment to a real analysis of what happens in schools and to the variety of forms in which educational messages are decoded in particular student groups (Barton & Walker, 1983, p.111).

2.1.1.2 The Work of Paul Willis

Paul Willis' work *Learning to Labour* (1977) heralded both a shift from quantitative towards qualitative ethnographic research methods, and a shift, within the Marxist perspective, from highly deterministic and mechanistic accounts of social reproduction towards an appreciation of the roles of cultural processes within schools and therefore to a more activist theory of reproduction (Lynch, 1988, p.18). He brings a new dimension to our understanding of social reproduction through schooling – that of **cultural production** (Gordon, 1984, p.107). He demolishes forever the idea of a passive common ignorant working class and fills readers with an urgent awareness that schools are, and continue to be, the site of struggle that is never concluded and an outcome that is never assured.

2.1.1.3 The Work of Pierre Bourdieu

The work of Pierre Bourdieu, like the work of Willis, is clearly within the tradition of a culturalist approach to educational reproduction (Lynch, 1989, p.20). However, his understanding of how cultural processes affect reproduction in schools is very different from Willis. Within his cultural reproductive model, Bourdieu, like Bowles & Gintis, argues against the illusion of education's neutrality, pointing out that cultural reproduction through education has become one of the major ways in which class structure is reproduced.

The school system is, according to Bourdieu & Passeron, involved in pedagogic action (*Ibid.*, p.20). As such it is engaged in an act of "symbolic violence" as it imposes the particular "cultural arbitrary" of the dominating groups in society on other groups. In their view the school is only one of a number of pedagogical bodies (the family is also one) involved in this process (The Open University, 1977, p.40). The notions of culture and "**cultural capital**" are central to Bourdieu's analysis of how the mechanisms of cultural reproduction function within schools. For example, the "cultural capital" or more simply, the "**cultural resources**" (Jones, 1989, p.28) of a child refers to the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their family (Aranowitz & Giroux, 1985, p.80). The literature (see 2.1.1) acknowledges the significant role schools play in legitimating the dominant culture and reproducing dominant cultural capital. For example, Gordon (1984, p.107) states that schools tend to legitimise certain forms of knowledge, ways of speaking and ways of relating to the world that only certain students have received from their family backgrounds and class relations.

In private schools and in recently desegregated schools in South Africa non-dominant group students who do not possess the habitus/cultural capital of the dominated classes are often perceived as displaying a "deficit" or evidencing "cultural deprivation" (Nash, 1990, p.436). Seldom is it seen as a deficiency on the part of the school to develop pedagogic practices responsive to the cultural capital or the "cultural resources" such children bring to school. Those who possess the cultural capital of the dominant class are assured of high status either before or from the moment they enter the school. Sharp & Green (in Harley, 1991, p.9) describe how even teachers working in a progressive paradigm tend to work towards their description of the "ideal client" – usually a dominant group middle-class child. These issues are discussed further under 2.1.2.1.

Bourdieu has also been criticised for teaching culture as static rather than as both a structuring and transforming process: Robert Connell comments on how schools do not merely reproduce the dominant ideology, they are often important active agents in its construction as well (in Aranowitz & Giroux, 1985, p.85). Bourdieu's overly deterministic view of human agency leads to his displaying little faith in subordinate groups and classes and little hope in their ability to

reconstruct the conditions under which they live, work and learn.

Finally Bourdieu's theory is, according to Nash (1990, p.440), essentially an exclusion theory, that is, working class and cultural minority children, on average, fail in the school system because it is specifically designed to exclude them by neglect. While the theory has great radical appeal, and has applied especially in the South African situation, the actual complex lived experience of the actors sometimes signals otherwise. As Halsey has noted, (in Lynch, 1988, p.23) a small proportion of working class children do succeed within the educational system, and so too do some cultural minority students in desegregated schools. The cultural capital thesis does not explain this. In conclusion, by neglecting the ways in which human beings dialectically create, resist and accommodate themselves to dominant ideologies, Bourdieu excludes the active nature of both domination and resistance. His reductionist approach results in the loss of notions such as struggle, diversity and human agency (Aranowitz & Giroux, 1985, pp.83-84). He has not taken the opportunity to unravel how cultural domination and resistance are mediated through the complex interface of race, gender and class.

2.1.1.4 Student Adaptation

As Woods notes in "The Divided School" the modes of student adaptation to be found in schools (e.g. conformity, ritualism, retreatism, colonization, intransigence and rebellion) are complex (in Lynch, 1989, p.18). Ray observed resistant and non-resistant behaviour of girls at SMC (an exclusive girls' school) and TGHS (a general Government-aided lower-middle class school) in Calcutta. These behaviours ranged from "conformity" (an acceptance and genuine belief in both the goals and method of the school), "pragmatic acceptance" (this occurs when one settles for something because one feels one has no choice), withdrawal techniques, negotiation and quiet resistance, to open rebellion. Another example of adaptation found in culturally and linguistically diverse school settings is student self-segregation along language, ethnic and class lines – this has also been reported by Pillay (1995, p.103) in South Africa. Both Zanger and Landurand (1995/1996, pp.40-41) feel that it is only natural for students to look to the familiar for support. Landurand cautions that teachers should understand the reasons for students' behaviour prior to determining whether or not to intervene e.g. to determine whether students are intentionally

segregating themselves because of racial or ethnic differences, or whether prejudice and discrimination are the root cause. If the latter is the case, intervention is necessary. Zanger suggests that a reason that students "clump together" is their need to have their own culture validated within the school. She feels that intervention strategies such as structured co-operative learning activities (e.g. pair work) may help to break down stereotypes and initiate friendships across ethnic and racial lines, but warns that strategies should address issues of mistrust and cultural insensitivity among students. Ray argues that socio-economic backgrounds as well as the structure of the school itself play a vital role in directing the channels taken by the students' resistances (1988, pp.387-395). Because many of these forms of resistance do not in fact threaten the system, but assist in the students' survival within it, they are survival strategies rather than revolutionary strategies (*Ibid.*, p.398). A more detailed exploration of modes of student adaptation is beyond the scope of this study.

In conclusion, in order to understand the dynamics of reproduction in education and the way in which it is facilitated by the hidden curriculum, it is necessary to accept the reproduction-resistance nexus and the contradictory and paradoxical nature of the education system of any country. Robinson (1981, p.193) illustrates this when he says "schools may contribute to the reproduction of the class structure, but they also contribute to its change; schools may be substantially independent of controlling groups within a society, yet these groups will attempt to impose on schools a particular view of education. Always schools will serve contradictory purposes".

2.1.2 Conforming (Assimilationist), Reforming (Multicultural) and Transforming (Anti-Racist) Perspectives in Education

2.1.2.1 Assimilation in Schools

- Assimilation as an Early Policy Response to Multi-ethnic School Populations in Britain
The initial response to the arrival of children from Commonwealth countries in Britain in the 1950's has been described as being assimilationist (Gewirtz, 1991, p.190). It was thought to be the role of education to prepare immigrant children for life in British society, which involved immersing them in British culture and British values. Their own cultural backgrounds were seen

as a hindrance to full assimilation. Black people were thus seen as a problem (Sarup, 1986, p.14): they could not speak English, they posed an administrative problem for already over-crowded inner-city schools, and a political problem was expressed in terms of the fear that the character and ethos of the school would be radically altered. Within the assimilationist model it was taken for granted that Black culture is inferior and that Black values and beliefs are of secondary importance to those held by White groups. The main cultural features of the Black pupils which were thought to be in need of remedial attention were the family background and language (Gewirtz, 1991, p.190). It should be noted that the Swann Committee (in Gillborn, 1990, p.157) in investigating the formal curriculum and the hidden curriculum in schools, presented evidence which revealed that assimilationist policy practised by schools is ultimately racist.

- More Recent Assimilation Policy.

Whether structurally induced or not, most open schools in South Africa operate within the assimilationist mould and send out the message: "If you can become like us, you're fine". Black students in multiracial multi-ethnic schools often walk a tightrope, balancing between the hopes and resentments of their communities, and the expectations of their school peers and teachers. Their experiences are often very traumatic, with assimilationist school traditions alienating Black children from their own cultural backgrounds, and with students described as being "lost" (Frederikse, 1992, p.19). Gillborn's findings (1990, p.67) in Britain correlate strongly - he quotes an Afro-Caribbean student: "If you want to get on in school you must be a choc-ice" (a derogatory name meaning Black on the outside and White on the inside). Ajit Mohanty's research in India (1994, p.56) also confirms that non-dominant minorities are subjected to a variety of acculturation pressures and social discrimination in schools.

In pre-democratic South Africa, Carrim reports that African students enrolled in Indian and Coloured schools as well as Indian, Coloured and African students in White schools were compelled by law to be assimilated (according to the Education Acts for the different population groups - see 1.1) into the "dominant cultural ethos" in such schools, clearly privileging the mainstream group in each school. In this way, apartheid-constructed social identities were reinforced rather than challenged (1992, p.1; p.20 & p.30).

In her book *All Schools for All Children*, Frederikse (1992) refers to the extent to which the integration of schools in Zimbabwe has been based on the model of the former White schools: Black students are often forced (and sometimes themselves strive) to fit into the structures, culture, and ethos of schools as they developed during pre-independence times - even when Blacks have become a large majority in the schools. Secondly, African customs, culture and languages appear to have been neglected in the curriculum programmes of these schools, with many African students being ashamed to be heard speaking Shona or Ndebele - in some cases they are even forbidden to speak African languages at school. She warns that this situation cannot but reproduce the cultural subjugation of Black students characteristic of colonialism (1992, pp.121-122). Helen Pooler too, in accusing open schools of being "too biased" towards English culture, speaks of the need for parents to be educated, for they do not realise the damage that a devaluation of their own language and culture can do. She calls for an "anti-bias" approach to teaching, which implies a changed perspective from all sides of the spectrum (in von Klemperer, 1991, "New schools 'too biased' towards English culture", in *The Natal Witness*, 19 September).

- "Racelessness" as part of Assimilation in Schools

Fordham speaks of the "ideology of racelessness" which argues that schools and teachers prefer children who are able to discard their ethnic affiliations and become "raceless" (1988, p.58). Similarly, Gillborn reports that the vast majority of the staff at multi-ethnic schools he spoke to seemed genuinely to believe that "treating everyone the same" was the best way to deal with the ethnic diversity of the school's pupil population. An unfortunate consequence of this perspective was that in the day-to-day life of the schools, almost any display of ethnicity was deemed inappropriate and was controlled either officially or informally (Gillborn, 1990, p.29). Vice (1991, p.6) describes teachers who hold the view that "pupils are pupils, colour makes no difference". As a result of these views, teachers claimed to have experienced no change since desegregation in Johannesburg schools began. All these attitudes are reflective of education in an unequal society, where many believe that the best way to handle ethnic diversity is to ignore it (Gillborn, 1990, p.xv). They try to avoid "racial problems" by simply treating everyone alike (*Ibid.*, p.199).

2.1.2.2 Multicultural Education as a Response to Changing School Populations

Multicultural education in England, from 1965 to the early 70's, reacted against the deficit assimilation model by insisting that ethnic minority cultures were not deficient but different. It acknowledged the existence of ethnocentrism and prejudice in the dominant society, perceiving them as harmful to both dominant and dominated pupils, and aimed to eliminate them by giving children knowledge about different cultures.

Multicultural education has been perceived by some as an attempt to quell Black resistance and dampen legitimate anger by encouraging the celebration of safe cultural differences, thereby masking real inequalities (Gewirtz, 1991, p.191). The essence of the anti-racist critique of multicultural education is that it failed to acknowledge "the way in which different cultures were produced and existed in social relations of power, and of dominance and subordination" (Carby in Gewirtz, 1991, p.193) and that multicultural education needs to go far beyond an essentially emotional empathy with other people's lifestyles.

To Mullard (1982, pp.130-131), multiracial or multicultural education has above all meant the assimilating or integrating of alien Black groups in England, without disruption, into a society dedicated to the preservation of social inequality. He has seen it as an instrument of control and stability rather than one of change, of the subordination rather than the freedom of Blacks in school and/or society as a whole. It was against this background that anti-racism began to appear in the late 1970's.

2.1.2.3 Anti-Racist Education as a Response to Multicultural Education in Aiding Transformation In Schools

If one studies the historical context out of which anti-racism emerged, it evolved in response to the failure of multiculturalism to bring about effective change, which itself arose out of dissatisfaction with early approaches towards the education of ethnic minority pupils in Britain. In what ways did anti-racism move away from and reject multiracial-multicultural educational models and policies? Being dominated by a social-psychological perspective (Sarup, 1986, p.27),

multiculturalists have explained the under-achievement of certain groups, notably those of Afro-Caribbean descent, in terms of low self-esteem. This is derived from a negative evaluation of their culture held by teachers and fellow pupils and a curriculum from which they are absent or depicted in derogatory stereotypes. Jeffcoate spoke of their special educational needs and their poor language skills (in Gewirtz, 1991, p.186). Anti-racists see these explanations as being grossly inadequate, and strongly reject the idea that under-achievement is a result of low self-esteem. Carby (*Ibid.*, 1991, p.186) argues that the low self-esteem explanation belongs to an ideology which attempts to locate the cause of educational failure in working class and Black pupils rather than the educational system itself, in other words "blaming the victim". She sees this as belonging to a cultural deficit theory (*Ibid.*, p.188). Anti-racists have rejected any form of analysis which may smack of a "blame the victim" approach. Over the past decade anti-racism has steadily gained ground among policy makers at the expense of the politically less contentious (but still dominant) ideology of multicultural education (Short, 1991a, p.33), even though it has been perceived by some as a form of political radicalism often associated with the Marxist left (Bonnett, 1990, p.255). Multicultural education has appealed because it has been principally concerned to celebrate cultural diversity, overcome curricular ethnocentrism and promote inter-group tolerance.

Anti-racists prioritise the need to confront the structural basis of racial inequality both in schools and in society at large. They argue for policy initiatives designed to change **institutions** rather than children (Short, 1991b, p.2). These include the politicisation of the formal curriculum, scrutiny of the "hidden curriculum", changes in the way students are assessed and allocated to ability streams and sets, more Black staff and better promotion prospects for those already teaching, and an introduction of policies to prevent and punish racial incidents in schools. Anti-racism is based very explicitly on a structural theory of racism and a class analysis of education (Hatcher in Troyna, 1987, p.184). Because racism is morally reprehensible and intellectually fallacious, a major goal of anti-racist education is to denounce racism in whatever form it appears in schools and society. Gill & Lendow (in Gillborn, 1990, p.157) are among theorists who, while critical of multiculturalism, advance an anti-racist practice which incorporates the best multicultural approach. De Haas confirms that the exploration of an anti-racist approach in education in South Africa has arisen due to a dissatisfaction with the other approaches adopted

by schools. Anti-racism is perceived as an educational paradigm which can form a conceptual base for necessary change in education, especially because of its opposition to any practices, attitudes or customs which support inequality (1992, p.2).

2.2 RACISM IN DESEGREGATED/DERACIALISED SCHOOLS

Race is a key educational issue and perhaps one of the most controversial areas of contemporary educational debate. The British experience finds unassailable evidence of racism in multilingual, multicultural schools, irrespective of whether Black/Asian students are in the minority or the majority (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992, p.3). As an important concern in deracialised or multi-ethnic schools, racism constitutes very real challenges for teachers (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992, p.198; Carrim, 1992, p.30 and Vice, 1991, pp.38/39). It is found not only in crude jokes but also in teacher attitudes, teacher and student prejudice, the basic assumptions which underly curriculum structures and content, pedagogical styles, and the school's ethos and pastoral procedures.

2.2.1 Teachers and Racism

The literature indicates that teachers do not treat all students equally and objectively but base their assessments on variables such as children's race, gender and socio-economic status. While many teachers are often not overtly racist – the vast majority would reject all notions of innate differences between races and genuinely try to treat all students fairly - their ethnocentric perceptions often lead to actions which are racist in their consequences. This happens even when they believe themselves to be unprejudiced (Gillborn, 1990, p.44; Vice, 1991, p.4). Gillborn's study is particularly significant in this regard, showing the influence of different racial stereotypes and highlighting the especially disadvantaged position of Afro-Caribbean pupils within a school:

- Teachers' assumptions about Asian and Afro-Caribbean students are likely to operate in racist ways - Parekh, quoted in the Swann Report (1985) speaks of "the false assumptions that teachers have, namely that all West Indian children fail and all Asian children succeed" (in Gillborn, 1990, p.10 & p.99). The stereotypes which teachers hold of South

Asian pupils have tended to be more positive than those they hold of Afro-Caribbeans.

- Teachers often held stereotyped views of Asian cultures and communities (especially concerning the role of women). In general, teachers assumed that Asian pupils were likely to be quiet, well-behaved and backed up by a highly motivated and supportive family, or saw their Asian pupils as suffering through over-strict, sometimes destructive traditions within their communities, in other words as victims of their own culture (*Ibid.*, p.110 & p.79).
- South Asian pupils were frequently lumped together into a single group, yet there are very great variations within that group (*Ibid.*, p.203).
- As a group, Afro-Caribbean pupils experienced more conflictual teacher/pupil relationships than their peers of other ethnic origins and also experienced a disproportionate amount of punishment and criticism (*Ibid.*, p.19 & p.43).
- Driver, Wright & Middleton (*Ibid.*, 1990, p.23) argued that teachers did not have the "cultural competence" to interpret the behaviour of Afro-Caribbean pupils, leading the teachers to see them as difficult pupils. These perceptions were subsequently institutionalised through the pupils' placement in non-academic streams: a decision based upon behavioural rather than academic characteristics. Carrying the idea of "cultural competence" further, Bharucha (in Schauffer, 1995, pp.54-55) speaks of the importance of interculturalism, which acknowledges that people of different cultures have different ways of seeing or responding to things. In illustration, Schauffer describes the different responses to a play dealing with the theme of rape in marriage: three Indian students were moved to tears, while a group of African students were amused. He asked them why they had laughed, and received the following sobering response - theirs had been a laughter of recognition - they had been unaware that a phenomenon so common in their own society was also a phenomenon in other cultures.
- Carrington (*Ibid.*, p.113) suggests that White teachers sometimes use Black students' achievement in sport as a means of social control which maintains the students' investment in the school, while simultaneously reflecting and reinforcing crude stereotypes of Afro-Caribbean pupils as more suited to physical/manual tasks rather than to academic/non-manual activities.

This differential treatment by teachers is ultimately racist in nature, whether unintentional or not.

It leads to Black students experiencing school very differently from the dominant group students and as Troyna (in Gillborn, 1990, p.120) warns, is ultimately a major barrier to the achievement of Black students.

Carrim's findings in South Africa support Gillborn's research and provide evidence of both overt and more subtle racism: e.g. a teacher said: "Although our school is open now, our teachers are still very prejudiced. They verbally abuse the Black children in the class, but it is mainly the racist comments they make in the staff room that shows their racism". Another teacher said: "I am always surprised when a Black child does well because I don't expect them to. That's how I realised I am prejudiced as well. I am trying to confront it now" (Carrim, 1992, p.21).

A deeper analysis of the findings discussed here is outside the scope of this study but holds significant implications for further research in South Africa.

2.2.2 Racism Among Students

In England, racist "name-calling" among students is by far the most common expression of racism (Gillborn, 1990, pp.76-77, p.195 & p.198). In South Africa and Zimbabwe it has been reported that students tend to stay in separate race groups at break (Carrim, 1992, p.21; Christie, 1990, p.6; Frederikse, 1992, p.33; Mfayela, 1992, p.15). Carrim also reports that inter-pupil relationships between races are cautious and at times strained in certain schools (1992, p.31). In the "Letters to the Editor" of the TESOL Journal (1995/1996, pp. 40-41) three American educationalists: Landurand, Shin and Zanger, report separately that self-segregation (the voluntary separation from other students who are not of the same race or ethnic background) among ESL students is a serious concern for teachers (see also 2.1.1.4).

2.2.3 Race and Gender

As racism and sexism are often perceived as partners in oppression and share a common concern over inequality, the literature reveals that at the level of actual school practice and in the greater society, strategies which engage jointly with issues of gender and race should be employed

(Gewirtz, 1991, p.184). A further exploration of this area is not within the scope of the study.

2.2.4 Separate Social and Class Experiences

Carrim describes how in South Africa the racist construction of people is either White, Indian, Coloured or African - the bolstering of ethnicity amongst them has reinforced and supported their separate social and class experiences (1992, p. 1). Giddens (in Burman & Reynolds, 1986, p.204) concurs, citing the creation of separate social worlds as one of the physical consequences of apartheid. This idea of separateness is carried through in much of the literature, with Sandile Thusi speaking of children attending schooling outside the townships as living in two worlds, that of their school language and culture and that of their community's (Bennett, 1991, "Blacks in white schools", in Sunday Tribune, 10 November). Christie's (1990, p.3 & p.63) and Gaganakis' (in Freer, 1992, p.79) findings in open schools confirm that many students experienced a sense of isolation at school, which was coupled with a sense of isolation at home as well, of being caught between two worlds, of not belonging. Similarly Gillborn (1990, p.27) describes how Afro-Caribbean pupils he studied were to some extent living in two cultures: firstly the culture of their home and social life, and secondly, the "White" culture of the school (1990, p.27).

This awareness of the separate worlds inhabited by teachers and their new charges at desegregated schools, and the need to bridge this gap, is often perceived by many teachers as one of the most positive effects of desegregation (Carrim, 1992, p.21; Christie, 1990, p.46 & p.68; Frederikse, 1992, p.5 & p.38; Vice, 1991, p.6 & p.36). They report that both pupils and teachers see the insight gained into different and separate realities and cultures and into township life in particular, as an enriching experience. The literature also acknowledges that the initial response of many teachers to teaching new admissions who are not part of the dominant group students in the school, is often one of anxiety, and that many teachers experience difficulties in the classroom because of the unfamiliarity of the new groups they are teaching (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.10; de Haas, 1992, p. 1).

The situation in Zimbabwe reveals a slightly different scenario, with the almost total collapse of race consciousness being matched by the growth of class consciousness (Frederikse, 1992,

p.119). Frederikse describes how with the integration of schooling in Zimbabwe the private and suburban (i.e. "low-density") schools increasingly drew in children of the wealthier Blacks, thus becoming multiracial middle-class schools, while the township ("high-density") and African rural schools remained uniraical and inferior. Class tensions have built as the township students who attend suburban schools are discriminated against from all sides. They are not easily accepted by their township counterparts; neither are they accepted by Black or White suburban students from middle class backgrounds, putting an enormous amount of pressure on these students, who continue to attend suburban schools which they believe offer one of the few means of social mobility available to them. Thus the Zimbabwean experience indicates that redressing racial inequalities in education may simultaneously widen the class gulf. Frederikse (*Ibid.*, p.121) predicts that in South Africa too, privileged and unprivileged sectors of the education system are likely to remain a reality for some time. Penny *et al.* concur, stating that despite the South African state's attempts to "equalize" resources in township and rural schools in South Africa, it is unlikely that material conditions, and issues surrounding academic "standards" and the quality of teaching will change appreciably or that the schools will be able to surge forward to counter the effects of the neglect of African education (1992, p.35). They envisage a "two tiered" system of schooling in South Africa (certainly in the minds of students and parents) in which schools once designated Coloured, Indian and White and a few African schools, will form a minority privileged sub-system, while the majority of African schools will continue to offer a form of mass schooling of very variable quality.

2.2.5 The Need for Training Programmes for Teachers and Whole School Policy on Race

What emerges with great force in the literature is that racism has to be addressed in the school system if educational transformation is to succeed. The following combination of prescriptive and proscriptive top-down and bottom-up initiatives are advocated:

- The necessity of attitude change and awareness-raising among teachers and students is highlighted (Gewirtz, 1991, p.195). Without any real commitment from teachers, strategies to eliminate racism will be unsuccessful, as the following quotation from the Zimbabwean experience shows: "I think that if you want to change an education system, you have to start with the teachers - if your teachers' attitudes and values are not changed,

nothing's going to change" (Frederikse, 1992, p.114).

- Policy at departmental level should be augmented by the appointment of advisory and support staff (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992, p.5).
- Teachers have to be trained through in-service training (INSET) and workshops as part of a programme of anti-racist education (Frederikse, 1992, p.114; Buxton in Vice, 1991, p.6).
- The translation and availability of all school communication into community languages (again emphasising the links between multilingual, multicultural and anti-racist issues) (Carter & Williams, 1987, p.180).
- There should be policy formulation, at school and education department levels, on racial equality and multicultural anti-racist education (multicultural anti-racist education will be discussed later in this chapter). Anti-racist policy in schools should be cross-curricular and should involve the development of whole-school policies which involve all staff members and include input from students and parents. Policy should help create an anti-racist ethos in schools (Carter & Williams, 1987, p.180; Vice, 1991, p.35). A school policy also needs to have three mutually dependent elements (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992, p.204):
 1. A clear and firm **policy** to deal with racist incidents when they occur, which is implemented by all staff. Rex (1989, p.20) clarifies this further as the setting out of formal procedures to deal with racial attacks and abuse – these would become offences under anti-racist policy whether they occur among pupils, teachers or administrators.
 2. Teachers also need to be **trained** to deal with racist incidents and not sidestep issues on race, as a neutral stance on the part of the teacher is seen as favouring injustice (Hall, 1981, p.58; ILEA, 1986, p.69).
 3. A **curriculum** defined in formal and informal terms, that addresses issues of 'race' in association with related forms of inequality and justice.

2.2.6 Terminology in the field of Race and Education

The area of race and education is contentious and is characterised by a lack of coherence as well

as controversy, with terminology being one of the most frequently changing and disputed aspects of the whole field (Gillborn, 1990, p.2; Hulmes, 1989, p.7). Key words and phrases also change, reflecting the variety of political and educational perspectives which have evolved over the last few decades. There are few constants, as illustrated by the wide range of words used in the literature to describe the open or desegregated school: multi-ethnic, mixed race, mixed, deracialized, multiracial, integrated, multicultural, multilingual, cultural and linguistic diversity. Words or phrases are often used interchangeably or indiscriminately as "buzz words", often with no real sense of their meaning or appropriateness e.g. the terms multiracial and anti-racist. This discussion is continued in 2.3.2.1.

2.3 A KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR LANGUAGE AND ESL ISSUES IN THE DESEGREGATED SCHOOL

The field of ESL teaching is so vast that this section can only attempt to briefly sketch and outline the more salient issues, particularly those which fit into the anti-racist model which facilitates the transformation of schooling. A fuller investigation would be outside the scope of this study.

2.3.1 Different Dispositions Towards Language

Ruiz (in Baker, 1993, p.247) suggests that there are three basic perspectives about language around which people and groups vary: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. These three different dispositions towards language planning do not necessarily operate at the conscious level but may be embedded in the unconscious assumptions of planners and teachers.

- **Language as a Problem**

Within this orientation a minority language or non-dominant language is often connected with the problems of poverty, under-achievement in school, minimal social and vocational ability and with a lack of integration with the majority culture. In this perspective the language is thus perceived as a partial cause of social, economic and education problems, rather than an effect of such problems. This "language is an obstacle" attitude is summed up in the phrase "If only they would speak English, their problems would be solved". One resolution of the problem is the

increased teaching of a majority/dominant language (for example English) at the expense of the home language. Developing bilingualism is seen as an irrelevant and less important aim of schooling (Baker, 1993, p.248).

- Language as a Right

This orientation thinks of language as a basic human right. It is argued that there should be an individual right to choice of language. Just as there are attempts to eradicate discrimination based on colour and creed, so it is argued that language prejudice and discrimination need to be eradicated in a democratic society. These language rights may be derived from personal, legal and constitutional rights (*Ibid.*, p.249).

- Language as a Resource

People who adopt this perspective see language as a personal and national resource. All languages, even those spoken by language minority groups, are viewed in terms of their economic, social and cultural bridge-building potential (*Ibid.*, p.252).

All three orientations see language not simply as a form of communication, but acknowledge the links language has with politics, economics, society and culture.

2.3.2 Teaching ESL - a Major Educational Issue Worldwide

Gillborn confirms that the teaching of English as a second language was in fact the first area of education seriously to attempt any response to the presence of "ethnic minority" children. The challenge of preparing children for school instruction in a dominant but unfamiliar language, (this language has been English in Great Britain, the United States and South Africa) is, according to Genesee (1994, p.ix) one of the major issues that schools have to contend with whenever educational mixing across cultural and linguistic borders occurs. This is confirmed by recent research in South Africa on the deracialisation of schools (Pillay, 1995, p.5; Carrim, 1992, p.21; Johnstone, 1992, p.1). Cummins (in Genesee, p.37) concludes that linguistic and cultural diversity has in fact become the norm in many urban Western school systems and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. The above factors have important implications for schools, teachers and teacher education institutions and necessitate the adoption of the following pedagogical options:

- Most significantly, it suggests that **all teachers should be knowledgeable about**

patterns of language and social development among ESL students and also be capable of implementing pedagogical strategies in the mainstream classroom that are effective for both ESL and First Language speaking English students (Genesee, 1994, p.33).

- The fact that upwards of five years may be required for students to reach a level of academic proficiency in English comparable to their EIL-speaking peers suggests that schools must be prepared to make a long-term commitment to support the academic development of students (*Ibid.*, p.41).
- The academic and linguistic growth of students is significantly increased when parents see themselves, and are seen by school staff, as co-educators of their children along with the school. Schools should therefore actively seek to establish a collaborative relationship with non-dominant language parents that encourages them to participate with the school in promoting their children's academic progress (*Ibid.*, p.43; NEPI Report on "Language", 1992, p.11).

Cummins (in Genesee, 1994, p.73) argues that in most North American contexts, the education of ESL students (whether in mainstream or withdrawal classes) takes place within structures that limit the possibilities of students' personal, intellectual and social development. The situation in South Africa is similar, except that both students and teachers have been far more disadvantaged (Carrim, 1992, p.31 & p.34; Pillay, 1995, p.5 & p.108). This is due mainly to:

- the apartheid legacy
- the fact that desegregated schooling represents unfamiliar territory to schools and education departments
- there has been little direction or support for students and teachers from the respective educational authorities (de Haas, 1992, p. 1; Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.13 & p.37).

2.3.2.1 Terminology in ESL

Theorists in the field of ESL express concern about the irresponsible use of terminology and emphasise the need to avoid terminology which impacts negatively on ESL students. Terminology can reflect the user's built-in assumptions, biases and perspectives about language

teaching, and also reveal her/his disposition towards language.

For example, even though the term English Second Language has come to be considered as neutral and is most often used, authors such as Genesee express reservations about its use because it focuses attention on only **one** aspect of the teaching and learning of these children, the **second language aspect** (1994, p. 1). The ANC (in Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996, p.459) has also argued that the term "second language" implies "a deficit view of language competence". Corson (1993, p.98) confirms that when dominant language/majority language/mainstream culture educators look at non-dominant/minority language children they tend to focus on what those children lack, and what they see is the absence of a high level of proficiency in the dominant language of the schooling they offer the children.

The concerns of educators should be with the entire education of the child – academic, cognitive and social, as well as linguistic. Effective education of second language children calls for a more integrative approach than that which has characterised professional thinking and practice in the field to date. Terms such as ESL or Second Language Students are still preferable however, because they lack the more serious shortcomings of an alternative such as LEP (Limited English Proficient) which is unacceptable because it focuses on the apparent deficiencies in these children's development (*Ibid.*, p. 1).

Even the term "underachievement" (as in "the educational underachievement of Black students") has come in for criticism. Gillborn asks educators to reconsider the appropriateness of this term and to move away from its use, because it locates the problem within the group that is suffering, rather than the problem of the education system (1990, p.141). He feels that it has become a stereotype which teachers, administrators and politicians use to absolve themselves of responsibility. Wright (*Ibid.*, p.141) suggests that the nature of the educational experience of Black students may be better understood in terms of "educational disadvantage" rather than in terms of "underachievement".

2.3.2.2 Linguistic Problems of ESL Students and approaches adopted by teachers

As previously mentioned, the issue of the poor language competency of ESL students, and the difficulties of dealing with students of varying levels of ability and of different language proficiencies in a single classroom, have posed some of the most significant challenges to teachers in multicultural multilingual classrooms (Gillborn, 1990, p.174; Carrim, 1992, p.21; Johnstone, 1992, p.1). In South Africa the language problems experienced by Black ESL students are exacerbated due to their previous learning experiences under Bantu Education which include, as described by MacLarty and Macdonald (in Johnstone, 1992, pp. 6-7) problematic features such as rote learning, illiterate or semi-literate family backgrounds and the dominant role played by many Black teachers in classroom situations. In the words of one HOR teacher "How do you deal with a child who does not understand what you are saying? How do you cope with the fact that the Black pupils do not have the basic skills to deal with the concepts of the subjects you teach?" (Carrim, 1992, p.30). Another teacher said: "There seems to be a problem with language with these Black pupils and we really don't know what we can do about it. They are really weak at English." (*Ibid.*, p.31). In Johnstone's investigation (1992, pp.3-4) into areas of greatest difficulty experienced by ESL students, the following featured:

- Listening skills – they found the speed of the spoken word problematic, they confused similar sounds and had vocabulary problems
- Speaking skills - they had problems with colloquial and figurative use of English and were reticent about speaking aloud in oral lessons.
- Reading skills - students demonstrated better literal reading skills than interpretative or evaluative skills. Johnstone's study showed the high degree of correlation between her findings in Natal, Mawasha's findings with North Sotho children, and Ogle's findings in the United States, confirming the very similar characteristics displayed by ESL students world-wide, not only in the area of academic skills but in classroom behaviour and in relationships with teachers as well (*Ibid.*, pp.3-4). In response to their students' "linguistic problems" as outlined here, teachers have had to change their methodology and approach to language teaching.

In discussing different language teaching methods and approaches, Baker (1993, pp.213-222)

suggests that a language teacher tends to have a theory of how students best learn a language. For some, language is essentially about vocabulary, correct grammar and correct sentence structures. For others language concerns communication, yet others feel language is ultimately about creating personal relationships and the successful negotiation of meaning. Often the role taken by a teacher could relate to the materials and facilities that exist inside and outside the classroom e.g. a more structured linguistic approach could co-exist with graded text books, visual aids, graded exercises, language laboratories and computer-assisted language programmes. Most language teachers tend to be eclectic in approach, combining in different ways structural, functional and interactional methods. In real classrooms there is often a combination of drills and pair work, task-based activity and teacher-directed transmission, correct habit formation and improvised dialogue.

Johnson (in Genesee, 1994, pp.183-204) and Pillay (1995, p.102) discuss the importance of using grouping strategies in teaching second language students, particularly for "regular" or "mainstream" teachers who have ESL students in their classes. For large groups Johnson recommends oral discourse strategies such as repeating, recycling and rephrasing, all of which enhance students' comprehension. These can be used in such a natural and meaningful way that monolingual English speakers barely notice, while ESL students benefit. She recommends pairing second language students with monolingual speakers. The teacher should also allow small, linguistically heterogeneous groups of students to work co-operatively on meaningful tasks. The importance of literature and drama in learning English is also highlighted. Continual ongoing assessment of all these activities is stressed. Johnstone's investigation into language problems experienced by senior secondary ESL students in KwaZulu-Natal reveals that teachers adopt similar teaching strategies for successful ESL learning here in South Africa (1992, pp. 8-11). She also views drama as being invaluable in ESL teaching (*Ibid.*, p.9).

Broadfoot & Osborn (1988, p.278) outlines the pros and cons of an "individualised pedagogy" which makes considerable sense educationally in terms of catering for students of different abilities. However, he feels it also has the potential for disadvantaging those students for whom teachers may have low expectations, or for those who are not able to convince the teacher of their needs.

2.3.2.4 Structures that Limit the Development of ESL Students

Despite the fact that most educators and policy makers in the United States are undoubtedly well-intentioned and committed to helping students succeed academically, they have generally failed to challenge and transform structures that systematically discriminate against students (Cummins in Genesee, 1994, p.34). The following are examples:

- Teacher education institutions that continue to treat issues related to ESL students as marginal. New teachers are sent into the classroom with minimal information regarding patterns of language and emotional development among students, and few pedagogical strategies for helping students learn.
- Curricula that reflect only the experiences and values of the middle-class white English-speaking population and effectively suppress the experiences and values of ESL students. This will be discussed further later in this Chapter.
- The absence in most schools of professionals able to communicate in the languages of students and their parents.
- Criteria for promotion to positions of responsibility that do not take cognisance of the individual's competence, experience with, or potential for leadership in the education of ESL students.

2.3.2.5 Academic Marginalisation of ESL Students

Gillborn (1990, p.173) expresses his concern over the fact that too often teachers and policy-makers have assumed that language differences are synonymous with language deficiency, a view which has led in turn to many devaluing and rejecting non-dominant languages and those who use them. Teachers also often erroneously assume that students with language problems are academically "weak". Cummins cites the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation in Europe's finding that a student's insufficient command of the language of instruction (language of learning) often causes her/him to be wrongly relegated to special classes or lower academic streams (in Genesee, 1994, p.36). This relegation of Black and foreign students to different and separate groups or tracks has also been reported on in England (Gillborn, 1990, p.174) and in the United States (Meier *et al.*, 1989, p.4; Genesee, 1994, p.35). This approach may provide a

convenient solution over the short-term, but over the longer-term it seriously jeopardises the school careers of the children concerned. The persistent and disproportionate placement of ESL students in special education classes or low academic streams at secondary level, has had significant consequences:

It is clear that exclusion from the education system constitutes the first stage in a process of marginalisation culminating in exclusion from the system of production and – since social integration depends on integration within the labour force – exclusion from society itself (CERI Report, in Genesee, 1994, p.37).

With a view to categorising language practices in recently desegregated South African schools, it is necessary to examine the range of pedagogical structures for teaching English as a second language for use world-wide. One often finds that strategies can broadly be categorised as being assimilationist and subtractive, or anti-racist and additive.

2.3.2.6 Additive Versus Subtractive Models of Bilingualism

Basically additive language programmes are the antithesis of subtractive language programmes.

(a) Additive Models

Additive models of language teaching incorporate multilingual or bilingual language policy. When bilingual or multilingual education is introduced, it is a public recognition of the school's responsibility for the non-dominant languages within its community (Stibbs, 1987, p.2) and signifies the school's commitment to transformation/anti-racism. Corson (1993, p.72) argues that an education system serving a multilingual society, but providing only monolingual schooling, exercises power unjustly. He urges schools and educational policy makers to take policy action that redresses injustice by adopting multilingual SLP. Additive models which include a multilingual or bilingual approach may be considered as part of anti-racist language methodology.

Lambert (in Corson, 1990, p.161) says that the aims of schooling in relation to bilingualism fall

into two distinct categories: additive bilingualism - when a second language is acquired with the expectation that the mother tongue will continue to be used, and subtractive bilingualism - when a second language is learned with the expectation that it will replace the mother tongue. The former is a maintenance form of bilingual schooling, which sets out to use both languages as media of instruction for much of the child's school career (*Ibid.*, p.161; Baker, 1993, p.162). The latter is a "transitional" form of bilingual schooling, with the majority or dominant tongue taking over as the means of instruction after the early years of schooling.

While none would dispute the importance of a Second Language such as English for careers, access to higher education, to the information explosion and to the corridors of power, Baker cautions that it is important to distinguish whether the Second Language is to replace the First Language or add to the First Language. Additive bilingual/multilingual language policy sets out to **multiply** experience, while subtractive/assimilationist Second Language methodology may for divisive reasons, be **impoverishing** the non-dominant language child (Baker, 1993, p.210).

The perspective in **Educating Second Language Children** (Genesee, 1994) is in favour of developing additive bilingualism in schools. Additive bilingual education is a form of schooling in which the student's (majority or minority) mother tongue is maintained while adding competence in another language (Corson, 1990, p.xi). Jean Handscombe (in Genesee, 1994, p.352), Mohanty (1994, p.57) and Corson (1993, p.85) favour the development of high level bilingual skills as a desirable educational outcome for all children, for they also contribute to broader academic achievement. Additive bilingualism makes far better use of children's first language resources. The aim is to enable them to function in each language community and cope with the literacy demands which each language community expects of its educated users by the time they leave high school (Genesee, 1994, p.340).

In subtractive programmes, it is possible for children to enter school largely monolingual in their first language and leave school still largely monolingual, but now in their second language. This situation is unfortunate, because it is not only the first language which is taken away; there are damaging social and cognitive repercussions as the child's social integration and academic achievement can be negatively affected (Genesee, 1994, p.340 & p.37). According to Heugh

(1994, p.7) subtractive programmes may impair cognitive development. Teachers should remember that far from being impoverished, deficient, or merely different, the out-of-school experiences of ESL students are immensely rich and complex. For pedagogical reasons subtractive bilingualism is not an alternative that should be routinely favoured in schools.

(b) Subtractive/Assimilationist Strategies

Baker states that the aim of second language learning is often assimilation (1993, p.209). Submersion education, separate provision, compensatory programmes, support programmes all fall under the subtractive/assimilationist approach to Second Language teaching:

- Submersion Education

Baker uses the analogy of a swimming pool to describe submersion education (1993, p.154). Submersion contains the idea of a pupil thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons. The language of the pool will be the majority language (e.g. English in the United States and in South Africa) and not the home language of the child (e.g. Spanish in the United States or Zulu in Kwazulu-Natal). The language minority or non-dominant language pupil will be taught all day in the majority language alongside fluent speakers of the majority language. Both the teachers and pupils will be expected to use only the majority/dominant language in the classroom, not the home language. Pupils may either sink, struggle or swim.

Not only the students but teachers are also particularly hard-pressed in this ESL submersion education programme. For example, considerable variations of language skill in a classroom often create problems in teaching and class management for the teacher. With students who range from fluent dominant language speakers to those who can understand little classroom talk, the burden on the teacher may be great. Secondly, there is no reason to assume that students will quickly and effortlessly acquire the dominant language skills necessary to cope in the curriculum. Alongside problems of language, there are likely to be problems of social and emotional adjustment for language minority/non-dominant language children which tend to have connections with later drop-out rates from high school. The child, the parent, the home language and culture appear to be disparaged, as the following quotation from a student in a submersion

classroom illustrates:

School was a nightmare. I dreaded going to school and facing my classmates and teacher. Every activity the class engaged in meant another exhibition of my incompetence. Each activity was another incidence for my peers to laugh and ridicule me with and for my teacher to stay hopelessly disappointed at me. My self image was a serious inferiority complex. I became frustrated at not being able to do anything right. I felt like giving up the entire mess (in Baker, 1993, p.155).

Skutnabb-Kangas (*Ibid.*, p.155) writes of the stresses of learning through an undeveloped language as in submersion education. Listening to a new language demands high concentration - it is tiring, with a constant pressure to think about the form of the language and less time to think about curriculum content. A child has to take in information from different curriculum areas and learn a language at the same time. Stress, lack of self-confidence, "opting-out", disaffection and alienation may occur. However, on the issue of content-based instruction (CBI) Pillay (1995, p.110) stresses that one of the advantages of teaching content to learners in a language they have not fully mastered is that when language is taught through content, an ideal context is provided for language learning. Whether within or outside submersion education models, CBI is increasingly replacing language-based syllabi (e.g. grammatical, notional/functional) in the teaching of ESL (Master, 1992, p.77). CBI will be discussed further in 5.1.1.4.

- Submersion With Withdrawal Classes

Submersion education may occur with or without the addition of withdrawal classes or "pull out" classes to teach the majority language. Non-dominant language children in mainstream schools may be withdrawn for compensatory programme lessons in the dominant language, for example, ESL pull-out programmes in the United States and England. Sarup attacks these compensatory programmes for allocating blame to students, who are seen as suffering from culture shock, negative self-images and identity-crises (1986, p.16). Withdrawal classes are provided as a way of keeping language minority/non-dominant children in mainstream schooling. However, withdrawn children may fall behind on curriculum content delivered to others not in withdrawal classes. A withdrawn child may be seen by peers as "remedial", "disabled" or "limited in English" (Baker, 1993, p.155).

- Support Programmes

In South Africa some schools have embarked on support programmes after school hours. These include language skills sessions, extra lessons and individualised attention (Carrim, 1992, p.22).

- Separate Provision

Separate provision is sometimes provided for ESL students at separate language centres where students are withdrawn from normal lessons and taught separately. This method of support has been severely criticised, particularly in the U.K., by the Swann Report (in Gillborn, 1990, p.174). Swann cautions that if it is used as a first step for ESL students, it should be a very short-term transitional measure (*Ibid.*, p.174; Stibbs, 1987, p.2), and considers separate provision as being discriminatory and racist (Gillborn, 1990, p.176). Cummins (in Genesee, 1994, p.41) warns that Second Language provision cannot be conceptualised as a separate programme that exists apart from the mainstream of the educational system. The entire school is therefore responsible for supporting the learning and interactional needs of students, and Second Language provision should integrate students into the social and academic mainstream to the extent possible.

- "Mainstream" Support for English as a Second Language

The Swann Report (in Stibbs, 1987, p.2) recommends mainstreaming language support because it keeps the learner in the supportive classroom context for language but, through the support teacher's expertise, filters out the alienating language for which the learner may not be ready. It makes it easier for ESL pupils to learn their English through challenging, meaningful, curriculum material; it brings the ESL teacher's expertise to both majority/dominant language pupils and those minority/non-dominant pupils considered too "good at English" to need specialist language support. For this programme to work successfully, i.e. for specialist language teachers to work alongside secondary subject teachers, one needs goodwill, in-service training and most importantly, funding. Many teachers need to unlearn jealousies and defensivenesses about their own classrooms and practices, and ESL teachers on the other hand need guarantees that they will not be reduced to "servicing" "proper" teachers, and that their chances of promotion would be preserved or enhanced. In this programme both teachers must share responsibilities for administration, pastoral activity, discipline and planning the substantive work of the class.

2.3.2.7 Assessment/Evaluation of ESL Students

At every stage, and in one way or another, assessment has become an essential component of education (Genesee & Hamayan in Genesee, 1994, p.212; Hulmes, 1989, p.6). It is unquestionably one of the most influential activities affecting students, and unfortunately it is quite early in their formal education that they can expect to be caught up in assessment activities which are often competitive and divisive (Hulmes, 1989, p.6). In the field of linguistic and cultural diversity in education, the history of testing and examinations has been marked by bitter controversy over the question of bias against certain ethnic groups, even to the point where tests might be considered as institutionalised racism on a massive scale (Gillborn, 1990, p.207).

What Ogbu and Matute-Binche (in Genesee, 1994, p.6) refer to as "persistent disproportionate school failure" has been a consistent theme in the education of students from non-dominant socio-cultural/linguistic groups. Pillay's study of ESL students in desegregated schools in Pietermaritzburg was permeated by evidence of low achievement, high drop-out rate and high failure rate (1995, p.4). Schools have wrongly tended to blame the students' academic difficulties on their socio-cultural-linguistic background. However, there is increasing evidence that among other structures, inappropriate syllabi, methods of assessment and examinations are discriminatory towards non-dominant groups, as illustrated by the following comments from a teacher at an integrated school in Zimbabwe:

The pass rate last year was about 18%. It's terrible. It's due to a lot of factors: Number 1, I believe the syllabus is all wrong. If you are going to pursue this issue of education for all, you can't categorise everyone into one bracket. You will have a lot of different abilities, and those all have to be catered for. But right now we have this Cambridge syllabus that we must use for everyone. There is no way that most of these students will pass those exams. That's one of the things that makes me really sad: even as you teach, you'll know that most of these children are struggling. You'll know they won't make it, because the syllabus is just wrong for them. (Frederikse, 1992, p.56).

Examinations and testing have been considerably criticised in the literature. Genesee and Hamayan feel that it is not advisable to use tests alone to make educational decisions, especially

promotion decisions for ESL students, and suggest that test results should be backed up by other sources of information (in Genesee, 1994, p.229). For assessment to be effective, they suggest it needs to be practical and should consist of a combination of methods which correspond to the teacher's unique classroom circumstances. Hulmes suggests that continuous assessment favours the ESL student as it eliminates the fear of the written examination (1989, p.6). Genesee and Hamayan talk about testing as being only one of the four main methods of assessment – the others are observation, conferences and interactive journals (in Genesee, 1994, p.225). They suggest the following innovative methods of assessment: student observation, student journals, teacher checklists, student checklists, narrative records, student portfolios and conferences (*Ibid.*, p.236). Conferences generally take the form of a conversation between the teacher and one or more students about schoolwork. Sometimes it is about work or tasks the students perform in the presence of the teacher. It is their focus on process that makes conferences distinct from other methods of assessment and therefore distinctively useful (*Ibid.*, p.225). Information gleaned from conferences with Second Language students about their other subjects should be used to tailor language learning objectives to be more sensitive to the specific language needs of students in their content classes (*Ibid.*, p.226).

2.3.3 Language Across the Curriculum (LAC)

Both the Bullock Report (1975) (Gillborn, 1990, p. 175) and the Swann Report (1985) (*Ibid.*, p.176) have stressed the need for "linguistic help across the curriculum" stating that the teaching of "language across the curriculum" (LAC) should be the concern of every teacher and not only the language teacher *per se*, thus easing the burden of the English teacher. Both Johnstone (1992, pp. 7-8) and Young (1987) support the call for LAC in South Africa. Young contends that it is the subject-bound approach adopted in schools that leads many teachers to assign subject-specific meanings to words, thus preventing ESL learners in a subject-framed History class from transferring the links and contrasts in meanings across subjects e.g. between "revolution" in History and "revolution" in Science and Mathematics (*Ibid.*, p.162 & p.172). He calls for a more holistic approach to knowledge as a social tool rather than as an examination-passing device (*Ibid.*, p.174).

- School Language Policy(SLP)/Language Policy Across the Curriculum (LPAC)

It is through their language policies or LPAC's that schools can do much to end social injustices, widen students' mastery of their own code and of the dominant language too (Corson, 1993, p.5).

What is a "language policy across the curriculum" LPAC)?

Corson defines LPAC as follows:

An LPAC is a brief document compiled collaboratively by the staff of the school (and possibly by other members of the school community) and to which the staff give their assent and commitment. It identifies areas in the school's scope of operations and programmes where language problems exist that need the commonly agreed approach that is offered by a policy. An LPAC sets out what the school intends to do about these areas of concern. An LPAC is a statement of action that includes provisions for follow-up, monitoring and revision of the policy itself in the light of changing circumstances. (1990, pp.2-3).

Very simply, a language policy is like a bundle of solutions, each one addressing a different problem and the whole addressing the school's language problems. These may, for example have to do with a need to eliminate sexist and racist language within the school, a eurocentric syllabus bias, the low status of community/non-dominant languages within the school and an overburdened English department.

Language policy works at two levels, at national level and at school level. Corson states that a just language policy adopted nationally across an educational system would begin with principles such as multilingualism, or bilingualism and would then devolve language policy decision-making to schools themselves so that just compromises could be reached appropriate to the local contexts (1993, p.211).

As the compilation of this school language policy is a collaborative effort, Corson encourages teachers to allow their students to reflect critically on the language practices used within the school itself (1993, p.207). He emphasises the importance to students of developing a critical language awareness. Students could start by examining the language and literacy practices

modelled by teachers in the classroom, as these are the source of many assumptions about the world at large. A critical language awareness curriculum would encourage students to look critically at their own literacy practices, to think critically about the sources of negative and positive images in texts and to challenge popular racist, sexist and ethnocentric stereotypes they encounter inside and outside the school. This would be a move away from a "pedagogy of disempowerment" (Corson, 1993, p.209 and Stibbs, 1987, p.2). This critical language awareness curriculum would be part of a whole-school language policy which would encourage non-discriminatory discourse practices to flourish (Corson, 1993, p.182).

When formulating school language policy, educators need to be aware of the links between language, education and power, and the fact that the process of schooling is a form of "social and cultural reproduction" that is linked openly to other structures in society, especially economic structures which reproduce social relations (*Ibid.*, 1993, p.5). Thus Corson warns that language policy on its own is rarely enough. Social institutions and ideologies have to be changed to accompany any linguistic reform if it is to be effective (*Ibid.*, pp.18/19).

2.3.4 Teacher Support

A central assumption of the NEPI report on Teacher Education (1992, p.2) is that Teacher Education Policy should enable the development of competent, flexible and resilient teachers, capable of revitalising schools and responding to the changing demands of practice. The vital role of Teacher Support is discussed further in Chapter 5.

2.3.5 Concern with Standards

The literature reveals that where a school system begins to take in increasingly large numbers of students from different linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds, this is often accompanied by a wide-spread concern over a "lowering of standards" (Penny *et al.*, 1992, pp.10-11 & p.37; Vice, 1991, p.6; Carrim, 1992, p.30; Frederikse, 1992, p.122) and even the notion that the school would "deteriorate" much faster as numbers of Black students increased (Frederikse, 1992, p.5). Accordingly, there is a concomitant preoccupation with "maintaining standards" in all aspects

of the ethos of the school - not only academic standards and results, but teaching staff, standards in dress, uniform, hygiene and the school's tradition and sport. Many parents often "panic" and move their children away to private schools or schools with a lower percentage of non-dominant students, as was the case in Zimbabwe (Frederikse, 1992, p.91) and in South Africa (Carrim, 1992, p.30). Frederikse attributes this partly to the fact that people tend to equate privileges with standards, that their concern is not so much with the dropping of standards as with the emotionally charged idea of loss of privilege (1992, pp.100-101). However the Zimbabwe experience confirms that as open schools begin to establish "good" reputations, White parents start sending their children back (*Ibid.*, p.92).

To conclude the discussion on a knowledge base for language and ESL issues for teachers, it is clear from the literature that it is important for teachers to understand the role they play in language teaching. Second Language teaching does not exist in a political vacuum. Nor is language teaching a neutral, value-free activity. Accordingly, Baker exhorts Second Language teachers to be aware of the knowledge base informing English Second Language and to be aware of their goals and pedagogical options at a conscious level (1993, p.210).

2.4 THE CURRICULUM AND CHANGE

2.4.1 Knowledge as a Social Construction - what constitutes appropriate knowledge?

In their reflections on schooling, and particularly on studies of school curriculum, Milburn, Goodson & Clark emphasise the importance of remembering that we are dealing with social inventions and on-going social constructions (1989, p.1). Banks underscores this, advising teachers to accept and understand, and accordingly teach their students, that knowledge is a social construction, that it reflects the perspectives, experiences and the values of the people and cultures that construct it, that it is dynamic, changing and debated among knowledge creators and users. He sees the classroom becoming a forum in which multicultural debates concerning the construction of knowledge, take place (1991, p.34).

Following desegregation in South Africa, teachers have for the first time been exposed to

classrooms that reflect the complex and diverse nature of South Africa, and have come to question what had previously been presented as appropriate knowledge and values (Prinsloo & Ashworth, 1994, p.125; Christie, 1990, p. 127). They have realised that learning has been isolated from the diversity that exists within the country and that this diversity has been hierarchised.

Williams (in Milburn *et al.*, 1989, p. 1) perceives an educational curriculum as expressing a compromise between an inherited selection of interests and the emphasis of new interests. As a case in point, he describes the present curriculum in Britain: it was essentially created in the 19th Century, following some 18th Century model, and retaining elements of the medieval curriculum near its centre. A case can be made for every item in it, yet its omissions are startling (*Ibid.*, p.1).

Within South African classrooms knowledge has been anchored in the experiences of privileged White middle-class social groups. This unproblematic acceptance of what counted as knowledge and skills was more possible when schools were racially constituted. A shift in pupil population has exposed this unquestioned constitution of "knowledge" as inappropriate, not only because of its eurocentricism, but because of its inherent sexism and elitism as well. With education in this country being based on European models, learners have been assessed on the criteria established within these models. Texts and concerns presented as worthwhile have historically been drawn from a predominantly middle-class high cultural position. For ESL speakers and for other non-dominant groups, the issues that are raised are frequently removed from and irrelevant to their life experiences, yet are crucial for educational success. Progress and success in the learning environment are thus seen as divorced from, and extraneous to, lived experience. The lived experiences of the majority of the learners are undermined and finally given no value by the whole learning culture of the society (Prinsloo & Ashworth, 1994, p.126).

2.4.2 A Multicultural Curriculum

If a curriculum is a balance between "inherited interests" and "new interests" (see Williams above), then it is also, as Dennis Lawton has stated, "essentially a selection from the culture of a society" (in Gillborn, 1990, p.142). Yet is questionable whether any country has or has ever had a single culture. In the United States where classrooms are more racially and ethnically diverse

than ever, Ravitch (1991/1992) advises that the mission in schools should be to instil in children their country's shared culture and not their separate cultures, and that in teaching the "common culture" the curriculum in American public schools must reflect both multiculturalism and the common culture. She warns that under no circumstances should the curriculum be patterned to stir ethnocentric pride or to make children feel that their self worth as human beings is derived from their race or ethnic origin (p.8 & p.11).

The term multicultural education, due to its various nuances, is open to a variety of interpretations and may be translated into different strategies and programmes (Mkwanazi & Cross, 1992, p.39; Patel, 1995, p.2). Classical models of multicultural education incorporate key characteristics such as the following: recognition of multi-ethnicity, the need for unity in diversity, eradication of racial and cultural bias in the curriculum and textbooks etc. (Mkwanazi & Cross, 1992, p.56). Peripheral modes of multicultural education adopt a tokenistic view of cultures, exoticising them and seeing both language and culture as "curiosities". However, in the South African context, implicit in the term multiculturalism should be a radical social-transformative perspective (Heugh, 1994, p.3) i.e. one incorporating positive and pro-active strategies to eliminate social and economic imbalances at all levels (Mkwanazi & Cross, 1992, p.56). This would translate into what the researcher would term multicultural anti-racist education. Within this paradigm, an additive multilingual approach to language teaching would be practised, with attention being paid to status planning for languages (Heugh, 1994, p.3). Heugh cites Ruiz's suggestion that one can transform the *status quo* of unequal relationships amongst speakers of different languages if one approaches language as a resource.

2.4.3 An Anti-Racist Curriculum

An anti-racist stance would demand a complete overhaul of the curriculum, with the school transmitting not the culture of the dominant class, but a collective cultural heritage. This radically changed, richer and more stimulating curriculum, along with a different pedagogy to go along with it, would help to counter the kind of cultural assimilation to which Blacks are subjected (Mphahlele, 1990, p.38; Christie, 1990, p.127). Going a step further, Banks emphasises that the curriculum should include the voices, visions and perspectives of all marginalised groups (for

example all people of colour and women) whose voices and lived experiences were previously denied value (1991, p.33). He proposes reformulating and transforming the Western canon, not to purge the curriculum of the West, but to ensure that a more truthful and complex version of the West is taught in schools. He says: "We need to deconstruct the myth that the West is homogeneous, that it owes few debts to other world civilizations" (*Ibid.*, p.34).

Sarup's (1986) suggestions on developing a new anti-racist curriculum stress that teachers should challenge the assumptions and contents of traditional curricula. They should begin questioning traditional dichotomies such as the division between academic study and manual trading; between the hard, "masculine" subjects like Mathematics and the Sciences, and the soft "feminine" Arts subjects. They should question why a eurocentric curriculum is often still being offered in a society with a rich diversity of cultures. Sarup also mentions that students should be taught the new structuralist and semiological techniques of reading texts so that they can analyse the hidden curriculum of the school (pp.117-118). Brandt, in turn, identifies "three major activities" for the anti-racist: the overall critical reappraisal of the overt curriculum, the selection of materials which will further the aims of the curriculum framework and critical awareness of the importance of the "hidden curricula" (in Gillborn, 1990, p.157).

Sarup (1986, p.51) also maintains that when a curriculum is being constructed the perceived reality of children should be taken into account. One has to listen to what pupils are saying. Some pupils may be asserting that "the Blacks are taking over the shops, our houses and areas, our jobs"; that Blacks commit "more crime than White people". Along with Sarup, Myers (in Patel, 1995, p.11) emphasises that if these views are part of the perceived reality of the pupils, then the content of the curriculum must challenge and include information on these issues.

2.5 FACTORS AFFECTING TEACHER ABILITY TO FACILITATE CHANGE

In a comparative study of primary school teachers in England and France, Broadfoot & Osborn (1988, p.269) found that one of the most marked areas of difference between these teachers was the contrast between a narrow as against an expanded conception of role, between a "restricted" and an "extended" professionalism. According to Hoyle (*Ibid.*, p.271) the "extended professional"

is concerned with locating her classroom teaching in a broader educational context, comparing her work with that of other teachers, evaluating her work systematically, and collaborating with other teachers. The teacher is also interested in theory and current educational developments, reads widely in this regard, and is most likely to play a significant role in facilitating educational change. In contrast "restricted" professionalism is "intuitive", classroom-focused and based on experience rather than theory. The good restricted professional has a more limited and a more classroom-focused conception of role than the extended professional, but is sensitive to the development of individual pupils, is an inventive teacher and a skillful class manager. She is unencumbered with theory and is not given to comparing her work with that of others, tends not to perceive classroom activities in a broader context, and values her classroom autonomy (Hoyle in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, pp.271-272).

Irrespective of their leaning towards a narrow or extended professionalism, stress and burnout are acknowledged as occupational hazards among teachers (Beard, 1990, p. 110; Pennington, 1995, p.709) with "ever-increasing" pressures and teacher workloads seen as the norm for all teachers (Curriculum Affairs, 1991, p.149; Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p.281), but particularly for teachers of English (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p.281). Stress and pressure intensify during times of significant educational change, when "the environment imposes demands which are perceived as being substantially out of balance with the focal person's capabilities" (Beard, 1990, p.110). Research presented by Buxton *et al.* (in Vice, 1991, p.5) suggests that disillusionment and frustration with the classroom problems posed by integration become more pronounced at secondary school level, thus placing additional stress on these teachers.

A study by Webb & Ashton in the United States in 1987 (in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1998, p.285) argues that teacher efficacy is threatened by seven key factors: excessive role demands; poor remuneration and status; lack of recognition and professional isolation; uncertainty about success; a sense of powerlessness to control the work environment; alienation and a rapid drop in teacher morale. It is beyond the scope of this study to explore each of these, but 3 important issues are explored below - excessive role demands; teachers as mediators of contradictory expectations and teacher commitment to change:

- Excessive Role Demands

Excessive role demands often cause "role strain" due to the need to perform too many varied tasks in too little available time (Firestone & Pennell, cited in Pennington, 1995, p.709). A period of significant educational change is invariably accompanied by excessive role demands when some teachers find themselves unable, either through conviction or training, to adapt their teaching to meet the increasingly diverse needs of children in a rapidly changing society, supporting Hoyle's suggestion that any extension of teacher professionalism can lead to a loss of job satisfaction and perhaps of teaching skills (in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p.281). Calderhead attributes their dilemma to the difficulties of changing their teaching once it has become established routine and adapted to the context (*Ibid.*, p.267). Pennington (1995, p.705) arrives at a similar conclusion in her investigation into teacher change and development. She explains that teacher change is difficult because it means challenging, ultimately deconstructing, and then reconstructing ingrained practice and long-held belief. The kind of teaching that teachers enjoy, value and entered the teaching profession for, is suddenly no longer appropriate for many of the classes that they have to take. For this particular sub-species of teacher, the time is past when they could re-appraise their stance (Claxton, 1989, p.39). Furthermore any attempt to force teachers to change their practice is likely to be accompanied by resistance to change and a significant drop in morale (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p.285; Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996, p.462).

Another sub-category of teacher is opposed to any kind of change or reform if it involves an extension in their teaching role, or to put it bluntly any kind of "extra work". It is the idea of extra work to which they are opposed, and not the educational reform or change. Goodson & Walker describe teachers who are so preoccupied with minimising their commitments in schools that they will accordingly oppose any reform which drags them into more work, as illustrated by the following quotation:

You don't understand my relationship to the school and to teaching. My centre of gravity is not here at all. It's in the community, in the home - that's where I exist, that's where I put my effort now. For me the school is 9 to 5, I go through the motions. (1991, pp. 137-138).

- Mediators of Contradictory Expectations

Grace (in Barton & Walker, 1983, p.7) describes teachers as "the mediators of contradictory expectations". This position is becoming more apparent in education today, with teachers continually being subjected to a variety of contradictory pressures, and having to compromise "the ideal with the realistic, the useful with the expedient" (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p.281). Broadfoot *et al.* describe teachers as feeling torn by their responsibility to different constituencies, namely their students, parents, their professional colleagues and their principal (*Ibid.*, p.276).

- Teacher Commitment to Change

The literature reveals that the majority of teachers in recently desegregated schools tend to have a clear commitment to the de-racialising of schooling, and see it as "a good thing" (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.9). This support of desegregation is often bolstered by what Lee (in Vice, 1991, p.2) describes as an "investment of self" i.e. a passionate and personal conviction about the merits of desegregation. These attitudes appear to be essential if teachers are to be effective agents of change. Teachers display a strong awareness of being involved in a pro-active way in the challenges of a changing school system. The later "investment" often allows for teachers to continue to remain optimistic about teaching despite the severe difficulties and challenges they experience in their classrooms daily.

Discord among staff members can adversely affect the successful implementation of change in school. This can occur even if the staff who are against change, and who may be ignorant, critical or hostile, are in a minority (Twitchin & Demmuth, 1985, p.202). Fullan & Hargreaves (in Donaldson, 1993, p.12) argue compellingly that working collectively in schools is the best way to improve them. Donaldson admits that building a collaborative culture is difficult (*Ibid.*, p.12). Other factors associated with the successful implementation of change in schools include the following:

- the principal and management are clearly seen to be in favour - both formally e.g. in meetings and statements, and also informally, in everyday conversations.
- the staff are well informed and have considerable teaching skills and relevant personal qualities.
- there is adequate or generous provision of time and space, and teaching materials

(Twitchin & Demuth, 1985, pp.201-203).

This chapter has provided a broad theoretical framework (drawn from Southern African, North American and British research findings in linguistically and culturally diverse educational settings) through which to explore significant education issues that surface as a consequence of the desegregation of schools. The following chapter deals with the research methodology. Findings are reported on in Chapter Four and discussed in detail, in the light of the literature review, in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the choice of the research topic and the research methodology. It outlines three vital stages of the research process: Making Decisions, Gathering the Data and Analysis of the Data. The essentially exploratory and descriptive nature of the study meant that the researcher started with questions, but without a well-defined hypothesis. Her central aim was to explore the **teacher/change nexus**, and to represent the teachers interviewed faithfully in conveying her understanding of their perceptions, challenges and concerns in the desegregated classroom. A qualitative research methodology was chosen as that which would best serve the needs of the area under investigation. The rationale behind this choice is discussed in 3.1.2 but is also interwoven into the discussion throughout this chapter.

3.1 MAKING DECISIONS

This section shows clearly that there was no clear or predetermined *modus operandi* when undertaking this research. As is the norm in qualitative research, important research decisions were made concurrently, and even serendipitously, each informing the development of others. This led to important realisations about conducting research e.g. the importance of compromise and the ability to relinquish control. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

3.1.1 Motivation for the Study

Change, and teachers' responses to and perceptions of it, was very broadly the focal area of the intended research. As "open" schools and desegregated classrooms became a reality in more and more of the formerly racially exclusive educational departmental contexts, teachers confronted with these changes were undoubtedly part of the vanguard of social and educational change with very little or no research energy being focused on them. It was thus that the researcher saw in the situation an opportunity which provided scope for a modest piece of research on how teachers were coping with the changes that had come into their classrooms. A powerful motivating factor for the research was that apart from Professor Penny's collaborative investigation (see 1.2) no one

else in the region had been monitoring this very significant historical, political and educational development (*Ibid.*, p.7). The researcher thus felt impelled to explore this development. She was aware that a few schools had been holding their own workshops on racial integration. In addition, the teacher-needs driven MEDU in the Faculty of Education at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg had responded to the development by organising a series of workshops on multilingual classrooms for teachers. At the time, there was certainly a sense that teachers were in need of help, that it was necessary to increase professional awareness of the complex ways in which classrooms were changing.

Bogdan & Biklen emphasise the need to select a research area that is "important" and "exciting" (1992, p.60). Penny *et al.* had reported that they "felt strongly" about the need to undertake their research (1992, p.7). Similarly the researcher felt strongly motivated in this regard, because the educational developments unfolding (not only in the Pietermaritzburg region but nationally as well) were unprecedented and unparalleled in the country's history. It was felt that the researcher's preliminary exploration of the area could help to heighten an awareness of teacher concerns and perspectives in the desegregated classroom. In a small way, this could contribute to the polemic that raged around the issue of the teacher's role in facilitating or impeding the educational, curricular and social change that was necessary to buttress the legislation.

The researcher was also influenced by Pennefather's assertion that a substantial proportion of research in a rapidly changing South Africa should be of a socially responsible nature, on limited budgets of short duration and of immediate practical application or benefit (1991, p.2). While she had been warned of the pitfalls inherent in investing too heavily in one's study, she felt the need to find a balance between maintaining the humility of the "rookie" researcher with the need to engage in research that was worthwhile, relevant and socially responsible.

3.1.2 Rationale for Employing Qualitative Research Methodology

The research design adopted was a qualitative one for many reasons:

- Foremost among these was Vulliamy *et al's.* contention that one of the major strengths

of qualitative research strategy lies in assessing the impact of educational change (1990, p.20). The chosen area of research focused very specifically on how educational change resulting from desegregation had impacted on teachers. This ties in with Stone's contention (in Dickson, 1995, p.97) that in any scientific study, the phenomenon under investigation should be given priority, rather than a pre-established methodological approach. Her choice of a qualitative research design also demonstrated the researcher's concern with investigating what Fullan would call "the phenomenology of change – that is, how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended" (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990, p.20). The research would report on teachers' experiences and perceptions of the changes in their classrooms following the legislation of 1990, which qualified as educational change of monumental proportions. Neglect of this "phenomenology of change" was often responsible for the lack of success of most social or educational reform. (*Ibid.*, p.20).

- Qualitative research required the same degree of rigour and training that quantitative research did. With its emphases on description, induction, grounded theory and the study of people's understanding, it was clearly the mode of research that best lent itself to the researcher's area of investigation (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.ix; Dickson, 1995, p.98). As an ethnographic approach, it was most appropriate for investigating the perspectives and concerns of teachers. Methodologies that were more rigid and less empathetic would not be suitable.
- The researcher was aware that the data collected in her interviews (data which one would term "soft" i.e. rich in anecdotes and description of people, places and conversations) would not easily be handled by statistical procedures (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.2). Her study would incorporate both the rich descriptive material gained from the interviews and the resulting analyses, which would be related to the realities of school practice, thus making the research more accessible to both teachers and policy-makers than statistical research. The narrative style adopted in qualitative research reports is usually more accessible to practitioners and lay-readers with no prior research experience (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990, pp. 20-21). This would facilitate more equal collaboration between practitioners and researchers for it was important to the researcher that the completed research be accessible and non-alienating to the interviewees themselves.

3.1.3 The Three-Fold Intention of the Research

The researcher then returned to the initial intention of the research which had been three-fold:

- **Firstly, how were teachers coping with the kind of demands that were being made on them in their newly desegregated classrooms?** How did they perceive these changes and what were their concerns?
- **Secondly, it was hoped to focus on the role E1L teachers were playing in curriculum change.** How had their day-to-day teaching changed? Were they mediating a new curriculum in the classroom? To what extent were they influenced by the principles most likely to underpin a curriculum for a future South African education system (based in all likelihood on NEPI principles of non-racism, non-sexism, equality, democracy and the redress of historical imbalance) (Harley, 1991, p. 1).
- **Thirdly, the researcher wished to test her hunch that teachers were "the mediators of contradictory expectations"** (Grace, in Barton & Walker, 1981, p.7). Her own experiences as a teacher and her interaction with other teachers had led to her hypothesis that teachers were being pulled continually in two directions.

3.1.4 Need to Refine Topic

At this stage of the research the researcher was aware that there was a need to narrow down her area of research. The initial concepts of teachers and change, teachers and their mediation of the curriculum in response to change, and teachers as the mediators of contradictory expectations were too sweeping. It became necessary to define her research area more precisely.

However, the benighted position in which she found herself as a first-time researcher entering the strange terrain of research induced a state of insecurity which was to bedevil and relentlessly impede her progress throughout the research, and particularly the writing-up, process. It was her serendipitous reading in October 1992 of a collaborative study undertaken in the very education department in which she was a student, that helped her to formulate her area of research more specifically. The researcher had been clear thus far on the objective of her research, which was to explore how change had impacted on teachers in their newly desegregated classrooms. It

seemed almost a natural progression then, to use the Penny *et al.* study '*Just Sort of Fumbling in the Dark*' - *the Advent of Racial Integration in Schools in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa* as a springboard from which to launch her own research. At the outset, the authors had stated their intention of providing an overview for further research possibilities, and of accumulating basic data from which it would be possible to carry out other in-depth and tracer studies (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.5). Furthermore, the qualitative/ethnographic approach which would guide her study was one not used frequently in the area of the "opening up" of education (there being a preponderance of quantitative styles and the use of psychometric testing and statistics) and would facilitate the generation of base-line data which other researchers could explore (Beard & Gaganakis, 1991, p.119).

Bogdan & Biklen (1992, p.155) advise novice researchers to guide their work with some kind of model that would aid in formulating more definite ideas about the kind of study they wished to accomplish. There seemed to be strong parallels between her proposed investigation and the Penny *et al.* study (1992). In terms, too, of its structure, context and content, the research design and process, and its method of data analysis, it provided much inspiration and motivation, and offered a successfully tested framework to give form to her own research.

Penny *et al.* (1992) had probed principals about changes they envisaged and were encountering in their schools with regard to their schools' ethos, academic standards, the curriculum, teaching methods and extra-mural activities. Would the researcher's probing of teachers reveal attitudes and concerns similar or different to those the principals had aired? As a form of triangulation and research accountability, and as far as it fell within the scope of her study, the researcher hoped to assess, particularly with regard to the emergent themes, whether there were any commonalities between the concerns of the principals/educational managers and those of the teachers/educational mediators. The authors had also admitted that principals would in all probability have presented their schools in as favourable a light as possible (*Ibid.*, p.5). Hopefully teachers would not be similarly affected by the need to embellish the image portrayed of their school, and would respond more honestly and sincerely regarding their individual concerns.

3.1.5 The Choice of Secondary School Classrooms as a Research Setting

By this pre-fieldwork stage of the research, it was clear that the study would be a preliminary one, focusing broadly on the teacher/change nexus, and concentrating specifically on ascertaining the ways in which the 1990 legislation had impacted on teachers in their classrooms. Further important research decisions had to be made. Firstly, it was necessary for the researcher to locate the setting in which she wished to conduct her study. Secondly, she needed to decide on how she would select teachers within this context.

In their style, South African secondary schools often displayed that they were mainly authoritarian, teacher-dominated, content-orientated and knowledge-based (*Ibid.*, p.60). However, particularly with the advent of racial integration in schools in mind, the researcher was concerned with exploring the quality and relevance of the education teachers were making available to their charges in these conservative and generally traditional school contexts.

In her choice of secondary school classrooms as a research setting, and of teachers of EIL as interviewees, the researcher took cognisance of Taylor & Bogdan's warning that "there was a tendency for novice researchers to want to study friends and familiar surroundings. As a result of their direct involvement in a setting they were then likely to see things from only one point of view" (1984, p. 19). The researcher had qualified and practised as an EIL teacher at secondary school level, but since 1988 had been working outside the secondary school context at a technical college - she did not thus have a direct personal or professional stake in secondary schools. It was anticipated that the latter factor would enable her, as required by qualitative research methodology, to be objective enough when gathering and analysing the data to be aware of, and then endeavour to suspend or set aside her own beliefs, perspectives and predispositions (*Ibid.*, p.6). However, at the same time she hoped that her experience as a teacher of EIL at secondary schools would empower her as a qualitative researcher to understand the teachers she was studying from their own frame of reference (*Ibid.*, p.6; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.47).

In order to draw a map of concerns that could be the scope of further studies the researcher had hoped initially to interview fifteen teachers, i.e. five from each of the three formerly racially

segregated departments in the Pietermaritzburg area. After careful consideration she realised that working with fifteen teachers would involve embarking on a study of unmanageable proportions. While her supervisor had suggested she interview a maximum of six to eight teachers, the researcher eventually settled for ten teachers, as she wished to make her sample as representative as possible across the three education departments (the then HOD, NED, and HOR) affected by the legislation. Should the possibility of "discounting" data arise, she would still have adequate data to work with (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.47). This did eventually occur with the data provided by the teacher from Tugela High School (see Chapter Four : Section C).

3.1.6 Deciding on the Range of Secondary Schools to Include in the Study

The researcher was learning that the process of planning research was a reflexive and dynamic one (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). It was also interactive, as the researcher did not always work in a vacuum but consulted continuously. Furthermore, the constant decision-making which accompanied this process pervaded every single stage of the research process at both macro and micro levels - from deciding on the research paradigm, to considering which individual teachers one would interview. Each decision, in turn, demanded justification/rationalisation and/or explication.

Secondary schools had already been chosen as a suitable research setting and it was necessary to refine this further by examining which of the range of schools offering secondary education in desegregated contexts in Pietermaritzburg would be included in the study. A decision point requiring deliberation and justification was the issue of whether to include private schools in her sample. As part of the open schools movement which had started in the 70's, private schools were the only schooling venture to have engaged with issues of desegregation in South Africa in a sustained way (Christie, 1990b, p.37). Would it be wise to explore the views of teachers of private schools alongside those of teachers at state schools, who at best had only been exposed to desegregation for two years? The researcher was also aware, however, that it was unfair to enter her research with this kind of bias, or even to theorise that private school teachers would be more insightful or advantaged. The nature of qualitative research was such that one should not enter with pre-ordained notions - the emphasis should be on discovery instead (Woods in

Burgess, 1985, p.51).

While they were seen by many as agents of social change and as the "harbingers of non-racialism" (Orkney in Randall, 1982, p.207), private schools were, like state schools, unavoidably part of a system of educational inequality. Among other factors, this could be attributed to the ways in which educational attainment was strongly dependent on social background in these schools, and to their aim, which was to produce leaders rather than workers. Private schools and to a lesser extent White, Coloured and Indian schools all belonged loosely to a privileged educational sector (when compared to African schools) (*Ibid.*, p.205). Secondly, the 1990 legislation had not made it compulsory but merely legally "possible" for desegregation to take place in all schools. Private schools had operated similarly in that they had been "open" rather than integrated – this implied that integration was not compulsory but simply available or possible (Christie, 1988, p.88). Some were substantially integrated while others had very few Black students (Christie, 1990a, p.127). Examining teachers across the diverse yet similarly desegregated settings of private and state schools could only add to the richness and complexity of the data. While significant differences in their approaches and attitudes would merit comment, and while the researcher could choose, at some stage in the analysis, to look at the data group departmentally if she so wished, it was the intention of the research methodology to be pro-active by studying teachers on the basis of their commonality.

Her limited sample of ten also tried to take into account the widest possible variety of secondary school contexts within which desegregation was being experienced e.g. single sex/co-ed, private/state, technical/academic bias, schools in sub-economic working class areas/schools catering largely for more affluent middle-class pupils, city/suburban schools. Further details of school contexts chosen for the study are tabulated (see Appendix G).

3.1.7 Selecting Teachers

The researcher was aware of the convention in social science that strangers make better informants and that it is preferable for the interviewer to be unknown to or at least not a personal friend of the interviewee (Powney and Watts, 1987, p.50 and p.119). At the outset, the researcher

also felt insidiously that interviewing colleagues she knew might cause the integrity and sincerity of their responses to be breached. An awareness of each other's "personal perspective" (*Ibid.*, p.35) might allow both interviewer and interviewee to influence each other. This bias could cause the data to be "contaminated" further as respondents' answers might tend deliberately towards being in line with the interviewer's own attitudes (*Ibid.*, pp.35-36). As a researcher/interviewer known to the interviewee, she also had to acknowledge and carry the well-known risk of interviewees fulfilling a researcher's expectations (*Ibid.*, p.118).

As the process of selecting teachers began, the researcher soon realised that her aim to interview strangers was going to prove not only unattainable, but impractical. It is a common problem for researchers and their subjects to know one another in a small educational community, and Pietermaritzburg was no exception. The researcher had to accept that in any research process one dealt always with research compromises, not the ideal situation. She had to accept, too, that one had to continually subject one's original intentions to review and scrutiny and that there would often be no option but to relinquish the control that one, particularly as a novice researcher, wished to impose on the situation. So it was that the decision of "selecting" or "recommending" (as it turned out) the interviewees was left to the principal/head of department. To facilitate this process, the researcher came up with a short brief to guide the principal/head of department in her/his task:

- Teachers should have at least three years teaching experience. To be able to comment insightfully on the changes in desegregated classes they should ideally have had some experience of teaching racially exclusive classes prior to the 1990 legislation.
- Teachers should be E1L subject-specialists and should be teaching E1L to at least two integrated classes.
- Finally, teachers should volunteer willingly and have the time to participate.

Part of the research accountability of this study involved reporting on the ways in which practical and personal reasons eventually characterised the selection process. For example, two or three principals had a teacher in mind almost immediately e.g. "*Jenny Reed is best. I'll ask her to call you tomorrow*" or "*I have Tim Morgan in mind. He'll give you a very interesting picture*". One head of department wanted the researcher to meet the whole English team in her school and speak

to all teachers, as she complained that it would be difficult for her to select. The researcher had to cajole her into finally selecting a teacher according to the criteria given, or leave it open to her staff. Another principal said "*Everybody is busy with the prize-giving. Only Mrs Maharaj is relatively free*". Yet another principal asked the interviewer whether she had any teachers in mind. All their accounts reinforce Walford's theory (1991, p.16) that it is most often the idiosyncrasies of persons and circumstance which are at the very heart of the research process.

3.1.8 Deciding on the Method of Data Collection

Since the purpose of the study was not to provide a micro-analysis but merely a preliminary examination of the issues preoccupying teachers as their classrooms became integrated, it was decided to gather information through a single detailed personal interview with each teacher, with the researcher as interviewer. The major research instrument would be the researcher herself, for she would collect and analyse the data (Burgess in Lemmer, 1992, p.294). This method is supported by the Penny *et al.* study (1992, p.5). The use of a questionnaire was ruled out, as questionnaires often reproduce rhetoric, and respondents are frequently unwilling to admit failures about programmes or processes in which they are involved. An interview on the other hand could help the researcher obtain access to "hidden data" (i.e. information which is both unexpected and unintended and not easily disclosed in official responses to formal questionnaires) (Crossley & Vulliamy in Lemmer, 1992, p.294).

The researcher had given thought to other methods of data collection such as classroom observations, repertory grids, open-ended questionnaires and workshops (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.27) which could be used in conjunction with interviews. However, the confines of her study (which was meant to be purely exploratory in nature) and the time constraints, precluded other methods of data collection. Her own time constraints meant that the researcher had to gather her data in November 1992 at the end of the academic year when teachers were involved in the final examinations. Teachers would not be able to offer much of their time. A study based on interviewing would make the most efficient use of the limited time available (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.81). Interviewing has persisted within educational research as a valid means of collecting information about people's experiences, perspectives, beliefs and attitudes (Powney & Watts,

1987, p.5; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, p.6) and would have to suffice as the most satisfactory method within the circumstances.

An important advantage of the interview situation was the degree of authority it placed on the interviewee (Walker, 1985, p.91). An important feature of the research design in general, and one that guided the construction of the interview schedule in particular, was that teachers by dint of their daily experience in desegregated classrooms should be seen as "experts" and "voices of authority" in their field. Thus, however varied their experience, it was valuable because it was first hand. By talking directly to teachers in diverse settings, the study would be enhanced. The teacher's voice was most important and a good interview would allow this to come through clearly.

3.1.9 Constructing the Interview Schedule

The use of any interview guide or schedule presupposes a certain degree of knowledge about the people one intends to study (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.92). As a result, novice researchers who are unfamiliar with the field of study they are about to enter, may find the task of creating and generating topics to be covered in an interview to be particularly demanding. The researcher was fortunate in that both her past experience as a teacher and her continued contact with and interest in secondary education and English teaching were factors which facilitated empathy with teachers and enabled her more readily to identify key areas to be probed in the interviews.

The design for the interview schedule went through many stages;

- Consultation with experts in the field about possible content: this included speaking to Penny *et al.*, interviews with subject advisors from the NED and HOD and discussions with the researcher's supervisor and with other academics at the education department in which she was a student.
- Informal discussions with colleagues and fellow researchers: her membership of the SADTU English Second Language Committee during 1992 was particularly helpful in this regard.
- Insight gained from attendance at workshops had revealed that the moot point among

teachers was in fact desegregation and the resultant changes sweeping through classrooms.

- Consulting the literature and reading widely.
- Finally, there was a formal piloting of the interview.

Constructing the interview schedule was a challenging procedure, leading the researcher to accept for herself that no research is ever perfect but is inherently and inevitably flawed. For example the researcher was still concerned that her expectations of teachers would be reflected in the questions asked and that this could direct the research into pre-determined channels. She had to accept, however, that questions invariably always reflect the interests of those that construct them (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.47). Whether she wanted to admit it or not, the interview schedule was based upon the assumption that she saw change as the overriding feature in the newly desegregated classroom. It was virtually impossible for the teacher not to get a glimpse of how the researcher perceived the situation, because the ways in which questions were formulated, no matter how tentatively, would always give an indication of her biases. In this regard the researcher had to be comforted by Bogdan & Biklen (*Ibid.*, p.47) who advised that the researcher needs to acknowledge and take into account her own opinions, prejudices and biases and to constantly confront these with the data.

She was anxious not to influence teachers to look at things problematically. For example, in the schedule teachers were asked about the "challenges" that they faced and not the "problems". Many teachers however, invariably reverted to the word "problem" or "difficulty" in their responses (this will be discussed further in 4.8 under Terminology). Would not asking teachers what their concerns were imply that all teachers in the situation were expected to have concerns? The researcher had prefaced the interview with introductory comments (see Appendix - for these introductory remarks). She had stated that the research was designed to see how teachers were coping. Could this not impose a possibly inappropriate frame of reference on the subjects of the research, leading those teachers who were coping well in desegregated classrooms to think that they should be experiencing problems? Further, if the research was a follow up to *'Just Sort of Fumbling in the Dark'...* and this was mentioned in the introductory comments, might not the mention of the very title prejudice teachers towards thinking that they too should be lost and

without direction as schools became integrated, that they too, should be "fumbling in the dark"? The researcher also shared Bogdan & Biklen's concern (*Ibid.*, p.47) that raising certain issues with teachers e.g. their views on the development of English as a subject, might influence them to think that they should have an opinion on the topic, and therefore possibly induce them to create an opinion.

The interview schedule was eventually based upon the assumption that in desegregated classrooms teachers could be expected to voice reasonably confident opinions on their experiences in the following four areas:

1. Part One was concerned with teachers and their perceptions of their **students**.
2. Part Two investigated the ways in which **teachers** themselves had been affected by the changes, and focused particularly on their **concerns** and **challenges**.
3. Part Three investigated whether their **teaching methodology, content and practice** had been affected
4. Part Four consisted of two sections: their interaction with other members in the **school community** and their **attitudes** towards teaching as a career.

(Please see Appendix B for copy of Interview Schedule).

The researcher was aware that there were many other areas that could specifically be probed e.g. changes in the school's ethos, academic standards, the school's admission policy and selection / screening procedures. However, these fell outside the scope of her study. It was also anticipated that views on these topics might come through in the rich information that interviews would offer. It was not feasible for the interview schedule to realistically probe any further areas. As a matter of fact, the researcher was concerned that the final interview schedule was still too long, but justified its length with the knowledge that she was trying to capture complex information and get the fullest possible picture of teachers' ideas, of their meanings and words and their ways of seeing desegregated classes – this tied in with one of the underlying principles of qualitative research, as acknowledged by Bogdan & Biklen (*Ibid.*, p.46) that situations are complex.

Also, because qualitative research is holistic in nature, the interview schedule needed to be structured in a way that would facilitate a **contextual understanding** of the complex inter-

relationships of factors, causes and consequences that affected teachers in their classrooms (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990, p.11). Thus the schedule could not focus solely on teachers themselves and their concerns and challenges – it was necessary to look at teachers' engagement with and perceptions of their students, their subject area, and other significant players in the school community who affected teachers in their classrooms.

In the first section of the interview schedule, the researcher followed Patton's advice (in Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.129) that complex and more demanding issues (such as teacher concerns and challenges) be left for later in the interview and that the sequence of questions begin with descriptive, present-oriented questions. This was the motivation behind starting the interview by asking teachers to describe the classes they were presently teaching, and to comment on the ways in which their students had been affected.

The researcher was aware that Section 3 of the interview schedule, by virtue of the area it attempted to explore viz. teaching EIL in the desegregated classroom, could itself be the focus of a doctoral thesis! However she wished to sketch briefly whether teachers' actual teaching had changed at all in response to the very real changes that were coming into classrooms. It was important to ascertain whether, at a time of momentous educational and political change, there was any kind of accompanying change in the micro-level educational provision teachers were offering in the classroom. Teachers needed to be given the opportunity to offer accounts of their **classroom practice** and actions in the new teaching context, so Section Three of the interview schedule would allow the researcher to briefly explore the interface of the teacher's creativity in meeting the students' needs. In the interviews themselves, information expected in response to Section 3 often came through in fact, in Sections 1 and 2. This happened throughout the interview schedule and was accepted as normal. The researcher had to accept that in the schedule's construction, and in fact throughout the entire research process, she as a qualitative researcher would always be concerned with limiting biases and error but never succeed in eliminating them completely (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.46).

Eventually the interview schedule covered four key areas of inquiry. She hoped that the preponderance of open-ended questions in it would allow the teacher's voice to come through

clearly and distinctly. The research framework dictated that broad, open questions would allow tentative hypotheses to grow from the data (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.2), as opposed to the more traditional format of setting out hypotheses and testing them by collecting data. Open-ended questions combined with the use of the ethnographic approach, allowed for an important qualitative methodological possibility, which Willis (in Beard & Gaganakis, 1991, p.114) calls being "surprised", referring to the reaching of knowledge not prefigured in one's starting paradigm. Of the thirteen questions in the interview schedule, eleven were open-ended.

3.1.10 The Pilot Interview

In order to gain clarity on the questions to be included in the interview schedule and for the interviewer to initiate herself into the novelties of interviewing, a pilot interview was undertaken. This was a valuable exercise for it revealed that she needed a more professional tape-recorder (the recorded pilot interview had exceptionally poor clarity) and that her original intended opening question "What changes have occurred in the school's ethos?" had to be left out completely. In terms of terminology and scope it was an unfair and intimidating opening question. By serving as a rehearsal opportunity to practice the social interaction skills necessary for the interview, the pilot interview also helped the researcher to be less self-conscious. The pilot interview led to a modification and shortening of the schedule and gave the researcher a good idea of how to pace the interview. This process of revision of the schedule continued on an informal basis throughout the interview process, particularly in the area of questions that were inappropriately worded and that had to be rephrased.

3.2 GATHERING THE DATA

3.2.1 Approaching Those in Charge

An important step in the research process was to negotiate access and entry into the potential sources of the data - secondary schools. In requesting permission from those in charge, it was necessary to liaise with persons Becker (in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.20) refers to as "gatekeepers". Goetz & LeCompte state that it is necessary to contact top-level officials to

ensure organisational sanction for the research (1984, p.88). It was also expected that in dealing with racially fragmented and isolated education departments, officials might wish to limit outside access to internal affairs in what was still then very much an apartheid context.

Contact with the various individuals, officials and groupings was initiated both formally and informally. Formal contact was made with the Natal Education Department (NED) through official channels. (Please see Appendix A for the letter requesting access). The fact that permission had been granted was mentioned to all NED principals when negotiating access. This does not necessarily imply that this procedure was a precondition to gaining access to schools. As Bogdan & Biklen remind us (1992, p.83), novice researchers are often amazed at how little people want to know. Caught up as they were in preparation for final examinations, the eventual presence of the researcher in the school for 45 minutes to an hour barely created any ripples in the normally busy school schedules. All schools and principals were extremely co-operative with very few questions being asked - the only concern that was voiced was that the researcher did not make excessive demands on teachers' time.

The fact that the researcher had spent her career teaching within the HOD and had a working relationship with colleagues in the HOR, encouraged her to contact principals in these departments informally. Once contacted, the principals themselves felt that it was unnecessary to obtain official consent from their departments. Thus in the case of the HOD, HOR and private schools there was a less complicated entry procedure with sanction for the research not being required from the upper levels. When choosing schools from within the ranks of HOD and HOR, the need to identify people who could facilitate success was seen as paramount. Field notes indicating why certain schools were chosen, display entries such as "principal is friendly", or "know principal well". In most cases it was ultimately the school secretary who wielded the power. It was usually most rewarding to practice one's charms on the school secretary for it was usually she who could facilitate easy access to the principal!

Often, part of being successful lies in being non-disruptive (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.83). When telephonic contact was made with all principals it was necessary to allay fears that the researcher's presence would interfere with teacher routines and work or make excessive demands

on their time. Secondly, the fact that the present study was a follow-up one to the Penny *et al.* (1992) study directed towards teachers rather than principals, was mentioned to all gatekeepers.

3.2.2 The Interview Context/The Interviews

Interviews were carried out over a three-week period in November 1992. They ranged from forty minutes to fifty-five minutes in length. At the outset subjects were thanked for their co-operation. It was then necessary to ensure that they understood the purpose, format and length of the interview (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.108). Contact persons within the school had already been asked to brief the teachers about the general area being covered in the research, and so in a sense the interviewees, as advised by Walker (1985, p.111) had been free to reflect, and to consult others on the broad area being researched if they had so wished. Introductory remarks (see Appendix B) about the project were then made and teachers were asked if they had any questions. All teachers interviewed expressed their interest in having access to the findings once the research had been written up.

Both Lofland (in Goetz & LeCompte, p.29) and Powney & Watts (1987, p.108) emphasise that interviews are conducted more smoothly when prefaced by a brief statement of research purpose and by assurances of protection of respondent identity. Interviewees need to trust the person interviewing them and it was important to set teachers at ease by assuring them that the interview would be treated confidentially. Teachers were also likely to go further in their confidences and be more forthcoming if they trusted the interviewer not to betray their confidences. Even though teachers were told at the outset that their anonymity would be preserved throughout, they required reassurance on several occasions, particularly before or after they shared information that they did not wish to be traced back to them.

Respondents were asked if they had any objections to being taped - none did. No one appeared to feel self-conscious and neither was any evidence of machine-phobia displayed. Tape-recording was neither intrusive nor cumbersome as some researchers (Walker, 1985, p.109) have found. While the tape-recorder was an excellent method of capturing data as fully and accurately as possible, its use revealed that within the school context it did not really matter whether the

researcher and interviewee were allowed the use of a small cosy office, or were relegated to a large acoustically-poor classroom - the noises and activities of the school and the outside world still intruded at every turn, an unavoidable consequence of interviewing teachers during school time. These took the form of traffic sounds, ear-piercing buzzers, corridor noises, doors squeaking, birds twittering and students at play, inducing one teacher to comment (this occurred in a private school setting): "Six cricket fields and rugby fields and they're playing out here!" Fortunately there was still sufficient clarity on the tape to follow the interview. Disruptions were difficult to control or to predict and even took the form of further continuous and varied intrusions such as teachers, students and cleaners barging in, with, at one stage, the interview being interrupted when the researcher was asked to move her car which had been obstructing someone in the school car-park. Some interruptions were as a result of miscommunication and poor planning e.g. despite the fact that the interviewer had asked the contact person to arrange for one hour of the teacher's time for the interview process to be completed, two interviews were interrupted by buzzers signalling that teachers had to leave: "May I run away?" asked one teacher. Fortunately the researcher was able to complete the interview to her satisfaction, albeit in haste.

3.2.2.1 Establishing Rapport

In keeping with Powney & Watts (1987, p.vii) definition of research interviews as "conversational encounters to a purpose", the interview was modelled on a conversation between two trusting parties (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.47), an important goal being to establish rapport with informants (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.36). In her introductory comments, her remarks throughout the interview and her use of paralanguage viz. low pitched voice, appropriate changes in voice tone, speed and volume, facial expression, frequent smiling, eye contact and head nods (Powney & Watts, 1987, pp.97/98) the researcher conveyed that she was sincerely and genuinely interested in the teachers' thoughts on the processes of desegregation unfolding in their classrooms. An important part of interviewing was being non-judgemental and supportive (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.94). Especially after very confidential or potentially embarrassing disclosures from teachers (e.g. one teacher's admission that the only way she could cope was by staying away from school) it was important for the interviewer to communicate feelings of empathy and understanding.

The researcher had also to demonstrate good listening behaviour. Long pauses on tapes indicate that both the researcher and interviewees were aware of the value of meaningful pause and silence in aiding reflection and in drawing attention to a particularly salient or insightful comment.

3.2.2.2 Interviewer and Interviewee Impact on Each Other

In an interview data is gathered through direct oral interaction and therefore it does make a difference who says what, who asks the questions, how they say them and what they make of the answers (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.7). It was unrealistic to expect complete neutrality to be achieved in the interview situation. The researcher acknowledged that her personal characteristics, her value system and the stance she was seen to be assuming through her questions would exercise some effect on the data collected, thereby possibly affecting the validity of the research (Lemmer, 1992, p.294). The outcome of all interviews was also undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the separate but related roles of researcher, colleague, interviewer and a black woman which the researcher presented, interacted and impinged on each other and that this influenced all aspects of the research, particularly the interview process and the analysis.

Feminist researchers have commented on the ease with which women informants are often able to open up to women researchers conducting in-depth interviews (De Vault & Stacey in Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.96). Finch (*Ibid.*, p.96) also comments on the "extreme ease" with which women researchers can get information from their female informants. This was certainly the researcher's experience with the six women she interviewed. Transcripts reveal a strong rapport, with the researcher often being aware that women teachers were relating and appealing to her continually as a woman. Implicit in their responses was a high level of shared meanings and understandings as illustrated by the following quotations: "*I virtually have no time for myself at all. I'm sure you know that as well, being a wife, mother and teacher,*" and from another teacher "*You know, I'm fortunate to have a husband who is extremely busy. If I had another husband he'd be furious*".

The idea of respondents pandering to the interviewer by giving information and replies they believed the interviewer wanted (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.47), was a possible explanation of

the fact that one respondent continually gave vent to her experiences of discrimination as a female teacher. The researcher surmised that her own high profile membership of two teacher committees which addressed gender issues could have induced these sharings to be emphasised in the manner that they were, confirming Brenner's assertion that interview bias cannot be avoided: "to want to interview without influence is a contradiction in terms" (*Ibid.*, p.37). However, her experiences within these committees and in schools, led her to concede that the teacher's complaints were probably justified. The very credible teacher personality of "female teacher as victim" which emerged from the interview caused the researcher to read the eventual interview outcome as a balance between the respondent's possible pandering to the researcher and her actual reporting on very real experiences of discrimination against women.

3.2.2.3 Mediating the Schedule

As the interview was designed along the lines of natural interaction to help tap into what was important to teachers (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.93), the researcher did not stick to the exact wording of the interview schedule, which if read out exactly would have been too formal and alienating and would have come across as an impersonal interrogation of the teacher. Instead she used a more conversational register, adjusting and changing her wording continually and using the teacher's name to personalise the schedule.

Especially in the first three interviews, the researcher found that she was open to wider parameters emerging and therefore exercised great latitude in allowing teachers to explore issues important to them; as a result she veered away too often from the boundaries set by the interview schedule. Particularly in the early interviews this became a difficult area to control, for teachers tended to ramble and interviews became unmanageably long. As the interviews progressed the researcher became more skilled at taking the interview forward by gently ending protracted discussions of teachers' pet topics and tangential areas of discussion, and by curtailing her desire to probe unnecessarily.

As advised by Taylor & Bogdan (1984, p.49) all interviews were characterised by questions from the interviewer when she was unclear, as in the following instance when she needed clarity on

the terminology used by the teacher:

Teacher: *"We have 9% Black children in our school."*

Question: *"When you say Black do you mean the generic term or are you referring to African pupils?"*

Teacher: *"I'm talking about solely African children, ja, not Indian or Coloured."*

However the researcher took care that she questioned not to challenge but for clarification (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.98). Often notes alongside transcripts show that most often additional questions or probing became necessary when teachers' comments contrasted starkly with descriptions given by other teachers, or when information was presented that appeared unusual e.g. as in the following description of a class in a private school setting where the ESL students were divided almost equally as follows: Taiwanese, French, Xhosa and Zulu. There was also one Swazi pupil in the class. The teacher's closing comment: *"Something of a legend my 9b class!"*

It was also important to follow up on crucial contextual clues provided by the responses and initiate lines of questioning to extract further useful information e.g. when a teacher repeated a certain topic or issue throughout the interview, the researcher had to respond by questioning in order to discern the significance of the topic to the teacher concerned. One teacher mentioned drama and drama-related activities continually, reinforcing her strong belief (as expressed in her closing statements) in the value of drama and in the way it could be of enormous benefit to ESL students. In another interview the teacher peppered her interview with anecdotes of racist incidents in the school. Probing revealed that the school's engagement with desegregation had been characterised by an alarming preponderance of racist events among staff and students. This was, not coincidentally, one of the teacher's main concerns.

In her acknowledgement of interviewing as a particularly complex social interaction the researcher accepted that a myriad factors affected any interview outcome - style, characteristics, status and bias of an interviewer are only a few. Even before the first question is put, the participants (both the researcher and interviewer) have coloured the slate with their histories and their expectations (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.33).

3.2.3 Analysis of Data

The researcher discovered that data analysis was an ongoing process that began during data collection and was intertwined with it (Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990, p. 11; Burgess, 1985, p.5; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.128; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.72; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.65). As Bechofer (in Burgess, 1985, pp.5 & 6) claims "the research process is not a clear-cut sequence of procedures following a neat pattern but a messy interaction between the conceptual and empirical world". This, together with Bogdan & Biklen's description of analysis and data collection occurring in a "pulsating fashion" - first the interview, then analysis and theory development, another interview, and then more analysis and so on, resulting in a method of constant comparison (1992, p.72) - held true for the researcher.

Having decided to attempt transcription of the tapes in long hand by herself so as to familiarise herself with the data, the researcher completely underestimated the amount of time it would take. Full transcription is immensely time-consuming with ratios of 6:1 and 10:1 not being uncommon (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.147; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.129) and the researcher soon sought outside help with transcription. She continued to "immerse" herself in the transcripts however, by reading and re-reading them, marking them and listening to them (even in her car) until she felt able to discern patterns and emergent themes (Burgess, 1985, p.25). As interviews were transcribed she marked transcriptions, jotting down ideas, making notes of key words and phrases used and highlighting important sections and quotations so that the data began to look "used" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.165). The transcript in Appendix E gives an idea of this process. This helped to facilitate what Glaser (*Ibid.*, p.164) calls "venting" - when ideas and understanding begin to strike the researcher on a regular basis. During this time the researcher also began to develop a coding system where she was writing down words and phrases to represent regularities, topics and patterns in the data. These words and phrases became "coding categories" (*Ibid.*, p.166) e.g. "legacy of Bantu education", "separate worlds", "teach the child first".

The researcher's next task was to reduce the pages of transcripts to an accessible form. This involved "data crunching" or "data reduction" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.167; Miles & Huberman, 1984, p.21). During this period it was easier to discern linkages and relationships in

the data, to build ideas and to generally indulge in what theorists called "inquisitive behaviour" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.167).

Miles & Huberman (1984, p.15) warn that data collection is a labour-intensive operation. This was perhaps an understatement. The researcher found that the meticulously kept field notes which came out of the interviews, which emanated from discussions with colleagues and her supervisor, and which featured as daily entries in her journal, mounted astronomically, so that data overload was in fact a given. There is no doubt however, that these field notes were an invaluable aid to analysis and interpretation, highlighting as they did what were usually the most striking if not ultimately, the most important aspects of the data (Goetz & LeCompte, p.191).

Using the interview schedule as a guide, the researcher drew up summaries for each interviewee with responses being categorised as per the schedule. The summary also recorded other information that presented itself outside the four categories of the interview schedule. Note was also made in the summary of significant quotations from the transcripts, and of aspects of teacher personality. (For an example of a summary see Appendix H). The summaries were vital in helping to build a base-line description of the teachers under study. Following this, the researcher drew up large charts to display areas of commonality among the ten summaries. These charts demonstrated at a glance which of the responses from teachers were most frequent, which overlapped and were similar, and which were unusual or anomalous. Thus the researcher entered into a fairly intensive period of analysis as soon as possible after the process of data collection had been completed. Even though some theorists are of the opinion that "making sense" of data is one of the most daunting tasks in any research process (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.10; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.196), the researcher thoroughly enjoyed this period. Interrelating with, speaking to, interrogating and analysing the data was one of the most stimulating periods of the research process. The researcher found that the business of actually writing up the data was far more formidable and challenging.

Taylor & Bogdan (1984, p.129) warned that one should not wait too long before returning to informants to clarify any points or loose ends. The researcher was not able to do this. This was due to the fact that she only realised the importance of this process once it was too late to actually

do so, because there had been a gap of two years. Thus the importance of clarifying information from informants was only realised in retrospect. The other reality of course, is that she only began writing up the project two years after having gathered the data. The researcher is not able to recommend a lapse of time of this duration on the grounds that the lack of progress with the completion of the research process leads to demoralisation and a period of frustration and general misery for the researcher. However, some theorists believe that a lapse of time can sometimes be critical to a researcher's ability to reflect on data (Goetz & LeCompte, p.191) and the researcher is hopeful that her period away from the research facilitated a process of distance from the data and a healthier re-engagement with it. This issue will be discussed more fully later in the context of "Major challenges in the research process" (see 5.2.4 - "The protracted writing-up period").

She re-entered the data by re-reading and then scanning all transcriptions (*Ibid.*, p.191) to check for completeness, and to reacquaint herself with territory previously covered, only this time with the wisdom of hindsight. Working with summaries of the transcripts to create a composite picture, she began to use colour-coding to help identify the most powerful themes to emerge. Information was thus derived in this manner, with new charts being created to flesh out the many issues and tensions within themes. Chapter Four is the end result.

In keeping with the basic goal of ethnography which is to create a vivid reconstruction of the phenomena studied (*Ibid.*, p.191), the researcher made a decision to include as many significant quotations from the transcripts as were necessary in the reporting of her findings. This decision was also informed by Lofland's assertion that "rich data" (usually in the form of quotations and anecdotes) constitutes the essence of qualitative research and most faithfully represents the cultural experiences of teachers in the classroom (Lofland & Lofland in Lemmer, 1992, p.294). As discussed earlier the inclusion of "rich data" would also help to make the report more accessible to classroom practitioners, who were after all the subjects and the possible consumers of the research (*Ibid.*, p.294). The use of such data would help paint a "textured portrait" (Fuller & Heynerman in Vulliamy *et al.*, 1990, p.18) of teachers' perceptions, concerns and challenges in the desegregated secondary school EIL classroom. The findings would present educationalists with a more intimate picture of teachers' realities within the classroom.

Two main challenges faced the researcher as she stood on the threshold of preparing to write up the project - firstly she had to select what she considered to be important, what was to be learned from the study, and she had to decide what to tell others. Secondly, she had to convey a sense of the complexity and richness of the data in her findings. Throughout she tried to be true to her main concern, which was to faithfully represent the teachers' voice.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter describes the major themes and other significant issues which emerged from the data. The chapter is divided into four sections:

- A. Themes
- B. Other significant issues which emerged
- C. The need to discount data
- D. Comments on reporting the findings.

A. THEMES

The legislation of 1990 had been unprecedented in South African educational history and had impacted on the schools sampled at macro and micro levels, resulting in multifaceted changes such as the following:

- Changes in school population which ranged from an intake of ten to fifteen percent of new non-dominant group pupils in four schools, to forty to eighty-five percent in six other schools. Teachers in the latter schools described these changes as drastic.
- The need for changes in classroom methodology.
- Changes in the way the EIL curriculum was being mediated by teachers.

The transcripts were distinguished by a high predominance of **idiomatic and metaphorical language**, with frequent use of irony and sarcasm from women and men alike. Even though many of the metaphors used were not always original and were repeated by many teachers, the fact that they were figurative and connotative led them to dramatise and amplify themes and phenomena and communicate a complex educational reality far more effectively than if they had been described in a literal and denotative way (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p.221). As data-reducing devices, these metaphors were invaluable in helping the researcher focus on emerging themes and in taking several particulars to make a single generality of them - for example, the idiom "**sink or swim**" used by many teachers is a colloquial description of a central theme in this chapter. This helped the research process considerably as researchers are encouraged to make metaphors

in order to help them make sense of their data (*Ibid.*, p.221) - the teachers had done this for the researcher. Transcripts were replete with examples such as the following:

1. *"We grovel along"* (describing the plight of teachers qualified to teach E1L not ESL).
2. *"They're literally cutting off the artery of education"* (accusation directed at education departments who were not perceived as providing support for the process of desegregation).
3. *"We're dumped in this situation: sink or swim"*, *"we're stranded on an island"* and *"we're actually just beating the air"* convey the teachers' feelings of frustration at not being able to cater sufficiently for the needs of their ESL learners and their perception of being abandoned by educational authorities.
4. *"It's like you're having a deluge of rain and you don't have dams strong enough to contain it, so a lot of it is lost, and then when the problem comes it spills, the water spills, because you haven't been able to dam it."* (A reference to the lack of preparation around desegregation).
5. *"There's that vast gulf between me and my students. "*
6. *"Our message to our students from the management seems to be fit in or buzz off"*.
7. *"Black pupils are completely swamped by the speed at which lessons are delivered."*

These particular uses of metaphorical language, with their concomitant connotations, superbly illustrated many of the major themes to emerge from the research. They described succinctly the risky nature of the situation in which teachers found themselves following desegregation - if they succeeded in small ways in their classrooms, it was as a result of their own efforts.

Three major themes emerged from the data:

- "Sink or swim" - Teachers
- "Sink or swim" - Students
- "Separate realities / separate worlds"

Other themes were "Staff attitudes"; "English First Language and its development as a subject"; "Examinations/assessment: tension" and "The status of Zulu in schools". At the outset it needs

to be emphasised that all themes fed into each other, and should not be conceptualised as though they existed in water-tight compartments. As convenient ways of making sense of the data however, they are discussed separately in this chapter, but are all interrelated. Secondly, the themes were multidimensional and embodied a number of sub-themes, tensions, contradictions and idiosyncrasies.

4.1. "SINK OR SWIM": TEACHERS

Information provided by teachers revealed the following:

- their lack of familiarity with the complex and controversial area of ESL theory and methodology
- the absence of networking within schools, between schools and across racially exclusive education departments
- the teacher's isolation within the classroom, and
- their limited experience of teaching English in desegregated classrooms and in multilingual classrooms in particular.

It was clear that teachers had been left largely to their own resources, that they were very much in need of support that was not forthcoming. The scenario that emerged from the data at this very early stage of desegregation in 1992 is best encapsulated by the following idiom, uttered by a teacher from Suikerbossie High: *"sink or swim"*. The teacher attested further: *"I have actually witnessed that many students and many teachers are being dumped in the situation – sink or swim – and you don't blame the teachers because many of them are not competent enough to cope"*. This image was a recurrent one and has been used by the researcher to describe the ways in which, in 1992, both teachers' and students' early post-desegregation experiences were similar.

The idea of teachers "sinking or swimming" as the circumstances dictated, dominated the data, and involved six inter-related areas, which are discussed hereafter:

4.1.1 Teachers Isolated and not Coping

All teachers interviewed were EIL teachers who did not have ESL skills or a multicultural anti-

racist background or training to deal with the challenges involved in teaching their new students, the majority of whom were African ESL students. They all confirmed experiencing a strong sense of isolation, stemming from the fact that they had been left to their own devices in the classroom, and had to manage on their own resources with no help from management in schools or from their education departments. Many teachers reported that they did not feel competent enough to cope, and yet the onus was very definitely on them to do so. They felt that the emphasis and demands were very much on teachers themselves, and not on the students to adapt. As the teacher from a private school explained:

Particularly in the 1980's when the number of second language speakers was still relatively small, in a sense that pressure was on them, not on me, because in the 80's the majority of my classes were still made up of the upper middle-class white child who was quite competent. So the second language speakers used to arrive and were told, 'This is what we're doing. Get your finger out and do it'. But as the numbers of Black pupils increased, especially in the last two years, the demands are on us as teachers now, and not on the pupils.

This onerous responsibility was felt by all teachers, irrespective of whether their "new" ESL students were in the minority in their classrooms or in the majority. All the teachers also complained of the lack of resources and of the difficulty in finding suitable material for their new charges. As a result, teaching had become more stressful and demanding, with teachers reporting that they felt continuously drained and frustrated. Words like "overwhelmed", "swamped", "burden", "exhausting", "lost", "abandoned", "isolated" and "pressurised" peppered the transcripts.

Quotation after quotation conveyed that teachers were valiantly trying to find their own way, that they were experimenting and often felt lost and despondent, as the following from four different teachers show:

- *"I had to equip myself to tackle the problem by attending an ESL course in Durban. I had to learn by trial and error."*
- *"My problem is I don't know where the hell we're actually going."*
- *"We grovel along."*

- *"So it's Tough with a capital T'. We just cope from day to day."*

4.1.2 No Support for Teachers from Educational Management

Teachers collectively delivered a scathing indictment of their respective education departments for the lack of support provided. The following quotations from five different schools paint a disturbing picture of educational management at departmental level (the HOD, HOR and NED) distanced from their constituencies at a time of historic and critical educational and political change:

- *"The education department has abandoned us."*
- *"We get no guidance from educational authorities."*
- *"The department has done nothing for us."*
- *"We don't really get too much guidance from educational authorities as far as mixed classes are concerned. "*
- *"The department and school make no special provision. "*

Management within schools came in for similar criticism:

- *"Every person wants some clarity in terms of objectives and in terms of direction, and preferably from people in higher positions. You need them there to give you guidance and assistance that you are doing the right thing with these new challenges you are faced with. But unfortunately that is not forthcoming because the excuse at the top is: "It's new for us as well."*
- *"I find that from the principal onwards or even our senior lecturer there's nothing much they can do except sympathise. And that's not helping because you're the teacher – you can't sympathise with your Black students. You've got to help them."*
- *"Our management stand back passively."* (In this school, however, the principal was supportive and had in fact formally changed the time table to start a bridging module class for Black pupils who were taught separately for six months of the year before being allowed into mainstream classes).
- *"The management you see - they only try to approach a problem when it arises, and that has been the approach which has left us unprepared for the development of such a*

situation. Had we looked with foresight we would have prepared for this."

It was only in one school that the English head of department and the teacher interviewed had taken the initiative and were attending an ESL course in Durban which they had found beneficial:

You know, you get frustrated when you know there's not much material made available by the school. As a teacher I have to go and find this material and obviously it's costly. The course I'm doing is not even considered for any increment as such, but it has helped me. My small areas of success in the classroom can be attributed to the worksheets and material that I got from this course.

The transcripts revealed that it was only in two other schools that management acknowledged the need for change. In one school (Umsinduzi Girls') *"the heads of department keep a benevolent eye on what's going on"* and one staff workshop was held (time constraints prevented teachers from meeting more often). The other school (Dorpspruit High) had *"seen the writing on the wall"* and had conducted many workshops on preparation for change. In the two private schools teachers implied that the schools, as a whole, were geared for change and had been for some time. However, no direct reference was made to management staff being helpful.

Teachers also questioned their schools' motives in admitting African students and were sceptical of the schools' commitment to integration. They suggested that most of the new pupils had been admitted for pragmatic reasons viz. falling rolls of dominant-group students. Schools were merely physically accommodating students, but not making special provision for them. In the words of one teacher:

- *"I think everyone has been very positive about desegregation because I think they realised in terms of their profession, jobs were on the line - if we didn't open, ultimately we'd have to, and rather we do it voluntarily."*

Teachers exposed the very real contradiction of African pupils *"seeking opportunities"* by going to Indian, Coloured and White schools who were admitting them, but were not seen to be *"doing anything"* for them. Teachers felt particularly strongly on this issue and the following comments are indicative of how teachers perceived that they themselves were being indicted because of their lack of training in ESL and multicultural areas:

- "Sometimes I'm not in the least bit hopeful about education because I think people are making, well, the powers-that be are making an enormous mistake at the moment.

They're literally cutting off the artery of education and that's going to create enormous problems, but one can only hope that they'll realise soon enough that that's not actually the way to go about it."

- *"So as human beings I would say that we are sort of inhuman about this whole thing."*

4.1.3 The Need to Change Methodology and Develop Coping Strategies

Teachers' feelings of insecurity and helplessness brought about by the problems discussed in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 were further exacerbated by the fact that the content and methodology they were familiar with was no longer appropriate and had to change. The table in Appendix F reveals the various coping strategies adopted by teachers.

Five teachers emphasised the stress and difficulty they experienced in adapting to the changing circumstances. One teacher described her standard sixes as follows:

They have been one of the greatest challenges of my entire life. They are twenty-three Black girls and seven White girls. It really has been very frustrating. It became more and more a disillusionment as the year progressed because I'm not quite sure how much I actually taught them. They are also so exhausting. They drain me – oof!!

Another teacher described her frustration and anger as she realised that she couldn't teach what she had taught all her life. Teaching had become frustrating and exhausting because nothing was familiar any longer. The school had changed so much that she felt completely overwhelmed.

Other comments from teachers revealed that they obviously thrived on the comfort and security that came with "safe" and known classes where lesson outcomes/evaluations could safely be predicted: *"Previously English teaching was easier - now accomplishing the same takes more out of you,"* and *"I might see it as a challenge if I were younger – I'm tired now"*. Adapting their teaching to cater for the needs of these children had presented the most exacting and difficult challenges to have confronted teachers in their entire professional careers.

4.1.4 Concern over Standards

Eight teachers voiced their very real concern with what they saw as a lowering of standards, showing clearly that the process of desegregation was fairly traumatic for the teachers from an academic point of view. The "drop" in standards was largely attributed to the fact that teachers had had to go "back to basics" since ESL students were linguistically impoverished (in terms of English). Examples were cited of standard seven students doing standard one, two and three work owing to their limited competence in English, and still making little progress at the end of the year: *"My standard sixes when they arrived were equal to standard one's and now in November, they are equal to standard two's"*.

It was clear that the work produced in general by ESL students was far below the level expected by teachers of students in that standard. English teachers stated that they had been accused by colleagues of "setting their sights and their standards too low" because many ESL students were barely passing English and Afrikaans, and *"faring abysmally"* in other subjects. Besides, their performance was adversely affected by the fact that nothing much was being done across the curriculum to cater for students. Some teachers however, expressed the understanding that standards would drop, but would pick up again.

A further consequence of the perceived drop in standards was that in two schools (one originally predominantly White and the other originally predominantly Indian) teachers claimed that parental concern over falling standards and large intakes of African ESL students had caused the White and Indian enrolment to dwindle, with both groups of students trying to seek admission to other schools which had not experienced such extreme changes in enrolment.

4.1.5 Teachers in Search of Solutions

Teachers were clear that all students in desegregated classrooms were in need of special programmes whether academic, pastoral, anti-racist, multicultural, or a combination of these. With regard to their academic development there were two areas of particular concern:

1. The need for academic/linguistic support programmes for ESL students.

2. The teacher's difficulty in coping with the divergent needs of ESL and EIL students in the same class.

4.1.5.1 Academic/Language Support Programmes for ESL Students

Teachers were undecided and confused about the kind of support that needed to be offered to ESL students. There were diverging view points from many teachers, and opinions ventured were often as a result of the perceived success or failure of strategies adopted in their own or other schools in the area. For example, a teacher from a white state girls' school spoke strongly against the extra English lessons which were being offered at her school, describing them as "*an absolute disaster*" and as "*bizarre services*" because they were not structured, were taken by volunteers (usually ex-teachers) from outside the school, and there was no liaison between these volunteers and the full-time staff. She felt that African students resented these extra lessons because they were ordinary children who did not want to be taken out of what they perceived as enjoyable subjects such as computer literacy and library. Along with three other teachers, this teacher was strongly in favour of separate provision away from the mainstream classes for ESL students. These teachers felt that the ESL students' competence in English had not been developed sufficiently to help them make sense of the existing curriculum in all subjects. As a result they were often neglected in the normal class. They envisaged this separate provision as a "bridging the gap" academic support programme of six months to a year, after which students could return to mainstream.

Proof of the controversial nature of academic language support programmes was provided by the only teacher from a school which had experimented with "separate provision" for ESL students. She was adamant that ESL students should not be taught separately if they were to benefit, citing mainly her problems with discipline in her "bridging module" classes: "*They don't want to learn – they cause chaos and they misbehave because they resent being taught separately*".

Four teachers acknowledged the necessity for a language programme "across the curriculum", for apart from the provision in the EIL classes no other support was being offered to ESL students. Through their comments, teachers also revealed a picture of schools adopting a subject-

bound approach which militated strongly against the formulation of a language-across-the-curriculum policy. One teacher who taught English and History spoke of the new ESL students *"bringing with them a language problem which is feeding through all their subjects. It's very difficult to teach history if the children don't have an English vocabulary to understand you"*.

4.1.5.2 Different Language Proficiency Levels (ESL & EIL) in the same class

The challenge of accommodating students of starkly contrasting language proficiency levels in the same class presented great difficulties to teachers. They were in a dilemma about how to nurture and extend their EIL students, as so much attention was now focused on the needs and attendant problems associated with ESL students linguistically overwhelmed in an EIL environment. Teachers were concerned about alienating the EIL children in their classes, who perceived the progress with the English syllabus, because of an African ESL majority, as too slow. Teachers in six schools where drastic changes in enrolment had occurred were hard-pressed to cater for their EIL pupils, who needed extension worksheets which they did not have the time or energy to provide.

Only the teacher at a girls' private school, by dint of her very considerable experience, her political leaning which was to the left, the relatively small numbers in her classes, the atypical and more advantaged black students she taught, and her enthusiasm for teaching, was able to cater adequately, academically, for ESL and EIL students in the same class. However, as will be discussed later, her classrooms were fraught with racial tension which she attempted to resolve through literature teaching. In general, teachers from the two private schools indicated that the smaller numbers in their classes and the fact that their students were "atypical", helped them to cope better than teachers from state schools.

Two teachers spoke of the *"poor attitude"* of their EIL speakers (Coloured students in one context and Indian in another) who had initially tended to see themselves as superior in terms of *"knowing"* English. Their teachers consciously had to make them realise that they were not superior as people. However, these two teachers, and four others, also spoke of their EIL speakers as being sensitive to the plight of ESL speakers, and of helping, for example, with peer

tutoring.

4.1.6 Teachers As The Mediators Of Contradictory Expectations

The researcher's earlier hunch that teachers were "the mediators of contradictory expectations" (Grace in Barton and Walker, 1981, p.7) was borne out, for this idea appeared as a leitmotif throughout the data. It was glaringly apparent, from evidence provided by all ten teachers that they were continually subjected to a variety of contradictory pressures.

On the one hand teachers accepted that changing educational, political and social conditions within the country demanded that they:

- cater for the changed composition of students in their classrooms accordingly
- try to satisfy the basic educational needs of all their learners and particularly the new ESL students
- change the apartheid education mindset of themselves and their pupils
- combat racism, sexism and ethnocentrism in their classrooms and schools.

On the other hand they were expected to respond to the above at the same time as they were required to deal with cut-backs, rationalisation, higher pupil/teacher ratios, increased hours of contact time, and an extension of their teaching role. One teacher reported *"As we lose more and more staff, we have less and less time or energy to do anything for the children - an enormous burden has been placed on fewer staff."* Another teacher said:

It's a very exciting time, but extremely difficult as well. We have fewer staff with more work in and out of the classroom. Particularly inside the classroom, it's a much more demanding profession - there are more extracurricular duties, and then students have fewer traditional skills.

In fact this latter point was emphasised often, especially the stress involved in *"teaching pupils I have never taught before with so many different types of background"*.

The theme of teachers as mediators of contradictory expectations was elaborated upon by teachers with particular reference to the following areas:

1. The burden of the English teacher
2. The teacher's natural inclination to follow the precept of "teach the child first, not the subject" and the difficulties involved therein
3. Time constraints.

4.1.6.1 The Burden of the English Teacher

All teachers acknowledged that the job of teaching, and particularly of teaching English, was becoming an increasingly pressured one. One teacher said: *"As a teacher, the whole task has become indescribably large"*. What emerged very strongly was the extra burden that the English teacher carried in the school as compared to other subject teachers. English teachers had always had to contend with heavy teaching and marking loads, very few "free" or non-contact periods, multiple-ability streams (for example Higher Grade, Standard Grade and even Lower Grade) in one class, the pressure to produce results, and many aspects of an over long syllabus to teach - they now also had to teach English to both ESL and E1L students in the same class.

The English teachers also conveyed a sense that growing teacher workloads had led many teachers in the school to adopt the attitude of *"it's not my problem"*. Very few teachers were prepared to take on extra work. Teaching against this background was reported as being both demoralising and demotivating. In one school, the extra English lessons offered to "weak" ESL students were conducted by outsiders because *"the English teachers are stressed enough with their workload"*.

The added multilingual and multicultural dimension to their classes resulted in the word *"burden"* being reiterated by the teachers themselves: *"The burden in fact, and it is a very real burden of these extra problem pupils with language problems, has fallen on the English department only,"* and *"We have an extra burden of children who are completely lost, who cannot even recognise a sentence as sounding wrong when they read it aloud - this has been a fairly difficult task"*.

Teachers confirmed that the responsibility of the English department in the school was greater

than any other subject department since the problem of the new pupils was seen as one of English deficiency. As one teacher indicated:

We're the ones who are relied upon to remediate language problems, and we're the ones who get fingers pointed at us when papers are not understood and questions are not listened to, or pupils battle to read, and so on... We've had to bear the brunt. We're certainly the ones who have remediated problems in our own time and after school.

This problem was further exacerbated because of the subject-bound approach that many schools adhered to. Many teachers also mentioned how difficult it was to start teaching EIL and righting problems at secondary school level when intervention was almost too late.

4.1.6.2 Teach the Child First not the Subject

At least nine of the teachers demonstrated their commitment to the precept of "teach the child first, not the subject" in their teaching philosophy. This maxim, however, was very difficult to put into practice due to the large numbers in classes which made it difficult to monitor individual progress and to give individual attention. One teacher bemoaned her fate: *"The teacher's methodology has to take the variety of students into account, but we labour under so much prescription, red-tape, marking etc. and most of all sheer numbers..."*. Despite the difficulties experienced there was much evidence that teachers endeavoured to adhere to this principle, for they continually acknowledged its importance.

In attempting to place the needs of the child or student first on the educational agenda, teachers' actions in this area usually began with going out of their way to build trust and win pupils over. As one teacher said:

You're beating the air if you don't actually get that pupil to come out as a person first. You need time to develop a closeness with students because what we need here is for students to confide in the teacher without fear that their trust and confidence will be betrayed. In that environment you can get to some of the roots of the problems where the child would actually volunteer: This is my problem, this is my setback...'

Another teacher described her ongoing problems with restructuring time within lessons, because her priority was to:

...spend more time with each individual child and go around and make sure that they cope, especially the child who is not going to put up her hand and say, 'I don't understand', and battle on. I must be able to identify that child and get to that child quickly before too much damage is caused.

It was only in the private schools where teachers taught small classes of twelve to twenty pupils that "teaching the child first" could be put into practice with relative success. It should however be noted that this "advantage" was offset by the fact that both the teachers interviewed from the private school context complained of parental pressure and the additional burden of always having to "produce" academically and in extracurricular areas, since private schools were incessantly on show and had to be marketed.

4.1.6.3 Time Constraints

A common refrain from teachers was that they were overworked and never had enough time. Apart from their increasing burden as English teachers, they were disconsolate as they were hard-pressed to give pupils the necessary individual attention (as discussed previously). Even in their time-tabled contact time with students there was too little time to be creative and to experiment. The syllabus was so loaded that the sheer volume of work restricted the teachers' freedom in this area.

In particular they complained that finding, choosing and developing their own resource materials to suit the needs of their new classes was most time consuming. Competitions and extra-curricular activities in the school in general, and particularly within English as a subject, took hours of time. As one teacher said: *"Unless you're an English teacher you don't know how much time it takes"*. Inroads into their personal time late at night and over weekends had become accepted as normal:

The whole of last weekend I spent in marking essays. All last weekend and all this weekend I'm going to spend proof-reading the school magazine. Next weekend I've got to invigilate a three-hour exam and I'm going to be marking exam papers the weekend after that.

In one school a teacher commented on how difficult it was for the staff to find *"one small hour"* of the term to get together to discuss curricular issues, or to workshop ideas around desegregation. It is little wonder then that teachers had difficulty in finding time to network with other teachers across schools, and found it even more daunting to network across racially exclusive departments.

4.1.7 Tension: Teachers "Swamped" - but love teaching

In the light of the disclosures made by teachers about the challenges and demands in the desegregated classroom, a fact that emerged strongly from the data, seeming almost anomalous and inconsistent with teachers' complaints of feeling *"swamped"* - was that the teachers, all ten of them, loved and enjoyed teaching and were *"more positive than ever"*.

All ten teachers were supportive of the move to desegregate schools. Their experiences in the desegregated classroom had given them the edge over many other teachers who still taught in racially exclusive classrooms, and they saw desegregation as a situation which was *"normal and expected"*. They believed that changes in school had helped them become more versatile and innovative. One teacher stated:

I wouldn't like to leave teaching - there are a lot of frustrations, but I like challenges and I get bored with the usual set up, so I like to be innovative as well. I would not like to see myself as a teacher that would have yellowed worksheets and exercises from years gone by, I would want to throw those out and be brave enough to revise and to change.

They saw the legislation as the way forward to a unitary education department, and looked forward to full integration in a wider non-racial society. They recognised that exciting challenges lay in education and saw themselves as playing an important role in *"solving"* the *"education crisis"*.

Teachers also revealed that they saw the affairs of the classroom, and therefore their students, as their first priority. They were all very aware of the importance of their role in helping their students realise their full potential, and more so because of the climate of change and

transformation in the country as a whole.

4.2 "SINK OR SWIM": STUDENTS

A most powerful area of concern that emerged from the data had to do with teachers' perceptions of their new students - they saw them as the recipients of an unplanned, often poorly improvised and inadequate educational provision which did not meet their needs as ESL students in EIL medium schools. A theme that dominated the data was **teacher concern** over the **overriding language problems** experienced by these students, mainly new African ESL students.

The transcripts threw up compelling evidence of a genuine sense of concern and despair from teachers at the plight of their students. The following is a particularly evocative example:

Simone and I - Simone's my colleague - we felt very responsible for them because we feel we are the core from which everything else comes. If they don't understand English how can they understand anything else at school? In fact my Head had to call us aside and say 'Look, you must relax. You mustn't get so tense about the fact that you are responsible for everyone else'. But I do feel a deep responsibility for them.

Even though the interviews threw up evidence that teachers were doing their utmost and were exhausted and drained from the effort, it was clear that teachers still held themselves responsible and even felt a strong sense of failure for not being able to adequately fulfil their students' needs, as revealed by the following quotations:

- *"The subject advisor came to visit us recently and we just poured our hearts out to her and said 'Where do we go?'"*
- *"We have really fumbled in the dark this year."*
- *"While they're doing a written exercise, I often reflect: how could I do better, how could I teach this better - just constantly, really my dear, all the time."*

4.2.1 Students "sink"

4.2.1.1 Overriding Language Problems

Teachers described their ESL students as being completely overwhelmed and intimidated by the EIL curriculum. They were often swamped by the speed at which lessons were delivered. Not able to follow what was taught across the curriculum in the English medium schools, the majority of the students could not cope and were *"falling along the wayside"*.

Teachers reported that every aspect of the English syllabus presented challenges to these students. They included the following:

- Instructions by teachers were given far too quickly, severely impeding students' understanding. Their language handicap was in fact so severe that as one teacher described, *"At the beginning assembly was a total blow to them"*.
- They did not understand simple pronouns
- Most students had not read widely and many were barely able to read at all. This was to their further detriment in the EIL class. In teaching even the most basic literature to them, teachers had great difficulty in finding the right networks.
- Students *"battled"* with comprehension largely because of their lack of vocabulary.
- While they tended to fare better in oral rather than written English, teachers reported that performance in both areas was generally far below average for their age, with students at standard six or standard seven level being taught standard two to standard four work.
- Students had great problems in understanding figurative and idiomatic language and irony.

As a result teachers had had to drastically change the ways in which they normally mediated English as a subject. Basic language skills were being taught, and not the subject English as they had been accustomed to teach. They complained that they were testing the child's ability to speak and understand English, rather than the knowledge of the subject. There was also evidence that EIL students in these classes made slower progress through the syllabus than they normally would have.

It became clear from listening to teachers that their ESL students were extremely apprehensive about speaking English in the classroom. This was due to a number of factors: difficulties with the language; the strangeness of their new school surroundings; the apartheid legacy which had historically disempowered black students against speaking confidently or venturing opinions as equal citizens, and their desire not to feel embarrassed or to be seen as inferior because of their lack of competence in speaking English. Along with other factors, this had resulted in students' reticence in the classroom and their general lack of confidence. Some teachers found this difficult to remediate simply because they were not accustomed to reticence and hesitancy from the dominant-group students they normally taught: *"We're so used to having White children speak out boldly and quite confidently about what they know"*. Most teachers, except those in the private school settings, mentioned that one of their major problems was to build ESL students' confidence.

To enable them to cope in their new English speaking environment teachers reported that ESL students had developed the following coping strategies which invariably worked against them:

- Students did not communicate their problems as they did not wish to draw undue attention to themselves. They preferred to pretend that they understood rather than admit to being lost. As one teacher reported:

Their language problems are very severe and often they do not actually communicate to the teachers of the school what they are experiencing. But we do get to know one way or the other. Their problems relate mostly to the fact that they do not follow what we're trying to teach in the classroom - they simply sit there and listen to us. There's very little feedback that we receive from them as to whether they are making sense of what's happening. It's only when it comes to examinations that we know for certain that much of what we've taught in a lesson in the classroom failed to reach those pupils.

- Students tended to group together during breaks and spoke only Zulu. One teacher declared: *"I have found problems in that they sit together, they talk Zulu together and I haven't felt that I could split them because I was just anxious that they needed some touchstone for support"*.

The final picture of students being completely linguistically engulfed was a chilling one. The

following quotation illustrates the sub-themes of **reproduction of failure in classrooms** and the extreme academic **isolation** of African students in schools, and communicates this teacher's main concerns:

Following desegregation, no educational goal is being achieved, and I'd like this particular problem to be addressed by the educational authorities, the political organisations, the communities and the parents. Some may consider what is happening presently as constituting progressive change in terms of the new direction our country is taking to bring different races together in the same classroom. However, we have to consider the effect this is having on their learning from a purely educational point of view. We have to ensure that the Black child is not disadvantaged further, and also consider whether his sense of poor self-concept is not being deepened, because a sense of failure and frustration is setting in. They come late to school and in the course of the day they take leave and run away from school. The absenteeism of our Black pupils has increased at an alarming rate. You can see the school-phobia is building up in them, and school is becoming a very threatening place.

This teacher was in favour of separate and not mainstream provision for his ESL students.

Teachers elaborated with concern on two important issues linked to the fact that students were linguistically overwhelmed. They acknowledged that both these issues constituted further problem areas and needed to be countered by educational management in a positive, formal and structured way. This had not occurred but was in need of urgent attention. These issues were:

- the legacy of Bantu Education; and
- the fact that schools considered ESL students as academically "weak".

a) The Legacy Of Bantu Education

The transcripts provided compelling evidence of the legacy of Bantu education which the students had carried with them into their new schools. This legacy fed into a host of different problem areas. Teachers reported as follows:

- Their academic ability was affected adversely by the overriding language problems they experienced. They had poor study skills and could not take notes.

- Their past learning experiences aggravated their present language problems.
- Teachers surmised that they had probably been introduced to English in a problematic way in DET (Department of Education and Training) schools e.g. Zulu had probably been used to teach English.
- Students had been taught to agree with the teacher and to be ultra-polite within their more rigid and authoritarian previous DET schools. They did not have the confidence to venture opinions in their new classrooms. As a result they also did not ask questions or challenge each other or their new teachers.
- They loved rote-learning which appeared to have been a strong feature of their previous educational provision and found it difficult to get used to analysing, making their own notes and thinking for themselves.
- Students saw subjects as isolated components and found it difficult to integrate across the curriculum.

To highlight the contradictory but very real and complex nature of the data it is interesting that one teacher described how this very characteristic of "*loving rote learning*" could be conceived of as an advantage as well, for the children excelled at spelling tests. This was one area of the English syllabus where they could compete as equals and "*on an even footing with kids who have a language advantage*". The problems expressed above made teachers realise just how "different" and "unequal" their students' previous education had been, with one teacher commenting: "*We realised how enormously effective Bantu Education had been in what it had set out to do. Even when the children spoke English, they were so accented we couldn't understand what they were saying*".

The researcher hastens to emphasise that teachers did not imply that the educational provision within White, Indian and Coloured schools was markedly "superior" in any way, or devoid of their own peculiar deficiencies. Many of the above characteristics of Bantu Education were symptomatic of South African apartheid education in general.

However it was very clear that teachers saw their African students as being doubly handicapped:

- Firstly, as the recipients, early in their schooling career, of an inadequate and inferior apartheid education - "Bantu Education".

- Secondly, as the continued recipients, in their new schools, of an educational provision that was not geared to their needs as ESL students or to the needs of a desegregated multicultural classroom in general.

The students were victims twice over of a system that was not extending them fully academically, culturally or linguistically. To complicate matters further, their new schools were ironically perceived as providing a "better" education than their previous schools. The schools did, in fact, offer generally better facilities, smaller classes and teachers with higher qualifications. Students were nevertheless treated from a deficit-model approach. This will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

b) ESL Students - "Weak" Students

One of the most disturbing developments arising out of the language problems experienced by African students, was the tendency in all schools to perceive those Black students displaying language problems as being academically "weak". Thus a negative correlation between "African and language disadvantaged" with "weak" and "not clever" arose, along with the associated negative impact of "labelling" in the classroom, negative stereotyping and the possibility of a self-fulfilling prophecy coming into effect. Teachers seemed to be aware of these dangers, emphasising the importance of having "*higher expectations*" of their students and expressing their need to be cautious about not falling into the trap of seeing students with language problems as "*slow*" or "*stupid*". This was already happening in schools though - a teacher reported a student saying: "*Miss, they keep calling us stupid - most of us are going to leave*".

In all schools there was evidence that African ESL speakers were relegated to lower academic streams or classes e.g. Black students were always in the standard grade and not the higher grade, the "B" instead of the "A" class, or they tended to be in the "C" or "D" classes. The teacher at one private school was at pains to point out that teachers' discussions about students usually related to ability rather than socio-cultural background, and that students were "*lumped together*" in terms of areas where they were struggling in the curriculum, rather than in terms of race. The reality, however, was that these students tended to be African students, and the

connection of black with "slow learner", "standard grade material"(as opposed to higher grade) and "weak pupil" were being continually reinforced. Further, in many schools these negative perceptions were also reinforced by the fact that African students were not winning the top academic awards (in one private school African girls got the "deportment" prizes, but not the academic ones).

A further complication arose out of the fact that not only were ESL students being placed in classes perceived of as being academically "weak", but these were also usually classes which displayed behavioural problems. In the words of the teacher from Umsinduzi Girls' High:

English second language speakers, due to the paucity of their language, have ended up in a very weak English class, often with problems that are not necessarily English problems. They've ended up with the White kids who need remedial help but have no remedial facilities, or who don't like school and want to get out, or who are treading water until they can get out - and they often have behavioural problems... And the Black kids, this large Black group of eleven have ended up in that class, which has been a major problem, and it's now become a very difficult class with major behavioural problems.

Teachers acknowledged that they had become more aware of the deleterious effect of a language handicap on a child's academic performance across the curriculum. One teacher pointed out how she personally had benefitted from teaching in a setting where her classroom had changed from 100% Indian students to 85% African students:

I really feel I have benefitted as a teacher because I've realised the effect of a language handicap on a student in terms of his learning. Secondly, I've learnt that the labels attached to Black students are terribly fallacious. Just because the child cannot express himself, he is automatically regarded as a slow learner. I've also had to change my expectations of my students, because once you've equipped them with the necessary vocabulary, now and then you get responses from them which you realise would not have come from children who are poor performers, and you realise the sophistication of their level of thinking. But that is not often. This is because they're still apprehensive about using the language.

However it should be reported that what could be construed as "normal" viz. eventually finding

black and white students equally mixed at the bottom of the class, was also indicated by a few teachers. One teacher said: *"A lot of white children are as desperately in need of help as black children are"*. An Indian teacher disclosed that some of his "good" African students coped better than his Indian E1L students. However, in this particular school, great care had been taken to screen African students carefully.

4.2.2 Black students who "make it" and "swim" (or try to)

The data also revealed that there were a few Black students who appeared to be fitting in well in their new schools. These students fell into a very special category which emerged as a "Black elite" within schools, their elitism coming from their above-average language command and their "higher" social status. It should be emphasised that this "Black elite" were a minority and were atypical. Teachers described them as follows: *"The majority of Black students and other second language students who come into private schools are atypical, okay"*, and *"The Black children who fitted in best are the ones who've come from private schools, because they're `white'"*.

Another teacher said:

I see that all of them have got a TV at home so this is a fairly wealthy Black class, they have to be, it's an expensive school. Even when discussing areas that students live in, and social classes, and what it is like in Imbali and what it is like in Hilton (we were studying a poem about two areas), I was surprised that most of these children live only with their family, their parents and brothers and sisters in sometimes three-bedroomed houses. It's not your average township kid. Many of them in fact said they had their own transport.

The "Black elite" were often described as displaying certain "desirable" class and cultural characteristics which obviously contributed to their success in the new school environment: (These issues of class, culture and race will be taken up later in this Chapter): *"I have a wonderful Black girl with a better vocabulary than the whites. Her father is a chief moderator in the Methodist church, so she has this very great westernised influence in her life,"* and *"She's a very special girl - her father is a school principal who gives her all the motivation"*. These students were also described as having a "good home environment" where English was spoken

all the time, and parents who *"dressed immaculately"*. Teachers also reported that in classes where there were large numbers of the Black elite, even the very bright White, Indian or Coloured children were not *"held back"*. While most of these students enjoyed a higher status in schools than did their more socially disadvantaged peers, they did not appear to challenge the hegemony of the schools in any way, but seemed anxious to fit in.

Two interesting snippets of information provided by teachers revealed, however, that only students who were empowered linguistically and socially who were brave enough to challenge their teachers, other students, and sometimes even the school itself. Interestingly both these occurred in private school settings:

- A teacher described how a *"hostile, extremely politicised and provocative"* student *"blamed white people for everything"* and *"brought up race and injustice at every opportunity, inappropriate or otherwise"*.
- Another teacher told of how when there had been fewer Black girls in the school there had been no tension in her classroom. As more Black girls gained admission *"tension and resentment"* became a problem, with both black and white girls challenging one another and many fierce arguments ensuing. The teacher learnt to use class discussion to defuse potentially inflammatory situations.

4.3 SEPARATE WORLDS/SEPARATE REALITIES

A very distinct theme that unmistakably pervaded all aspects of the data, demonstrating that the education system was very much part of the wider apartheid society, was that the new students inhabited separate worlds and separate realities to those of their fellow students and teachers in the schools.

Words, especially when they are organised into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavour that proves far more authentic and convincing to a reader as evidenced in the following anecdotal extract from a transcript, which describes the sharply contrasting interpretations of a comprehension passage. It stands out in the researcher's mind and illustrates perfectly the theme of separate worlds / separate realities of dominant group students and teachers

and African township students:

I have had my eyes opened in a very real sense to my whiteness. I'll give you an example: a D.H. Lawrence reading study in which the father brings home a rabbit and gives it to the children. One of the questions in the reading study (which I hasten to add I didn't design, was) 'What class is this family?' Most of the white children answered, 'It's a poor class family because the father is a miner - he walks to work - he has no car, he wipes his mouth with the back of his hand, he drinks tea from a saucer'. And I've had Black children answering, 'This is actually an upper-class family because this man has a job, they live in a house surrounded by open fields, and they give the rabbit milk, which is expensive'. There's a complete sense of a complete distinction of values.

This anecdote, like many others narrated, often had the effect of jolting both the teacher and researcher out of the congenial interview atmosphere into an increased awareness of the greater divided society in the midst of which the research was being conducted.

There was a perceptible gap between the language and culture of the school, and the language and culture of the new students and the communities from which they came. The transcripts threw up explicit examples of the cultural, social, political and economic schism that existed between the new students on the one hand, and their schools and teachers on the other. The data showed both the **negative** effects of this schism (the cultural barriers between teachers and students, the alienation of the African child in the school) and the **positive** aspects (the bridging of the gap between formerly separate groups). Over and above this a third category appeared, and was concerned with the contrast between the attitudes of teachers and their schools. This resulted in the following **tension**: while it was apparent that **teachers** were affected by their students' linguistic and cultural alienation within the school and by their own (the teachers' difficulties) in countering or improving this, the teachers remained committed to change. The glimpses that teachers provided into their **schools** showed that schools were locked firmly into an **assimilation** model and were generally resistant to change.

4.3.1 Teachers become aware of the Separate Realities

Teachers elaborated on the ways in which they had been made aware of the gap that existed

between themselves and their students. The fact that all teachers and students had received the earlier years of their schooling in racially exclusive education departments and had lived in separate areas, ensured that desegregation heightened each group's awareness of their different circumstances. In an almost contradictory way, this awareness of differences also facilitated the beginning of a closer and clearer understanding of each other.

Teachers had become aware of what they called the "**black reality**" and the "**black experience**". This affected teachers in two ways. Firstly, it made them realise that they could not leave "politics" out of the classroom and teach in a vacuum. Their new students brought the realities of township life into the classroom on a day to day basis: "*We've lost four students in the violence*" one teacher said. Their students often came from violent and poverty-stricken areas. Teachers had to be sympathetic to their socio-economic environment and show students that they had an understanding of their reality.

Secondly, teachers realised that the curriculum did not take black reality and black experience into account, and that they had to redress this imbalance by making their teaching relevant. Teachers learned that they could not take their students' background and experiences for granted as they had done in the past. One related the following anecdote as an example, showing how the use of television as a teaching medium in an English class, had made her aware, not only of the students' unfamiliarity with the audio-visual media as a teaching aid, but of her own need to break down and bridge cultural barriers:

I showed a video where a college student is hitch-hiking and gets a lift in a car with an elderly gentleman. He takes her and drives off into an isolated area and they disappear for a few minutes. You just see the veld and you hear her scream. When she reappears she's all devastated and alone. She's then given a lift, picked up by somebody else, I mean, and taken home, and she goes to the room and she's in front of the mirror howling and hysterical - then she goes into the bathroom and she examines herself, and it was so obvious to me that it was a rape scene. And when I set questions on the worksheet and handed it out, not one student in my entire class picked up that that child was raped. And when I asked them what was the cause of her torment and hysterics after that, they said she probably saw a snake while she was out in the bush.

I've realised that I've been coming into the class with preconceived ideas and assumptions, which is why I'm disappointed with the classes when they don't share the same prior knowledge. And I often take the exercise as futile because they don't have the slightest idea what I'm talking about, for example if I'm talking about a programme on M Net, or I'm referring to a procedure in the business world. So at times like that, their experience, their prior knowledge, the black reality - there's that vast gulf between them and I.

Teachers were very aware that the majority of their students were economically disadvantaged with no television, no money to purchase extra stationery such as colouring pencils and with access only to township mini-bus taxis for transport. There was an acknowledgement of the different pressures in the townships and an understanding that students were not lazy, but that over-cramped conditions in many township homes were not conducive to study.

4.3.2 Positive Effects of the Separate Realities

The fact that desegregation was seen as being beneficial for both teachers and students came through very strongly in the data. Teachers were emphatic that the opening up of classrooms had fostered healthy changes in attitudes in themselves and their students and had helped to dispel and challenge racial myths and stereotypes. Teachers tended to see the benefits as being far more to the advantage of the dominant group students in their respective NED, HOD and HOR schools, who were now able to see African students as their peers.

The African ESL students were seen as touchstones who not only brought the reality of South Africa into the classroom, but also *"a balanced kind of reality into the way English can become a real subject."* A teacher explained:

I think that one of the things that happened to me as a teacher is that surprisingly, I have become more liberal in my thinking as I grow older, but my increase in age has coincided with the changes in the nature of my classes, and it's been exciting here at school, particularly as an English teacher, as we deal with issues of prejudice, propaganda and injustice and all of those kinds of things which are at the heart of literature, very often not only South African and African literature. We have a real kind

of touchstone which we didn't have before. It doesn't mean we have to take a black man that we can haul out when we need to talk about injustice, but it means that when we talk about injustice we've got people who have experienced injustice. We've got people who've got something to contribute from a very real experience.

The transition had begun to become more comfortable for students, as there was increased freedom to broach topics and confront issues which they had not been able to discuss easily before e.g racial disunity and "political" topics such as the unbanning of the ANC.

For themselves, teachers emphasised how beneficial it had been to be exposed to *"another reality and culture"*. Some reported feeling a tremendous anger with apartheid and a sadness that the changes had come so late. They were grateful however that they had been able to be among the first to teach desegregated classes: *"We've learned a tremendous amount - both staff and pupils, from the new pupils, a new perspective entirely, and I think a lot of the pupils as well. You know this country is so divided..."*

4.3.3 Negative Effects of Separate Realities

The fact that apartheid had created separate social and cultural worlds emerged very strongly in the data. Teachers had become aware of the need to bridge these gaps.

4.3.3.1 Cultural Differences

Most teachers provided examples of cultural differences that they had previously very little knowledge or understanding of. This is illustrated by the following quotation:

They're very inhibited and don't want to speak out. You've got to really provoke them into talking. Some explained that they find it disrespectful to speak when somebody in authority is speaking - the social standards that are peculiar only to black culture or whatever. And then, one interesting thing - when I first got to class, I noticed that the Black students never ever looked me in the eye. Whenever I spoke to them, and maintained eye contact, they would look away. I put it down initially to shyness, until one day during orals I said, 'You know, eye contact is so important'. One child said, 'Miss,

it's not that we don't want to maintain eye contact or because we're disinterested, but according to our tradition we are not to look a person in authority or a person who is not equal to us, or superior, in the eye'. And it's things like that you only pick up when you've really won the kids over. But if you didn't really care to get their responses, you'd probably just decide for yourself that it's due to disrespect or whatever. So those are the cultural differences of which I have very little understanding.

There was still much misunderstanding of these so-called "cultural differences" with some teachers generally finding it very disturbing when students *"laughed at the wrong things"* (the teachers saw them as immature) or commented that *"they enjoy being nasty to one another..."*.

4.3.3.2 Alienation of Non-Dominant Group Students

The theme of separate worlds was carried further by the fact that teachers in some schools described instances of the "new" ESL students in schools being alienated from the dominant group mainstream EIL students. This was manifested in various forms such as racial tension between black and white students, and resentment from white students about afro-centric elements being introduced into the English curriculum: *"There's resistance from white children to reading Chinua Achebe - they don't like it - they say the names are hard"*. Incidents and attitudes such as these abounded, revealing that both sets of students would need time to adjust, as change was a slow process. This was confirmed by the following teacher: *"This has been a very difficult year for the white pupils and the black pupils, both of them have had to adjust, and I think it's going to carry on for a good few more years"*.

Teachers also described incidents of **racism** in schools. One teacher said *"I think as teachers we are not getting half of what's going on in the playground - the kind of private confrontation that we don't hear about, you know. What we see in the classrooms is a very watered down version of what's actually taking place"*. Teachers felt strongly that schools should formally set up programmes to counter racism and promote the change-over to an integrated society, especially since monocultural monolingual classrooms would soon cease to be the norm. They accepted that the process would be long and on-going and not an overnight phenomenon. The following

comment from a teacher illustrates this:

We're going to be breaking down walls everywhere - politically, socially, personally - we're all going to have massive adjustments to make. I think my main concern is, as I've already voiced, the whole preparation around it - we can't just blindly leap off into the future and hope that everything's going to work out, because with that kind of attitude we might, but on the other hand, we might not, and I don't think we can afford for it to be a might not.

4.3.3.3 "Fit in or Buzz Off"

All teachers provided evidence pertaining to the fact that schools were firmly locked into an assimilation model, with the world of the school not being prepared to change much to accommodate the new students. The following quotations bear this out:

- *"The school I feel has gone along largely with the attitude, 'You adapt to us and then we will accommodate you'. There's been no real bending of the school. Girls' High in fact has continued as Girls' High - with a few nervous black children around".*
- Another NED teacher said, *"I suppose the system is such that they have to fit into our world rather than the other way around. And that's probably about to change but the understanding I think on both sides is that they have to try and get what the system is offering".*
- An HOD teacher said, *"The school is not going to change for black pupils. The black pupils have to change and readjust to the pressures of the school".*

The idea of students having to fit in into the separate and different world of the school, was reinforced often in the transcripts, for example:

You would think that a hundred black children would make a mark on abysmal assembly singing, but they tweet away anxious not to be different in any way, and the same in drama. Any kind of vibrancy that it was expected they would bring hasn't happened, I think, because they are intimidated and they are anxious to fit in. I think they have found it very hard.

A picture emerged of black students "lost" in the overwhelmingly different world of the school.

Teachers in fact often used the words "*inhibited*" and "*nervous*" to describe the ways in which the students were alienated by the culture and language of their new schools. Drama, sport and the choir were areas where schools were not ready or prepared to initiate any kinds of transformatory programmes. The newly opened schools had opened merely in terms of admission policy but were not "open" in their thinking or *modus operandi*. There was, for example, little evidence of an open attitude towards different cultures - students continually got the message best described in the words of one teacher: "*That what white stands for is okay*". Even the music teaching was anglicised and did not reflect the multicultural makeup of the schools, while the kinds of books in the library were often elitist and not suited to ESL students.

Teachers expressed their concern at the singular lack of preparation around the desegregation of schools, especially around race and multicultural issues:

I think all the pupils should have been prepared and there should have been some sort of bridging, an orientation to tell them what is expected of them in the classroom and how they should deal with problems that they're going to confront. They have very much been left to sink or swim and left on their own.

Only one school, where the school population had gone from being 100% White to 80% Black, showed evidence of the beginnings of a genuine change orientation, stemming possibly from the realisation that change was unavoidable. The following quotation demonstrates this: "*The school is becoming increasingly black and within a year or two it will probably be a totally black school, and then obviously so many things that we hold sacred will perhaps not be so sensible anymore*". There was a move away from an "English school tradition" and from the past traditions of the school in general. Change had started to manifest itself in different ways, for example the ways in which the school choir was run (the repertoire was more ethnic), and in the different books the library was buying. While it may be said that the changes considered and/or implemented arose out of this school's need to act pragmatically in a situation of rapid change and to safeguard teachers' jobs, other information revealed by the teacher has led the researcher to forward additional explanations for the school's "willingness to change". Firstly the staff was a small one (twelve teachers) who were also very close. The teacher disclosed that the staff had become closer as a result of the change. Teachers had initially found "*a predominantly black*

school threatening" but simultaneously realised that *"we as a staff have to change too"*. Above all they were experienced and committed teachers whose concern for their new charges was patent.

Further reason for schools showing such a strong containment as distinct from a change orientation was the sheer speed with which drastic change occurred. This is indicated by a teacher's comment: *"I think that our biggest problem now is the fact that we have to adapt to so many new cultures all at once. I think it's been so rapid, it has been frightening for all of us"*.

4.3.3.4 "Just Pupils" - Racelessness

Many teachers reported that deliberate colour references were avoided at schools at an official level, and that the new students were *"just pupils"*. The use of this phrase could be interpreted in many ways. It could, for example, be perceived as a genuine desire by teachers in schools to accord their new students equal status with the other students and not to see them as being "different" or inferior in any way. Teachers and schools could be seen as wishing to reject the use of terminology that racially categorised students. However, when one looked at the way this phrase was used in the school as a whole (especially against the lack of provision in the school for its linguistic and cultural diversity), a different picture emerged - students were expected to assimilate and fit in. For example if they were *"just pupils"*, why weren't schools engaging in programmes to help them develop to their full potential as they would with other mainstream students? Following this argument, the term *"just pupils"* could be construed as working against the best interests of the students. It could be argued that they were not in fact *"just pupils"* but students with very special educational needs that were not being met by most schools.

4.4 STAFF ATTITUDES

The teachers interviewed also revealed interesting details about the attitudes other members of staff in their schools had about change. An analysis of the information revealed that staff appeared to be divided into four camps, those for change, those against change and completely unsupportive of it, those who saw change as *"more work"* and those who were indifferent to

change:

- All the teachers interviewed were "for" change. They came across as committed teachers who tried to deal with the situation positively but did not have the support of the whole school.
- Interviewees revealed that many teachers in their schools seemed not to have the interest of the new student intake at heart. In three schools teachers quoted management/other teachers as making statements to the effect - *"leave them if they're absent, they'll drop out"*.
- Teachers reported that many other teachers did not seem to be caught up with notions of how good integration was, and did not consider that the experience to be gained from teaching desegregated classes would extend them - they simply saw it as more work. Two teachers observed that many of their heads of department, usually male, would not take the "weaker" usually ESL classes, as they felt they were already overburdened and did not want the responsibility and extra work that went with this.
- The attitude of *"it's not my problem"* was largely prevalent. In this broad fourth category of teachers who were largely indifferent to change were the kind who were *"just going to sit back and let things happen"*.

A deeper analysis of the general staff attitudes to desegregation at schools is outside the scope of this study.

4.5 ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT AS A SUBJECT

In their mediation of EIL as a subject, teachers felt strongly that the subject and its methodology had to change.

Firstly all teachers expressed a strong belief that the way English developed as a subject would be influenced by the changing nature of the South African classroom. This process of development and change had already begun in their classrooms, and was fuelled by their awareness of the need to make teaching as relevant as possible. It was clear that a *"bigger South African component"* was needed in the syllabus, particularly in the area of literature. They were committed to using literature and material that were more evocative of the *"South African*

context". There was also a need for more integration within the subject and across the curriculum. The subject was distinctly perceived as growing and developing in a pro-active, progressive way. One teacher said he did not see himself as a "*custodian*", while teachers' comments in general showed an openness and a readiness for change within the subject. Two teachers claimed that in their schools there was a generation gap between older teachers who wanted a "colonial" English and the younger teachers who were happier with an "easier" English. However the researcher did not find that age was a factor facilitating or preventing change among the teachers she interviewed. All senior English teachers interviewed saw age as an empowering factor making them more receptive towards change. Age was thus seen as an advantage when teaching ESL students, for teachers could summon up their considerable experience to their aid. These teachers were also able to make literature teaching, even of the classics, relevant, stimulating and universal, one teacher used young adult classics and other literature to help defuse the racial tension in her classroom. She was an innovative teacher: "*Really you can teach anything as long as you're enjoying it and are able to convey that enjoyment*". She felt strongly that one could make literature teaching relevant to any situation.

Teachers were vociferous about the teaching of literature. There was a strong feeling that the literature prescribed in NED schools at senior secondary level was too eurocentric and irrelevant, with Shakespeare and the Classics dominating at the expense of more contemporary, and particularly South African, material. These opinions were not voiced by teachers from HOD schools as their syllabi had over the previous ten years included much South African, Indian and African writing in English. Teachers' strong views on the teaching of literature included calling for a balance to include more of the students' own writing. They also complained that too much of the present prescribed literature was dated and therefore not always accessible to students. They did not wish to do away with the classics or with literature that had universal appeal, but felt that the syllabus should reflect more strongly that it was a South African one. They also felt that the prescribed literature was "*too heavy*" and totally unrealistic for ESL learners, the language being far too idiomatic. There was also an awareness among some teachers that it was a short term solution to cut out literature as Black students would soon transcend their language difficulties. Seven teachers confessed to enjoying and even preferring the teaching of literature to other aspects of English. If they had a choice, they said, they would prefer to teach a course

with a high literature content. Their recent experiences with ESL students had not made them turn away from literature teaching but rather made them aware of the need to acquire ESL teaching skills. One teacher pronounced that she was:

...going off to Zimbabwe to try to get second language teaching skills because I think that's what I need. I thought a lot about adult literature and I think what I want to do is teach - what I would like to do best is teach literature, because that's what I like, but I can't see the teaching of literature at the moment as being anything other than elite, teaching in a country where so many are not literate and don't have access to books.

With regard to other aspects of the English syllabus, teachers admitted that one of their biggest problems with all their students was deciding on how much grammar to teach and how to teach it, whether formally or incidentally. The high-level questions often asked in comprehension exercises also presented problems to ESL learners. They were also of the opinion that more emphasis should be given to the oral and communicative aspects of the language rather than written aspects, with one teacher claiming that a continuous assessment or year mark system with an emphasis on oral communication was especially beneficial to ESL students.

Media education was mentioned by four teachers as an interesting development which needed to be pursued further. Generally speaking, teachers felt that the English curriculum needed revamping, with more of an emphasis on teaching life skills and an integrated approach that would be more relevant. It was also felt that the English syllabus was too long and the volume too vast for teachers to cope with, especially for ESL students. However one very enthusiastic and experienced teacher felt that no aspects should be cut out, that in fact the syllabus needed additions - this teacher taught in a private school setting.

Teachers felt that it was important to develop a more creative approach. The importance of incorporating drama methodology was emphasised by many as it was particularly conducive to ESL teaching. The use of music, television and film were also mentioned for their role in stimulating students and promoting discussion, understanding and competency.

Teachers clearly felt that the way in which the subject was packaged needed changing. They

suggested that the subject should be offered in at least three different forms:

1. An academic University entrance course with a high literature content.
2. A more practical language/communication/media-orientated course.
3. A proper ESL option.

4.6 EXAMINATIONS/ASSESSMENT: TENSION

The data revealed that **all teachers** were experiencing **problems** in the area of **examining/assessing** their ESL students. The difficulties experienced were as a result of testing ESL learners at the same level as EIL learners. Teachers felt that this was grossly unfair. Many teachers mentioned that "*going slower*" and "*deviating from the syllabus*" (in other words changing the course content), had become pointless because of the pressure of the examinations and especially the **external examinations**, and they suggested that the matriculation paper would have to change. As one teacher said:

The dichotomy is the exam versus the vastly different skills which black pupils bring into the classroom. The current senior certificate is an extremely competent structure if English is your first language and dare I say it, if you come from a middle-class background with all the reading and the discussion and the stimulation that that contains.

Even teachers from the private schools who had more "*freedom*" to experiment with the subject from standard seven to standard ten complained of the "*funnel effect*" and the fact that there was "*always*" the standard ten examination to contend with.

Teachers reported that all levels of testing from standard six to standard ten were unrealistic. The problem was seen clearly as being exacerbated by educational management within schools who tended to focus on the outcomes of testing i.e. on the **product**, and not the **processes** within the classroom. This was aggravated by their expectation of "high standards". The setting of internal examination papers had consequently become even more problem-ridden. One teacher felt very demoralized as she had spent her time teaching slowly and responding to the individual and collective needs of her ESL students only to encounter extreme opposition and criticism from her Head of Department who moderated the special examination paper she had set them. The Head did not teach ESL students and complained that her "*standards were too low*". She was

also told that she had not set enough tests. Again there was the process/product dichotomy.

When students were tested at the same level as others the tests were not within their means and they failed English. The following comments from a teacher illustrate how schools were "reproducing failure".

The tests that they have to sit for should not be the common tests the rest of the school sits for... Shameme it may have appeared during this interview that I have been implying that my students made no educational progress. It's far from that. They are making a lot of educational process. I'm sure their competency is developing. But the testing programme that we have is not indicating the measure of success that they achieve. This is because they are being measured against a curricular and testing programme that does not take their needs and their present difficulties into account. This is the problem that needs to be addressed. So whatever achievements they are managing, whatever the success they attain, they are not getting getting a feedback of success - they are getting a feedback of failure. You know I think I must stress that.

It was impossible to ignore yet another tension to emerge from the data viz. teachers wielded freedom to mediate the syllabus for the good of their students (teaching the child first) - but the changes they were making seemed almost futile because the system of examination and evaluation remained the same.

The data also threw up interesting evidence of the various screening methods used by schools to select ESL students. Among others, the question of whether these entrance exams/screening methods/interviews should examine students' potential rather than ability came up. One school obviously had very strict screening methods designed to let only competent and above average ESL students filter through. Further investigation of this area was not possible due to the limitations of the study.

4.7 THE STATUS OF ZULU IN SCHOOLS

As the interviews progressed the researcher was disturbed by what appeared to her to be a glaring anomaly - teacher after teacher described their struggles with their ESL students, yet 8 teachers

were reticent to speak about Zulu as a language, let alone about the importance of learning Zulu. Not having wanted to cue teachers onto their attitudes to Zulu as a language and the status of Zulu in the school, the researcher had not asked any direct questions in these areas. As more information emerged about language issues in desegregated classrooms she began to regret this apparent oversight. In retrospect, however, it was a necessary omission which served to reduce interviewer influence. Surprisingly enough, teachers' silence on this issue spoke eloquent volumes about the status of Zulu in the schools and about the deficit model/subtractive language-in-education policies adopted by schools.

Information provided by teachers revealed that schools made no attempt to acknowledge or use the ESL students' home language Zulu, not even during assemblies. Secondly not one of the teachers interviewed viewed the fact that ESL students spoke two languages, as an asset.

While teacher responses in general appeared not to acknowledge the importance of Zulu in the classroom, the researcher is aware that there could be a number of complex reasons explaining the omission of Zulu in the transcripts. It is possible that many teachers saw the use of Zulu in the classroom as hindering the learning of English. One teacher did in fact suggest that the reason ESL students had difficulty with English could be attributed to the fact that too much Zulu had been used to introduce them to English in their earlier DET/Kwazulu schools. One teacher who admitted to speaking Zulu well stated that he avoided speaking Zulu in the classroom. He cited as his reason the fact that when he did address the minority of Zulu speakers in his classroom in their mother tongue they "*felt embarrassed*".

Two teachers admitted that cutbacks in education and a shortage of dominant group teachers qualified to teach Zulu would probably prevent the successful formal introduction of Zulu into schools as a first language or even as a third language option. All the issues mentioned here are discussed further in 5.1.1 and 5.1.3.

B. OTHER SIGNIFICANT ISSUES TO EMERGE FROM THE DATA

Apart from the themes discussed above, two other significant issues emerged as worthy of being

reported on from the data: Terminology and Humour.

1. TERMINOLOGY

The use of terminology in the data provided insight into a number of important areas, and emerged strongly as a category worthy of reporting.

In section one of the interview schedule (see Appendix B) the researcher had posed the question "What terminology is used within the school for these classes?" ("these classes" referred to classes which were no longer racially exclusive). Although the question appeared to focus specifically on terminology it had not been part of the researcher's initial intention to look at terminology as a separate category in the data. The question had been asked to draw out from teachers whether there was an educational focus geared to change within the school, and the extent to which this focus informed teachers. It was hoped that answers to this question could also be indicative of teachers' and the schools' disposition towards language teaching. It would also reveal the school's attitude to change and where the schools stood with regard to professional and staff development in the context of educational change. The researcher was working on the assumption that responses citing, for example, terminology such as "multicultural" or "multilingual" classes could suggest at the very least that teachers were familiar with or had begun to engage with these educational concepts. She was also aware, however, that teacher responses to this particular question would have to be examined in the light of other information presented during the interview.

What actually happened was that the first two teachers interviewed needed clarification from the researcher before they could respond to this question, making it necessary for her to rephrase the question more directly. Apart from the fact that the question had been directly related to terminology, the researcher became aware immediately of the importance of selecting words more carefully when phrasing questions and her attention was directed to the importance of the terminology she herself might use in the research. In the interviews that followed, and in her detailed readings of the transcripts once all the interviews were over, the researcher became increasingly aware of the complex, varied, arbitrary, idiosyncratic, ambiguous and sometimes

conflicting use of terminology by teachers.

Words were often used interchangeably and sometimes in direct juxtaposition to each other. In one transcript a teacher referred to the same group of students as *"non-white students"*, *"black students"*, *"black South African boys"*, *"new pupils"*, *"South African boys"*, *"black boys"*, *"the multilingual class"*, *"the multi-national class"*, *"black South Africans"*, *"second language speakers"*, *"weaker students"*, *"atypical students"*, *"non-white South Africans"*, and *"those people"*. Apart from conveying a sense of the complexity of the setting (private school) and the cosmopolitan nature of his classes, this also conveyed the many levels at which students were being responded to and perceived by the teacher. The use of certain words by teachers necessitated questioning for clarification from the researcher, e.g. she had to ask teachers whether "black" was used as a generic term referring to Indian, Coloured and African students or whether the term referred to African students only. When listening to transcripts the researcher found that even she was not immune to the interchanging of words, e.g. she often erroneously interchanged the words "syllabus" and "curriculum". Both researcher and teachers also interchanged the words "students" and "pupils", the researcher taking her cue from the word that teachers felt more comfortable with.

There were also many instances when the researcher found her own use of terminology problematic. On two occasions when interviewees challenged or sought clarification, she responded by using educational buzz words like "multicultural" and "anti-racist" and felt that this could have cued interviewees on to using these words themselves. She constantly found herself having to justify her own use of terminology. The area being researched had to do with issues of race, class and culture and the researcher found she had to tread especially carefully when selecting from the vocabulary coined from apartheid. She wished to avoid using terminology which might be found offensive or objectionable. Despite her desire to use politically correct terminology, however, she fell into this trap twice:

Researcher: *What about the Coloured students - are they benefitting at all from this?*

Teacher: *You see, I don't think it's a problem with the so-called Coloureds. (the teacher himself was so-called Coloured).*

Researcher: *Forgive me for using racist terminology - it gets confusing because you've*

been speaking about the majority group and the minority group.

The researcher was so thrown by being "corrected" (and rightly so) by the teacher that she omitted to explain (as she should have done before the interview) that for the sake of clarity she had decided to use the terms Indian, African, Coloured and White. For the rest of the interview she resorted to the use of "safer" terms such as EIL speakers and majority students when referring to the Coloured students. This was confusing as there were Coloured speakers in the school whose first language was Afrikaans, not English.

Not wanting to problematise her questioning or approach her topic from a deficit model she tried to take care to speak of teacher and student "concerns" and "challenges" rather than "problems". She was not always successful, however:

Researcher: *You've mentioned pressure, the exam system, the syllabus and inflexible time-tabling. Are there any other challenges or problems you face on a daily basis as a teacher ?*

Teacher: *Well, I don't see L2 students as a problem.*

This teacher, however, went on to pepper his responses with the use of the word "problem" - it was actually very difficult to avoid using this word! His responses to the researcher in both the instances above however, did demonstrate his concern with the avoidance of deficit model/racist terminology. This was a concern shared by the researcher.

The researcher categorised the terminology used by teachers in three ways:

- Firstly "positive" or "affirmative" terminology (of the kind that could be perceived as "politically correct" unobjectionable terminology) included terms such as multilingual, multicultural, English Second Language, L2 learners, L1 learners, socially and linguistically disadvantaged. The researcher was aware of the need to be critical of the use of such terminology, and of the ability to cut through professional jargon and not necessarily accept it as an indication of a teacher's guiding principles or methodology. Often such vocabulary is used because it is the educational rhetoric currently in vogue. The researcher also found that there was no correlation between the use of "positive" terminology and teacher practice. Teacher concerns, as described earlier in this chapter, were generally very similar regardless of the terminology used.

- Secondly, there was frequent use by some teachers of what could be termed "negative" terminology e.g. words such as *"our weak pupils"* and *"non-whites"*. The use of the latter word actually made the researcher, who is a black South African, extremely uncomfortable. The word was seen as insulting, archaic and negatively loaded. The researcher did not, however, comment on its use to the teachers. While the researcher felt that teachers should have had a sensitivity to the use of this term, the teachers concerned appeared to be completely unselfconscious or unaware that the term was negatively laden or denigratory. Apart from the phrase *"non-white"* they also used other terminology to describe black students. From an anti-racist viewpoint their use of the term could be categorised as unintentional or subtle racism. What characterised the four teachers who used this term however, was that they came across to the researcher as genuinely caring and committed teachers. As in the previous example cited of positive terminology used by teachers, the use of this particular term was not consistent with the teachers' stance. Other information revealed during the interview showed that they were not overly conservative. The use of "racist" terminology was therefore not necessarily a pointer or an indication of a teacher's racist attitude. These serve as yet other examples of the complexity of the data.
- Thirdly, there was a strong presence throughout the data of what could be defined as "neutral," middle-of-the-road terminology. For example *"model B pupils"*, *"bridging module pupils"*, *"the new pupils"*, *"majority and minority groups"*, and *"mixed classes"*.

2. HUMOUR

The high occurrence of **humour and shared laughter** in the transcripts is also worthy of comment. The limits of the study prevented the researcher from going beyond the following very superficial analyses of the humour:

- Some of the humour was frivolous. One teacher laughingly raised how other teachers referred to her most challenging class, which had a majority of ESL learners, as *"that class"*.
- Other examples were conflictual or what could be termed "incongruity

humour" (Woods in Burgess, 1985, p73) helping the listener to accentuate and detect what is solemn and serious e.g.: "*Shange stood up and did an oral on the United Nations and why South Africa wasn't part of the United Nations, which really interested the class, and offended some of them beyond speech*" (researcher laughs and teacher joins in) "*which was wonderful you know, they sat and listened to him, and afterwards I just sat back while the war raged over my head*". Apart from highlighting the theme of separate realities of black and white students, this snippet of humour, like the anecdotes, helped lighten the mood of the interview and served simultaneously as a reminder of the greater picture of an abnormal society divided by apartheid which emerged during the course of the interviews.

- Teachers themselves displayed a sense of humour which they seemed almost to need as a coping strategy. One teacher said "*I see myself as quite a foolish teacher sometimes*". This was appeared to have been said in jest but was understood by both teacher and researcher as expressing his frustration with not being able to cope in a very demanding teaching situation.

The transcripts provided many examples of humour as a "coping strategy" for teachers weighed down by the burdens of teaching, of teachers using humour to lighten a situation and to aid in their reflection. Humour also provided the ability to see the familiar from a new perspective.

C. DISCOUNTING DATA

What could only be described as a problematic and atypical interview with a particular teacher made the researcher acutely aware that interviewing is often beguiling in its simplicity, and is not a tool to be used complacently (Powney & Watts, p.9). The fact that nine teachers in completely diverse settings had provided rich information woven through with common themes made it all too easy for the researcher to fall into the trap of seeing teachers' interview responses as unproblematic and representative of firm data. This did not necessarily mean that the researcher expected the tenth teacher to comply with what other teachers had said. As a matter of fact the researcher would have welcomed a completely divergent viewpoint which would have balanced or challenged the data already collected. What actually transpired, however was an

interview riddled with contradictions and illogical statements that the researcher found very difficult to make sense of, with the interview on the whole coming over as being too bland and superficial for serious analysis. The researcher had cause to question the extent to which the informant faithfully represented his experiences and perceptions, and this created doubt about the validity of the data (Lofland & Lofland in Lemmer, 1992, p.294). As a result much of the data had to be discounted.

The data in this interview was considered atypical because much of what the teacher said came into conflict with what other teachers had said and with what one could reasonably expect in a context of desegregation:

- Firstly the teacher had not felt the burden other teachers had felt.
- He continually professed to not having experienced any problems at all in his newly desegregated classrooms. Either he had a very special brand of African student or he was being dishonest. He said his African students had no inhibitions - all other teachers saw their new African students as being reserved in the main. Based on what other teachers had said, and on other evidence he provided, the researcher found difficulty in accepting that his African students could be perfectly at home in their new school environment.

He often stereotyped his students, both his Indian and his African students e.g. he felt that African students knew how to empathise but Indian students didn't. He attributed this to the reason that African students had "*been there*" and knew what "*pain and suffering*" were. He also said that his African students performed best at oral English and that they had no inhibitions - he claimed they had the courage of their convictions and always said exactly what they felt. This is a major discrepancy and a significant variation from what other teachers said. The researcher acknowledges that a weakness in the research is that she did not go back to the teacher to discuss with him with what others had said and ask him to comment on these differences.

His statements were not what one would expect from a teacher with twelve years teaching experience. For example, in speaking of the screening process at his school, he expressed alarm at how a few "weak" African students had filtered through. He did not seem to expect that the new ESL students would not initially fair well in English. The quotation also revealed his desire to exercise too much control over his classroom environment. His need to control possibly

explains why he said he had no "problems" with his class. When the interview was over and the researcher went through the transcript, she could not understand why she had humoured the teacher throughout and doggedly stuck to the interview schedule, despite the fact that she was often alarmed by many of his responses. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

D. COMMENTS ON REPORTING THE FINDINGS

The sheer scope of the findings dictated that much data had to be omitted. However, the findings demonstrated clearly that the teachers interviewed had much to contribute in terms of stimulating and enriching the debate in the area of desegregated education.

When deciding on what to omit, the researcher was guided by:

- the credibility and authenticity of the teachers' perceptions, concerns and challenges in linguistically and culturally diverse education settings
- her intention, which was to see teachers as "voices of authority" in their fields (see 3.1.8). Thus, despite the diverse settings the teachers taught in, the extremely wide range of themes and issues which emerged were characterised by certain strong patterns that recurred in the interviews of nine of the ten teachers.

In conclusion, while the findings she has selected to report on do to an extent reflect her own focus of interest as a researcher and an educationalist, she believes that she has conveyed a true sense of the richness of the data and the complexities of EIL teachers' experiences in the desegregated secondary school classroom.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This chapter is composed of three sections:

1. A discussion which links the **findings** to the **overview of the literature**
2. **Reflections on the research process.** This includes a discussion of the many joys and challenges encountered during the research process. Shortcomings in the study are acknowledged in 5.2 and in the chapter as a whole.
3. The way ahead: **suggestions for future research**

It is important to stress that this research is exploratory in nature and can only begin to describe emergent themes which, taken separately, would each merit intensive and independent research and analysis. It is necessary to emphasise that this was a small local study focusing specifically on teachers of EIL in the Pietermaritzburg area. Ten teachers were interviewed, and their very personal interpretations of the changes brought about in schools were the only ones available to the researcher. A shortcoming the researcher regrets was that she did not go back to teachers to question them further. Certainly, taking the findings, as outlined in Chapter Four, back to teachers for further comment would have enhanced the validation of this study. This was difficult to achieve due to constraints of time, particularly as the interviews were conducted at the end of the 1992 academic year when teachers were busy with year-end examinations and/or study leave and found it impossible to give further time to the researcher. She was not able to validate her findings by speaking to other key players such as students and principals, and neither was she able to sample student behaviour, as this was outside the brief of her research obligation and would have made the study unwieldy. It was also not possible to subject all the findings to further analysis due to their volume and range. Nevertheless, the experiences related and issues which emerged in Chapter Four and in this chapter are a modest attempt to inform and extend the boundaries of knowledge for those interested in the process of transformation of South African schooling as a result of desegregation.

While the teachers came from a wide range of school contexts (see 3.1.6 and Appendix G) the findings show evidence of a high degree of commonality, with strong correlations and

unmistakable patterns emerging in the teachers' experiences and their perceptions of change in desegregated EIL classrooms. There is much consistency with the literature in general, and particularly strong links with Southern African research findings (Penny *et al.*, 1992; Carrim, 1992; de Haas, 1992; Johnstone, 1992; Freer, 1992; Frederikse, 1992; Pillay, 1995) due in no small measure to their synchronicity.

5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS IN THE LIGHT OF THE LITERATURE

The discussion entails a consideration of certain themes which arise from both the literature and the actual findings, and focuses on the patterns, linkages, commonalities and discrepancies which emerge. In focusing on similarities and differences, the researcher will highlight both those findings which seem to support the literature, as well as those which represent incongruent and/or different experiences. As this research is a follow-up study to the Penny *et al.* (1992) investigation (see 3.1.1 and 3.1.4) comparisons between significant themes in their study and the findings in this research will also be presented.

Having as its focus the **teacher/change nexus** two years after the legislation of 1990, the aim of this study was:

- to assess how the changes set into motion by the legislation had **impacted** on teachers (to be discussed in 5.1.1)

- to assess how teachers **perceived** these changes (to be discussed in 5.1.2 and 5.1.3)

All the theory outlined in Chapter Two has adequately provided an understanding of these changes. An overriding theme which best conveys the synthesis between Chapter Two and Chapter Four is that despite the fact that the desegregation of schools was a step towards equality in education, the information revealed by teachers confirmed that education reflects **inequality**. It would have been unrealistic to expect otherwise - it was inevitable that schools would continue to reflect the inequality that had been so deeply rooted in South African society for so long. Thus, inequality in education was a strong feature of the interregnum period, and would probably remain so for some time. The conflation of education with inequality was consistent with the literature. This theme was obvious in three significant areas which are closely interwoven, but which are discussed separately in this chapter for clarity:

The experiences of **teachers** themselves confirmed this.

Black **students** had been the recipients of an unequal and inferior education in their previous racially exclusive schools. This inequality had been endemic in their old schools but in a number of aspects still remained a feature of their lives in their new schools.

The findings highlighted inequality in **schools** and in the **education system** in general, showing clearly their failings at a time of hitherto unprecedented political and educational change.

The connection between **education** and **inequality** emerged clearly in all the above aspects of the findings, supporting the views expressed by radical educators in Chapter Two.

5.1.1 Teachers and change

Much of the literature has tended to focus more on **deleterious student outcomes** following moves towards integration in schools. This study acknowledges these negative outcomes for students (see 5.1.2) but also demonstrates that **teachers' experiences** in the desegregated classroom were far more critical than suggested by the literature. Teachers were negatively impacted upon in a number of ways, all of which illustrated their difficult position in an unequal education system. The literature acknowledges the difficulties teachers world-wide face in confronting racially, culturally and linguistically diverse classroom settings. These difficulties were very pronounced for the teachers in this study, who were overwhelmed by the following distinctive combination of pressures during the interregnum period: the newness of the situation; the suddenness of its onset; the stress and pressure associated with change; the lack of formal, official and informal preparation and discussion around ESL and multicultural issues, and the cloisteredness of having worked previously only in racially exclusive education departments. These, coupled with the natural isolation of the teacher in the classroom, and the absence of networking among teachers and schools confronted with similar challenges, were factors responsible for contributing to the teachers' feelings of abandonment and helplessness. What emerged very strongly in the findings was that the cumulative weight of all these factors had placed teachers in an unprecedentedly difficult situation.

The changes brought about by desegregation impacted on teachers in various ways, with the following areas being most prominent:

5.1.1.1 The Nature of the Change and its effect on teachers: "Sink or Swim"

The singular nature of the educational and political change heralded by the legislation of 1990 has been discussed in Chapter One. Both the starkness of the change, and the ways in which it presented formidable challenges to teachers and schools, are apparent in this study and well documented in recent South African research (Penny *et al.*, 1992, Carrim 1992, Johnstone 1992). The researcher has not made specific comparisons between the nature of the change in South Africa and the ways in which it affected teachers here, with research undertaken on teachers at the time of early desegregation in the United States or the United Kingdom, (other aspects of the impact of desegregation in both these countries are featured in Chapter Two, however) and this may be seen as an omission in the literature review. However, it is safe to assume that nowhere else had racism been enshrined into a constitution as it had been in South Africa, and this explains the stark nature of the change. Consequently, teachers were plunged unprepared into what can only be described as "headlong change". Their response was to "sink" or "swim".

The high predominance of idiomatic and metaphorical language characterising the transcripts has been discussed in Chapter Four in particular the use of the idiom "**sink or swim**" which illustrated a central theme in the findings: teachers were at risk. Their position as educational mediators was uncertain because of their unfamiliarity, not only with the kinds of issues involved in desegregated classes, but particularly with ESL issues. It seemed as if their confidence as teachers, and consequently the success of their students, was in jeopardy. This theme also emerges as a salient issue in the work of other researchers such as Penny *et al.* (1992) and de Haas (1992). Significantly, both studies also chose to use metaphorical language to convey the plight of the teachers in their studies:

"Just sort of **fumbling in the dark**" (Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.15).

"Teachers have been required to **leave the `shores' of the known** and are **bobbing on an ocean**" (de Haas, 1992, p.1).

All three idiomatic usages convey very aptly the plight of teachers trying to cope in a difficult situation, and barely succeeding. On the rare occasion when they did feel any sense of achievement, it was only because of their own hard work, versatility and initiative. At most times they felt unable to cope, and even experienced an acute sense of failure because of the pressures they taught under, their perceived lack of success with their students due to their unfamiliarity with ESL issues, and the lack of support from educational authorities - all these issues are discussed later in this Chapter.

While teachers in this study did find as Johnstone suggests (1992, p.4) that their anxieties often "took over", at no stage did their anxieties supersede the needs of the child. An interesting tension that emerged was that while their energies may have been depleted, they were nevertheless enthusiastic about the changes taking place. In line with the Penny *et al.* findings (1992) it should be emphasised that none of the teachers in this study were against the change in the legislation, even though they had been unsettled by the suddenness of its onset. In this way the study supported other recent South African research, which indicates that an overwhelmingly important characteristic displayed by the majority of teachers in desegregated schools is their commitment to the process of desegregation and their rejection of racially exclusive schooling and apartheid.

This study also echoes the very real paradox mentioned in the literature, that of teachers often feeling overwhelmed by their circumstances, but simultaneously invigorated by the challenges presented during a time of significant educational change (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988, p. 276). In addition, and as depicted in the literature (Vice, 1991; Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988), teachers in this study also experienced the strange tension of being depleted by the demands of teaching, but feeling simultaneously fulfilled and challenged. This tension held true for all ten teachers who encountered innumerable difficulties following the change, but did not express disillusionment, despite the high levels of stress they experienced (see 5.1.1.2). They claimed that they were definitely not in the wrong profession, and saw teaching as their true vocation. Teacher enthusiasm and commitment to the promised new educational and political dispensation symbolised by the legislation of 1990 were two important factors militating against teacher demoralisation and the loss of job satisfaction or teaching skills. Thus Hoyle's suggestion, (in

Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988), that an extension of the teacher professionalism often leads to a loss of job satisfaction and teaching skills, did not apply to the teachers in this study - they were forced, in fact, to develop new teaching skills, simultaneously remaining committed to their vocation despite a high level of stress. The teachers' commitment to change despite the stress and anxiety they experienced, and their awareness of the importance of their role in helping students realise their full potential, was especially poignant in the light of the lack of support (discussed in 5.1.1.9) they received from educational authorities.

5.1.1.2 Teacher Stress

The literature demonstrates very clearly that teaching is a demanding and at times frustrating profession. The contribution of this research to the literature is to convey a sense of the debilitating intensity of the demands, and the high degree of frustration and even of failure experienced by the teachers as the changes brought about by desegregation impacted on them.

In keeping with the literature (see 2.5) and particularly with Beard's (1990) suggestion that stress and pressure intensify during times of significant educational change, teachers in this study experienced stress, burn-out, disillusionment, isolation and frustration. The stark nature of the change (discussed in the preceding section) not only influenced the teachers' responses, but allowed the teachers' anxiety to emerge as a bigger issue in this research than in previous research. The unusually high level of teacher stress may be gauged by the fact that teachers in this study experienced six of the seven key factors which threaten teacher efficacy (Webb & Ashton in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1998, p.285) (see 2.5).

Apart from the fact that change is inherently stressful, what emerged very strongly in the study is that teachers felt the pressure was on them, and not on the new student intake as it had been in the past in private schools. This was directly linked to the numbers of new admissions or non-dominant group students being admitted to the school. The stress teachers experienced increased in proportion to the number of non-dominant group students in their classrooms, particularly when the ratio was above twenty-five percent.

Adapting their teaching to meet the needs of ESL students in previously racially exclusive EIL classrooms that had changed rapidly, was one of the most potent causes of teacher stress (see 2.3.2). Consistent with the literature, teachers reported that the difficulty of dealing with the severe language problems of ESL students in mainstream EIL classrooms posed some of the most significant challenges to have faced them in their careers. This was a central problem for nine of the teachers in this study, who complained of the stress involved in teaching students who had "*fewer traditional skills*" than the dominant group students they were normally accustomed to teaching. The unfamiliar academic and cultural backgrounds of these students presented great difficulties to the teachers. This is directly linked to the legacy of Bantu Education.

In describing the unique dimension which the legacy of Bantu Education brings to the language problems of ESL students, and of how their learning difficulties are exacerbated as a consequence of their earlier schooling, this study supported much previous South African research. Proof that international ESL studies have relevance for local research in the same area, may be gleaned from the fact that students in Pietermaritzburg schools in this study experienced the greatest linguistic difficulties in areas that were similar to those experienced by ESL students nationally and internationally (see 2.3.2.2).

Pennington's (1995) explanation of why teacher change is difficult held true for these teachers - the kind of teaching they enjoyed and valued previously, particularly teaching syllabi with a strong component of literature, was no longer appropriate for the ESL students, many of whom had not acquired BICS. Teachers in this study were particularly traumatised by the fact that they had less control over the learning activity and how it was going to proceed - exercises and lessons taught often went nowhere and were described as "*futile*". The findings in this study support Mfayela's findings (1992, p.3) that it is the stress of adjustment to classes that are no longer predictable, that makes teacher change so difficult.

When comparing this study to Penny *et al.* (1992), it is significant to note that nowhere in the Penny *et al.* study was mention made of the extreme stress experienced by teachers, and the teachers' sense of helplessness at not being able to cope with the demands made on them. Possible explanations for this anomaly are as follows:

- It is reasonable to expect teachers' responses to be different from those of the principals, as it was the teachers, not the principals who engaged directly with their students, and who were grappling on a daily basis with the resultant changes in their classrooms. The concerns of principals were different and appeared to be less classroom-orientated than those of the teachers.
- As suggested by Penny *et al.* (1992) principals might have been motivated to present their schools favourably, and would not have wanted to reveal problems which might reflect negatively on their management skills. It should be borne in mind that often school management, due to their lack of experience in teaching desegregated classes, were not in a position to give advice, particularly on ESL issues. Secondly, without first-hand experience in the classroom, they were often unaware of the severity of the linguistic problems experienced by ESL students, and the ways in which this impacted on EIL teachers.
- It is possible that the time frame might be responsible for discrepancies between the two studies. The Penny *et al.* research was conducted in late 1991/early 1992 - it might have been too early for principals to have received significant report backs from teachers. Teachers in this study were interviewed at the end of 1992.

The above factors might also explain two other significant discrepancies between the Penny *et al.* findings and this study: principals did not mention the difficulties teachers had with ESL issues, and neither did the theme of the separate worlds of students and teachers/schools feature (see 5.1.2.2).

5.1.1.3 Teachers not qualified to teach ESL

What emanated very powerfully in the study was that EIL teachers were struggling to fulfill their professional obligation to their students. This was because their prior training and experiences had very little or no bearing on the demands being made on them in their newly multilingual multicultural classrooms. There was a sense of disquiet enveloping teachers - they conveyed a strong sense of being caught up in a situation too complicated for them to unravel themselves. This was exacerbated by the controversial nature of ESL issues e.g. even in schools where special

programmes had been initiated, the teachers themselves were not entirely satisfied with the outcome (e.g. at Gandhi Secondary School which had experimented with a bridging module, and at Umsunduzi Girls' High which was offering extra lessons conducted by outside and usually retired teaching staff). Because the teachers' professional training had been in EIL methodology, they were not well-informed about ESL/bilingual/multilingual issues and did not possess the necessary knowledge base as outlined in 2.3.

As anticipated, the preponderance of open-ended questions in the interview schedule did help the researcher to obtain access to "hidden data" (see 3.1.8) i.e. to data not prefigured in her starting paradigm. What Willis (in Beard & Gaganakis, 1991, p.114) calls being "surprised", did in fact occur in two important areas.

- Firstly, the researcher had not expected ESL issues to feature as prominently as they did in this study. She had envisaged a balance between ESL issues and EIL issues, assuming that teachers' mediation of the EIL syllabus in accordance with NEPI principals would emerge as the primary professional issue preoccupying teachers. This did not materialise, and is discussed further in 5.1.1.6 .
- Secondly, the researcher could not ignore the most noteworthy aspect of hidden data to emerge in this study - the teachers' attitude to Zulu and to multilingual language teaching. The omission of direct questions on Zulu both in the interview schedule and its noninclusion by teachers during interviews, led the researcher to draw the following conclusions:

The strategies and attitudes of teachers did not exemplify current theories of ESL teaching, and were in keeping with what is described in the literature as subtractive bilingualism (see 2.3.2.7) (to be discussed later in 5.1.3).

Teachers generally did not raise the issue of the importance of learning Zulu for themselves or as an aid to better teaching and communication with their learners. They seemed to be more concerned with their ESL students' difficulties with English. This could be indicative of too narrow a focus on their role as teachers English, rather than as language teachers. It could also indicate that they did not have the time, resources or energy to investigate progressive ESL

teaching or anti-racist language teaching methodology. There did not appear to be an openness to seeing language learning as a reciprocal process, or to seeing multilingualism as an asset. They did not, it appears, have anything to learn from their students in this regard. Again, this fits in with the "deficit model" stance adopted by schools, and shows that the language teaching approaches used by teachers in this study were informed by assimilationist perspectives as opposed to transforming perspectives.

An analysis of teachers' attitudes to Zulu as a language revealed that in keeping with the literature, (see Ruiz in Baker (1993) 2.3.1), the teachers interviewed fitted into an orientation which saw the non-dominant language (in this case Zulu) as a problem. Accordingly, the fact that the new African intake spoke Zulu, was seen as a handicap to be overcome by the school system. The fact that the students' L1 was Zulu, was viewed as a liability - their bilingualism was not seen as an asset. It was obvious that the development of students' ESL skills was seen as being more important than developing or building on the students' bilingualism. This "language as an obstacle" attitude is shared by some parents and as warned in the literature, can become a long term problem. The Zimbabwean experience has shown that where school authorities discourage students from speaking vernacular languages, people are in danger of losing their mother tongue and culture (Mafuba, C. 1996. "Black kids risk losing mother tongue". In *The Natal Witness*, 24 June). Teachers and schools appeared to be unaware that placing high status on English, and low status on Zulu, could be construed as "linguistic racism" or "linguicism" (Heugh, 1994, p.1). It was clear that the status of Zulu needed to be raised aggressively in schools.

5.1.1.4 E1L teachers as crisis managers

The situation during 1991 and 1992 demanded a specific extension of teacher professionalism of E1L teachers, i.e. that they acquire ESL skills. However, in terms of classroom practice, teachers tended to work on technical expertise i.e. on what "worked" and was practical in classrooms, rather than engage in an exchange of principled theoretical understandings around ESL/language teaching issues. This was in keeping with Harley and Penny's theory (1992, p.18) that teachers and people on the shopfloor share a common pragmatic culture which celebrates

getting the job done efficiently. As outlined by Harley (1991, p.8) this approach yields event satisfaction, solves immediate problems, and involves a search for strategies and methods, but ignores longer-term issues such as exploring theory e.g. the merits of additive as opposed to subtractive models of language teaching. While teachers' creativity was limited because of time constraints, having to find their own resource material, and stress and pressure, there was evidence of resourcefulness and inventiveness. Many teachers proudly showed worksheets they had designed, or described classroom procedures that had been particularly successful (e.g. the use of the daily newspaper and drama). Their responses were intuitive, not informed, again in keeping with Hoyle's description of the restricted professional (in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1988 - see 2.5). Their coping strategies were those of accommodation rather than transcending - fitting in to what Penny (in Harley, 1991, p.8) calls the "practitioner" view of teaching. For example, two teachers were so concerned about giving their ESL students some feedback of success that they encouraged rote-learning activities of the kind which had featured prominently in Bantu education. It is clear that teachers needed to find alternative and more pro-active ways to counter the legacy of Bantu education. Caught up in a critical situation of change, they had no option but to become crisis managers, as the enormity of the change did not permit them to be transformers. Their attempts to manage the crisis involved the development of coping strategies and methodologies outlined in Chapter Four and in Appendix F. While limited in range, all these are in congruence with those outlined in the literature.

Even though they had become crisis managers, the transcripts did provide proof that teachers were capable of being reflective practitioners. They were not merely narrowly preoccupied with technique but had begun to engage with and debate, albeit mainly at an informal, intuitive and superficial level, the issues involved in ESL teaching and in desegregated classrooms. This was demonstrated by the following:

- While teachers were not aware of the wide range of **pedagogical strategies** (as outlined in the literature) that were effective for **simultaneous use with both ESL and E1L students** in the mainstream classroom, they had begun to experiment in this area and saw this approach as the way forward. While 9 of the teachers had not had any formal exposure to ESL theory and methodology, or to language-learning theory, they tended, as described in the literature (see 2.3.2.2), to have formulated their own eclectic approach

to language teaching - this approach included a combination of methods, with oral discourse/drama strategies featuring highly. They did not, as some English teachers do (and this attitude is described by Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996, p. 464) offer resistance to the feasibility of dissolving the English L1-L2 distinction in the classroom. They were, however, aware of the difficulties involved in its practical implementation.

- Four teachers provided evidence of using, as recommended by the literature, what could be described as a **bilingual approach** to English teaching in their classrooms. This could be construed as a "positive" acknowledgement of Zulu as the students' first language. It appeared to work well as a methodology for these teachers, promoting learning rather than holding the students back in their understanding of English. A reciprocal two-way learning also occurred here between the teachers and the learners.
- While four teachers called for separate provision (which is severely criticised in the literature) they saw it only as a temporary arrangement after which students could return to mainstream classrooms. At least two teachers provided evidence of the discriminatory and racist effects of the separate provision programmes in their schools, and were convinced of the advantages of integrating African students into the social and academic mainstream as fully as possible, as recommended by the literature (see 2.3.2.6).
- Many teachers indicated (and this is endorsed by Johnstone, 1992, p. 8) that a major problem experienced by their African students who were struggling with learning English, was the inability to understand instructions/directions in all subjects, whether they were verbal or written (see 4.1.4 & 4.1.5.1). At one extreme, one teacher revealed that at least four African students had dropped out during the course of the year because they could not cope with the level of instruction across the curriculum. Teachers complained that the responsibility of remediating their language problems which fed through all subjects in the school, was seen solely as the burden of the English department (see 4.1.6.1) in schools. In calling for "**linguistic help across the curriculum**" (see 2.3.3) to be the concern of every teacher, thus helping to ease their load, teachers were in accordance with Pillay's perception (1995, p.102) of the school

curriculum as a major resource for language development. Research by Johnstone (1992, p.7) further elucidates this argument: "It is the responsibility of every teacher to contribute to the language growth of every pupil. Language development cannot be restricted to the English lesson." As schools become more linguistically and culturally diverse, content instructors (subject teachers in South Africa) can no longer presuppose that all students will be reasonably competent in the language of learning. Schools will be faced increasingly with students who experience difficulty in understanding lessons and text books, thus necessitating, as advocated by Master (1992, p.77) the melding of subject matter or content with language teaching. Again, in keeping with the literature, teachers were critical of the subject-bound approach practised in schools, which militated against a more integrated Language Across the Curriculum (LAC) approach. The adoption of LAC in schools would require a transformation in teachers' attitudes to knowledge, calling, as advocated by Young (1987) and other theorists (see 2.4.1) for a more holistic approach to knowledge as a social tool, rather than as an examination-passing device. It is outside the scope of this study to explore more fully the area of content-based instruction (CBI) and its potential to be, as suggested by Master (*Ibid.*, p.78) the foundation for LAC and immersion education. However, teachers' support for LAC would imply, as acknowledged by Pillay (1995, p. 110) the benefits to be reaped for ESL students if teachers of other subjects in schools modified the methodology of their content classes to incorporate activities that demand extended use of written and oral language by students across a wide range of functions. This would also require a move away from the very teacher-focused transmission model as a model of instruction which discourages social interaction in classes (*Ibid.*, p. 129).

Concern over **language issues** emerged prominently in this study. This was to be expected, considering the "new" factor of linguistic diversity in classrooms, the links between language, culture, education and power and the fact that EIL teachers had been interviewed. However, in the Penny *et al.* (1992) study it was only in two instances that mention was made of language issues viz. that a few schools were initiating programmes to "upgrade" the English of African students (1992, pp. 16 & 29). The fact that the ESL challenge to teachers did not emerge strongly in their study posed a few conundrums for the researcher. She felt that it might have

been easier for schools to pretend that there were no problems with race, and to claim that students had been easily assimilated, as the principals in the Penny *et al.* study had done. It is usually very difficult to deny the existence of language problems, or to ignore that ESL issues are an important area of concern within the school. Apart from the arguments presented earlier in this chapter for this discrepancy (see page 131) it is also possible that this discussion was subsumed under the discussion of standards, which did emerge as a theme in the Penny *et al.* study.

5.1.1.5 Teachers as "restricted professionals"

At least nine of the teachers in this study (apart from the teacher from Suikerbossie High who was studying an ESL course) fitted into what Broadfoot & Osborn (1988) would describe as "restricted" as opposed to "extended" professionals (see 2.5). However, as an indication of the complexity of the data, and of how difficult it was to pigeonhole teachers into watertight compartments, the following factors should be taken into account:

- In accordance with Broadfoot's definition of good "restricted" professionals, all teachers were sensitive to the development of individual students. This emerged in their commitment to attempting to "teach the child first, not the subject" (see 4.1.6.2). Trying to put this precept into practice in their classrooms, however, created on-going problems for teachers because their class units were too large, and because many of the new admissions were reticent, preferring not to draw undue attention to themselves by asking for help. This aspect of ESL student behaviour is supported by the literature (see 5.2). Unlike most "restricted" professionals, they were able to perceive of their work as teachers in the broader educational context of transformation towards nonracial education and society, but were too encumbered by all the problems outlined previously to transcend the situation and become transformers.
- Given the background factors to desegregation (see Chapter 1) and the various constraints teachers laboured under, they seemed to have no option but to operate within a more classroom-focused conception of role. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasise that juxtaposed with this was an awareness of a more wide-ranging and diffuse set of responsibilities. This is acknowledged by Broadfoot & Osborn (1988) and is a

characteristic found among many teachers, particularly teachers of English, due no doubt to the extra burden they carry. Like the teachers in the Broadfoot & Osborn study (1988) these teachers continually sought to "strive after perfection" and did not seek to minimise their commitment in the classroom.

- Harley and Penny (1992, p.16 & p.20) argue that the need for educational enquiry originates in teachers' experiences of the practical problems they face in the classroom. However, a significant obstacle which deters teachers from critical reflecting and theorising, and which in turn prevents them from becoming extended professionals, is the lack of time. Further, is it the fact that teachers have such busy timetables and little free time that has induced a culture of dependency rather than a "spirit of enquiry and reflection"? This was confirmed by the findings in this study. Information revealed in the interviews and teacher profile forms confirmed that teachers had no time for reflective enquiry, even if they were so inclined.

Studies by Firestone & Pennell (in Pennington, 1995) (see 2.5) describe the "role strain" endured by many teachers due to the need to accomplish too much work in too little available time. Although the teachers in this study were confronted by "excessive role demands" all were able, despite their lack of training in ESL issues, to adapt their teaching to attempt to meet the needs of their new students.

5.1.1.6 The role teachers played in curriculum change in EIL

One of the initial three-fold intentions of the research (see 3.1.3) had been to focus on the role teachers were playing in curriculum change, particularly in the area of EIL. The researcher had anticipated that EIL teachers in desegregated classrooms would be influenced by the principles perceived at the time as being most likely to underpin a curriculum for a future South African education system, based in all likelihood on NEPI principles of non-racism, non-sexism, equality, democracy and the redress of historical imbalance (in Harley, 1991, p.1).

However, contrary to her expectations, teachers were not able to mediate a new EIL curriculum according to the aforementioned principles. It was clear that one of the most stressful aspects of

the change for teachers was that they had to acknowledge the "real" circumstances of the English classes they taught, as opposed to the "ideal" circumstances. The "ideal" circumstances would have entailed EIL teachers dealing with a new intake who were competent in EIL, enabling teachers to move from the eurocentric apartheid-based EIL curriculum to a more multicultural anti-racist approach (as outlined in 2.4). The "real" circumstances militated against allowing teachers to play a more pro-active/constructive and creative role in EIL curriculum development according to NEPI principles, and revolved largely around the needs of ESL students. In accordance with Pillay's findings (1995, p. 103) this study revealed that class composition had a direct effect on the teacher's instructional programme. When, for example, there were more African students in the class, there was evidence of a tendency on the part of the teacher to "dilute" programme offerings to ESL students and to reduce the breath and depth of the EIL course. This was a common instructional strategy to delay challenging the ESL students with too much content until they had acquired BICS.

When reading the data to ascertain how teachers saw English developing as a subject, and the extent to which curriculum change was unfolding in the classroom, it was clear that teachers were pulled in two directions, and were mediators of contradictory expectations (see page 89) in this regard as well:

- Firstly, they acknowledged the need to play a role in the development of the English curriculum at first language level and to try, in their mediation of the curriculum, to uphold principles similar to those espoused in the NEPI document (1992) viz. the reassessment and transformation of the curriculum in terms of non-racism, non-sexism, equality, democracy and the redress of historical imbalance. It was often the very presence of ESL students in classrooms that galvanised teachers into a heightened awareness of the need for curriculum change, but ironically, experimentation within and development of the subject (EIL) was hampered by the fact that ESL students needed attention to master BICS.
- Secondly, teachers were struggling to find, mainly through trial and error, ways to cater for the needs of their ESL students. Teachers appeared, however, to be split between responding to political change by developing the EIL curriculum, and simultaneously trying to cater for the needs of the ESL students. In most cases it was the pressing and

urgent needs of the latter which dictated where they placed their energies, which was in developing BICS.

This tension caused the researcher to interpret teachers' comments on "*deviation from the syllabus*" in a different light (see question 3.2 in interview schedule). It was not really possible to ascertain the extent to which teachers were curriculum developers or curriculum receivers even though comment after comment implied that teachers were deviating from the previously rigidly prescribed syllabus. For example, when teachers said they had "*lots of freedom in the English department*" and claimed to "*have the blessing of the NED in deviating from the syllabus*", of "*using the syllabus as a guide - I don't see it as prescriptive*", "*our subject head allows flexibility*", and "*I've just been given permission to do whatever I like with them*" they were not referring to enjoying complete freedom to experiment with English teaching, or to deviate from and to develop the E1L curriculum attempting to make it non-discriminatory in terms of race, sex, culture and class. Teachers were referring instead to something completely different. Their comments need to be interpreted in context, and the context was the teaching of ESL. Yes, teachers were developing alternate resource material, but it was material to foster BICS in the teaching of ESL. As a case in point the second part of the last quotation from a teacher: "*I've just been given permission to do whatever I like with them...*" continued as follows: "*which is why I've started teaching my Std 7's Std 4 work*". They also appeared to be influenced by the fact that the education department was beginning to be perceived as being benevolent towards this change. Teachers now saw the education departments as having no option but to move away from the once adamant prescription which had characterised their approach to curriculum affairs, educational supervision and management.

The teachers' perceived freedom in the area of curriculum development was to experiment only in the realm of ESL teaching. There was no contestation from authorities within the school simply because the responsibility of teaching ESL lay solely in the hands of the teachers. What the school and the education departments in "*encouraging teachers to deviate from the syllabus*" were actually saying, in the researcher's opinion, was - "*You're out on your own - feel free to do whatever you like to help ESL learners because we can't help you*".

Consistent with the literature (see 2.4) the findings did confirm however, that the shifts in student population brought about by desegregation had influenced EIL teachers to aggressively question what previously had been presented as appropriate knowledge. Teachers recognised the need for a relevant English curriculum to bridge the gap between the "different worlds" of their students, with a balance between "inherited" interests (Eurocentric curricular input) and "new" interests (a more multicultural afrocentric input). Only teachers in private school settings and in some NED schools submitted evidence of "progressive" experimentation within the EIL curriculum. The researcher is not able to comment on the quality of this mediation, which lay outside the scope of her study. The fact that schools were caught up in assimilationist modes of operation revealed the need for anti-racist approaches to the curriculum, as outlined in the literature, with a move away from the ethnocentrism imposed by the dominant culture.

5.1.1.7 Concern over Standards

An area of strong commonality between the literature and the findings in this research was concern over standards. The literature adequately explains the reactions of teachers. As outlined in the literature, teachers in this study gave evidence of parental "panic" where students were moved from schools with a high ESL/African intake to schools with a higher percentage of same-race students. However not enough time had passed, as suggested by the literature, for schools with high numbers of black/ESL students to establish "good" reputations which would induce parents to start sending their children back to these schools. The study revealed that one of the outcomes of the racial, linguistic and cultural integration of schools was the inevitable debate which ensued over the issue of standards. In this study, as corroborated by the Southern African literature (see 2.3.5) the question of standards is linked to the assimilation policy of the school (to be discussed under 5.1.3.1), to the inequality prevalent in South African society as a result of apartheid, and to the development of an "us" and "them" situation where the school feels: "we set the standards". Standards often became used as an exclusionary mechanism where schools became defensive of their traditional ethos, and in particular, of their academic standards.

It was clear that the issue of standards, as described by the teachers in this study, was influenced by the following factors described in the literature:

the perceived high status of NED, HOD and HOR schools and the educational standards at these schools (as compared to DET schools)

negative assumptions and attitudes on the part of teachers, educational management and black and white parents need to be countered. Black parents often feel that high academic standards are attainable only at integrated schools, while dominant group staff, parents and students in these schools are often resistant to change in the ethos of the school, linking the idea of the schools' "decline" with the new intake.

It is clear that the cry over standards "deteriorating" and particularly academic standards (as described by the teachers in this study) is racist, smacks of a "blame the victim" approach and masks issues such as the fact that schools were not able to offer ESL support to remediate the situation. It is clear that one cannot look at the issue of standards in isolation from the discriminatory educational system created by Bantu education, the lack of support from educational authorities, the absence of ESL programmes and support programmes in schools, and the unrealistic demands made on African ESL students in schools.

The findings suggest that there needs to be much debate over the question of standards. It is a complex area. The outcry over the decline of standards needs to be seen as a result of the legacy of apartheid education and the subtractive language policy and assimilation model followed by schools.

5.1.1.8 The system of examinations/assessment and inequality

Linked strongly to the question of standards was the issue of assessment and evaluation of ESL students, with poor examination results reinforcing the school's notion of the "low" standards achieved by ESL students. It was clear from the findings that the system of examinations, including the externally-set senior certificate examinations, were in need of radical revision.

The following significant areas of commonality emerged between these findings and the literature:

Consistent with the research and acknowledged by Penny *et al.* (1992, p.13) the highly

centralised nature of the examination system had not changed. Changes in curriculum, methodology and content worked only when accompanied by changes in the examination system. It was necessary for these changes to correlate if curriculum change was to be meaningful, and if ESL students were to get at least some feedback of success and progressive development.

In keeping with the literature, methods of testing and examinations were discriminatory towards ESL students. Teachers revealed that examinations were often regarded, as described by Penny *et al.* (1992, p.21) as "the ultimate function" of the school and were used as the only method of assessment despite the following:

- a) The system of examinations did not cater for different abilities or the needs of ESL students, neither did it incorporate, as recommended by the literature, other methods of assessment.
- b) The notion of the importance of **process** vs **product** has been explored thoroughly in the literature. The present study provided strong indicators as to the relative importance to teachers, and the benefit to students, of the process as against the products of learning. Teachers found it necessary to combine teaching methods to correspond to the unique needs of the students. As opposed to the written examination, methods of assessment which focused on the process rather than product, were of benefit to the ESL student. Schools did not appear to be aware of the merits of Hulme's suggestion (see 2.3.2.8) that continuous assessment, including a combination of methods, favours the ESL student. While continuous assessment is presently being practised in schools, this was not the case at the time of the research.

5.1.1.9 No Support from educational authorities/Isolation of teachers

All teachers unreservedly condemned the educational management within their respective departments (HOD, HOR and NED) for the lack of support around ESL and multicultural issues. They felt that the educational authorities should have taken a leading role in helping them deal with their problems. The lack of assistance or guidance contributed greatly to teachers' feelings

of helplessness, stress, frustration and isolation and to a sense of feeling "abandoned". These issues emerged far more strongly in this research than in the literature (see 2.3.2). Schools did not have the funding, materials, resources or facilities as recommended in the literature (see 2.3.2.2) to aid students in developing their linguistic competence. The fact that teachers had no support or guidance during this historical educational watershed only served to heighten their sense of isolation. Isolation was a central problem for all teachers interviewed in this study, but was not mentioned in the Penny *et al.* study (1992), possibly because the principals as educational managers were not "at the chalk face" as teachers, the educational mediators were.

The natural isolation of the teacher in the classroom was exacerbated by the unique South African legacy of apartheid education and the fact that desegregation took place in 1991 and 1992, in the context of a still racially divided and fragmented education system which had shaped patterns of working separately in racially exclusive contexts. Constraints of time and work made sharing with colleagues within the same school, and more so, across racially divided education departments, difficult. The absence of effective communication and collaboration among teachers within schools and across the education departments (NED, HOD, HOR) added to the insecurity and isolation of teachers.

Thus in most schools the problem was seen as the responsibility of the individual teacher to overcome, and not as the collective educational responsibility of the school or the education department. These findings are strongly supported by the Penny *et al.* (1992) research, with principals also describing their schools as being "abandoned" by the educational authorities, as the teachers in this study did. Although teachers did mention one or two individuals within education departments who were sympathetic and offered suggestions, the educational authorities as a whole were not seen as making any committed or concerted effort to help teachers, or to facilitate change in general. It is also significant that when help was offered, it came from outside the departmental sphere. The only organization that actively acknowledged the fact that serious challenges for teachers did exist in multilingual classes, and which organised workshops to support teachers involving all the education departments, was the non-state aligned independent MEDU, a teachers' centre attached at the time to the Department of Education at the University of Natal. It was only after the period during which the research was undertaken that the Second

Language Studies Department at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg embarked on the LILT Project (Language in Learning and Teaching) to help E1L - trained teachers teach ESL students effectively in E1L language environments.

Teachers' comments also revealed their perceived low status as English language/ESL teachers and the marginalisation of language issues/language-in-education policy in schools. From the literature, it is clear that these problems could be lessened schools and education departments considered the staffing implications for the successful implementation of language policy, and began to appoint staff pro-actively. Recommendations such as the following could then become criteria for promotion:

- Hiring decisions and performance appraisal of staff could include an assessment of competence in working with ESL students/multilingual policy. Promotion could then become contingent on the demonstration of such competency (Handscombe in Genesee, 1994, p.352).
- Management staff should be able to take on the responsibility for co-ordinating language work throughout the school and across the curriculum (Gillborn, 1990, p.195).

5.1.1.10 Teachers as the mediators of contradictory expectations

One of the three-fold intentions of the research (see 3.1.3) had been to test the researcher's hunch that teachers were "the mediators of contradictory expectations" (Grace in Barton & Walker, 1981, p. 7) or what Broadfoot & Osborn (1988, p. 265) refer to as the "ambiguity of the teacher's task". This theme, in fact, had high salience in the majority of the interviews (see 4.1.6) and concurred with the literature. The transcripts provided unassailable evidence of teachers being split, with one set of pressures militating against teachers making progress in overcoming another set. For example, the extension in their teaching role caused by desegregation immediately placed increasing pressure on teachers to respond to the issues integral to the changes viz.: ESL issues, curriculum development in E1L, racism and multicultural issues, etc. However, this extension to their teaching role occurred at a time when they were already demoralised by having to deal with a lack of resources and support from the education department, educational cutbacks and rationalisation, increased hours of contact time, higher pupil-teacher ratios and shortages in

text books and equipment. In addition, teachers cited other major constraints:

- Over-full English syllabi at secondary level which made excessive demands on them - this is confirmed by Harley (1991, p.16).
- The constant reality of the "ever increasing" teacher workload (as described in the NED Curriculum Affairs document (1991) which made time constraints one of the most frustrating and stressful aspects of teaching. It seemed that it would be impossible for teachers to benefit from Harley's (1991, p.24) recommendation: teachers need more time if they are to move away from traditional teaching styles, and more time for lesson preparation and researching materials.
- Compared to teachers of other subjects, teachers of English carried an extra burden of work as well as total responsibility for the language development of ESL students. This burden would clearly not diminish until the entire staff, and not just the ESL or English teachers, began to accept, as advocated by Handscombe (in Genesee, 1994, p.352) the challenge of working with a linguistically and culturally diverse student population.

All the teachers felt burdened by the varied and conflicting demands made on them, of continually having to compromise their ideals by deciding which aspect of their work to prioritise at the expense of another aspect. Trapped between a very real awareness of the need to transform classroom practice and the practical problems of large numbers of ESL students, larger classes in general, a shortage of contact time and of free time, what emerged very strongly in this study was that teachers were completely overwhelmed by the practical problems of the classroom and ended up as crisis managers on a day-to-day basis. It was difficult for them to reconcile their ideals with practical problems. There was a genuine desire to be "extended professionals", but they had to act pragmatically in a situation which had changed rapidly.

The description given by Broadfoot & Osborn (1988, p.281) of the "awesome responsibility" sometimes experienced by teachers fits nine of the teachers in this study - concern for their students was a central issue in their interviews. They were acutely aware of their role in affecting the future course of their students' lives and felt guilty for not "doing better". Broadfoot argues that teachers can never discharge their responsibility adequately, and have no option but to compromise by being satisfied with what they can reasonably do, given the limitations of

abilities and resources. This did not tie in with the attitude of teachers in this study, who went so far as to express a sense of personal failure and intense frustration at not being able to fulfill their ESL students' needs.

In conclusion, the findings revealed the very real dichotomy of teachers on the one hand as overburdened, confused, fed-up and caught up in education systems locked into assimilation rather than transformation; and on the other hand, the same teachers committed to and inspired by the process of desegregation, critical of the unsupportive and change-resistant educational ethos in which they found themselves, but ultimately beginning to succeed in their attempts to be agents and managers of change.

5.1.2 Students and Change

The results of this study effectively debunked the myth of education's neutrality and the myth that desegregation would offer an educational scenario starkly different from that provided in the students' previous disadvantaged racially exclusive contexts.

As predicted by Baker (1993) (see 2.3.2.6) and due mainly to the assimilationist ethos in schools and the subtractive, submersion form of language education practised in schools, black students tended to sink or struggle, with very few being able to "swim". Students displayed all the stresses (as described in the literature - see 2.3.2.6) of learning in for them an undeveloped language (English) in a submersion educational context: extreme stress, lack of self-confidence, "opting-out" and alienation. A significant point of commonality between teachers and students was the stressful way in which they were similarly affected by desegregation. Their sudden immersion in the context of desegregated schooling had caused both teachers and students to either "sink or swim" (see 5.1.1.1).

All the schools featuring in the study had been perceived by black parents and students as being "superior" and higher-up in the "informal status hierarchy" of schools under apartheid education - this is confirmed by the literature (see 1.1.2). However, information provided by all teachers revealed that the schools were not able to consistently provide equal opportunities. This was in

keeping with Lynch's theory (1988) (see 2.1) that schools simultaneously offer students both **universalistic** and **particularistic** practices, with particularism being the most striking feature of school life. For a variety of reasons (some of which are discussed further in 5.1.1 and 5.1.3), the ability of schools to assuage racial, class, cultural and language inequalities was very limited - most often these inequalities were exacerbated. The teachers acknowledged that black students had been exposed, in their new schools, to certain universalistic features of schooling which had been absent from their previous disadvantaged schooling experience. These included the benefits of inter-cultural contact, well-equipped classrooms, attractive sports facilities, teachers who were generally better qualified, the benefits of immersion (i.e. hearing good spoken English from EIL teachers and students) etc. However, particularistic features existed in tandem with these so-called benefits, and were the more striking aspect of school life under desegregation. These were manifested in many areas as a consequence of the assimilation policy of the school, resulting in the unequal treatment of black students due to their race, cultural, class and language background.

No evidence was provided in the transcripts to show that schools and educational management saw themselves as under-achieving for not being able to develop pedagogic practices to cater for their new students. Schools instead (see 2.1.1.3) perceived their students as displaying a "deficit" in their linguistic, cultural and academic make-up. They did not see themselves as being deficient for being unable to cater for their students; neither did they view their ethocentrism and prejudice, as acknowledged in the literature (see 2.1.2.2) as being harmful to both dominant and non-dominant students. This stance adopted by schools was responsible for the high incidence of particularistic features in schools, resulting in Black students experiencing what Mfayela (1992, p.3) describes as "systematic discrimination". They had enrolled with the HOD, HOR and NED schools in the hope of a better education, only to find that they were "double victims". It is also doubly ironic that many Black students had come from schools where many of their teachers would have been regarded as underqualified both academically and professionally. They had now come into a situation where their new EIL teachers were still not professionally qualified to cater for their needs as ESL students.

Many teachers reported a high rate of failure among ESL students, highlighting the theme, as

represented in the literature, of reproducing failure. This, coupled with the fact that educational authorities did not deliver the necessary support for teachers and students - at the time of the research, none of the structures (as listed in 2.3.2.4) that could facilitate the development of ESL students was in existence - leads the researcher to cite Bourdieu's exclusion theory (in Nash, 1990 - see 2.1.1.3) as applying to this study. While the education departments may not have been active and overt proponents of exclusion theory, the effects of their neglect, benign or otherwise, certainly resulted in negative consequences for African students. This analysis is supported by the literature: Cummins (in Genessee, 1994) and Pillay (1995, p.108) maintain that the unfavourable conditions in schools, particularly in the classroom, cause ESL students to display symptoms of marginalisation, not only in the school itself, but ultimately in the broader society. The Meier *et al.* (1989, p.5) study confirms that the sorting practices of schools are associated with racial discrimination and racial disproportion. Mkwanzazi and Cross's investigation into schools in Zimbabwe (1992, p.56) showed that schools tend to reproduce social inequalities by channelling students into different social conditions and class positions. This is aggravated by the fact that the more elite schools have higher costs attached. Evidence provided by teachers in this study corroborates the literature. Teachers reported that schools, many of which charged very high school fees (the NED and private schools) still had black students whose primary experience of the school was one of alienation. Schools were "reproducing failure": ESL students were failing "*abyssmally*" and leaving school, or were relegated to lower and "weaker" classes, and developed different ways to adapt to the assimilation policy of the school (see 5.1.2.1).

In line with the literature, the study also provided evidence of racism amongst students, with teachers reporting that they had become aware of racist incidents. One teacher emphasised that these were probably only the "tip of the iceberg", with most playground confrontation going unreported by students. Further investigation of student racism was outside the focus of the study.

5.1.2.1 Student Adaptation

Most teachers in this research reported with concern on a range of modes of student adaptation and resistance in their classrooms and schools. Teacher observations are consistent with the

literature. From other information provided by teachers, it is clear that students' adaptations were as a result of the assimilation policy of the school (as discussed in 2.1.1.3) and particularly of the role schools play in legitimating the dominant culture (Gordon, 1984).

Most significantly, the findings demonstrated that language competence is a key factor in determining student adaptation in the school. The more severe the problem of linguistic competence, the more aberrant the student behaviour. These ranged from the following finding, reported by the majority of teachers: ESL students did not communicate their problems in the classroom because they did not wish to draw undue attention to themselves, preferring to pretend that they understood. An extreme form of student behaviour was also reported: students were "dropping out of school" because they could not cope with language demands across the curriculum. As predicted by the literature, most strategies students adopt invariably work against them because their adaptations do not have resistant or transformative capacities. Teachers' comments in this study suggest a strong link between language competence and resistant behaviour, and suggest further that Black students who are empowered linguistically and socially are better equipped to challenge the hegemony of the school. In most cases, these students attended private schools. This ability to "challenge" may also be enhanced by their awareness as black students of their historical exclusion from access to resources and political power. Ultimately, the findings are in keeping with Ray's theory (1988) that these forms of resistance and rebellion are not revolutionary strategies, but survival strategies which do not threaten the system (although they may activate the beginnings of a change orientation within the school, particularly as the black student numbers grow) - these strategies merely assist in the students' survival within the system.

Ray's argument that socio-economic backgrounds play an important role in influencing student resistance and adaptations held true. However, other factors such as language competence and political awareness come into play in the South African situation. Teacher descriptions of student behaviour at two private schools in this study tied in with his findings: these students spoke English well and could afford to be more rebellious, cushioned as they were by their relative family wealth and their atypical status as the "Black elite" (see 4.2.2). The stakes were much higher for poorer African students from Umkomaas Secondary and other state schools (e.g.

Umgeni Technical College and Gandhi Secondary School) who did not speak English well and who either settled into a "pragmatic acceptance" of what the schools had to offer, or who "dropped out" of schools.

In keeping with the literature, all teachers reported that Zulu-speaking students grouped together in the breaks and spoke only Zulu. Indian students in white schools too, tended to "clump together". This form of "self-segregation" was the most commonly reported mode of student adaptation, and demands a sensitive interpretation. Teachers saw this as an area of common difficulty and concern, a concern which is mirrored in the literature (see Zanger (1995/1996) and Landurand (1995/1996) in 2.1.1.4). Their main concern tied in with the concern voiced by Pillay in his research in Pietermaritzburg (1995, p.103) over the tendency of self-imposed segregation by students to impact negatively on language development in English. Teachers were torn between allowing students to group together or intervening to stop them, because (as expressed in the words of one teacher, they needed a "touchstone" for support). Teachers were afraid that students would resent their interference.

"Self-segregation" survival strategies, while drawing attention to students' separateness and isolation within the school, also paradoxically aided in the students' survival by helping to reduce their sense of powerlessness, for students do, as reported by Zanger, "look to the familiar" for support, especially when their own culture is not validated in the school (1995/1996, p. 40). In many cases teachers reported that students isolated themselves as a result of prejudice and discrimination in the school.

This study focuses mainly on the experiences of African ESL students, due to the fact that challenges facing teachers over ESL students/non-dominant language group students and their teaching emerged as the most overriding category in this study. Teachers did, however make observations suggesting the Indian and Coloured students among the "black" intake, especially in NED schools, were negatively impacted on because of the assimilation policy of the schools, and because teachers had to focus attention more on ESL students than on E1L students in the same classroom. African ESL students in HOD, HOR and NED schools, and African, Indian and Coloured students in NED schools, were non-dominant group students whose families had only

a tenuous connection to the dominant cultural capital. They were at a decided disadvantage and were expected to assimilate. While the literature corroborates strongly the fate of acculturation of non-dominant groupings of students, further investigation into these phenomena, and particularly into the way Indian and Coloured students might have been affected, was not within the focus of the study.

5.1.2.2 Separate worlds/separate realities

The theme of separate worlds and separate realities of the dominant group of teachers and students versus the new non-dominant group students, with non-dominant group students having to "fit in" with the language and culture of the school, was an all-pervasive theme in the data, and was strongly supported by the literature (Carrim, 1992; Gillborn, 1990; Frederikse, 1992; Christie, 1990; Freer, 1992). It did not, however, emerge strongly in the Penny *et al.*, (1992) study. Here it was surprising that only a minority of principals referred to the disjunction between the township environment from which African students came, and the environment of the school. This is possibly due to the reasons forwarded previously in 5.1.1.2. Teachers in this study admitted that misunderstandings arose often because of cultural differences, emphasising, as advocated in the literature, the need for teachers to develop "cultural competence" or interculturalism.

The debilitating effect of stress and pressure on teachers as a result of the changes brought about by desegregation has been discussed earlier in this chapter. However, it is important to emphasise that teachers were not completely disabled by this process - one of the most beneficial and rewarding consequences of desegregation was the opportunity it gave both teachers and their students to bridge the gap between their previously separate worlds. This was in keeping with the literature (see 2.2.4) but emerged as a particularly strong theme in this study. The findings were in keeping with Dumont & Wax's theory (in Harley, 1991, p. 3) that teachers are aware of the very important social nature of their classrooms and schools and of being able to build "cultural bridges" between culturally and linguistically alien groups of students.

The transcripts threw up many examples of how classroom discussion had facilitated the

interchange of ideas, and tolerance among students. This reciprocal process of students challenging one another, learning to interpret each other's behaviour and beginning to understand each other, was mentioned by many teachers, with the teachers in most instances helping to bridge the gap. These processes appeared to be more prevalent in private schools or in classrooms where the African students were more competent in the English language, or were in the minority. Teachers did, however, temper their comments by stating that many African students still did not feel "comfortable" enough to confront other students in the classroom, or to voice their opinions confidently. There was, nevertheless, sufficient evidence that previously divided groups were beginning to forge links and move towards one another and develop attitudes and stances which were more reflective of being South African, rather than seeing themselves as "separate and different" in terms of race.

5.1.3 The Education System/Schools and Change

Despite the fact that educational mixing across cultural, linguistic and racial borders has become the norm internationally and more recently here in South Africa, it is clear from the literature, and reinforced strongly by the findings in this study, that education systems generally struggle to adapt to the changing multicultural multilingual reality of their classrooms, often with varying degrees of success and with considerable variation in the educational policies adopted (Cummins in Genesee, 1994, p.73). The findings of this study demonstrate that the educational authorities within the NED, HOD and HOR and the schools themselves had not committed to the process of desegregation. Schools had not engaged in meaningful strategies (e.g. the rearranging of timetables and classes, the suspending of conventional systems and levels of testing and assessment, the provision of alternative sport facilities or a language support system) to empower the new student intake linguistically and culturally. Many teachers complained that while children were being admitted in the name of progressive change, no real educational goal was being achieved because there was no concerted programme, no formal policy adopted, or even exploratory initiatives undertaken by the educational authorities or the schools to cater specifically for the needs of students, particularly in the area most vitally affected, which was developing linguistic competence. This was the case in seven of the schools.

In accordance with Vice (1991) and Johnstone (1992, p.3) the majority of teachers in this study supported the need for in-service training in ESL, multilingual, multicultural and anti-racist issues, as their training had been in EIL and for relatively homogeneous, monocultural classrooms. With particular regard to anti-racist education, which emerges in the study as a paradigm which can facilitate necessary transformation in education, the need for training programmes for teachers, and for whole school policy on race is clear, if educational transformation is to be achieved. It is clear from the responses given by the teacher from Suikerbossie High that teachers do benefit from relevant in-service courses. His pro-active attitudes to ESL teaching and his methodology were influenced and informed by his attendance at an ESL course, even to the extent that he was sensitive to the use of terminology.

As emphasised by Barkhuizen & Gough (1996, p. 462) any language-in-education policy decisions have to be supported by appropriate INSET/teacher language education. Up to the time this research was published, neither national nor provincial education authorities in KwaZulu Natal had made INSET around teacher language education a priority, and neither did the province have any language-in-education policy. It was clear that the period of transition heralded by the advent of desegregation in 1991 still continued. Barkhuizen & Gough (*Ibid.*, p. 457) confirmed that by 1996, national and provincial language-in-education-policy tended to exist only in the form of proposals, articles in local journals and discussion documents - at the time the research was conducted it was certainly non-existent in KwaZulu-Natal. KwaZulu-Natal has been a less fortunate region in language policy development due to resource constraints and the lack of an educational infrastructure to facilitate this kind of change. Gauteng and Eastern Cape have attempted to redress past language policy imbalances and encourage educational multilingualism by issuing provincial school language policy (SLP) documents. The extent to which the aforementioned were successfully operationalised has not been assessed by the researcher, as it is outside the scope of this study.

Comments by teachers in this study prove, in concordance with the literature, that apart from the lack of INSET, one of the major constraints affecting the implementation of policy is the non-availability of resources - these include human resources, materials development and resource development, funding, school facilities and text books. It is difficult for schools to carry out

LAC or SLP or multilingual language policy recommendations because they do not have teachers qualified in these areas or who are multilingual, and often cannot afford to employ above-quota staff members.

Apart from the teacher from Suikerbossie High, who was attending an ESL course in Durban, none of the teachers appeared to be aware of the issues involved in ESL teaching and particularly the polemic surrounding this area.

In terms of any kind of teacher support to empower teachers and schools to cope with the changes brought about by desegregation (in particular in the areas of ESL teaching, language teaching in general and students' learning difficulties), by 1992 there did not appear to be any coherent, co-ordinated programmes within the HOD, HOR and NED (Carrim, 1992, p.22). Secondly, five years later, by 1997, one of the three policy options presented by the NEPI Report to provide PRESET and INSET "to prepare teachers for institutional reconstruction and curriculum change" (NEPI, 1992, p.72) had not yet been operationalised by the education department in KwaZulu Natal.

Thus, in keeping with the Penny *et al.* findings (1992), this study revealed that during a crucial period of educational transition, teachers were attempting to work for change in an educational ethos which did not support them. The findings revealed the importance (as acknowledged in the literature - see 2.5) of a collaborative working culture and the need to work collectively in schools and within education systems if educational change is to succeed. It is safe to conclude that the educational authorities failed teachers and students during a significant and historical educational watershed. They displayed little or no foresight or long-term vision, leaving teachers to manage the crisis on their own on a day-to-day basis. Teachers perceived the educational authorities as having reneged on their responsibility to their primary constituents - teachers and students - both the principals in the Penny *et al.* study (1992, p.15) and teachers in this study condemned the education department for having "abandoned" them. Although teachers mentioned that one or two education superintendents in the NED were acting on an ad-hoc basis to deal with the crisis by conducting workshops, this was the exception. Teachers found it ironic that strongly bureaucratic and centralised education systems (the NED, HOD and HOR) which

had a tradition of passing on ideas to teachers by means of circulars, directives, workshops etc. and through supervisory management, albeit in an apartheid context, were not able to use this same "diffusion pattern" (Harley, 1991, p.14) of introducing new programmes to initiate strategies for change following desegregation.

There was a conspicuous absence of any prescriptive or pro-scriptive top-down or bottom-up initiatives of the sort advocated in the literature (see 2.2.5) for educational transformation to succeed. In the light of these findings, education departments and schools could be seen as "disempowering and constraining structures" (Gaganakis in Freer, 1992, p.79) responsible for the problems students and teachers faced. It is, however, outside the boundaries of this study to investigate and analyse the recalcitrance and inability of the education departments to manage change.

While the educational contexts in which teachers worked were firmly locked into assimilation approaches to education, it is significant to note the following tension: the teachers in this study did not adopt a parallel "deficit model"/"blame the victim" approach to their students, as is often the case in the literature. This added to the complexity of the data. Most importantly, it is significant that teachers in this study were critical of educational authorities and acknowledged the failing of schools and the education system in general, rather than locating so-called problems of "underachievement" within the ESL groups who were suffering. Thus, while the teachers could not be described as dynamic agents of change in the interregnum period, the following factors held sway in influencing the researcher to view them as what Aranowitz & Giroux (in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, p.21) would term "transformative intellectuals" who have the potential to resist what Apple (*Ibid.*, p.21) refers to as "deskilling" mandates imposed by bureaucratic education systems:

- the courage they displayed in being able to come out of the "culture of dependency" established within the educational system
- their criticism of the assimilation models adopted by schools
- their initiative in experimenting with alternate teaching practices and
- the way in which they allocated blame to the education system and not their students.

This argument is taken further later in this section.

5.1.3.1 Assimilation Policy in schools

One of the very strong areas of commonality between the literature and this research was the tendency of desegregated / "open" schools to lock into a curriculum policy of assimilation in every aspect of the running of the school (and particularly with regard to language policy) despite the fact that they were engaging with students from different racial, cultural, linguistic and class backgrounds. This also emerged prominently in the Penny *et al.* (1992) study.

As in other recent South African research (e.g. Johnstone, 1992, p.3) the teachers in this study were aware that the approach adopted by schools was one of assimilation and provided much evidence in this regard. They were also aware, as outlined by Cross (in Freer, 1992, p.174) that the dominant group students in the school enjoyed the "cultural advantage". Gordon's (1984) observation (see 2.1.1.3) that schools often legitimise only the culture of the dominant group students was borne out by the findings. The assimilation policy adopted by schools was reflective of education in an unequal society and as verified by Swann, in the literature, was ultimately racist.

"Just pupils" - Racelessness

The findings of this research tied in with the literature in that there is a need to reject "colour blind" approaches to education. Gillborn's suggestion (1990, p.199) that schools tend to prefer "colour blind" approaches because they require no changes in pedagogy, structures or funding, applied to the schools in the study. These approaches were exemplified in the findings by the schools' use of the term "*just pupils*" (see 4.3.4) to describe black students. Even the responses of two teachers who said their schools used no terminology at all (supposedly in an attempt not to draw undue attention to these students) could be perceived as aiding in the process to camouflage and "lose" these pupils in the school by marginalising them and their educational needs. Consequently, and in keeping with the assimilation/deficit model approach adopted by schools - the use of this phrase "*just pupils*" fitted in with what Fordham (1988, p.58) and Penny *et al.*, 1992, p.12) call the "ideology of racelessness".

The literature is clear in its recommendation that non-dominant language students need to build

an identity which resists assimilationist forces bent on eradicating any vestiges of cultural and linguistic distinctiveness they may display. By not acknowledging the differences between dominant and non-dominant group students, and by attempting to draw attention away from this and see them as "*just pupils*", schools were coercing their students to become members of the "mainstream culture" of the school at all costs, regardless of whether this meant diminishing and/or denying these students' culture and language. In line with McKeon's research (in Genesee, 1994, p.336) schools tended to send cultural messages about their black students' lack of value to society and were influential in creating a negative self concept. Teachers reported that there was little inclusivity for the students - schools did not acknowledge the "cultural resources" and particularly the language (Zulu) their non-dominant students brought to schools. This resulted in the following consequences: students were either "*alienated*" in schools, "*anxious to fit in*", had no option but to fit into the separate world of the school, or they dropped out. Finally, it is clear that schools mistakenly attached great importance to the "contact hypothesis" (as defined by Troyna & Hatcher, 1992, p. 195) which assumes that racial prejudice and discriminatory practices are dispelled merely by the positive experience of black and white students being together in a school.

There was great emphasis in the literature consulted (see 2.1) on the hidden curriculum/social relations of the classroom in the school, and the role that students' social class, race, gender, language or cultural background have in determining the kind of experience they had in school. While the limitations of the study did not make it possible to investigate the hidden curriculum of the schools involved in detail, this study acknowledges the hidden curriculum as a crucial component in perpetuating inequality in desegregated schooling. The findings in this study corroborate the work of Gillborn (1990) and Meier *et al.* (1989) who provide evidence of the fact that discrimination in education is complex, and is based both on race and class. It would appear from the accounts by interviewees of their own attitudes, and the attitudes of other teachers and of the school in general, that teachers were influenced by the informal aspects of schooling, particularly variables such as race, culture, language competence, socio-economic status and sex. In keeping with the literature (see 2.1.1.3) teachers tended to work towards their description of the "ideal client". This resulted in the sometimes patronising assumptions and stereotyped views they held of African and Indian students, their low expectations of ESL students (with the latter

being relegated to lower academic streams or classes) and the tendency of teachers to wrongly equate students' intelligence with the ability to speak English well. Many teachers did not seem to be aware that the differential treatment of students was discriminatory and ultimately racist, highlighting the urgent need for anti-racist INSET and workshops in this area. As important as further analyses of the aforementioned would be in refining understanding of the complex processes that unfold with desegregation, they were outside the scope of the study.

Subtractive Language Policy within the Assimilationist Model

A study of the transcripts clearly revealed the "deficit model" approach adopted by schools in the area of language teaching. ESL students might not have been fluent in English, but unlike most other students in the school, they spoke two languages. This was no deficit, but was perceived of as such by schools. These "deficit model" approaches to multilingualism in the classroom highlight the need for urgent teacher education in this regard, if transformation in language education is to be achieved. The language-in-education policy in schools, as confirmed by the literature and the findings in the study, still reflected apartheid attitudes to language policy in general. For example, Heugh's argument (1994, p.4) that there is a relationship between segregation/assimilation and the view that language is a problem, and anti-racism/multiculturalism and the view that language is a resource, held true for this study. It was the former relationship that held sway in schools, despite the fact that schools were no longer segregated. Lockett and Nomvete (in Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996, p. 463) recommend that in-service education be used to actively promote multilingualism within the classroom and to empower teachers to cope with students' bilingualism/multilingualism by seeing it as a resource rather than a problem Handscombe (in Genesee, 1994, p.352) highlights the need for school and teachers to building on, rather than minimising, the language diversity of students. This could be achieved only by what de Kadt (1993, p.163) terms a language policy with "emancipatory potential" - the adoption of additive anti-racist multilingual language policy. However, as pointed out by Corson (1993), language policy on its own is not enough - linguistic reform can only be effective if educational and social institutions, mindsets and ideologies change as well. There has to be change in the wider society.

The findings in this study have, in keeping with the literature, demonstrated how assimilationist

subtractive SLP impacts negatively on students and results in the devaluation of the students' own language and culture. Research by McKeon (in Genesee, 1994, p.15) elucidates the need, within the context of desegregation, and especially where a non-dominant language group interacts with a dominant group system, for schools to be aware of the relationship between language, culture and schooling, and to accordingly implement an anti-racist additive multilingual SLP, or else to accept that persistent disproportionate school failure will result. This study provided conclusive proof that most schools featuring in the research were not consciously aware of the above relationship, and neither did they initiate action or policy to prevent the latter end- result. The role of language policy under apartheid education did much to oppress and to entrench inequality. These findings give credence to the emancipatory role the adoption of an anti-racist, multilingual SLP can play in transforming education.

A significant discrepancy between the Penny *et al.* study (1992) and these research findings was that a discussion of the negative impact of a subtractive language policy, adopted as a consequence of the assimilationist model, did not feature in the former.

Concluding comments on how the education departments and schools responded to change

The findings of this research, as acknowledged in the literature by Freer (1992, p.79), confirmed very strongly that the desegregation of schools signals the beginning of what is usually a long process of transformation. Schools had clearly changed rapidly within a short space of time (January 1991 - November 1992). Irrespective of whether these changes ranged from 10 to 15 percent non-dominant group intake to 40 to 85 percent in some schools, the changes were impactful and unprecedented. All information provided by teachers on the ways in which change was unfolding, showed that the schools fell into a conforming/reforming, and not a transforming approach to education. From the information revealed by teachers there appeared not to be a realisation within schools that schools were human constructions and thus open to change.

Culture in schools was clearly not seen as dynamic and evolving, but as something static. This could be seen in the schools' need to preserve traditions and old, comfortable, secure ways of doing things. The decision to open schools should have presupposed a commitment to change,

which should have been supported by the schools' initiative in setting up programmes and policy to support staff and students. In at least nine of the ten schools it appeared that they were simply not ready to be instruments of change beyond the physical admission of students. This proved the Meier *et al.* theory (see Chapter One, p.2) that the desegregation of schools is often not more than the mere mechanical mixing of races in classrooms, and is usually only the initial step in any process of transformation. Schools appeared to be oblivious to the need to formulate anti-racist, multicultural policy and to adopt an additive language model to accommodate the development of a vibrant South African culture and curriculum within the school. This was in line with the Penny *et al.* (1992) finding that students were admitted for pragmatic reasons viz. falling rolls of dominant group students. This highlighted the following tension in the study: students were being admitted, but nothing concrete was being done to transform the school in response to its new multicultural, multilingual diversity. Carrim has explained (see 2.1.2.1) that schools were compelled by law to assimilate students into the "dominant cultural ethos" of the schools. However, while the Acts may at the time, have appeared on a technicality to exonerate schools, the attitudes of schools in this study were generally not in line with Alexander (1983, p.81) who presents a far more cogent and principled option: "We do not have to wait for political or economic changes before we begin to act in the educational arena".

Many of the themes emerging out of this research have focused mainly on the "morbid symptoms" endemic in the interregnum period, of students and teachers most often tending to "sink" rather than "swim", due to the lack of support from educational authorities and the assimilation policy of the school. The results tend to reveal a bleak picture of how dominant groups often use schooling to perpetuate inequality rather than to transform schools and consequently, society. However, teachers also provided much evidence of students succeeding, of the benefits of desegregation, and of their own success in the classroom despite the setbacks described. Moreover, the researcher acknowledges that there is much information that teachers were not able to reveal, due to the obvious limitations in any interview process. In addition, she herself could not investigate the area fully by returning to teachers to question them further, or to question students. From readings in the literature (see 2.1) and from evidence provided by teachers of their own successes and commitment to desegregation despite all the difficulties they experienced, and of students being able to "succeed" in the school system, it is clear that schools

are ongoing sites of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggle for teachers and students. It is important to remember that the effects of assimilation are not always necessarily given easy passage through schools to society. Simultaneously, the disempowering strategies of bureaucratic education departments were not able to quell teachers. One cannot assume that policies e.g. in this case assimilation policy, are always put into practice as intended, or that the inability to adopt, or set up support-systems or policy on the part of education departments would necessarily result in demotivated and deskilled teachers. This is because in schools, as in society, assimilation/ repression and containment versus change and transformation interpenetrate each other in complex, uneven and contradictory ways (Sarup, 1986, p.55). As in other arenas (political, legal etc.) the school is also a site of struggle. The reproduction of hegemony is never stable or guaranteed, it is constantly being re-shaped and undermined. This is because wherever there is power, there is resistance.

5.1.4 Terminology

Terminology emerged as a minor yet consistent theme in this research. It compelled attention throughout, as decisions and realisations over usage became unavoidable and surfaced throughout the different stages of the research process: in formulating the title of this dissertation, in planning the interview schedule, in conducting the interviews, in going through the literature, in analysing the findings, and while writing up the research. The use of terminology coincided with the view given in the literature as both sensitive and controversial, and as an area that is frequently changing and disputed. For example, the literature reveals that even the term most commonly used in this research - ESL - is not considered ideal. The three patterns of terminology usage the researcher encountered when analysing the data viz. positive, negative and neutral terminology, were echoed in the literature. There was the increasingly varied and idiosyncratic usage of neutral terminology e.g. "pupils moving over from other departments" (Johnstone, 1992, p.2). There was also evidence of what is considered negative usage by other researchers (see 2.3.2.1) such as LEP (*Ibid.* p.2 and Pillay, 1995). The researcher is aware that her own usage of terminology has not always been consistent, and is open to criticism. The nature of terminology implies that it is difficult to be exempt from breaches in this area.

Terminology used often has the ability to reveal the taken-for granted assumptions, mindsets, biases and often the ignorance of the user. For example, non-usage and lack of awareness of current terminology in the field of race, language and education by teachers in this study tied in with the fact that they lacked a knowledge base in this area, and that there was no educational focus geared to change in their schools. The research acknowledges the danger that exists of teachers and schools bandying about certain terms as part of the educational rhetoric currently in vogue, and of paying lip-service to these terms, without their true application in the school situation. However, what emerges very strongly from the research and the findings is that the transformation of education demands that offensive deficit model/racist terminology be avoided, and that teachers and schools need to consider usage which is relevant, informed, appropriate, clear and inoffensive. Most importantly, terminology should not impact negatively on non-dominant group students. Even terms such as "just pupils", which many schools defend as being neutral, should be reconsidered.

The usefulness of this particular reading of the data was multifold. It led the researcher into the very interesting exercise of examining vocabulary as a function of the assumptions and purposes of the users. It also led the researcher to realise the danger of imputing meanings that people did not intend, and to a reinforcement of her belief in the notion that the ways in which human beings interact and communicate is characterised by complexity. In addition, it made her more aware of the fact that an important part of analysing data involved developing a sensitivity to language and learning how people use language. Although the words that people use can lend insight into the meanings they attached to things, in the final analysis the researcher acknowledged that it would be naive to assume that the complexities and intricacies of teachers' experiences in desegregated classrooms could be revealed by a study of vocabulary/terminology alone. The decision to report on terminology in this Chapter arose out of the researcher's awareness of the significance of terminology and the complexity of language usage in any research process. For example, it was important to acknowledge the different levels at which words could work, and the uniquely South African layering behind many words e.g. majority/minority group of students. To illustrate, the majority group of students in a school (e.g. White students at Umzimkulu Girls' School were the dominant group in the school, but a minority population grouping in the country). Irrespective of whether African students were in the majority in certain classes (e.g.

at schools like Umkomaas Secondary, Dorpspruit High School and Umgeni Technical College) or in the minority (e.g. Umzindusi Girls', Umzimkulu High) they were still non-dominant groups within their respective schools, yet part of the majority population group outside the school. This added to the complexity of the data. Insights into terminology usage discussed here emanated from her analysis of the patterns that emerged from the data, illustrating one of the guiding principles of qualitative research methodology (as discussed in Chapter Three) namely that qualitative research is inductive.

5.2 RESEARCH REFLECTIONS: THE JOYS AND CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED IN THE STUDY

5.2.1 Introduction

When she first entered the field of qualitative research, the researcher was intimidated by the fact that she had to be her own methodologist (Mills in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.8). How much easier it would have been to embark on research that was carefully planned in advance, with all methods and procedures being predetermined. Many "antiseptic" research reports she had read had idealised the processes involved in social and educational research, creating an impression of confident, well-organised progress throughout the lengthy period of research. Helpfully, other readings by Walford (1991), Bogdan & Biklen (1992) and Burgess, (1985) helped to debunk the latter myth. The reality of being immersed in the research process was that it developed with the process. It was important to remind herself that working in the qualitative paradigm implied that there were guidelines to be followed but never rules, that the methods always had to serve the researcher - never should the researcher be a slave to procedure and technique (Dalton in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.8). This led her to view the research process as one that ultimately conferred empowerment but also one which carried the often debilitating responsibility of carefully weighing alternatives, giving serious consideration to decisions, and being prepared for and attempting to deal with unexpected problems along the way.

It was an enormous relief for the researcher to discover that the reality of conducting educational research was very different to the previously mentioned idealised accounts of research she had

read, that the research process, as confirmed by Walford (1991, pp.1-2) very often centred around guesswork, the lucky turn of events, embarrassments, short-cuts, hunches, coincidences, serendipitous occurrences and compromises. All of these featured in her research, with the most significant compromise being the protractedly long period over which the research was eventually written up - this is discussed under 5.2.4. Some short-cuts were literally so: for example, it was more convenient to choose private schools in town than to visit those that were out of town. Even awkward moments afforded insight. At one school a management official who made it very clear that she had gone out of her way to set up the interview, wanted to sit in on the interview herself and felt slighted, not only because the researcher could not allow her to, but because she herself (the management official) had expected to be interviewed. The misunderstanding was cleared, but not surprisingly, one of the issues arising out of the interview which followed, illustrated the "us and them" situation and the conflict which existed between management and staff in the school (as mentioned in Chapter 4).

5.2.2 The Joys of Interviewing

The researcher's reflection on the methodology of her study would not be complete without mention of the pleasure derived from interviewing teachers of ELL. The researcher felt excited as she experienced a very real sense of establishing rapport with nine of the teachers. This rapport was evidenced in the extreme ease with which teachers spoke, their spontaneity and expressiveness, the humour and shared laughter which characterised the interviews, and the anecdotes which popped up throughout to illustrate or illuminate important themes. Far from inhibiting the research process, tape-recording had facilitated it, for the researcher, not having to take notes furiously, was free to concentrate totally on the teachers, noting facial expression and responding as one would in a natural, informal conversation between two trusting parties. From day one of the interviews, the researcher's fieldnotes proclaimed: *"English teachers are so articulate - a richness of language - an ability to communicate"*. These impressions were sustained with various levels of enthusiasm for and from different teachers through nine of the ten teachers interviewed. The tenth teacher is discussed in 5.2.3.

Language pervades all stages of a project, providing the research with a framework for

expressing original ideas and a tool for analysing other persons' opinions (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.14). The flair and consummate ease with which ELL teachers used the language not only enhanced the researcher's understanding of their positions as teachers in desegregated classrooms, but provided what can only be termed "attractive" data (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p.15), a source of rich descriptions.

Although the researcher did not directly ask the teachers interviewed for specific anecdotes and examples to illustrate their opinions and perceptions (and this could be seen as a weakness in the interview design, because as Measor and Woods (in Walford, 1991, p.72) confirm, getting interviewees to "talk through an actual experience" is an important area of qualitative research) **anecdotes** were refreshing highlights in each interview. Measor and Woods argue that while it is often very difficult for people to discuss their ideas, perceptions or perspectives, the recounting of an anecdote often facilitates the aforementioned - this was evidenced in this study. The anecdotes also illustrated and illuminated important themes in the findings. The anecdotes contributed towards giving the transcripts a quality of "undeniability", a characteristic found in all data from qualitative studies (Smith in Miles & Huberman, 1984, p.15).

Even though most teachers were "selected" by principals and heads of department it did not appear that any of them resented giving up their time. They did not seem to have been coerced into co-operating. In the context of the school, with the activities and noises of the school intruding at every turn, it was possible that teachers were more at ease and forthcoming because they were in their own environment. The selection process also made the researcher aware of the fact that the principals could have chosen teachers whom they thought would best represent the school. All the teachers chosen highlighted similar themes, and this helped validate the research because the eventual sample of ten teachers was decided on in a process in which the researcher did not, apart from giving guidelines to heads of department and principals, have any say, although she was ultimately satisfied with it (as previously discussed in Chapter 3). However she was aware that the teachers eventually chosen could have turned out very differently if other selection processes had occurred e.g. if she had chosen the teachers herself, with the data itself being very different. One teacher's comment brought this home to her, "*but you will hear different stories from different members of staff*". This point is taken further in

Chapter Six.

Very simply, teachers enjoyed talking, especially about themselves. Although the data provided painted a picture of teachers being abandoned and not supported in the throes of change, they were not self-effacing by any means. In all but one of the interviews, there was a very strong sense that they wanted to unburden themselves. There seemed to be no awkwardness or hesitancy in the interview situation, in "pouring forth" their experiences in, and opinions of, the desegregated classroom. Cochrane-Smith & Lytle's theory (1993, p.21) that teachers are not given enough opportunities to speak with authority about instructional and curricular issues was borne out, for teachers seized with enthusiasm the apparently unusual opportunity to talk about issues central to their lives as teachers. The teachers' eloquence and enthusiasm confirmed the researcher's expectations (as in her pre-field work "gut feeling" and also confirmed by the issues raised in the pilot interview) that the "right" areas i.e. areas within which one could glean valuable information and insights about desegregated classrooms were being probed (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.127).

5.2.3 Conclusions drawn from the atypical interview

The challenges presented by the tenth teacher interviewed have been discussed in Chapter 4 (Discounting Data). The researcher had gone into this interview situation, as she had with all previous interviews, with the awareness and sensitivity that anyone who agrees to be interviewed takes risks, and may for example expose her/his ignorance, prejudice, apathy or intolerance (Powney & Watts, 1987, p.9). Thus she/he may find the interview threatening in a personal sense (Scott in Burgess, 1985, p.122). Possibly this was a reason for the teacher appearing to be overly confident or brash so as not to give underlying feelings of insecurity away. This would also explain why he appeared to be overly concerned with presenting a picture that all was well, and why he needed to impose what the researcher construed as a definite male/female power relationship over the interview process (*Ibid.*, p.122). This particular interview made the researcher very aware of the politics of the interview, and the ways in which one's status could affect another - this certainly influenced the kinds of things that were said. His responses in general could not help but make the researcher wonder whether she was being patronised both

as an interviewer, and as a woman.

Her introductory chat with the teacher and with his head of department later, and the very subtle arrogance and "passive aggression" which characterised these meetings, made her wonder whether the head of department and the teacher (both male and known to the interviewer) were in unwitting or deliberate collusion in revealing only the layers of truth appropriate to one who was female, a Masters research student, and also one who was no longer in the school situation but perceived as being in a relatively elite institution (college versus school). These factors no doubt militated against her ability to penetrate the interviewee's "defences against the outsider" (Argyris in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.36).

The researcher discussed her gut impressions of the interview, the transcript and her field notes with both a fellow researcher and her supervisor, who supported her interpretation of the interview. Her field notes on the day of the interview reveal "did not establish an immediate rapport with him as I did others". When the researcher listened to the tape again, she appeared to have ample evidence that she was friendly and normal in her voice tones, and hopefully in other aspects of paralanguage as well. However real rapport, which at most times is a tenuous and fragile thing, was not established with this particular teacher, and she was not able to break through the "fronts" the teacher imposed (Goffman in Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.36).

The researcher has tried to come up with explanations for the fact that so much information from this interview merited discarding. She has accepted that people are infinitely varied in their abilities and willingness to talk and to provide accurate information. Also, to a large extent, her not going back to the teacher to say: "This is what others have said. Why is what you're saying so different?" could be perceived as an inherent research failing. Nevertheless this interview was very valuable as a reflection on conducting research. It showed that a blemish-free research process is unattainable and opened her to the realization that this would be only one of many shortcomings in the research process.

5.2.4 Major challenges in the research process

- The Loneliness of the Researcher

Penny *et al.* (1992, pp.7 & 8) aver that one of the outstanding benefits of conducting group collective research was the fact that the project was corporatively owned, that members supported one another and shared personal and professional resources, also enabling those members who had less experience of that kind of research to feel empowered. Certainly this researcher felt that embarking on a collective research project as a first-time researcher would have been an easier initiation into the exacting challenges of conducting research. There is no doubt that the most debilitating factor hindering the researcher's progress, especially in the early stages of writing up this dissertation, was the confusion, loneliness and insecurity of the individual novice researcher.

These feelings were sometimes temporarily held in abeyance following brief periods of respite when creative juices flowed, when there was a sense of satisfaction and achievement as minor landmarks in the research process were realised (e.g. selecting a study group, or completing the interview schedule). However the feelings soon returned with their original intensity when the researcher "ran dry", when thought processes and particularly writing processes were held back by an almost phlegmatic state of mind, when it seemed impossible to structure one's thoughts in a pellucid manner. Measor & Woods (in Walford, 1991, p.68) speak of "researcher ailments" such as the periodic concern over where the research is going, and the exhaustion and worry that accompany the draining process of writing. This research "roller coaster" of highs and lows, breakthroughs and blockages, characterised the research process, with the researcher alternately feeling positive and in control, and then overwhelmed as she was confronted by the next stage. What also characterised the research process was the feeling that the worst was behind and that the situation would improve, that writing and decision-making would become easier. This was not to be. She soon discovered that the "real work" in fact, almost always seemed to lie ahead.

However, these experiences were not entirely deleterious as they facilitated other important realisations about conducting research. Firstly, she had to accept that while one could have preferences, (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.61), one could not afford to be too single minded in making one's choices. It took her time to get used to the notion that there were no "right" answers to the questions that dogged her about decisions she was making. Sometimes she relied

on her own sense of feeling "right" about certain decisions, and on realising the importance of letting pragmatism and common sense guide her in others. It was important to accept that there were many areas she could not "control", and that the necessity for compromise was vital if the research process was to move forward. The researcher had to learn to eschew any kind of inflated notion of the importance of her research, while not ignoring the fact that it had to motivate her as a meaningful and relevant exercise. She also realised that conducting individual research is an intensely personal experience (*Ibid.*, p.61) demanding full and total involvement, with the researcher's individual interests, attitudes, values and biases eventually influencing much of the research process. Responsibility for decisions rested ultimately with the researcher herself.

- The protracted writing up period

It is perhaps significant and synchronicous that the protracted writing-up period coincided with the continuation of the interregnum which had been heralded in by the legislation of 1990. Certainly, it would have been unrealistic to expect education systems and schools, that had been programmed under apartheid education to systematically generate, maintain and reproduce inequality, to be able to show evidence of transformation overnight. During the transition period, the schools in this study tended to mirror the inequalities of apartheid education, and could probably be expected to continue to do so for some time. The researcher became aware, as pointed out by de Haas (1992, p.10), of the length of time required to shift a whole system. The interregnum period has been characterised by the very slow rate at which educational and curricular change unfold, particularly in KwaZulu Natal.

As a result, and despite the delay in the completion of this project, the study is still of practical application and benefit, with the strong possibility of other researchers coming up with similar findings (viz. ESL problems, assimilation policy) were a similar research exercise to be conducted in 1998.

The researcher does not recommend a protracted writing-up period as happened in this research, due to obvious reasons such as the disempowering and debilitating impact, on the individual, personally and professionally, of a long-drawn out study process. One benefit of this, however, was that the continual re-engagement with the data over a long period of time in some ways

allowed for a better qualitative process to take place, and for more readings to be consulted. The researcher became very aware of the advantages of being involved in the qualitative mode of doing research, and of the validity and usefulness of the research process. Over a long period of time she was able to consider different frameworks and templates through which to view the research findings and to integrate the work more fully.

5.3 THE WAY AHEAD - IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The findings in this study have been largely in keeping with the literature, in the sense that the extreme complexity of the wide range of educational processes that unfold with desegregation has been highlighted. The multifarious perceptions of the teachers in this study, and through them of their students, vividly illustrate the importance of continued debate, research and exploration into desegregated schools. It was outside the scope of this study to investigate and analyse closely all the salient issues which surfaced in the findings. The following, in the opinion of the researcher, remain largely unexplored, and present viable research possibilities for further in-depth studies:

- The researcher's engagement with teachers and their concerns brought home to her the need for more research on teachers, especially action-based teacher research, particularly by practising teachers. This should ideally involve research of a developmental nature e.g. the development and evaluation of teaching resources, materials and strategies for the desegregated classroom, and especially ways of implementing pedagogical strategies suitable and effective for both E1L and ESL students in the same class. Teachers would benefit from pursuing the creation of relevant local workbooks as well as materials development in this area. There is also a need to explore strategies to promote cross-cultural interaction and meaningful friendship for students across linguistic, cultural, social and class lines. There is a strong need for SBDC, based on the view (popularised by Stenhouse (1975)) that teacher professionalism should be driven by research-based teaching, and that teachers need to be "curriculum developers" and "curriculum researchers" rather than mere "curriculum receivers" (Harley, 1991, p.1).

- There is a continuing need for research to examine how reforms and changes in legislation impact on and are put into practice in schools, and to highlight features which work against equality of opportunity for all students. It is also necessary for research to acknowledge the complex processes at work within schools.
- The area of student adaptation and the extent to which non-dominant group students stand in resistance to the hegemonic terrain of the school merits further investigation. Some work has been done in private schools (Christie, Gaganakis) prior to 1992, but not much in state schools following the 1991 announcement. Studies could explore the effects and extent of acculturation of non-dominant group students. Apart from the more obvious and unsavoury effects of assimilation policy, many comments by teachers hinted at western and Christian hegemonic practices, even in state schools that were not church-linked.
- While this study has used **reproduction theories** to illuminate what schools are about, research into student adaptation in schools and resistant and non-resistant behaviour based upon **resistance theories** is strongly recommended. This could also help to facilitate an understanding of cultural reproduction (Apple, 1982) and cultural production (Gordon, 1984) in the school. Researchers could look at subordinate/non-dominant student groups and the role they play in reconstructing the conditions under which they learn (see Aranowitz & Giroux, 1985). The links and differences between reproduction and transformation-oriented resistance (Sultana, 1989, p.288) could also be explored.
- An area offering much research potential is the role of language competence in the dominant language in enabling students to resist the assimilation policies of the school. This study has provided some evidence suggesting that high language competency in English, and especially the public use of fluent English by ESL students, ensures the immediate visibility of these students as a high-status group - "the black elite". This is because English has been commonly perceived as the preferred language of learning and of the upwardly mobile.

- Apartheid education has bequeathed an appalling legacy that has to be addressed on all fronts. There is clearly a need for the learning difficulties of African ESL students to be studied so that teachers themselves can begin to develop clear strategies for dealing with this aspect of the legacy of Bantu education.
- Troyna & Hatcher's (1992) investigation into racism revealed that it is a significant feature of non-dominant groups of children in predominantly White primary schools in England. Researchers need to explore just how prevalent, complex and entrenched racism is among teachers and students in schools in South Africa.
- There is a need for research on the formulation of whole school anti-racist policy for schools, including advice on how to identify and deal with racial incidents. Much research energy needs to be expended on the development of anti-racist multicultural curricula, on the development of education policy in these areas, and particularly on additive multilingual SLP.
- Johnstone (1992, p.8) and Pillay (1995, p.102) have explored the notion that the size of the non-dominant/ESL group in a mainstream EIL class can have a significant effect on the learning growth of EIL and ESL students. Comments by teachers in the present study appeared to support this, suggesting the need for further investigation into Johnstone's theory that learning occurred more rapidly when ESL students comprised less than thirty percent of the class, with learning diminishing quite markedly once the increase was above forty percent.
- The Umkomaas Secondary interview was permeated with evidence of discriminatory sexist practices within the school - this extended even to the way class units were allocated to teachers by usually male Heads of Department. The teacher interviewed perceived herself as a victim because she was female. She felt she had been forced to teach ESL classes (because they involved "more work" - this was not, however, publically acknowledged) by her male Head of Department. The authenticity of this interview directed the researcher's attention to gender inequities which have received scant attention

(despite or perhaps precisely because of) the fact that the vast majority of teachers are women. Future policy/research cannot afford to ignore the position of women teachers/students and their particular concerns in the context of desegregation. The challenging of sexist attitudes and practices in South African schools is particularly complex, as gender relations are part of an interlocking system of domination which includes sex, race, culture and class. The links between sexist and racist practices in schools, and between anti-sexism and anti-racism could also be explored.

- All teachers in this survey supported the need for INSET training, as they had been trained for relatively homogeneous, monocultural classrooms. The teachers' lack of a theoretical knowledge base on language-in-education/anti-racist multicultural issues brought through very clearly the need for research on INSET programmes as teacher support. These programmes need to achieve a balance between practical, competency-based training and theory-led teacher education, or teachers might continue to operate as "restricted professionals" and adapt a "practitioner view" of teaching (Penny, 1991, p.8).

This chapter has attempted to highlight the most significant findings from the research, and to represent teachers views faithfully. Discrepancies and consistencies with the literature consulted have also been discussed. The researcher is aware that other interpretations of the data are possible. She has however, at all times, been aware of the small sample of ten teachers she worked with, and that this study can not give a complete picture of the ways in which schools in Pietermaritzburg were affected by desegregation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a short summary of the major findings and a few concluding remarks. Following on the Penny *et al.* research (1992) this study offers an alternative framework, this time from the perspective of **teachers** rather than principals, for understanding the nature of the concerns and challenges prevalent as a result of the desegregation of schools in Pietermaritzburg. The findings confirmed the assumptions built into the interview schedule that **change** was the overriding feature of the newly desegregated classrooms. While these changes were generally overwhelming and stressful for the teachers interviewed, they remained committed to the desegregation process and to the ideals of a non-racial education system.

The most powerful themes to emerge from the data deviated from previous research which had tended to focus mainly on negative outcomes for students, following desegregation. The findings in this study interwove very strongly the fates of both **teachers** and the **new student arrivals** in desegregated schools, demonstrating clearly that both had non-existent or haphazard support for their respective needs, and that both faced formidable challenges. In general the data revealed that the education departments (the then NED, HOD, and HOR) had not taken the lead in formulating policy or planning support systems to officially initiate the changes necessary for successful integration. What was clear from the transcripts was that schools and education departments had not been ready for the change, had not actively prepared for the change, and were not doing much to facilitate the change in pro-active ways.

Within the schools themselves there was the general lack of a **whole-school anti-racist multicultural policy**, certainly no **language policy** or in fact, **whole-school policy** of any kind to promote change. More specifically, **the needs of teachers**, which revolved largely around the support and advice needed to teach **ESL students** in **EIL classes**, which were also now multilingual and multicultural classes, were being ignored. As a result of the lack of educational leadership and vision from educational management within schools and the education system as a whole, individual teachers were thrown back on their own resources to cope as best as they could. Similarly **students** were unwitting guinea-pigs in this situation, the victims of a lack of

organised provision and support for their special language needs and of the assimilation policy of the school. The findings confirm that change is an on-going process and that during the interregnum period the "morbid symptoms" of assimilation, racism, ethnocentrism, and particularly of blinkered apartheid educational vision, were still firmly entrenched.

A tension that emerged in the findings showed that while all the teachers interviewed espoused and supported the need for transformation to a non-racial education system, their schools were impelled towards containment rather than change. A few schools showed evidence of the beginnings of a change orientation, but their embeddedness in an exceptionally stressful situation of change within highly structured and bureaucratic education departments which still adhered to "traditional" apartheid education values, ensured that school systems were impelled towards containment rather than the facilitation of change.

It would appear that the findings in this research are consistent with the literature, in the sense that as societies change rapidly and become more multilingual and multicultural, teachers struggle to meet the increasingly diverse needs of their students. There was an extremely high degree of unanimity between the concerns and challenges facing teachers in desegregated classrooms internationally, nationally and the teachers interviewed in this study in Pietermaritzburg. It is clear from the findings that schools need to acknowledge and understand the complexity and the vast range of challenges that unfold with desegregation, and to counter these with educational policy which facilitates transformation - in this respect, the need to shift to anti-racist multicultural paradigms incorporating multilingual/additive SLP emerged clearly.

The above conclusions, drawn from both the literature and these findings, are validated by the researcher's use of the original three-fold intention of the research as a template. The three most important patterns to emerge from the data were as follows:

- i) Teachers felt they were not coping, particularly in the area of ESL teaching - this emerged as the most debilitating source of stress in the teacher/change nexus during the two years following the 1990 legislation.
- ii) They perceived that neither they nor their schools were equipped for the change.
- iii) Their primary concerns were over their students, particularly the non-dominant group

students. Teachers felt a personal responsibility towards their students and a strong sense of failure at not being able to fulfill their needs.

Accordingly, an overwhelming concern for nine teachers interviewed was that they were not giving their ESL students adequate support, mainly because their training had been for monocultural monolingual classes. Changing their methodology to teach ESL students in EIL classes was the greatest challenge to have confronted them in their careers. The need to move away from traditional EIL teaching styles, content and methodology to adapt to the new student intake represented one of the most anxiety-ridden aspects of change in the desegregated classroom. It was also clear that there were no easy solutions to providing for both ESL and EIL students in the desegregated classroom. Information provided by teachers also revealed the absence of a knowledge base of ESL issues. They were not familiar with recent progressive trends, strategies, theory and pedagogy in the area of ESL teaching in particular, and in the multilingual multicultural classroom in general.

Reading through the literature made the researcher conclude the following with regard to desegregation:

The size and complexity of the task facing teachers, students, parents and schools in the area of ESL teaching is a factor which cannot be ignored. It is clear from the literature that there is little that is simple or "clear-cut" in this area. Teachers and schools in this study underestimated the skills needed, the demands inherent, and the resources that were necessary. The educational authorities appeared to ignore the fact that desegregation had important implications and ramifications for language-in-education policy, and for language teaching in schools.

The vital role of INSET/teacher education programmes (see Chapter 2) to alleviate these problems needs to be acknowledged and acted upon.

Educating second language students calls for the concerted involvement of all teachers and education management and for the utilisation of all appropriate and available educational materials, technologies and approaches. It is clear from the literature that deciding on pedagogical strategies and solutions, and finding the answers to the aforementioned, will continue

to be a professional challenge for schools, teachers, educational authorities and professional organisations for a long period to come - it needs to be a collaborative, evolving process. The debilitating effects of isolation on teachers in this study demonstrates the need for teachers to network locally, regionally and nationally, to practise curriculum development, to present and critique successful models and policy, and to disseminate information around transformation.

This study conforms with the literature in providing evidence that teachers are the "mediators of contradictory expectations". During the interregnum period and until the transformation process is more successfully under way, it is clear that teachers simultaneously have to confront opposing sets of challenges: the first is derived from the apartheid past and therefore from historically determined educational patterns of fragmentation, inequality and inefficiency; the second is derived from the present and the future and involves the need to transform schools by incorporating key elements of anti-racist, multicultural policy which will include an additive/multilingual SLP.

The researcher has mentioned that she had to abandon the idea of structuring an anti-racist multicultural workshop for teachers as part of her research project. It is clear from teachers' comments on the lack of preparation in schools around anti-racist, multicultural issues and the fact that they have to continually confront their attitudes to the variety of linguistic, racial, cultural and class backgrounds represented in their classrooms, that the need for INSET and particularly **workshops** on anti-racist, multicultural, anti-sexist policy, practice, methodology and strategies still exists. As individuals, teachers have a very important role to play in adopting anti-racist approaches, and need to be empowered in this area. The complex interface of race, language, culture, gender and class that teachers confront daily is an unavoidable feature not only of the interregnum period, but beyond, and is likely to continue to be challenging and conflict-ridden. Teachers need to be prepared for this.

This study concludes that the mechanical mixing of races, often to service pragmatic reasons and to satisfy legislation is not enough - to ensure equal educational opportunity, and for students to realise their full potential, teachers have to be supported, schools need to actively engage in anti-racist multicultural and additive multilingual language policy. Finally the education system has

to be committed to change. The various facets of inequality that surfaced in the findings for both teachers and students resulted as a consequence of the failure of the education system to meet its most fundamental challenge to the prevailing apartheid mindset and assimilationist assumptions. It is only with systemic change in progress and teacher support/INSET, that teachers can help students toward empowerment and not simply be crisis managers, as teachers in this study were, but transformers of schools as well.

The findings in this study depict a particular landscape from the perspectives of only 10 EIL teachers of what the picture is like in their desegregated classrooms and schools. It is possible that the picture is quite different in different schools. The researcher is aware that the perceptions, experiences, concerns and challenges of the teachers in this study are not fully representative of all teachers during the interregnum period. However, the following factors all highlight the need for more research on teachers:

- The degree of homogeneity which exists in the findings.
- The strong parallels with the literature consulted.
- The fact that the researcher was convinced that the area being researched was important to teachers both personally and professionally. The researcher is of the opinion that her own experiences as a teacher of EIL in a secondary school (as discussed in 3.1.5) enhanced her ability to empathise and identify with the teachers interviewed, and thus contributed to the generation of additional and valuable insight into her investigation of how they perceived and were affected by the desegregation process.
- The emphasis in the literature (Ngubane and Thembela in de Haas, 1992, p.8 and Mkwanazi & Cross, 1992, p.55) that teachers are potential and primary agents of change and are influential figures in the educational arena. It is clear that researchers cannot ignore the teacher's role as theoriser, interpreter, critic, commentator and key players in the context of educational change. There is a need for a broader focus within educational research on teachers' lives and work, and obviously a need to work with broader bands of teachers.

The issues confronting teachers and students in schools in 1997 at the time of the submission of this thesis are probably very similar to the pressing issues described by teachers in this study

conducted at the end of 1992. In many ways there have been no stark changes in outcomes for students and teachers. It is fairly safe to assume that prejudice, racist attitudes, deficit/assimilationist approaches to education, attitudes to language as a "problem", and resistance to multilingualism, will remain the concern of teachers and of education in general in South Africa for a long time to come. The question of prioritising and resolving these will continue to present challenges to teachers and schools. The interregnum status of South African education is still very much a factor. It is necessary to acknowledge Hartshorne (1992, p.331) in this regard . "There is a sense in which transition is a permanent condition and the change process a continuing factor in the life of society, certainly in the field of education".

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Teguiene Kollege

APPENDIX A
Northdale

Technical Colle

TELEFOON: (0331) 71251/3/4
POSADRES:
PRIVATESAK X503
LAXMI
PIETERMARITZBURG
3207



TELEPHONE: (0331) 7125 1/3/
POSTAL ADDRESS:
PRIVATE BAG X503
LAXMI
PIETERMARITZBURG
3207

Alle navrae moet aan die Prinsipaal gerig word

Ref. No..... Verw. No.....

All communications to be addressed to the Princ
2 November 1992

*The Executive Director
Natal Education Department
Pietermaritz Street
PIETERMARITZBURG
3201*

Sir

M. ED RESEARCH

I am presently a part-time M. ED student in Curriculum Development at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg.

I would be extremely grateful if permission is granted to interview a maximum number of 5 NED teachers (1 teacher per school - a maximum of 1½ hours interview time per teacher) in the Pietermaritzburg area.

The proposed research will focus on how English First Language Teachers at secondary schools in the Pietermaritzburg area perceive and respond to the challenges which open-school policy has brought into their classroom, and the ways in which the actual teaching of English has been affected.

It is a follow-up study to that undertaken by Professor Penny (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) earlier this year.

Yours faithfully

S. Chundra

SHAMEME CHUNDRA
HEAD OF DIVISION (ACTING)
DIVISION OF CULTURAL ENRICHMENT

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION A

Introductory comments about the Project:

Legislation passed in late 1990 - a "fundamental U-turn in educational & political policy"
We're in a period of **transition**.

Schools, even private schools, now find themselves in a process of **change** which is directly influenced by political development in the country.

Perhaps you're aware of Prof. Penny's study - "*Just sort of fumbling in the dark*" *The Advent of Racial Integration in Schools in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa*. Principals were interviewed - the purpose was to provide a snapshot of how schools in the Pietermaritzburg area were dealing with the practicalities and implications of opening up their enrolment to children from different race groups.

I'm interested in researching teachers. This is a preliminary study - looking at teachers and their perceptions of change; how change has affected them, and how they're responding to change. Interested particularly in teachers' concerns and the kinds of challenges facing them, and to see how they're coping.

PLEASE fill in the Questionnaire - PERSONAL PROFILE

Teachers were told that the interview would follow the following format:

- Let's begin by talking about your **students** (I'd like you to describe the classes you're presently teaching)
2. Let's talk about **you**
3. Let's talk about the **subject** you're teaching
4. Let's talk about the **school community** in general.

SECTION B**The Interview Schedule**

Introductory remarks about the research - see previous page

Areas of Inquiry :

1. STUDENTS

1.1 List the classes you teach for English and describe the range of classroom contexts.

Probe: Literally, how have your classrooms changed ?

1.2 What terminology is used within the school for these classes?

(e.g. multilingual, multicultural, mixed, ESL etc.)

1.3 What are some of the main challenges and problems your students face?

1.4 Are they benefitting ? Elaborate.

2. TEACHER CONCERNS

2.1 What are some of your concerns in the present situation?

2.2 What kinds of challenges and problems do you face, and how do these affect you?

2.3 Can you elaborate on any coping strategies you have developed?

2.4 Have you benefitted from teaching in an integrated setting?

3. TEACHING ENGLISH

3.1 How do you see English developing as a subject?

- Is there a need for change?
- What needs to be preserved and protected?
- What should be rejected?
- Ethnocentrism, sexism, elitism, racism?

3.2 Do you find the present English syllabus appropriate?

- What are its strengths?
- What are its weaknesses?

- Probe: Please elaborate on any deviations from the syllabus.

3.3 Have there been any changes or modifications of your teaching practice in the following areas:

- Lesson preparation
- Presentation /methods
- Materials/content/selection
- Evaluation

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 What are your perceptions of the attitudes of other important players in the school community?

Comment on: other staff members; management; subject advisers/ed. departments, parents.

4.2 How do you view teaching as a career? How important is teaching to you?
Any concluding comments?

THANK YOU!

N.B. Please see 3.2.2.3 for notes on how the interview schedule was mediated with teachers.

APPENDIX C

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

The following information will assist in the analysis of your replies :

(All information offered will be treated as confidential)

1. Name (Optional)

2. School

3. Sex (Please tick) M F

4. Qualifications

5. How long have you been at this school ?

6. What subjects and standards are you teaching at present ?
.....
.....

7. What subjects are you qualified to teach ?
.....
.....
.....

8. How many periods do you teach per week ?

9. How many free periods do you have per week ?

 Total number of periods per week

10. Age (Please tick)

Under 25 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-59 60 + yrs

11. Teaching Experience (in completed years)

.....

12. Rank (Teacher, Head of Dept etc.)

.....

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE - PRINCIPALS/MANAGEMENT

1. How long has your school been 'open' ?
2. Briefly describe the range of classroom contexts within the school.
.....
.....
.....
3. What are your enrolment statistics (breakdown in terms of race)?
.....
.....
.....
4. What is the school's policy with regard to pupil recruitment (procedure followed for selection/admission policy)?
.....
.....
.....
5. What is the school's policy with regard to staff recruitment (do you foresee any changes)?
.....
.....
.....
6. Staff development: Please supply details of the school's staff support programme for 1992/93.
(Workshops/courses: internal & external)
.....
.....
.....

7. Curriculum Development - what is the school's policy ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW WITH SIMONE LORENTZ - UMSINDUZI GIRLS' HIGH

Interview Transcript

R - Researcher

S - Simone

Researcher's
Comments (As
initial and ongoing
steps in data
analysis)

R: Simone, could you talk to me about how you feel your classes have changed over the last two years?

S: *The current class I have has eleven Black kids and twenty White kids. What has happened in that class is what we feared at the beginning when Blacks were first admitted to the school, and that is that English second language speakers, due to the paucity of their language, have ended up in a very weak English class, often with problems that are not necessarily English problems. They've ended up with the White kids who need remedial help but have no remedial facilities, or who don't like school and want to get out, or who are treading water until they can get out, and they often have behavioural problems. And the Black kids, this large Black group of eleven, have ended up in that class, which has been a major problem. And somehow to fit in, the Black kids have almost tried to chameleon the Whites, you know, as if what White stands for is okay, and it's a very difficult class with major behavioural problems now. It hasn't happened in the other classes simply because there*

**Lang. handicap =
weak learner
=lower academic
stream(problem
area)**

**Problems with
discipline - Cf.
Gandhi Secondary**

Assimilation

was a bit more care in selection and the children who've been selected are quite a black elite in terms of language command. And in the other classes there are only one or two Black kids, that's all. We have only 9% Black students in the school.

R: Simone, when you say “black”, are you referring to “black” as a generic term, or are you referring to African children?

S: *I'm talking about solely African children, ja. There are Indian children that have come across, they have been few, and have slotted in with apparent ease - no English problems whatsoever, and we have no other as far as I know we have a few Taiwanese, one or two, and they also suffer the same problems as Black African children.*

R: Within the school and with you yourself, is there any kind of terminology that is used when referring to these classes or when talking about educational provision for these classes?.

S: *Hmm not really, I mean our classes are just mixed classes and there will be a sense that 3b has got eleven Black pupils but ... there's no special terminology.*

R: But even in workshops, has there has been any kind of focus e.g. on multicultural as opposed to multilingual or anti-racist or...?

NB. Sub theme:
black elite - (seems Tugela High teacher wants only these in his classes)

Researcher probe - Terminology

Wrong assumption about Indian students?

Cf. - French - speaking students Injasuti School

S: *Ja, we have what's called staff development. Throughout the year once a term we meet on an afternoon and have in guest speakers, and this year we have not had guest speakers, but we've had workshops where teachers have tried to pool ideas about how they're coping with these children. People have raised queries about the value of, for example, multiple-choice questioning, when you end up questioning the child's ability at English rather than their knowledge of the subject. And we've had one session where teachers who had had some experience either having studied Zulu at University or having taught in Black schools before, gave their impressions of the changes that were taking place. You know, for example I've just in that workshop given a lesson on Zulu pronunciation. People were just flummoxed by Zulu names, and simple things help. Somebody else who had taught in Black schools talked about problems Black children experienced, and there had been a workshop, an NED workshop in Durban, that people came and gave feedback from, so there was a small one hour of the term that staff actually got together.*

R: What are some of the main problems that your pupils face?

S: *The Black pupils are completely swamped by the speed at which the lessons are delivered, the language delivery, the lack of vocabulary that they have to deal with. I'll give you an example: teaching prepositions at Standard 7 level. For example in English, Standard 7 White home, er, mother tongue speakers are learning idiomatic expressions like 'to*

**ESL - problem
area language
versus content -
further research**

**A n t i - r a c i s t
approach**

**The status of Zulu
in the school**

**N o t i m e -
mediators of
contradictory
expectations**

**Black students
intimidated by
level of EIL in
school across
curric. - major
theme**

read between the lines', 'I'm feeling off-colour'. The Black second language pupils have only a smattering of eight prepositions: ('on', 'under', 'with', 'at', 'to'), which they're still trying to use correctly in a normal sentence, nevermind coping with idiomatic English, and this repeats itself again and again, even a spelling test becomes a vocabulary exercise, er, they encounter all those problems. I have found problems in that they sit together, they talk Zulu together, and I haven't felt that I could split them simply because er, they were in this very weak English class anyway and I, I was just anxious that they needed some touchstone for support.

R: What is the attitude of the school to the fact that they speak Zulu?

S: *The school disapproves quite strongly, and there's an attempt being made to try to get them sitting with English children. The feeling at first was that we should just leave them to find their own level somewhere and they immediately - it was like apartheid - mini apartheid, - you know they went through to their groups and spoke only their language. The Indian children, I must add, are also the same, largely because they have come from the same school and know each other. Often they're related. The Black children are to be discouraged from speaking Zulu. But there is a fair amount of sympathy - it came up in discussion that it*

Students' coping strategies

I m p o r t a n t theme / Zulu / omission from schedule / further research possibilities

Need to raise the status of Zulu
Cf. Zimbabwe it's class that students group according to eventually, not race.

Indian students - Racial stereotype? Languages of the school

was tiring to always speak English and have English lessons, and it was felt that perhaps at first they should just be allowed to carry on speaking Zulu.

R: Are they benefitting at all from being in this school?

S: *I think there's been a fair amount of effort made from teachers. It's a school where the staff are very committed, One feels answerable to the pupils, and there's a hierarchical situation in which heads of department keep a fairly benevolent eye on what is being done and how much work is being covered. Meetings are held at the beginning of every term so that all syllabus sections can be covered and I feel that there's a sense - an ongoing sense of school taking place. There've been no disruptions, work is marked very regularly and often. We are required to produce many marks - an essay mark, a comprehension mark, various language marks, marks for letters, a control test mark, and a literary essay mark, in the term, so there's an enormous amount of higher up the school, marking going on, so in that sense there's quite a lot of feedback. Some of the Black children have opted to go to what we call 'extra English' which is an absolute disaster - it's not conducted by teachers within the school because the English teachers are stressed enough with their work load. Outsiders have come in, and Mrs Stewart herself takes a few classes. Teachers with time have offered their services - but sometimes the services range from something as bizarre as 'granny Mumbly' coaching elocution, you know. There's just bizarre services that have been offered, and the children - the Black kids resent it because they are taken out of what they perceive*

**I m p o r t a n t
emerging theme:
teachers concerned
Tension: this
picture doesn't
emerge in all the
schools**

**P r o b l e m o f
language support
programmes
Stress - important
theme - workload -
mediators of
contradictory
expectations
Again - problems
over the nature of**

as fun lessons like computer literacy or er, I can't think of other ones, counselling, or library, or various lessons - they're taken out of the non-examinable fun subjects. And I think on the part of White teachers, they expect the Black children to come in and to be, dare I say it, 'grateful', and there was a sense that people are coming to the realization that in fact they're just kids, and they don't want to do extra work. They are very much ordinary children who want to get by with as much free time and pleasure as possible, and I think that's been quite an awakening for White teachers who thought that they would be getting these children who would just work like demons and be terribly grateful, but they're actually very ordinary kids... So those, ja, those are the problems.

R: Do you have any concerns about change in the school, about teaching...

S: *There is a sense among all of us that something's drastically wrong with the curriculum for English; and many of us bandy the idea around of how much we would like, for example, to see three levels being offered here: one which is a literary level (er, the kind of higher grade becoming more literary) - a standard grade level (which is like a commercial English, I guess) and then a proper second language option you know, all recognisable as acceptable - they have to be examinable - examinable subjects - that's really what we'd like to see.*

R: Because you've said that, I'm just interested in asking...What

language support programmes

“Just kids” - tension

Need for a transforming anti-Oracist approach

Present options in English are limited - need three different English courses

Researcher Probe -

is the status of Zulu? You seem to imply that Zulu could be offered as a first language.

omission from schedule - but transcripts do reveal the status of Zulu

S: *Certainly. There's no Zulu on offer here at the school at the moment, and not in the foreseeable future with current White education cutbacks - I don't foresee it happening. There's only one of us qualified to teach Zulu - he happens to be a White teacher and thinks it's ludicrous that he should teach it anyway. So, there's no Zulu offered, but certainly that would be a very nice thing - Zulu as first language at matric.*

Financial and human resource constraints

R: Simone, what are the very real problems that beset you, and what have you found challenging this year?

S: *The real problems are that teachers are burdened by a heavy marking load and a heavy teaching load anyway, especially in this school, perhaps more than any other, because we offer these elite subjects like Latin, French and Music which have one or two pupils per class - or up to four, and then they all come together for English. As a consequence, the English classes are between thirty-two and thirty-five pupils always. And the load, the marking load has been very heavy as a consequence. And now, to have an extra burden of children who are completely lost, who cannot even recognise a sentence as sounding wrong when they read it aloud, has been a fairly difficult task. I've also felt that many teachers - we've all gone through the University of Natal and come out with an English teaching*

Teachers manage on own resources - they're not ESL specialists.

Burden of Eng. teacher - mediators of contradictory expectations. Extra burden of ESL students

Teacher training inadequate - not ESL specialists.

method which is completely - it's English first language - completely hopeless - and no help as to how to teach English second language ... we grovel along. For example, I've brought you these examples - you can take them away and look at them. I read in a book that a good way to teach second language English - and this is only from my own reading - not from any outside help - is to try and get kids to re-order sentences to make a logical story, and then to do close procedure. I make these worksheets, and then chop them up with various other work and use them through the week, and I in fact use them on both er, mother tongue and second language speakers in my class, simply because I've got a very weak class; but in a class that was not so weak with the mother tongue speakers, I actually don't know what teachers do. I think what they do is because the Black kids are the smallest in number, the Black kids sink or swim, you know, they just have to muddle along. There is a feeling that they will fail this year, that's understandable, and perhaps by next year they will improve. At one stage it was bandied about that perhaps the best was to take them completely out of mainstream and offer only English and Maths for standard 6 and 7 and let them pick up their matric choice of subjects at standard 8; which I believe some of the other schools have done.

R: Mrs Stewart mentioned the bridging modules - are you teaching any of these?

S: *I don't know what this bridging module is - I haven't encountered it.. All I know is that Black kids are taken out of White classes for one or two lessons a week.*

**Important theme:
sink or swim
(teachers)**

**Teachers find own
resources**

**E1L students
neglected.**

**Important theme:
sink or swim
(p u p i l s) .
Reproducing
failure.**

**Separate provision
vs mainstream
provision.**

R: In the lower standards only?

S: *In the lower standards only, because it seems to me that's where their numbers are greatest. Those bridging lessons are taught by retired teachers or librarians or outsiders who come in with no worksheets and as far as I can see, seem to solely sit and read the children stories. There doesn't seem to be any really active second language teaching going on. You know these children need vocabulary, they need very basic vocabulary, and that sort of thing I thought would've been done there in those classes, and it hasn't been ...*

R: Hmm... so there isn't any liaison or communication between ...

S: *Between these outsiders and us teachers? Little. Little. I know one of the outsiders simply because I know that she comes in, and I have seen them going in and out, but I don't really know.*

R: Hmmm.

S: *I should also add that extra English was offered by counsellors in the afternoons and there were no takers - ja - which was understandable.*

R & S: (Laughter)

S: *Ja, and, and that was to offer comprehensive reading, a comprehension course. It was one of those plug-in ones - I can't remember the name, but we've got reading cards at different levels.*

**Controversy over
nature of language
support
programmes**

R: Right.

S: *But, ja, there were no takers.*

R: Simone, what are the kinds of coping strategies if any, that you've had to develop, as a result of dealing with this class which has this interesting mix of students?

S: *I mark less. If they've done a reading study which is worth 40 marks, I'll mark 15, and then they must do another one and I'll mark another 15 variable marks, so that they in fact are maintaining their work, and I'll go through it orally but I simply don't, you know, mark the...*

R: Mark the whole exercise.

S: *Ja. I've found I've done these sort of speed tests of common errors that I found these children make, er, "the last little girl took his own suitcase home", "the dog run to the shop" - these problems that I've picked up from Black pupils - the wrong preposition, wrong gender...*

R: Sort of high frequency errors?

S: *Ja, and I try to do speed tests. I have a basic one on the computer and then, having recorrected it and taught it - I go back in and I change little bits so that it's not recognisable. I've found that's very useful and I do that once a week; and they in fact feel quite successful because they're getting some advantage from it. The Black children like rote learning, you know, and they love spelling tests because they can*

Teacher coping strategies/survival strategies

Need to give Black students feedback of success
Legacy of Bantu

compete on an even footing with the kids who have got the advantage of language. I've found that speed test very useful. I have in fact, with this very weak English class, simply gone back and started the standard four syllabus again. I've only had them this term, but it seemed to me they were doing the equivalent of standard seven work with no background, so I've taken out a standard four text book. It's "Comprehensive English Practice", a standard four book. I've started working through the language exercises and the reading studies there.

R: This is with your standard sevens?

S: *Standard sevens, ja. And the Black children are getting 40% of standard four work right on average. But of course at the end of it they have to write the standard seven exam because that is the way it's worked.*

R: How did they fare?

S: *They've written this morning. I haven't seen how they did. I'll be curious to see how they've fared compared with June. This class I picked up had an absolute disastrous start where they were given to a teacher who taught French, and all her other subjects were French, and she was swamped. As a consequence, she did project work, which was really a guise for little work, with them. And it seems to me that what they've done is copy pages out of books in English with*

education

Standards/levels

**Tension - Content
& methodology
change but
evaluation system
remains the same.
Process versus
product**

no selective reading, no questions to answer, and have fiddled and fumbled for two terms, so I'm not too sure how they'll fare. I think White teachers have found it really mind-boggling. Except there is a great sense and a genuine sense of concern for these children - I'd have to say that - and despair - because there is a feeling that the department has abandoned us with no skills, workshops, no help. The burden in fact, and it is a very real burden of these extra problem pupils with language problems, has fallen on the English department only - it's sort of left up to us to try and rectify or teach, and I'm not quite sure what other subjects have done about the English problem.

R: As a teacher, Simone, how have you - or have you at all felt that you've developed or grown or benefitted from the fact that you now have these mixed classes?.

S: *Hmm... I have had my eyes opened in a very real sense to my whiteness. I'll give you an example: a D.H. Lawrence reading study in which the father brings home a rabbit and gives it to the children. One of the questions in the reading study (which I hasten to add I didn't design) was: 'What class is this family?' Most of the White children answered, 'It's a poor class family because the father is a miner - he walks to work - he has no no car, he wipes his mouth with the back of his hand, he drinks his tea from a saucer'. And*

Teacher concern

Important theme :
ed. dept abandons
t e a c h e r s .

Important theme :
Burden of the
E n g l i s h
d e p a r t m e n t -
English teachers
isolated. No
language across
the curriculum
policy.

Separate worlds
Anecdote

Class/culture

I've had Black children answering: 'This is actually an upper-class family because this man has a job. They live in a house surrounded by open fields, and they give the rabbit milk, which is expensive'. There's a real and absolute sense of a complete distinction of values you know. I've become much more aware of that, that the Black children have been so anxious to fit in - I mean they came in like this very nervous little group anxious to fit in... For example, you would think that a hundred Black children would make a mark on the abysmal assembly singing, and they tweet away anxious not to be different in any way at all, and it's the same in drama. Any kind of vibrancy that it was expected they would bring hasn't happened, I think, because they are intimidated and they are anxious to fit in. I think that they have found it very hard. Ja.

R: Can we talk about English as a subject before we get to the actual syllabus you're working with. In terms of the development of the subject, because it must be affected by change within the country as a whole, what do you think is important to preserve? How strongly do teachers feel about preserving certain things within the subject, and rejecting certain things, and how should the subject develop? You've already given me an indication of this when you spoke earlier about...

S: *Ja, you know, you're looking at a generation gap. The way I see it, the older teachers certainly want this very rigid colonial English retained. Younger teachers are more happy to go with, an easier English, to dismiss this whole standard English thing completely and get into a South*

Assimilation

"Fit in or buzz off"

Staff-divisions

This seems to be the way forward

*African English with a South African flavour, using African writers' series, using, ja, Black and White South African writers, integrating English into other studies like History and whatever else it can fit in with quite well. Personally I would like to see the whole of the colonial one ditched. I think that Shakespeare is now as foreign to mother tongue speakers, to modern children, as it ever is to second language speakers. The syllabus generally becomes more literature-based. Literature becomes a greater part of it from standard 8 onwards, and there is a different book studied every year in some depth, and the books are terribly inappropriate. Although many of the classics one can apply, the children don't find them accessible anymore. I'm thinking of books like Jane Eyre, and with the Shakespeares that we do, and **Sons and Lovers**. With a bit of work you can contextualise the book, but generally they're not appropriate. And in fact there is resistance among White children to reading er, Chinua Achebe - you know they don't like it. They say the names are hard and there's that sort of feeling. But I certainly would like to see this old syllabus abandoned. There is some good in it, I must say - advertising is tackled in an interesting way, and the media education section - they're fairly lively and easy to adapt. The literature content - I'm not saying literature must go but the literature content is dated. And the language part of it is really not too bad, but it's not appropriate for somebody who doesn't speak English as a mother tongue. It's very idiomatic. The Black children that have fitted in best, of course, are the ones who've come from private schools. 'Cause they're white you know, they're absolutely white. Even among teachers we all realized how*

**Eurocentric
literature**

**Media education -
good
Need to change
prescribed
literature
Idiomatic language
difficult - Students
transcend
language
difficulties in time.**

enormously effective Bantu education had been in what it set out to do.

**Black elite
Legacy of Bantu
education.**

R: Hmmm. HmMMMM

S: *Even when the children spoke English their accents were so accented, we couldn't understand what they were saying. Those have been ongoing problems for all teachers, and I think certainly not only in English. There's just been a tendency to not try and get those children to answer questions or whatever.*

Separate worlds

**S t u d e n t s -
Complex language
problems**

R: The actual syllabus that you're teaching this year; what are its strengths and weaknesses, and how often do you deviate from it, and are you allowed to - you know, can you do that?

S: *Ja. We seem to follow the syllabus in a very loose sense. I can't really speak for my current class because I've just been given permission to do whatever I like with them, that is why I started a standard four syllabus which is largely language-based rather than literature-based, but I think the syllabus needs more drama in it. It needs less writing in it. I have a sense even with White children that the drill of language is not done in enough detail, that there's a tendency for them to fumble for what should come easily. We teach the English language in a fairly pedantic way, nouns - and nouns will all be done, and verbs - and then verbs will be done, then so forth. And probably I think it's up to the individuals to enliven it. I can't see them doing*

**Tension - but they
write same exam -
process vs product
D r a m a
methodology**

**Theories about
language teaching**

*away with grammar, I still feel that it's quite important. Spelling as well - there's quite a lot of rote spelling taught, which I have mixed feelings about, but which seems fairly successful. So as it stands, the syllabus is not too bad. The only thing I'd really like to change is, I would like more drama incorporated into it. I would like more creative time - I can't be creative with a class that's battling with second language. I would like to see the selection of books which we are allowed to choose broadened. The problem in White schools at the moment is that money has been cut, and what we sit with in our English stockrooms are very dated books you know, **Vanity Fair** by Thackeray and very dated old stuff, you know, it's really old. It's an enormous problem to find books that the children enjoy reading and that one can do with them in terms of literature. It's the same with the poetry - there's just very little Africa in our literature syllabus at all, and in our choice of books.*

R: I'm interested in your motivation for drama. Do you have any drama training at all?

S: *No, but I see its value - we've just started drama in school and it's been an enormous benefit - enormous, and I would really like to see it being compulsory. I mean I think it's an integral part of any language and of any culture. And it's a pity that the music section of the school is so elitist, you know, if you're rich enough to have had piano lessons up till now then you can continue with music or you can learn to play 'Mary had a little lamb' or 'Jingle Bells' on the recorder in standard 6, but there's no real indigenous music - the choirs are a bit behind the times, shall we say.*

Time - need for more contact time for remedial & creative work. Need for Support system for ESL students

Cutbacks in education vs basic educational needs/resources

Researcher probe-drama

School subjects and change

(Laughter - Researcher and Teacher)

Humour

R: The next question has to do with how you've had to change your teaching practice, whether you've had to modify it at all. You have said that the syllabus has been followed very loosely. Do you want to make any comments on...

S: *The things that I've changed personally? I consciously speak slower. I've rearranged my classroom and I've found this helped enormously to bring the Black kids who immediately gravitated to the back, forward; because I found that during the lesson as they got lost, they would simply start to chat among themselves*

Coping strategies

**Loud banging
noise in
background**

R: They don't resent this and see it as some form of...

S: *They don't, in fact, because in the front row there's a lot of attention in the form of teasing and jesting and er, physical contact, and I think that they respond quite well. I've found they're much livelier and they participate more keenly in the lesson. I never used to interfere with my classes and their choice of seating before, but I've become much more aggressive with the way I want the class structured. I try to speak slower, and I've in fact bought 8 Zulu dictionaries which I've given to each English teacher. I now keep these with the English dictionary for access for the pupils. I've found that they do use them, and hitherto there's been nothing for them in the classrooms. And I've found they're very useful. I've just started teaching metaphor. Today when I was teaching metaphor, I put the Zulu word up. And there was 'oh yes, yes, yes'. They understand that is the word*

**Teacher's coping
strategies**

**Zulu/English Why
this omission for
other teachers?**

we're going to do. But then, to try and get them to understand it in English has been difficult, because it's often idiomatic, or they don't have the vocabulary to deal with metaphorical things. So I have tried to use Zulu, er, when a word gets difficult, I can remember trying to explain it - the tone is sarcastic to them, and instead of twenty times trying to explain to them I've found it easier simply to give them the Zulu equivalent. There's a real need for this bilingual approach - it's so much easier - it's instant recognition, you know, and 'oh yes', and they tell you what word that is. They do not, which I've noticed the Taiwanese girls do, write in their books. The Taiwanese girls write in Taiwanese above an English word that they don't know. The Zulu girls don't do that, and I feel it'd probably help them if they did. I don't know whether they feel it would be degrading to do so, but I've noticed that they don't really try and translate, and I've asked them how they think - do they think - do they translate in Zulu? They all assured me that they are thinking in English, which I know is not true (laughter). Those are things I've tried to change. I've certainly done more rigid language drill and vocabulary exercises and ordering of sentences and making sense of the passage, more putting it in the right order. And I've done many more easy reading studies. (Teacher shows researcher worksheets) I try and do two a week but I don't mark the whole thing, I've found that helps. I've also tried to do selective reading with that whole class, dividing them into groups that I think are able to cope with certain books. In the library lessons I will have gone down previously and selected their reading at their level. And then I've prepared worksheets, er, not specific to the book, but, for example,

**B i l i n g u a l
approach**

**M o r e l a n g .
exercises - more
work done**

Reading

**Extra work/
commitment**

I've got the best group reading biographies, and I've got the weakest group reading er, fairly easy Jenny Seed type South African writing. I'll give them a general question on those books just to try and get them reading. They're not - the Black children are not reading in English. And one of the reasons is that our library is very - our librarian is about to leave, but she's very - she's quite an intellectual snob you know, and she'll buy a Faulkner where twenty easier books would have been read; and that book would be read by maybe two children in matric, so there's a great need for more books coming in. So there was a sense at the beginning of the year that we were going to get nowhere in the library, and the English Department used its own money to go to Bloomsbury's and buy these high-action easy readers which she was not prepared to spend the library budget on. So there is quite a problem in what choice the children have in the library: Certainly the Black children are not reading any English at all, although many of them seem to do very well on things like advertising. The Black children respond very well to that. I assume that - I see that all of them but one have got a TV at home, so this is a fairly wealthy Black class of pupils coming here. They have to be - it's an expensive school.

**Lack of Resources-
library, change
and the school**

Staff/Elitism

Lack of resources

Black elite

Class issues

R: Hmm, I've just heard. So many of them are not your average township pupils?

S: *Certainly not. Even in discussing houses, I mean you're talking about areas and classes and what is it like in Imbali and what is it like in Hilton. It was a poem about two areas and I was surprised that most of these Black children live*

**T e a c h e r
patronising?**

Stereotype?

Buzzer sounds-

with only their family, their parents and brothers and sisters in sometimes three-bedroomed houses; so it's not your average township kid. Many of them in fact said (buzzer sounds) that they had their own transport.

I n t e r r u p t i o n
T e a c h e r h a s t o
l e a v e

R: Do you have to teach now ? I'm finding this interview particularly valuable. Could we, could we very quickly look at how the other important players in the school community - the staff members and principal - you have already given me some idea - you've said earlier that the education department seems to have abandoned you. Oh, the parents as well, what role do they play in affecting what happens in the school ?

E d . d e p t a b a n d o n s
t e a c h e r

S: *Hmm, it's almost guaranteed that Black parents will not get involved in fund-raising. For a number of reasons hmm, I think that the fund-raising efforts that are used by the school are just out of their league: golf days, days at Scottsville Racecourse er, even raffles and cake sales are pretty foreign fund-raising things. I also think there's a perception - this is my perception - that Black parents feel that they're paying actually a helluva lot of money to come to this school because it's about R1 500,00 a year and the uniforms - there are two uniforms, and sports uniforms, swimming uniforms - I mean there are endless uniforms - that they've paid the fees and there's no need to raise extra money, and in fact there's quite a lot of resentment among certain members of staff too, that money is raised for projects some of us perceive as useless. I'll give you an example - this great hall the school has recently built which many of us do not perceive as being important at all,*

S e p a r a t e w o r l d s

whereas money to buy library books is not made available. There are those sort of problems. Staff that have worked fairly hard have been counsellors who have tried to get classes to integrate more fully during counselling sessions. For the Black children, sport, which would be another area in which they could perhaps compete, has not been easy to compete in, because we play White sports. I mean these children all play netball and it's not offered at the school, so there's nothing for them, you know, and sports equipment is expensive - already the tennis standard is so high that to buy the equipment and have had coaching you would have had to come from a very wealthy background anyway - and not too many houses have got any tennis courts. None of the Black kids can swim of course, which is another sport offered. There are no sports offered for these children except running, and there are problems with running - one or two Black kids run, but running is usually done cross-country and involves travelling on the cross-country league which means going to Ixopo or Durban and coming home very late - they'll have missed their lift home. There's this problem with connecting transport, so I think very few of these children do extra-mural afternoon activities; which is quite a problem, so there's been no sporting changes. There hasn't been a netball pitch that suddenly arrived. Hmm, other teachers that have made an effort... well there's been no effort to do anything about the music - it remains as anglicised as ever.

R: It seems that drama doesn't exist as a subject..?

S: It does exist, but not up to matric level. It'll get to matric

Staff and change

Separate worlds

Assimilation

No concept of culture as dynamic

**Generalisation/
stereotype?**

Change and the school

Probe

level but, the drama teacher, I think, has done a fair amount. I'm not sure how the drama syllabus has allowed him to incorporate Black children - I'm not quite sure. I know, certainly, from the school play which I was involved in, we battled to get Black children. And it's also a very different kind of theatre, you know, and simply the spoken English of Black children is for White ears very difficult to understand, you know, we found it very difficult. So, there has not been an enormous change. Believe me, the school, I feel, largely has gone along with the attitude that you adapt to us and then we will accommodate you. There's been no real bending of the school. Umzinduzi Girls' High, in fact, has continued as Umzinduzi Girls' High, with a few nervous Black children among its members. But you'll hear different stories from different members of staff. People have perceived it in different ways.

R: Finally, Simone, how do you feel about teaching? You know, where does it feature in the scheme of things in your life? Just how important is teaching to you?.

S: *Teaching is the only thing I really want to do. I'm hoping to go to pick up with somebody called Meg Henderson in Zimbabwe next year, who I believe was responsible for teaching literacy and English to returning guerillas, and I - I'm hoping to be able to get some skills from her and I intend, either through her or somehow, just to have this opportunity to go to Zimbabwe for a year to try and get second language teaching skills, because I think that's what I need. I've thought a lot about adult literacy. What I want to do is teach... What I would like to do best is teach*

**Eurocentrism/
e l i t i s m .
Curriculum &
Change**

**Important Theme:
Assimilate: fit in or
buzz off
Staff -different
stories from
different staff
members.**

**All 10 teachers
love teaching**

literature, because that's what I like, but I can't see the teaching of literature at the moment being anything other than elite, teaching in a country where many people are not literate, or don't have access to books. So certainly I do - it's the only thing I want to do. It's the only thing I've ever done and I would very much like to continue to do it. I must say I have enjoyed having a break from teaching English solely this year because of the burden, I've taught computer literacy as well. I mean computer literacy has no marking, no report writing, you know; it's been a real pleasure, and it means that I have been able to indulge one English group - but I would like to teach English. But as for English teaching, there's an enormous depression among the staff generally in the English department. We have this department of about nine, ten teachers who have found their burden increasing and are fairly depressed, I would say, about it. Also because they haven't really adapted. They feel reluctant to lose the way that they were taught; you know, they feel reluctant to give over on - on the old fashioned reading study, or the old this, or the old that, so there is that sense... Ja, so there we are.

R: Thank you.

S: You're welcome.

L i t e r a t u r e
teaching vs basic
language skills

Theme: burden -
over-stressed
English teachers

Enjoys teaching
English if contact
hours reduced

Theme: Burden

Staff resist change

APPENDIX F: COPING/SURVIVAL STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY TEACHERS

PTO for Table (i) - Schools (Nos. 1-10)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Uses more drama methodology & music in teaching	x		x		x	x				
Practises peer-tutoring					x		x			
More group work		x	x		x		x			
More oral than written English	x	x	x		x	x				
Uses more teacher aids (pictures, music etc.)	x							x		x
Doesn't take what students have learned for granted		x	x	x						
Spends less time on preparing lessons, more time thinking on feet			x		x					
Revamps lesson structure		x		x						
Reinforces all the time - more remediation in each lesson		x				x				x
Manages lesson time more effectively		x		x	x					x
Focuses on process rather than product	x	x	x	x			x			
Speaks slower & more simply - rephrases constantly to facilitate understanding.	x	x	x			x				
Has become more versatile		x	x	x	x	x			x	
Re-arranged classroom - changed student seating	x					x				
Marks less	x									x
Writes worksheets in large letters			x							
Cuts down on the amount of work she/he hopes to cover in lesson		x		x						x
Too much work to cover, leaves out aspects of the syllabus					x					
Team teaches - networks with other teachers			x		x					
Talks less in class (less teacher talk)				x						x
Has become more aggressive as a person				x						
Stays away from school in order to cope				x						
Sense of humour sustains her/him						x				
Sense of caring for students more intense	x	x	x	x	x					
Enthusiasm for students more intense	x	x	x	x	x					
Teacher gets herself/himself informed	x	x	x			x			x	
Uses Zulu and English in lessons	x	x	x			x				
Does more rigid language drill work & vocabulary exercises	x									x
Is more selective with reading material	x		x		x		x			
Relates teaching to black experience		x			x					
Falls back on primary school experience & methodology	x		x		x					
Creates own teaching material	x	x	x	x	x	x				x
Uses literature to defuse racial tension				x						
Has gone "back to basics"	x		x		x		x	x		x

TABLE FOR APPENDIX F

Umsinduzi Girls

Umgeni Technical College

Dorpspruit High

Gandhi Secondary

Midmar School

Suikerbossie High

Umkomaas Secondary

Tugela Secondary

Injasuti School

0. Umzimkulu High

APPENDIX G

TEACHER/SCHOOL INFORMATION

Name of Teacher	Sex	Race	School	Private/State	Ed Dept.	Single Sex/Co-ed	Setting	Academic Bias
Tim Morgan	Male	Coloured	Suikerbossie	State	HOR	Co-ed	Coloured Suburb	All subjects
Vrenika Naidoo	Female	Indian	Umgeni Tech.	State	HOD	Co-ed	Indian Suburb	Tech. College
Silvem Moodley	Male	Indian	Tugela Sec.	State	HOD	Co-ed	City	All subjects
Strini Chetty	Male	Indian	Umkomaas Sec.	State	HOD	Co-ed	Indian Suburb	All subjects
Rekha Maharaj	Female	Indian	Gandhi Sec.	State	HOD	Co-ed	Indian Suburb	All subjects
Joan Peters	Female	White	Umzimkulu High	State	NED	Co-ed	White Suburb	Technical
Simone Lorentz	Female	White	Umsinduzi Girls'	State	NED	Girls	White Suburb	All subjects
Mildred Lawrence	Female	White	Dorpspruit High	State	NED	Girls	City	All subjects
Mark Godfrey	Male	White	Injasuti School	Private	Std. 10 - NED	Boys	White Suburb	All subjects
Jenny Reed	Female	White	Midmar School	Private	Std. 10 - NED	Girls	White Suburb	All subjects

All teacher and school names have been changed

(p. 2.26)

white girls from poor socio-econ. background.
 (you get a sense that it's staff's initiative & working together)
 1 Black girl - Dep head for 1993
 White intake was significant of size
 In 61 weeks we overwhelmed.

1.1 St 195 - 40 mins in 30 mins
 St 198 - following class - black to white class - busy
 St 196 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 1.2 Terminology - we not really quite sure what it will be
 P 2 Terminology - we not really quite sure what it will be
 P 3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 P 4 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

1.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 1.4 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

2.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.4 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

3.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 3.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 3.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

4.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 4.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

5.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 5.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 5.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

6.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 6.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 6.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

7.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 7.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 7.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

8.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 8.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 8.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

9.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 9.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 9.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

10.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 10.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 10.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

11.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 11.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 11.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

12.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 12.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 12.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

13.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 13.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 13.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

14.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 14.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 14.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

Comp are summary to
 transcript 5/12/98

CULTURE - aligned into a good word - pattern is
 modest in network class - get Western influence
 P 7 - no learning pencil (class)
 P 7 - students don't act as if
 target to be polite - must see who
 P 20 - behavior of ell. chn
 P 10 - change in chn - nothing is same
 but a willingness to change
 have to give up a structure of a hand
 but we as a staff have to change
 P 12 white girls tend to be bright. I have background
 P 13 - v. umbric - laughs at 3 wrong things v.
 P 14 - they enjoy being nasty to one another
 CLASS Dep Head - Prosa v. spiral girl - father
 principal - has all support structure
 no coloring pens
 no coloring paper
 P 12 - white girls tend to be bright. I have background
 P 13 - v. umbric - laughs at 3 wrong things v.
 P 14 - they enjoy being nasty to one another
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 principal - has all support structure
 no coloring pens
 no coloring paper

Arden
 my staff is when they arrived we equal
 H 1 I wa they're equal to H 2 P 5.
 I want to balance white chn - (spelling is slow)
 but don't give exterior w/sheets
 P 9 - gone back to basics
 P 12 white girls tend to be bright. I have background
 P 10 was a guide - P 12 - not any longer for
 P 13 - I don't want to stay with the chn for 2
 rest of my life. (disproportion) -
 Large group
 P 10 - I don't want to stay with the chn for 2
 rest of my life. (disproportion) -
 Large group
 P 10 - I don't want to stay with the chn for 2
 rest of my life. (disproportion) -
 Large group

you get a sense that it's staff's initiative & working together
 basic literature - diff to find
 night school
 understand words -
 chn
 at 2 big assemblies - total below stream
 P 12 white girls tend to be bright. I have background
 P 13 - v. umbric - laughs at 3 wrong things v.
 P 14 - they enjoy being nasty to one another
 CLASS Dep Head - Prosa v. spiral girl - father
 principal - has all support structure
 no coloring pens
 no coloring paper

2.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 2.4 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

3.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 3.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 3.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

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 4.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

5.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 5.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 5.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

6.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 6.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 6.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

7.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 7.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 7.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

8.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 8.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 8.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

9.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 9.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 9.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

10.1 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 10.2 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area
 10.3 - all the main line - SM to write girls class get to any other white area

Stab's -
 p3 They have been one of the challenges of my entire life... there are 23 legends & 70 girls
 p4 majority 85% bent - it really was v. frustrating. It's become a source of a disillusionment as I've progressed. It's not like I actually know anything.
 They're also exhausted. They drain me - off! (V)
 p6 - last few lines, quote

p7. So its tough with a capital 'T' *

p8 - We just poured our hearts out to her

* a story more of failure on a part of a teacher, I think really tried!! (no compliments) (no respect) (like Tugata)

p19 -

p20 Max was a tremendous spirit of acceptance

p23 - failing English - linguistically overwhelming *

p29 - I think its more struggle

Unkomas is blaming & victimizing
 The world doesn't... while I am...
 teachers hold themselves responsible
 emergent there for conservative teachers who feel personally responsible
 & who feel a strong sense of failure
 * struggle - (like Tugata)

Comment on Age of Teacher

DORPSPRUIT

last at
 Transpirt is obvious at Dorpspruit p24. always a v. close staff
 team economy in friendship betted p25
 preparation for change - p19/20
 Dorpspruit
 + poor sons - clean

staff realize that change is necessary
 teachers feel drained

v. faint, v. honest - teachers open up so disarmingly
 unlike M. S. with

p1 where bl. pupils are in a minority - they don't present a problem - eg H49

* She has a special feeling for H48 class - calls it a fascinating class

* She knows her classes v well - takes a real interest in the girl - dedicated teacher - reports to individual pupils - comments in a v. real way on their personalities
 comments on social background personal details eg boyfriend - categories in a particular way
 v. negative
 other staff feel she's a perfectionist. she's extra rapport with H46!

see p4
 p15 - 'in no odd' (Comment on Age of Teacher)
 p24 - she sees their reticence as a cultural thing of Limpopo
 v. negative
 Sep 28. Gregarious, loves teaching
 v. creative p29.