TOWARDS A POLICY FOR FIRST LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS:
A REVIEW OF SOME ASPECTS

By
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the degree of Master of Education in the

Department of Education
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the whole of this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work and that it has not been submitted for any degree in any other University.

WENDY J. FLANAGAN;
University of Natal
November 1980
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1980
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THIS DISSERTATION

1. The idea of a 'language policy' 1

2. The possible effects of a language policy on teaching practice in the classroom 4

3. The possible effects of a language policy on pupils in a school 5

4. Background to this dissertation 6

5. Method of research 7

CHAPTER ONE

A REVIEW OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

1.1 An overview of trends from 1900 to the present day 10

1.2 Contemporary views 15

1.2.1 M.A.K. Halliday 16

1.2.2 Doughty and Thornton 18

1.2.3 Stubbs 20

1.2.4 Barnes 21

1.2.5 Britton 22

1.2.6 Rosen 24

1.2.7 Ashworth 24

1.2.8 Natal Education Department 26
1.3 The relationship between language and thought

1.4 Teacher 'types' and their effectiveness in the implementation of a language policy

1.5 Advantages of the teacher adopting an 'interpretation' model in the implementation of a language policy

1.6 Some implications of change in the role of the teacher for language teaching

1.7 Conclusions

CHAPTER TWO

SPOKEN LANGUAGE AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

2.1 Introduction

2.2 A matter of terminology

2.3 A review of the place of talk in schools

2.4 The school as a 'model' for talk

2.5 Opportunities for talk outside the lesson

2.6 Talking to learn

2.7 Small group talk: a favourable means of learning

2.8 Implications for teaching

2.9 Conclusions
CHAPTER THREE
READING AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

3.1 The importance of the teaching of reading and literacy 64

3.2 The growing emphasis on reading comprehension 68

Section A
The Reading of Transactional Language

3.3 The place of transactional language in school 77

3.4 Reading 'purpose' and the effects of purpose on reading behaviour 79

3.5 Some implications arising from the teaching of transactional language 85

3.5.1 The pupil as interrogator of the text 85

3.5.2 Knowledge of the reading process 89

3.5.3 Awareness of the linguistic demands of text 92

3.5.4 Defining reading purposes 94

3.5.5 Effective questioning in the teaching of comprehension 97

3.6 Conclusions 100

Section B
The Reading of Poetic Language

3.7 The place of poetic language in primary schools 101

3.8 Specific contributions of literature to the growth of the primary school child 103

3.8.1 The connection between language development and literature 103
3.8.2 The connection between emotional development and literature 106
3.8.3 The connection between moral awareness and literature 109
3.9 Book selection for nine to twelve year olds 113
3.9.1 Responsibility for selection of books in schools 113
3.9.2 Three issues related to the place of particular kinds of book in primary schools 116
3.10 Some implications for the teaching of literature in primary schools 132
3.10.1 Considering the child's response to literature 133
3.10.2 The teacher's knowledge of books as a prerequisite for their subsequent promotion 136
3.10.3 The place of literature in other subjects in the curriculum of a primary school 138
3.11 Conclusions 142

CHAPTER FOUR
WRITING AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

4.1 Introduction 145
4.2 The development of writing ability in primary school children 146
4.3 The development of the expressive function in writing in the primary school 149
4.4 The development of the poetic function in writing in the primary school 151
4.5 The development of the transactional function in writing in the primary school 154
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.5.1</td>
<td>Specific implications arising from transactional writing in the primary school</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Some considerations for the teaching of writing in the primary school</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1</td>
<td>The place of discussion in the writing situation</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.2</td>
<td>The value of writing more than one draft</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.3</td>
<td>Purpose, authenticity and audience as part of the function of writing</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.4</td>
<td>Word study as a further aid to the development of writing ability</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER FIVE**

THE MAKING OF A LANGUAGE POLICY: A REVIEW OF SOME ATTEMPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>A review of moves in England and Natal towards the idea of a school-based language policy</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Some suggested merits inherent in formulating a language policy</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>An example of a document offering guidelines towards a language policy</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>The need for a school's individual language policy</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Some examples of language policies</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.1</td>
<td>Aldermaston Church of England Primary School</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2</td>
<td>Bentley Heath School</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.3</td>
<td>Clifton Withant County Primary School</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.4 Clifford Bridge Junior and Infant School</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 Comment on the results of a questionnaire circulated to some Natal primary schools</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Comment on the efforts of a Natal primary school to implement a language policy</td>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9 Conclusions</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER SIX**

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 The role of the teacher</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 The role of the school staff</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Teacher education</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 General recommendations</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX A**

Britton's function categories 249

**APPENDIX B**

Britton's audience categories 250

**APPENDIX C**

Questionnaire submitted to teachers 251

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** 255
INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THIS DISSERTATION

1. The idea of a "language policy"

The subject matter of this work is the rationale behind, and implementation of language policy at the primary school level, particularly for the fourth to seventh years of school. The concerns of the study include a consideration of oracy and literacy and an analysis of some suggested ideas in and objectives of language education. There is some specific reference to the province of Natal, but the general approach taken has been a wide one.

Language has come to be recognised as the critically determining factor in a pupil's capacity to learn. Sapir (as cited by Wilkinson, 1971, p91) explains:

"It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection."

Language, as will be shown, plays a vital part in the growth of child thought. Realisation of this ensures the teacher's success in the classroom. Language is surely the most useful and effective means of communication available to man:

"Human fitness to survive means the ability to talk and write and listen and read in ways that increase the chances for you and fellow-members of your species to survive together."

(Hayakawa, 1977, p17)

The latter part of this century has produced a vast literature on the acquisition, different functions of, and the teaching of language. This fresh insight constitutes a challenge to the tradition of teaching the skills of language - speaking, listening, reading,
writing - in isolation and only in 'English' lessons. The artificiality of "splitting" the skills of language in a subject labelled 'English' previously gave the impression that English had a content in the way that other subjects in the curriculum have a body of knowledge. This idea is now shown to be misconceived for it has ignored the integral part language plays in the learning situation. The awareness of the role of language in learning in all parts of the curriculum has, instead, culminated in far-reaching changes in education, envisaged for example by government reports which have recommended that all teachers should seek to foster learning by taking responsibility for the language development of their pupils in all areas of the curriculum. Further, it seems clear that the inter-relationship of spoken and written language should be reflected in an organised school policy which would involve all teachers and ensure consistency of teaching.

Recommendation number four of the seventeen principal recommendations of the committee responsible for the Bullock Report, A Language for Life (Great Britain, 1975, p514) reads:

"Each school should have an organised policy for language across the curriculum, establishing every teacher's involvement in language and reading development throughout the years of schooling."

Referring specifically to primary schools, recommendation number one hundred and thirty-seven of the Report (p528) reads:

"In the primary school the individual teacher is in a position to devise a language policy across the various aspects of the curriculum, but there remains the need for a general school policy to give expression to the aim and ensure consistency throughout the years of primary schooling."
"Policy" (1) is in this context taken to mean an agreed set of beliefs and principles about language and learning held by any one staff of any one school. The existence of such policy, organised by consensus, implies some form of explicit documentation of beliefs, principles and aims in the teaching of language.

The need for a carefully considered policy in the use and teaching of language in primary schools finds support among many authorities. Bruner (1972, p165) states:

"In children between four and twelve language comes to play an increasingly powerful role as an implement of knowing."

Adams and Pearce (1974, pi) say that the nine to thirteen year age group ...

"reflects the area of greatest need, since it is the age range in which the most formative changes in the language competence of children occur, and where the greatest opportunities for a major improvement of classroom practice exist."

Lack of consistency in teaching direction in the primary school is a generally recognised weakness which often manifests itself very obviously on the child's entry to high school. (2) It seems that a language policy would "ensure consistency" for by its very nature it would set out to achieve coherence, retain variety and avoid fragmentation. Such continuity in the teaching of language would attempt to ensure the language development of every pupil.

1. In a personal interview, Quarrell of Bulmershe College of Higher Education, Reading, 12.6.1980, stated that HMI Ron Arnold, the scribe of the Bullock Report, had come to regret the choice of the word 'policy' in this recommendation because it had allowed too wide and loose an interpretation of the recommendation.

2. For example, a survey carried out by the Natal Education Department in 39 high schools in 1976 revealed that 37% of the standard six pupils were reading at below a reading age of 12 years as measured on the Schonell Silent Reading Test B of reading comprehension.
An underlying concern of the present dissertation is the need for teachers to draw up and implement "language policies" as a means to provide all children with the opportunity to develop as much as possible in language use. Such policies could have specific effects on teaching practice and on pupils.

2. The possible effects of a language policy on teaching practice in the classroom

A language policy designed specifically for a school would by its uniqueness be relevant to the situation found in that particular school. By being part of the team designing the policy, each teacher would be involved in the drawing up of the basic principles of language teaching. The design of a syllabus for language teaching would then be possible for the policy would reflect what the teachers had decided to do.

In the consideration and drawing up of a language policy teachers would become aware of the great diversity of written and spoken English. Through discussion and decision making, it is possible that teachers would need to acknowledge this great diversity of written and spoken language and, indeed, would recognise language as a social phenomenon. A clearly stated language policy would encourage teachers to work on structured programmes of teaching, for appropriate methodology is a natural follow-on to the establishment and implementation of policy.

An approach, founded on a set of fundamental principles, would assist teachers in their decisions regarding the choice of methods, materials and books, again ensuring both diversity and consistency.
3. The possible effects of a language policy on pupils in a school

Many teachers are, by their own admittance, ignorant of aspects of language development. (1) The establishment of a language policy would lead to, and indeed encourage, a deeper understanding of what the teaching of language entails which in turn should make teachers more sensitive to the language needs of their pupils:

"Such an understanding is likely to contain ideas about the function of language in life; how language develops in the young child; what human beings do with language; the special characteristics of our language, including its vocabulary; the social context of language; notions of appropriateness."

(Marland, 1977, p73)

A school policy would assist in the more productive utilisation of time in that it would probably ensure effective learning through more effective teaching with the use of selected materials.

Finally, a school policy for language would support the obvious but often neglected truth that teaching is dependent upon language because pedagogy, which is the transmission of the curriculum, depends on communication. As the Inner London Education Authority has pointed out, "Central to each aspect of the curriculum is language" (I.L.E.A., 1979, p26). Language would be given emphasis and value in teachers' considerations and would be recognised as the main aspect of the profession's task. A language policy would, therefore, assist dynamically in giving each pupil 'a language for life'.

1. In a survey of 258 Std II and III teachers carried out by the Natal Education Department in May 1979, 78% of the teachers said that they were ignorant of the role language played in learning.
4. **Background to this dissertation**

The primacy of language in human learning, the importance of verbal interaction in the classroom situation, and the responsibility for education to develop the child's language potential, are some of the concerns of this work.

The study was prompted mainly by an increasing awareness of the role language plays in the curriculum and the necessity for active recognition of this in classroom practices. The incentive for the study to take the particular line it did was provided by Circular Minute Number 36 of 1977 of the Natal Education Department which reads:

TO: RECTORS OF COLLEGES OF EDUCATION AND TO PRINCIPALS OF ALL HIGH AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

STANDARDS OF EXPRESSION IN WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGE IN ALL SUBJECTS

1. In order to maintain acceptable standards in written and spoken language, Principals are requested to ensure that all teachers place special emphasis on the quality of language used by their pupils, and to ensure further, that language development is regarded as an integral part of the teaching of all subjects in the curriculum.

2. To this end, examiners of Natal Senior Certificate examination papers will be asked to give credit to candidates who express themselves well and, conversely, to penalise answers which may be factually correct but in which the expression is poor and which are characterised by consistently weak spelling.

3. To make it possible for pupils to attain the desired standard it is essential that the matter of correct language usage should receive attention in all four phases of a pupil's schooling and that teachers of all subjects should collaborate in order to achieve this.

4. Schools are accordingly requested to formulate language policies of their own so that there may be agreement among the staff on matters of language learning. Clearly, it is essential that such a policy should reflect positive rather than negative features (i.e. to aim at enhancing
development rather than to penalise for failure). To achieve this, the language needs of pupils in various subjects should be identified, and a consistent policy should then be implemented to assist pupils to come to terms with the reading and writing tasks involved.

5. Close collaboration between language teachers and teachers of other subjects should be encouraged because, "if standards of achievement are to be improved all teachers will have to be helped to acquire a deeper understanding of language in education. This includes teachers of other subjects than English". (A Language for Life - the Bullock Report 1975).

It was realised that (at least in South Africa) the majority of primary school teachers entrusted with the task of designing a language policy to ensure the development of each child's language potential were themselves not specifically trained to do this, nor did they necessarily have the background knowledge to ensure the design of an adequate "language policy". Awareness of this indicated the need for as full an investigation of these implications as one person, working alone, could perform.

A principal aim of this study has been to investigate the role of language in the primary school, and to examine how effective language may be developed among pupils. The overall aim has been to come some small way towards a greater understanding of the language needs of the primary school child, in the hope that others may benefit through knowing how crucial this is to the child's understanding and manipulation of his environment.

5. Method of research

The research techniques involved in this work are of four kinds:

A library study of the available literature was
undertaken both in South Africa and England. Most of the reading concerned publications of the post 1950s as these were thought to be both more useful and more relevant to the particular study.

The approach is basically that of comparative analysis in terms of the situation pertaining in Britain and in schools under the control of the Natal Education Department, South Africa, with regard to the teaching of language policies. The latter schools cater only for white pupils, who constitute a minority in the province of Natal, but for reasons of convenience such restriction was necessary. The writer gained access to primary sources in England through the co-operation of education authorities and lecturers at universities and colleges of education.

By means of a questionnaire sent to some government primary schools for Whites in Natal, the writer was able to investigate the attitudes and methodology of teachers. Involvement in in-service training of teachers added further to this store of information.

The writer's previous training as a primary school teacher and the advantage of having travelled throughout Natal on behalf of the Natal Education Department to assist and advise teachers in the implementation of group discussion and the teaching of reading, helped to delimit the problem area for study. The writer was fortunate to have the opportunity to become involved very centrally herself in the composition and implementation of an actual policy in a primary school. The experience gained through this work on a language policy has had a great deal of influence on this study.

For purposes of presentation it has been necessary to consider spoken language, reading and writing in separate chapters. This separation of the skills has created some difficulty because of the unified approach to
language teaching recommended in contemporary literature. However, there are overlaps: for example, while spoken language enjoys a separate chapter, it features prominently in the chapters on reading and writing because of the vital role talk plays in any learning done by the primary school child.

The standpoint in the research has been one of critical evaluation of a situation with tentative suggestions made on that basis.
A REVIEW OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

1.1 An overview of trends from 1900 to the present day

The contents of this overview have an obvious British bias. Of necessity this is so, not only because much of the available literature pertains to the situation in Britain, but because education in Natal has, because of its historical associations, been closely modelled on that existing in Britain.

A survey of the practice of the teaching of English from 1900 to the present day reveals three broad curriculum models or views on language teaching - a "skills" model, a "cultural heritage" model and a "personal growth" model. (1)

The "skills" model was the widely accepted model up to about 1920. Shayer (1972, p7) sees this as the reflection of Latin and Greek teaching methods on the teaching of English; while Dixon (1967, p1) explains that this model suited an era when initial literacy was the prime demand. Both explanations seem acceptable. A study of early syllabuses such as the Board of Education's 1900 English Schedules in Britain (cited by Shayer: op cit, p4) reveals the nature of the instruction given. The skill of reading aloud, the skill of copying correctly, and a knowledge of the rules of grammar were considered the aims of correct teaching. It is pertinent to note that the term 'English' is applied to grammar work only:

1. These terms are used by Dixon J. (1967) in Growth Through English.
Standard 2 (8 years)

Reading  To read a short passage from an elementary reading book.

Writing  A passage of not more than six lines, from the same book, slowly read once and then dictated.

'English'  Pointing out nouns and verbs.

Standard 3 (9 years)

Reading  To read a passage from a reading book.

Writing  Six lines from one of the Reading Books of the Standard, read once and then dictated.

'English'  Pointing out nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, personal pronouns and forming simple sentences containing them.

Standard 4 (10 years)

Reading  To read a passage from a reading book or history of England.

Writing  Eight lines of poetry or prose, slowly read once, then dictated.

'English'  Parsing easy sentences, and showing by examples the use of each of the parts of speech.

Standard 5 (11 years)

Reading  To read a passage from some standard author, or reading book, or history of England.

Writing  Writing from memory the substance of a short story read out twice; spelling, handwriting and correct expression to be considered.

'English'  Parsing and analysis of simple sentences. The method of forming English nouns, adjectives, and verbs from each other.

Textbooks used at the time show the influence of classical language teaching, as word-paradigm grammar teaching was applied to the English language. An emphasis on rhetoric is seen in the numerous lists of figures of speech evident in the text books. (For example: Longman's Junior School Composition, 1901 or D. Salmon: Exercises in English Grammar and Composition, 1900)
Presumably this kind of teaching in elementary education was considered sufficient for the lower social classes who would only require initial literacy. In Shayer's words (op cit, p26), elementary education was seen as being a "charitable gift to the 'lower orders'".

Clearly the word 'skill' in this model has more literal than metaphorical meaning. While recognizing that these "skills" assist the mechanics of reading and writing, the model may also be seen to be severely limited in its conception of language as a means of communication.

The "cultural heritage" model was, no doubt, an attempt to 'make good' these limitations. Influenced by Matthew Arnold and similar "conservative ideology" thinkers, the curriculum model changed to one where cultural heritage was emphasized. Believing that there was a need for a civilizing and socially unifying content, the model was one which included a study of literature as a means to a criticism of life. However, this view also has its weaknesses. Dixon (op cit, p3) shows that this model gives culture at the expense of the pupil's own culture and experience; while Shayer (op cit) sees it as involving a misuse of literature to inculcate moral and patriotic purposes. He quotes examples from textbooks used at the time where poems such as "It is not yours, O Mother, to complain" were studied.

In primary schools in Natal, South Africa, it is interesting to note that this influence was still in evidence in the 1960s. The New Everyday Classics, a reader, was in common use in the schools. The following excerpt from the Fourth Reader should serve as an example:

"This poem [Ye Mariners of England] and the three which follow are patriotic poems, telling of the glory and honour of our native land and her heroes" (p149).
Clearly the "skills" model and the "cultural heritage" model have emphasized certain aspects at the expense of the rest of English teaching. Neither, for example, shows appreciation for a child's language competence and both fail to recognize the varied functions for which language is used. Any over-emphasis would seem to lead to distortion of those particular areas in practice. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that the analogy of the swing of the pendulum, as applied to pedagogical concerns of this kind, is so often used. Further, it should be noted that these earlier models attempt to give English a 'content' in the way that other subjects in the curriculum have content. Shayer (op cit) criticises these attempts claiming that English is not a body of factual knowledge which can be transferred from teacher to pupil.

It is disturbing to note that these models are not without their adherents in the latter half of this century. A review of some of the textbooks used presently in some Natal primary schools (for example: Redgrave J.J. & Nuttall N., Junior English, Juta, and Ridout R., Better English, Juta) shows that there is still a tendency to teach prescriptive grammar, although linguists have shown this to be highly unsuitable (1); while time-tables drawn up in some schools show a tendency to divide English into separate components such as reading study, composition, grammar, oral. (2)

Currie (1973, p19) shows that preoccupation with the more abstract qualities of instruction dominates the syllabuses in countries which have not adopted

1. A discussion on the teaching of grammar and its ineffectiveness as an aid to language growth follows later in this work.

2. This information was gathered while the writer was visiting primary schools in Natal as an official of the Natal Education Department.
'child-centred' school programmes. (1) "Thus Greece, France, certain parts of Germany, and Poland teach a high proportion of formal analysis as the mainstay of their mother tongue". Currie sees the clinging to old tradition in England as more subtle. He shows how this kind of instruction is supported in publications such as that by Stuart Froome, who argues in his book, Why Tommy Isn't Learning, that the decline in school performance is directly related to a move away from intellectual training through rules.

The Central Advisory Council for Education report, Children and their Primary Schools (The Plowden Report, 1965, p210) found this trend to cling to past practices significant enough to comment:

"The past is still with us in the trend in some schools to emphasise the techniques of reading and writing at the expense of speech and in the survival of a theory of grammar that derives from the inflected language of Latin".

Shayer (op cit) shows that the early 1950s saw a move to the recognition that imagination and personal expression were more important attributes than technical presentation; although he quotes (p103) the 1931 Board of Education Report on the Primary School as having already recognised the place of the child's creativity:

"...Our witnesses were of the opinion that during this age period the exercise of creative as distinct from reproductive imagination should be cultivated."

The Plowden Report (p219) gave an "unqualified welcome" to the "free, fluent and copious writing" they found in a growing number of junior schools

1. Alan Pittam, overseas representative for Ginn & Co., London, told the writer that underdeveloped countries such as some in Africa, purchase what in these modern times, can only be considered as unsuitable publications. e.g. Beacon Readers, Ginn & Co. They want, Pittam says, what they think the "white" schools use. Interesting, too, is to note that many white schools in the Eastern Province, South Africa, still use Beacon Readers - these were first published in 1922.
during 1963. They found that much of this writing was "personal" and that the writers were "communicating something that has really engaged their minds and their imaginations".

The establishment of the Schools Council in Britain in 1965, with money made available for research projects, assisted the acceleration of a new curriculum model which gave emphasis to the comprehensive personal growth of the child. The language development of the child was recognised as essential to his growth in learning. Moreover, it was recognised that growth in language does not occur in isolation from the life experiences of the pupils.

1.2 Contemporary views

Current thinking on language development in schools is heavily influenced by the findings and research of sociologists, psychologists and psycholinguists. The work of Vygotsky, Luria, Piaget, Bruner, Chomsky, Kelly, Bernstein and others shows that language plays a crucial role in mental development and vice versa. The Plowden Report (1965) in recognising the unique role of language as an organiser of experience further encouraged educationists to examine these findings with a view to changing earlier conceptions of the role of language in schools. "Language increasingly serves as a means of organising and controlling experience and the child's own responses to it. The development of language is, therefore, central to the educational process" (p19).

Findings by experts such as those mentioned have resulted in a movement towards a conception of learning that gives a new meaning to teaching. It demands a rearrangement of priorities in that teachers are now urged to recognise the vital role of language and to examine their own and the pupils' use of language in
The international meetings held at Dartmouth College (1966) and York (1971) for teachers, academics, advisers, inspectors and educational administrators to discuss the teaching and learning of English, also caused a great deal of rethinking in the teaching of English; for those who attended came to realise that language played a part in all teaching and learning. They reached the conclusion that language "is the critically determining factor in pupils' capacity to learn" (Doughty & Thornton, 1973, p10). At the final plenary session of the York Conference one of the recommendations for action was:

"To re-define our subject in the light of the language needs of all children and their probable needs in a kind of society we cannot predict." (1)

The concern placed by the delegates to these conferences in the concept of language being a critically determining factor in a child's learning is shown by a follow-up conference to these two in Sydney in August of 1980. At this conference, the areas of principal concern included the demands on English in a multi-cultural environment, and the inadequacies of traditional modes of assessment.

It is the re-definition of the role of language and indeed of the teacher of language which is one of the concerns of this dissertation. The views of some specific writers on this topic will now be considered.

1.2.1 M.A.K. Halliday shrewdly points out that when a child comes to school he is already aware that language can be put to serve various uses; for example, to gain something or to regulate behaviour. "The child knows what language is because he knows what language does" (1973, p10). Halliday goes on to say, "Much of
the child's difficulty with language in school arises because he is required to accept a stereotype of language that is contrary to the insights he has gained from his own experience" (p11). (1) Halliday suggests seven models of language with the implication that teachers should be aware of these models to prevent a narrow image of language and to take account of the fact that children see all language as having meaning in a very broad sense. His models (1973, pp11-17) are:

(i) The Instrumental Model - the model for getting things done, the "I want ..." function of language.
(ii) The Regulatory Model - the use of language to regulate the behaviour of others, the "do as I tell you" function.
(iii) The Interactional Model - the use of language in the interaction between self and others, the "me and you" function.
(iv) The Personal Model - the awareness of language as a form of individuality, the "here I come" function.
(v) The Heuristic Model - the language to explore the environment, the "tell me why" function.
(vi) The Imaginative Model - the language to create one's own environment, the "let's pretend" function.
(vii) The Representational Model - the language for communicating something, or expressing propositions, "I've got something to tell you" function.

Halliday feels that this last, relatively advanced model, is unfortunately "the only model of language that many adults have". He feels it is unfortunate because children find it an inadequate, and in early schooling, less familiar model. His argument is that

1. The traditional first school readers of "the cat sat on the mat" variety are a case in point as this language is out of the child's experience and furthermore, he often cannot appreciate its use, or see its meaning.
this becomes the dominant model of language without necessarily being the dominant function of language for the pupils. The teacher's conception of language, according to Halliday, must incorporate all the above models, for these are the demands on language that the child himself makes.

The need for awareness by teachers of their own and their pupils' uses of language is a point which will be frequently made in this dissertation. It seems that awareness of what language is and does, ensures the educational development of each child.

Adams (1977, p104) in commenting on Halliday's work suggests that awareness of what language is and what it does will ensure that teachers provide "humane experience" and "humane examples" and "meaningful language tasks, rather than meaningless exercises". In this way, he says, the implications of the Bullock Report in terms of a 'language for life' will be translated.

1.2.2 Doughty and Thornton (1973) make a significant distinction in the language needs of children. They distinguish (p17) between language for living, which refers to "all the ways in which human beings make use of language in the ordinary course of their everyday lives", and language for learning which refers to "all the ways in which language enters into the process of teaching and learning". They argue that language for learning "relates to, and derives from, language for living" and that unless teachers recognise this, they will face "linguistic problems" and will never be able "to make sense of the language needs of the learners".

In addition to this call for realising the present level of each child's language performance and leading him on from there to the use of language for learning, the authors highlight the question of
change within the educational system and within society.

In exploring the nature of these changes, they look at the implications for the use of language for learning, because change creates new situations and new patterns of relationships which in turn demand "new ways of speaking for their effective realisation". They show that because the child is "inherently curious", "a problem-solving animal", he needs the language for learning and eventually becomes either hysterical or apathetic if his language use cannot meet the demands made on it. It is the responsibility of the teacher, they believe, to develop a language for learning by creating learning situations which make "new demands upon the pupils' use of language for learning" (op cit, p39).

The authors warn that linguistic demands change together with any change in the curriculum and in society, and that

"... failure to consider sufficiently the linguistic demands that arise from a pattern of change ... [will cause pupils to] find themselves continuously in a situation where their attempts to make sense of new experience is frustrated by their lack of the necessary language for learning or language for living" (p41).

In the light of this view, it would seem that teachers need to recognise that change in our present society is a very relevant consideration. (1) Teachers are bound to look for ways in which to help their pupils cope with the world in which they live and, if language is a vital part of everyone's world, then due consideration must be given to its appropriate use. Doughty and Thornton, then, are calling for a linguistic

1. The necessity for change in the role of the teacher will be discussed in a later section.
perspective which allows pupils to meet the demands of change, an approach which would seem eminently suitable in South Africa at the present time.

1.2.3 **Stubbs (1976)** writing with a sociological bias, says that, because of the complex relationships between language, thinking and educational success and the power of social attitudes to language, "it is important for everyone concerned with schools and classrooms to give language careful study" (p16). He believes that classroom language should be closely studied; that this study would lead to the need to consider language and that this in turn would help teachers become clear in their own minds as to what approach to adopt to their language teaching. (1) Stubbs believes that a close study of classroom language would lead to a greater understanding of the relations between language and education and, therefore, a more varied use of language. In quoting research done by Walker and Adelman (1972, 1975, 1976) he warns that too narrow a notion of classroom language may lead to a poor appreciation of the value of the "fragmented, incomplete" kind of talk which takes place in informal contexts, and an undue appreciation of chalk-and-talk lessons.

Implied in Stubbs's work is the idea that teachers, ignorant of the varied uses of language, may find it difficult to evaluate their own use of language in the classroom. It would seem necessary to have some one person, with a knowledge of language, available to the staff to assist in any evaluation of classroom language. Further, in evaluating the use of language in group discussion, Stubbs seems to suggest that, for any honest evaluation to take place, teachers would need to control any negative or pre-conceived ideas that group discussion is merely a "pooling of

1. Stubbs blames teacher-education to a large extent for the teachers' ignorance of language (p17).
ignorances". (1)

1.2.4 **Barnes** (2) (1971) believes, too, that language is a major means of learning and that:

"... the pupils' uses of language for learning are strongly influenced by the teacher's language, which prescribes to them their roles as learners" (p113).

In his call for a study of the language of classroom interaction, he is convinced that it would contribute to curriculum theory and help teachers define their responsibilities for their pupils' uses of language. He says:

"There is an urgent need in educational discussion not only for a general theory of the part played by language in cognitive learning, but for special theories of language and learning in the classroom" (op cit, p114).

Barnes details the aspects which would need accounting for in any theory of language and classroom learning, based on his own research of twelve lessons given to eleven-year-olds. In his earlier report of this research (1969, p74) Barnes found that some teachers failed to perceive the pedagogical implications of many of their own uses of language; and also that a descriptive study provides a potential method of helping teachers to become more aware.

Barnes concludes his later article by saying that, if all teachers could be sensitive to language in the classroom, the level of learning in all schools might be raised.

Barnes's experience would seem to bear out the necessity for teachers in schools to discuss the part played by language in learning and to analyse some of the factors of the classroom situation which limit

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1. This metaphor is borrowed from James Britton.

2. Douglas Barnes's work will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.
pupils' performance.

Classroom language stems from the language habits and assumptions of teacher and pupils and so it seems that language should initially be studied in its sociolinguistic context, and performance related to kinds of learning. In this way, it seems teachers would indeed learn to be "sensitive" and "raise the level of learning" in their classrooms.

1.2.5 Britton\(^{(1)}\) (1970) hypothesises that our organisation of our representation of the world relies very largely upon language. His general theory is that man operates either in the role of participant or in the role of spectator.

Britton sees man in the role of spectator when experience is recounted and shared, very often only for enjoyment. Man takes up the role of spectator both in his own past or future events, and other people's experiences past or future. Britton extends this role to becoming spectator "of events that have never happened and could never happen", for example, in reading a story. He defines the role of spectator as

"... someone on holiday from the world's affairs, someone contemplating experiences, enjoying them, vividly reconstructing them perhaps - but experience in which he is not taking part" (p104).

The role of spectator facilitates the critical evaluation of moral stance, and Britton's concept could obviously be exploited by all teachers.

The role of participant, on the other hand, is that in which one is participating in one's own and the world's affairs. The language used in the role of participant is very different from the language used in the role

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1. Constant use will be made of Britton's terminology in this work.
of spectator, for the "need to act and decide characterizes the participant role - to act and decide in response to the social demands of human co-existence" (op. cit., p105). Britton sees the spoken form of language in the role of spectator as gossip, and the written form as literature, whereas the language for informing, instructing, persuading, arguing, explaining, planning, and coming to conclusions, is the language of the participant.

In a later article, Britton (1971) outlines three main functions of language - Transactional, Expressive and Poetic. He relates these functions to the two roles as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant role</th>
<th>Spectator role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRANSACTIONAL</td>
<td>EXPRESSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POETIC</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

He explains the transactional function as that used by the participant in the world's affairs. The poetic function is where the use of language in spectator role achieves its fullest satisfactions. The expressive function, used most often in everyday conversation, straddles the participant/spectator distinction as expressive language is "loosely structured" and "free to fluctuate".

Britton feels that this scheme may offer an approach to the consideration of the role of language across the curriculum and a recognition of the educational value of spectator role activities.

It seems clear that Britton's scheme is potentially a very useful one to teachers, for not only is it concerned with all uses of language, but it should help teachers to categorize language and to diagnose where pupils may be having difficulty in the learning

1. Britton's sub-categories of these three functions will be found as an appendix to this work.
situation. An awareness of this scheme could possibly help teachers appreciate the linguistic demands made on pupils and be better able to plan a balanced programme for language development.

1.2.6 **Rosen** (1969), in an illuminating article, argues that teachers need to examine how language is working in their classrooms, for in this way, they will discover "something more general about language in education or how we use words to live". He feels that it is probably "only through such a programme of patient self-education that a Language Policy Across the Curriculum can become a working reality" (p120).

Rosen takes up the point of linguistic demands, noting that the demand for *transactional* writing in school is ceaseless. However, "*expressive* language with all its vitality and richness is the only possible soil from which transactional writing can grow" (*op cit*, p138). Rosen wants teachers to ensure that the linguistic demands made on pupils are commensurate with their linguistic competence, and that this competence may be developed sensitively.

It seems clear that language permeates school life and that children encounter a variety of language in the curriculum. Rosen's further suggestion that teachers should "foster the initiative" of their pupils by making fewer attempts at verbalizing ideas for their pupils so that the pupils' language will be less stereotyped, seems one which teachers would do well to adopt.

1.2.7 In stating that language is personal, **Ashworth** (1973) feels that teachers ought to have certain guiding principles to help them. He suggests that teachers should take into account the immaturity of the primary school child, and in considering each child's language
use consider "how effective for its purpose the language is" and "how appropriate to the particular purpose for which it is intended" (op cit, p22). This diagnosis would assist in planning other language work.

Further, Ashworth points out that the ranges of language use to which the child is exposed need to be considered and the child given the opportunity to experience language over such a range. This would require, he says, careful planning "for the extension of a child's language experience cannot be taken for granted" (p24). Ashworth sees language as the priority of a primary school child and feels that with careful planning pupils will develop language competence which will manifest itself in the appropriate use of English. To succeed in this, the teacher will need to cultivate "an eye for the variety of language in both spoken and written modes, together with a conviction that such varieties have their own validity" (op cit, p85).

Also, Ashworth believes that creativity relies heavily on language. To develop creativity, he suggests that children should interpret problems through discussion in groups. A satisfactory learning situation is achieved as the child "negotiates" rather than "receives" a version of reality - "one that will accommodate both his own changing perceptions and prior knowledge and those of his group" (p119).

He sums up by hoping that teachers will extend the language activities of children in a systematic way; that they will design a system which moves towards greater richness and effectiveness.

Ashworth, then, comes out strongly in support of planning each child's language growth. It is a central concern of the present work that such planning could be couched in the form of a language policy for the school, to ensure such growth.
Following closely on the beliefs of the aforementioned language experts, the Natal Education Department Guide to the Syllabus for English First Language in the Senior Primary Phase (1978) states, in accordance with the Department's policy as mentioned in the Introduction, that class teachers in the primary school have the responsibility for ensuring that language development takes places in all subjects of the curriculum, and that if mature language is to develop at all,

"... it must grow out of the confident use of personal expressive language and the thoughtful, conscious consideration of the new language the teacher has to offer" (p4).

It is refreshing to note the perspicacity reflected in these words. However, the actual situation in many schools is not satisfactory because of a lack of co-ordinated planning in terms of language policy.

The relationship between language and thought

The relationship between language and thinking is perhaps the most important issue in any debate on language development and any subsequent language policy. Because the relationship is a major concern of this dissertation, it cannot be considered without reference to the views of language expounded by Vygotsky and Piaget. These two investigators have, perhaps, had the greatest influence on educationalists this century. A consideration of their work is pertinent as it shows the significance of language in thinking and suggests implications for teaching children.

Piaget\(^1\) believes that the learner accommodates his

1. Sources which refer to Piaget's theory, include:

existing framework to take in new information while at the same time assimilating and modifying this new information to make it digestible. Language, then, is an outside agent which is accommodated and then assimilated: the lingual signs are accommodated to the child's thought structures. This means that the level of understanding modifies the language rather than vice versa. Piaget was convinced of his view after numerous experiments involving children manipulating and understanding ideas through play which involved no words.

The warning to teachers in Piaget's investigations is that adult language should not be imposed on children "or else language may even present a danger if it is used to introduce an idea which is not yet accessible" (as cited by Brooks Smith et al, 1970, p133). Following this notion of Piaget's, means that concepts taught by adults could confuse the child's thinking and allow him to settle for a verbalised statement of an idea without really knowing what it means. Piaget's views greatly influenced the Nuffield Projects in Education in England in the 1960s. These projects followed the maxim "I do and I understand". The new approach to mathematics in primary schools in South Africa is another example of Piaget's influence.

Piaget does, however, view language as a vital element in social interaction and recognises it as the means whereby children move from "egocentricity" to a more objective and socialized outlook.

Vygotsky (1962) on the other hand, views speech as deriving from conversations listened to and subsequently shared. The social interchange comes first and only later does speech become monologue and, finally, "inner speech". Vygotsky, therefore, does not speak in terms of 'egocentric speech' developing into 'socialized speech', but of social speech developing in two directions for two distinct uses. The social
speech develops in complexity and becomes more communicative, while the monologue becomes internalized to become "inner speech", a function in itself - the child "thinks" words rather than pronouncing them. Beyond this plane of 'inner speech', according to Vygotsky, lies the plane of thought. He concludes:

"Thought and language, which reflect reality in a way different from that of perception, are the key to the nature of human consciousness. Words play a central part not only in the development of thought but in the historical growth of consciousness as a whole" (p153).

Vygotsky's view shows a concern for dialogue between adult and child, unlike Piaget's view which supports discovery before adult language is introduced.

However, the stages in development of thinking of the child postulated by both these men correspond roughly.

To summarize, it may be said that teachers can benefit from the work of both these theorists. This would involve embracing a concept of personal discovery and exploration by the child and allowing language to play a major part in this exploration; a concept whereby the language of the teacher and of the child is brought into interplay at every possible stage.

In the Bullock Committee's view (1975, p50), there are certain important inferences to be drawn from a study of the relationship between language and learning. These are:

"(i) All genuine learning involves discovery, and it is as ridiculous to suppose that teaching begins and ends with 'instruction' as it is to suppose that 'learning by discovery' means leaving children to their own resources;

(ii) language has a heuristic function; that is to say, a child can learn by talking and writing as certainly as he can by listening and reading;

(iii) to exploit the process of discovery through language in all its uses is the surest means of enabling a child to master his mother tongue."
It seems that these current views on language and learning, and their relation to the personal growth of the child imply a particular model or view of teaching. Therefore, an examination of some of the categories or 'types' of teacher, as described by selected writers, will follow, in an effort to identify the most appropriate kind of role performance for a teacher involved in the real language development of pupils.

1.4 Teacher 'types' and their effectiveness in the implementation of a language policy

Hargreaves (1975), Postman and Weingartner (1971), Scheffler (1967), Barnes (1973), Esland (1971), amongst others, have identified and described teacher 'types' in detail. As there is considerable overlap only those categories named by Hargreaves, Barnes and Esland will be mentioned here. The writer recognises the dangers in being too categoric - for example, overlap between 'types' is possible; each category being extreme by definition, no one person fitting a description exactly. However, descriptions of this sort are useful in considering the kind of teacher best suited to implement a language and learning programme which ensures the development of each child.

Hargreaves (1975) distinguishes three clear types which he calls "liontamers", "entertainers" and "New Romantics".

Hargreaves sees liontamers as essentially reflecting a nineteenth-century model of teaching which is surviving well in this century. In this model, the teacher conditions her pupils through reinforcement

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schedules(1), and demands pupil motivation. "Ultimately the pupils must learn what is required because the teacher says so and it is the pupils' duty to obey" (p165).

The entertainer's basic assumption is similar to that of the liontamer's - pupils do not naturally want to learn. Rather than driving in education in the liontamer manner, it is "drawn out" by making education "fun". The teacher spends time in preparing work that will be enjoyable, based, wherever possible, on the interests of the pupils.

The New Romantics, on the other hand, believe that pupils are naturally motivated to learn but lose this motivation through poor schooling. In this model, the task of the teacher is to facilitate learning by encouraging an attitude of inquiry in her pupils. There is a high degree of pupil participation in this model.

Barnes (1973) describes two extreme types of teacher noting that most teachers fall somewhere along the continuum. He names the two extremes as "Transmission" and "Interpretation" teachers.

Barnes notes that the former "sees language as a kind of speaking tube". Knowledge is transmitted down this "speaking tube" or received back through it from the pupils. The knowledge passes back and forth unchanged. This type of teacher "puts great emphasis on pupils' ability to reproduce information" and assesses pupils' language ability in this light. Discussion for this teacher means cross-questioning, and writing means reproducing what was said in the lesson. The pupils, according to this type of teacher, will not be ready to think "until they have mastered a great deal of information by rote".

1. According to Hargreaves, this derives from the influence of the rationale of educational psychologists such as Skinner.
The Interpretation type teacher "will emphasize language as a means of interpretation". Discussion and writing are ways of helping the pupil think more effectively. Language "overlaps with curriculum on one side and with classroom interaction on the other". This teacher attempts to give the pupil the ability to actively make sense of the world around him.

Esland (1971) distinguishes between two psychological models for pedagogic purposes - the psychometric model and the epistemological model. The psychometric model is based on the empiricist tradition of objectives, therefore seeing the child "as object". The epistemological model is based on a concern with how the child "actively constructs and arranges his knowledge of the world in his developing interpretational schema" (p89). Esland sees these models as having fundamentally different assumptions about human nature and consciousness, each having its own consequences for the communication of knowledge. The psychometric model, he believes is "dehumanising" as it forces passivity on the learner - the child is "world-produced" rather than a "world-producer". In direct opposition to this, is the epistemological model where criteria for 'bad' teaching are the very criteria upheld in the other paradigm.

"In an epistemological paradigm 'bad' teaching is associated with the reification of knowledge - that is, as 'facts to be learned'; and with weak Versteheu - the inability to appropriate the consciousness of the child" (1971, p96).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Esland believes that theoretical knowledge of teaching is essential and that teachers only acquiring techniques and practical suggestions will be low-status teachers.

Esland would seem to imply that a greater understanding of consciousness demands change to a more interpretive attitude and teaching style.

It is submitted that teachers, in implementing a language policy successfully, would need to be more 
of the interpretation type for reasons which, it is hoped, will become clear in due course.

1.5 Advantages in the teacher adopting an "interpretation" model in the implementation of a language policy

The Bullock Committee (1975, paragraph 12.3) state,

"For language to play its full role as a means of learning, the teacher must create in the classroom an environment which encourages a wide range of language uses."

If a teacher is not creating this environment, it seems clear that there is need for her to change. The primary school teacher may enforce her own definition of a situation on pupils. As Hargreaves (op cit, p115) puts it, "The behaviour of the pupils will be highly dependent on the teacher's behaviour" and if such behaviour does not facilitate the wide use of language, harm will result.

The primary school teacher has it in her power to initiate interpretive and integrative work in her classroom.

"The primary school teacher responsible for the whole or most of the schoolwork of his class already has it in his power to establish a language policy across the curriculum. Whether or not he is taking that opportunity will depend upon the extent to which the various uses of language permeate all the other learning activities." (Bullock, idem).

That language should "permeate all the other learning activities" has become an accepted belief of modern educationalists, psychologists and linguists. Bruner (1968), among others, makes it clear that a grasp of the full range of the potentialities of language is an essential tool in the advancement of social man. Bernstein (1971, p60) discusses integration of work in the classroom showing how this will lead to a concern
and emphasis on "how knowledge is created" rather than acquiring "states of knowledge". This integration would require an emphasis on language for, of necessity, language would permeate all the learning activities. This, then, is the inquiry or interpretation model of teaching in action.

The justification for a change to an integrative, interpretive type of teaching is clearly mapped out by modern educationalists and other researchers. What some selected writers have said on the matter of change of role in teaching will now be considered.

Elvin (1974, p20) writes,

"One thing that is certain is that the speed at which we are acquiring new knowledge will dictate less, not more, specialisation in school ... the very speed of change is making nonsense of early specialisation ... what is necessary ... is to educate young people so that they will be able to understand and master the new processes that will come in."

Postman and Weingartner (1971), in their discussion of change, point out that, although change has always been present in education, what is new is the degree of change, caused by the 'knowledge explosion'. They quote from A.N. Whitehead who points out that the educational tradition

"... is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mould with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false" (p24).

In order for pupils to cope with change, the authors argue, teachers will need to change. They will need to teach what is worth knowing and how to pursue what is worth knowing. Unless schools change to an inquiry method, they warn, pupils will "go into a severe case of 'future shock'".
John Watts (1974) shows how historically, teachers have resisted change and, although they have had the authority to change, they have "lacked the confidence to do so" (p126). He warns that

"The urgent need for change in schools will cause that change to come from outside pressure and initiative if it is not forthcoming internally" (p134).

Nash (1976), in his discussion of pupil learning, pleads for more critical awareness in teachers. He cites research done by Keddie in 1971 which shows that, although teachers said they were working on integrated curriculum,

"... they still maintain ideal typifications constructed on the basis of their experience of children learning within the context of a non-integrated curriculum" (p80).

What this means, it would seem, is that, although teachers are recognising the educational reasons for change, they are not actually, in any marked way, changing "type". To borrow McLuhan's metaphor, too many teachers suffer from the "rearview-mirror syndrome", in an attempt to cling to orthodoxy and tradition without realising that a new model of teaching is a new model of teaching and not a refinement or modification of an older classroom environment.

The writer now proceeds to infer from the references given, some implications for language teaching.

1. "Teaching is largely a matter of confidence and, if the system of teacher training does not create confidence either in teachers or the employers of teachers, there is something radically wrong." (Britton J, 'The teaching Profession and the Education of Teachers' quoted in Role Conflict and the Teacher by Grace G.R., 1972, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London).
1.6 Some implications of change in the role of the teacher for language teaching

In order to exploit to the full, situations that promote the language development of the pupils, it seems that teachers need to analyse their behaviour and change it where necessary.

This change would involve a new view of language, that is, seeing language as a major means of learning, which in turn should lead to a new view of learning.

"The teacher's language model and the interaction he is prepared to allow are important indications of his view of learning and of his priorities." (Lewis, 1975, p64)

It seems vital that teachers adopt a view of learning which allows for the development of the full potential of the child; for on this view rests the learner's image of himself. Authorities agree that the most influential factor in school learning is how a learner sees himself. This view of himself depends very largely on how his teachers see him and how he interprets his position in the hierarchical structure of the school.

Mead (1934, pp173-178), in offering an analysis of the social genesis of the self, and believing that the self arises from social experience, developed the concept of the self as consisting of two parts - the "I" and the "me".

"The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the 'me' is the organised set of attitudes of others which one assumes oneself. The attitudes of the others contribute to the definition of the organized 'me', and one reacts toward that as an 'I' "(p175).

Placing Mead's theory in the context of the school, it may be seen that the child takes cognizance of the attitudes of the school and its teachers and then responds to the school "me". Because primary school children spend a great deal of their school day with
one teacher, these teachers can have a very strong influence on children's self-image. It seems difficult for children to resist this influence on self-image. "They are what their teachers say they are" (Newton, 1978, p73).

What is of significance is that the learner's view of himself depends in turn upon the teacher's view of herself. Whatever role she assigns herself will be the one to which the pupil must relate. Unquestionably, this chosen role will be closely related to a particular view of learning and it is the view which influences the learner.

"There is no doubt that pupils quickly become aware, implicitly of the model of learning which the teacher and the school promotes." (Nash, 1974, as quoted by Newton, op cit, p80)

The teacher's view of learning and her subsequent language style may be seen as the crux of any successful and productive implementation of a language policy. In such implementation, teachers need to criticize their own views and approaches and adopt a rationale that is consistent with and supportive of practices which encourage the language and learning growth of the pupils. Lewis (op cit, p44) offers what he considers are crucial questions which should be answered by any teacher in analysing or justifying her classroom practice:

"1. What is our teaching model and how is this made apparent in our classroom language?
2. How might our language model affect the learning of our pupils?
3. What are the learning outcomes of our teaching model, and how are these evident in what the children say?
4. Are our models of learning (and thus of using language) adequate when compared with the way learning actually appears to operate?"

The answers elicited from these questions could be an indication of how a teacher views learning and language and a starting point from which to move to
a role more conducive to a productive learning environment in the classroom.

The work of Esland (1971) suggests that teachers who are of the interpretive type will, in their open-ended approach to knowledge, operate a more integrated curriculum. The pedagogical implication of the dereification of knowledge, he explains, is that "the organization of the curriculum into clearly bounded zones can no longer be taken as axiomatic" (p96). This epistemological paradigm is surely the model which allows language to be central to learning right across the curriculum.

Flanders (1970), amongst others, has shown that, if teachers adopt a more flexible behaviour and include a high degree of pupil participation in the interaction in the classroom, pupils develop more positive attitudes toward the teacher and the schoolwork and learning accordingly is increased. Flanders (op cit, p15) quotes from the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development Yearbook of 1962 to show that creativity is only possible if initiated by the learner and that this creativity cannot occur in a teacher-dominated, close-ended classroom:

"Creativity is not learned from restraint. It is a product of the lowering or removal of barriers. It is a matter of being different, of daring to change, of venturing forth ... Conformity and creativity are essentially antithetical - what produces one tends to destroy the other."

It seems justified to say that, unless teachers adopt more of an "interpretation" model of teaching, pupils will not be given the best opportunity to use language and their individual growth in language will accordingly be stunted. Further, because the success of a language policy surely rests on the language development of each pupil, a classroom atmosphere which encourages personal use of language by each pupil as often as possible seems called for.
1.7 Conclusions

The work of the cited experts has heavily influenced the development of policy in the Western World regarding the teaching of language in primary schools. The following conclusions derive:

1.7.1 Language is a major means of learning, therefore the child must use his own personal language, rather than an imitation of the language of others as a means to his own learning.

1.7.2 A study of the linguistic demands made in the classroom, and an awareness of each child's performance in these demands, would lead to systematic planning to equip each child with the competence to meet these demands.

1.7.3 A knowledge of some of the models, functions and theories of language such as those proposed by Halliday, Britton, and Doughty and Thornton, would give teachers insight into language and the language difficulties arising in the classroom.

1.7.4 An analysis of classroom language would show the weaknesses and strengths of that language and would allow for adjustments and planning for a variety of language uses in the classroom.

1.7.5 Teachers need to help their pupils cope with change and the linguistic demands of change.

1.7.6 Someone with a knowledge of what language is and what language does might need to assist teachers in evaluating and analysing classroom language.
1.7.7 An exploration into the functions of language would encourage teachers to exchange what is often a traditional role for a more effective one. A recognition of the major role of language in schools and its use in learning would, it seems, lead teachers to adopt approaches more conducive to the individual language development of each pupil.

These conclusions could perhaps be combined in one over-riding observation - the need for a language policy in each school. In the designing of a language policy for a school, teachers would have the opportunity to explore the use they personally made of language, and would share this in discussion with other members of staff. A combined effort of this nature could lead to an awareness of classroom language that would make for "greater richness and effectiveness".

This awareness and concern for the educational needs of the child would possibly also initiate a demand for greater involvement of teachers in curriculum planning. Clearly a personal involvement in curriculum planning should create an attitude of responsibility, interest and satisfaction in teachers. This would be preferable to the present position in, for example, Natal where syllabuses are imposed upon schools to be implemented with what appears, at times, to be little interest or fore-thought among teachers.

The present chapter has been concerned with the move in the teaching of language from a "skills" model to the more contemporary view of "personal growth". Teaching models have been examined and it has been shown that an "epistemological" paradigm is the more suitable paradigm to adopt if the concern is for the child and his growth in language and learning.

The next three chapters provide a closer examination of spoken language, reading and writing and the development of the child's potential in terms of
each of these as a component of a language policy, though, as pointed out before, the essence of such a policy is that the various modes of language interact.
CHAPTER TWO

SPOKEN LANGUAGE AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

2.1 Introduction

"The speaking voice precedes the writing pen and the reading eye in the life-history of every normal child."

(Rosen, 1971, p162)

Most children learn to talk before they come to school, because they need to. Many reasons connected with the individual's own growth and development render speech absolutely necessary. Halliday (1973, p10) explains the young child's awareness of the primacy of speech:

"The child knows what language is because he knows what language does ... He has used language in many ways - for the satisfaction of material and intellectual needs, for the mediation of personal relationships, the expression of feelings and so on."

Of all the modes of language, speaking is the prime one because it is the means of communication which dominates the practical lives of the overwhelming majority of people. It is through talk that ideas are shaped and modified, questions and doubts voiced and social relationships established. Given that:

"The uniqueness of language derives from the fact that it is, at one and the same time, a capability that man acquires through growing up as a member of a particular society and the major means by which he can acquire all the other capabilities ..."

(Doughty & Thornton, 1973, p43)

it seems relevant in this study to consider the part which talk, as a form of language, plays in learning. The present chapter is concerned with the further development of talk rather than with initial acquisition of spoken language. However, the writer recognises that a knowledge of how a child acquires the early use
of language is necessary to an understanding of the child's language competence and performance, and therefore to any assessment of the child's language ability.

2.2 A matter of terminology

Many terms are used to refer to the activity of spoken language. 'Oral work', 'talk', 'talking', 'oracy'(1), 'speech', 'oral communication', are but a few. The writer chooses to use the term 'talk'(2), for its use seems to stress the naturalness of the process and connects it to the normal way of communicating in everyday life. It is probable that "naturalness" would greatly increase the value of talk in schools.

2.3 A review of the place of talk in schools

The development of linguistics in the latter part of this century has shown that what is acquired in language is the structure and use of language in historical, social and psychological settings. Linguists are mainly concerned with spoken forms of language, and this possibly accounts for the recent interest shown in talk. Whereas earlier, focus was on literacy with spoken language playing a minor role as an aid to literacy (Wilkinson, 1965, p13), oracy is now seen as a prime and vital component of language ability.

2. Britton (1971) uses this term in an article he titles 'Talking to Learn'. The term 'talk' is also favoured by Barnes (1971) and Rosen (1971).
It is perhaps the work done by Wilkinson on oral communication which has led to the emphasis now given to oracy. He believes (op cit, p14) that an "educated person should be numerate, orate and literate", and that the main job of the teacher "is to provide situations which call forth increasing powers of utterance" (p63). In his description of oracy, Wilkinson also notes the importance in education of effective listening.

The diversity and tempo of change in modern society has brought about a situation, it is suggested, in which the individual is increasingly at risk, unless he can be flexible in his capacity to make sense of the world. It would seem that the ability to cope with change depends largely on command of language. Talk, being the principal means of relating to others and of making sense of the world, assumes an importance in education which it did not previously have.

"Spoken language undoubtedly enjoys a status in education which it did not previously possess in the twentieth century ..." (Dobie, 1976, p15).

Dobie (op cit, p23) in establishing the centrality of oral communication in the curriculum quotes Britton who notes that whatever kind of language activity we value educationally,

"We have to recognise that it is closely related to speech, and that speech is the focal, the recruiting area for all linguistic competence ... Therefore, priority must be given to speaking in schools."

The centrality of oral communication in the curriculum has been further recognised by published official reports in Britain.

In 1963 the Newsom Report (para 86) recognised that development of spoken language should be a central concern of education.
The Plowden Report (1967, p196) recognised the unique role of language as an organiser of experience and so found "every justification for the conversation which is a characteristic feature of the contemporary primary school".

The Bullock Report (1975, p144) sees a change of emphasis from teaching to learning which means that "talk now occupies a position of central importance".

The Natal Education Department Syllabus for English First Language in the Primary School (1977, p3) suggests that spoken communication should be purposefully motivated. "The pupil must not only appreciate the reason for communicating but also have something to communicate."

Dobie (op cit, Chap 1) gives other examples of recent developments in curriculum structure which stress the importance of communication and, specifically, of speech.

This official recognition of the importance of talk has, no doubt, lent further impetus to the introduction of opportunities for more kinds of talk in the classroom, and, indeed, for opportunities for talk in the wider context of the school and the community.

The recognition of the importance of talk in the curriculum combined with recent thinking on language acquisition and development has also led educationalists to appreciate the importance of talk that is less overt; the way talk is used in the school environment. Some writers (e.g. Adams & Pearce, 1974) refer to this aspect of talk in schools as part of the "hidden curriculum" or "language between the curriculum" - the talk which is apart from that which takes place in a planned situation. It seems necessary to consider this kind of talk for it may be seen as a 'model' of language use offered to the child.
2.4 The school as a 'model' for talk

"Schools are language-saturated institutions. ... Teachers explain, lecture, question, exhort, reprimand and make jokes. Pupils listen, reply, make observations, call out, mutter, whisper and make jokes. Small knots gather round over books, lathes, easels and reports, or over nothing in classrooms, labs, workshops, craftrooms, corridors and toilets to chatter, discuss, argue, quarrel, plan, plot, teach each other, using words to stroke or strike."

(Rosen, 1971, p119)

If language development is of central concern to the school, then an implication which may be drawn from Rosen's statement is that schools will need to pay attention to the 'model' of talk they offer. Adams & Pearce (1974, p132) point out that because the school environment commands some measure of prestige in the eyes of the pupils, it is a "source of language models to the children in the school".

The way in which a school staff talk to pupils in the corridors, between lessons, in assembly, on the playing fields, in the daily routine and, indeed, to each other, may be seen to assume importance and potency when considered as a model for communication. It is generally accepted that pupils learn much more than the school consciously sets out to teach them; the way talk operates in the school environment may be seen as one of these unconscious learning situations.

A conclusion which may be drawn is that attention needs to be paid to every single utterance made in the school, for what the pupils learn will depend, it seems, on the school's awareness of the effect language has on other people. I.A. Richards (as cited by Postman & Weingartner, 1969, p104), in criticising the trivial ways in which language is studied at school explains,

"... a deeper and more thorough study of our use of words is at every point a study of our ways of living. It touches all the modes of interpretive
activity - in techniques, and in social intercourse - upon which civilization depends."

Linguists have shown that children have accomplished much in the acquisition of language by the time they enter school. It seems, then, that one of the main responsibilities of the school is to show what language does in terms which provide humane experience and humane examples. This implies a close examination by the staff of many aspects of schooling.

It means, for instance, an examination of the staff's own use of language and their awareness of all the functions for which language is used.

It implies an examination of each teacher's attitude to children, to their learning, and to the language ability that each child brings with him to the school, however unenriched this may seem to be to the school. As Bruner (1966, p126f) has stated, "the corpus of learning ... is reciprocal". He points out that the teacher should not be so much a model to imitate, but a person with whom to interact.

"It is that the teacher can become a part of the student's internal dialogue - somebody whose respect he wants, someone whose standards he wishes to make his own" (idem).

It is suggested that only by taking into account the various socioeconomic differences of the pupils and the effect these have on language experience, will the staff of a school respect the language of the child, for example, seeing it not as inferior but different; thereby allowing for a kind of reciprocity that engenders respect for the teacher and the pupil.

It seems that an examination of this nature may bring a staff to a collective decision, a common policy, on what language climate is the best to offer in the school.
Having established the need for teachers to consider their use of language in the school environment, the writer proceeds to a study of the need for various opportunities for pupil talk, both within the framework of a lesson and outside this context.

2.5 Opportunities for talk outside the lesson

"The task is not how to teach language, but how to enhance the language learning already taking place." (Brossell, 1977, p41)

Traditionally, the only useful purpose in pupil talk seen by schools, was in the 'elocution' lesson where value judgements on accent prevailed. Dobie (op cit, p252f) shows that the emphasis has shifted to a concern for "fluency" and "variety". He sees "appropriateness of a particular utterance" as being the determinant of acceptability rather than merely the aesthetic quality of its sound. Dobie concludes that an understanding of register, the appropriacy of language, is an important part of speech education. An implication is that schools will need to enhance the opportunities for pupil talk to encourage an awareness of appropriacy.

Reference has been made to the influence of sociologists on views of language and learning. Their work would seem to be of significance here. Brossel (op cit, p42) explains,

"Growth in language reflects personal as well as social development, and thus teaching for language growth is, in the deepest sense, teaching for integrated human development."

Growth in social development, it is suggested, may be accomplished in school if pupils are given the opportunity to be protagonists in social situations. For example, pupils could greet and host visitors to the school, answer the school telephone, give addresses
of welcome and thanks on some occasions, organise school assembly or guide student teachers or new pupils around the school. Moving out from the school to the wider community should give further opportunities to experiment with talk with as many kinds of people as possible.

These approaches may be seen as subversive because they subvert the notion of education as a closed, mysterious, hierarchical activity in which the pupil has an insignificant and passive role to play. Approaches offering the pupil the opportunity to develop his language in the wider social context may be seen to assert the vitality of the pupil's own language as the central means to the successful use of appropriate forms of language.

Since speech is a participatory event,

"... the speech of any one participant is affected by his interpretation of the speech event and his analysis of what is appropriate to it."

(Brenneis & Lein, 1977, p65)

It may be argued that the more genuine speech events pupils experience, the more aware they will become of the value of talk and the importance of appropriate talk. Adams & Pearce (op cit, p52) point out, "In an increasingly oral society, this is vital for their future effectiveness and happiness".

Thus far, it has been shown that talk as a means of communication is a vital component of any primary school. The writer now wishes to make a distinction between this kind of talk and talking to learn.

Torbe (1979, p113) makes the following distinction between language for communication and language for learning:
"When we use language to find out what we think and feel, we are learning. When we use language to tell others what we think and feel, we are communicating."

In a gross way, this may be likened to Vygotsky's "inner speech" for learning and "socialised speech" for communication. While recognising that there is an inevitable interaction between these two kinds of talk, the writer wishes to focus attention on talk for learning for, quite clearly, in the context of the classroom, it is difficult to 'communicate' until the child has learned what it is he has to communicate.

2.6 Talking to learn

Since language is the working medium of the classroom and the major agent of learning, talk would seem to have dynamic possibilities for aiding that learning:

"Oracy we see as central to classroom activities. In talk, the first attempts to understand experience may occur; tentative hypotheses may be suggested; half-formulated ideas may be tried out against others' response." (Nate (England) evidence to the Bullock Committee as quoted by Dobie, 1976, p27)

There are voices of dissent in the idea of talk being an aid to learning. For example, Froome (1975, p558) believes, "It is doubtful if children's talk in school does much to improve their knowledge". Nevertheless, there is a large amount of literature to support the idea that children can use talk as a means of learning.

By making a distinction between "school knowledge" and "action knowledge", Barnes (1976) has shown conclusively that until a child can verbalize his learning or knowledge in his own language, he cannot call it his own. Barnes defines "action knowledge" as the pupils' "assimilation of knowledge to their own purposes" (p82). He sees talking to learn as
important,

"... in that it is a major means by which learners explore the relationship between what they already know, and new observations or interpretations which they meet" (p81).

Barnes may be regarded as a pioneer researcher in this regard. His initial research in 1966(1), in which he investigated the presence or absence of links in patterns in the teacher's linguistic behaviour with that of children's learning, led Barnes to explore further, classroom language and the possibilities of small group learning. Barnes (1976, p29) argues for a social context which supports his belief that,

"The more a learner controls his own language strategies, and the more he is enabled to think aloud, the more he can take responsibility for formulating explanatory hypotheses and evaluating them."

Turning in particular to the primary school and exploratory findings on talk there, the following are noted:

The importance of a face-to-face talking situation, and the provision for such situations, is stressed by Mallett and Newsome (1977, p139). In this situation, they believe, the pupil has the opportunity for gathering

"... the essential data for building up his language and for forming some notions about the appropriateness of his reaction to reality".

Tough (1975) also expresses the importance of face-to-face encounters and speculates that the assignment card/worksheet system pervading many contemporary primary schools may, in fact, reduce the opportunity for interaction which she sees as necessary to the development of enquiry and thinking skills, because such methods may reduce the amount of talk.

Wells (1980), in his five year follow-up study of children's language development, came to the conclusion that children needed scope to initiate and take responsibility for their further learning. Wells sees this scope as being a matter of communication:

"More attention needs to be given to teacher-pupil talk, as the opportunities for pupils to learn are different according to the type of conversation and discussion that the teacher engages in with them" (piv).

One of the most detailed studies of primary school children's language is that of Rosen & Rosen (1973). They give many reasons for children to be given opportunities to talk. As this study was a long and well documented scrutiny of classroom language, it seems pertinent to list some of the reasons given and conclusions made by these writers.

One reason given for children to talk on their own is that "even the best kind of teacher participation is sometimes deaf to children's pre-occupations" (p52). Rosen & Rosen see talk, however limited, as a necessary agent to language development.

"Given a challenge which they cannot meet from their existing vocabulary they make efforts to use language creatively and inventively ... Though language is public, possessed by all with common meanings, yet we must all re-discover it for ourselves, making the possession individual and unique" (ibid, p55).

The authors view "verbal drilling" as non-productive, the alternative being planned learning activities which give rise to talk. "Exploring the environment must include the verbal exploration of the environment" (ibid, p56). Exploration of this nature would include two kinds of talk which the writers believe are crucial to learning - "talking-while-doing" and "talking-while-observing" (p58). They see "talking-about-the-past" as the other category and equally as necessary - "Life does not exist as a vast anthology of unedited narratives. We impose narrative on it..." (ibid, p57). Having observed many children in many
primary schools, Rosen & Rosen (ibid, p64) came to the conclusion that because children have so much linguistic competence in reserve, teachers need to create situations which draw on these latent resources urging children towards the widest range of language use.

By placing the emphasis on pupil talk, the child's talk would, clearly, not only be accepted but developed. This acceptance of the child's language would seem to be a vital factor in any child's language progress.

"Disapproval of the child's own language ... effectively undermines his confidence, and shows that you [the teacher] don't much care for him, his home, his friends nor anything that is his."

(Creber, 1974, p22)

Social factors such as cultural and linguistic diversity may aggravate the child's ability to profit at school. Bernstein's concept of "frame" is useful in explaining this possible aggravation. He defines frame as

"... the degree of control teacher and pupils possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship" (Bernstein, 1973, p68).

He explains that stratified or closed schools would employ strong frames which realized types of collection codes whereas more open schools would employ weak frames which would realize types of integrated codes. Clearly, cultural and linguistic diversity would be appreciated in open schools in a way not possible in a closed school. Moreover, it would seem that in a more open school the realization of the elaborated codes used in many situations in school would not create alienation, but rather offer a different means by which an "exploration of consciousness" were possible.
It is suggested that, if the child is given the opportunity through a wide range of language experiences to develop his linguistic competence, that latent resource recognized by researchers to be in every child other than the most severely handicapped, he may develop interest and ability in analysing, discussing predicting and manipulating the world about him.

Having established by these references the importance of talk in the primary curriculum, the writer proceeds to a consideration of those classroom situations which generate children's talk.

2.7 Small group talk: a favourable means of learning

How much pupil talk is generated by the traditional class lesson? The work done by Flanders and by Bellack is much quoted to support the view that children are not given sufficient opportunity for talk in this type of lesson.

Flanders (1970), on the basis of his many analyses of classroom interaction, put forward his 'two thirds' finding: two thirds of every lesson is made up of talk, and two thirds of the talk comes from the teacher. What concerned Flanders was the lack of quality of this talk in lessons observed. He found (p13f) that

"... more than two-thirds of all teacher questions are concerned with narrow lines of interrogation which stimulate an expected response; that very little teacher talk is devoted to a consideration of ideas or opinions expressed by the pupils; questions are infrequently asked by pupils and only 20% of these are thought-provoking questions, and, 'structure' in learning activities is established by the teacher."

What is of interest in his findings though, is that when classroom interaction shifts towards a serious consideration of pupil ideas, making allowance for pupil initiative and more flexible behaviour on the part of the teacher, pupils have
"... more positive attitudes toward the teacher and the schoolwork, and measures of subject-matter learning adjusted for initial ability will be higher" (ibid, p14).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Flanders believes that every teacher should analyse her teaching behaviour in order for it to be more consistent with contemporary educational trends. While the work of Flanders has been criticised (see, for example, Furlong & Edwards, 1977), his study may be seen as a useful indication of the kind of talk that should be taking place in the classroom - talk that is initiated more by the pupils than by the teacher.

Bellack et al (1966) explain the shortcomings of teacher-to-class type teaching by defining it as the teaching game, involving a series of moves, because "pupils and teachers follow a set of implicit rules with few deviations" (p237). A summary of their descriptive model follows:

(i) The structuring move.
   This gives the setting.

(ii) The soliciting move.
   This is intended to elicit a response, frequently verbal.

(iii) The responding move.
   This fulfills the expectations of the soliciting move; it gives the required response.

(iv) The reacting move.
   This modifies or evaluates what has previously been said.

As can be noted, the pupils are involved in move (iii) only, and then in a limited and tightly controlled way. Clearly, this kind of interaction is not conducive to pupil initiative.

It is worth noting that this "game" is most likely to be the one favoured by the transmission type teacher who operates within a paradigm heavily influenced by
the educational psychology of behaviourism. It was argued in the previous chapter that this perspective is a form of social control which is too deterministic; it implicitly presents the child as a passive receiver.

While not discounting the value of a traditional class lesson (one can learn some things by listening), there would seem to be justifiable argument against using this kind of approach, if children are not given the opportunity to talk.

In his attempt to contribute to curriculum theory, Barnes (1976) studied children’s use of speech in the course of learning. His contribution to this line of thought is sufficiently valuable to be quoted here in some detail. The present writer selects seven recommendations made by Barnes for mention, regarding these as worthwhile ingredients to any fruitful learning situation:

(i) An 'open' approach to discussion which develops a hypothetical style of learning (p52);

(ii) exploratory and hypothetical questions asked by the child should be deliberately encouraged (p55);

(iii) the opportunity to re-articulate knowledge, to re-interpret ideas (p55);

(iv) the social element of verbalizing for one another (p59);

(v) some emotional commitment to the task in hand (p88);

(vi) collaboration to develop the ability to stand outside one’s own knowledge and see it as relative (p91);

(vii) the learner himself must take responsibility for the adequacy of his thinking (p115).

These seven recommendations would seem to describe, to a large measure, the kind of approach an 'interpretation type' teacher would adopt - the kind of
teacher who would, to use Esland's (1971) description, be concerned with how the child actively constructs and arranges his knowledge of the world.

Most research into classroom interaction has been based on the 'traditional' role of the teacher - the teacher-to-class variety. Furlong & Edwards (1977) criticise the sociolinguistic value of this kind of research believing that the observers have been influenced by their commonsense notions of what the situation was like because it was too familiar. Implied in their paper, is the warning that, when 'traditional' roles of teaching are abandoned, the critic's 'general knowledge' of classrooms will no longer be of use to him and he will need to be careful of condemning the validity of findings and recommendations made for other roles of teaching. Because the work of Barnes and his associates has been an analysis of informal group discussion, where the structure of the talk has been inseparable from the structure of the social relationships within the group, Furlong & Edwards (op cit, p127) see this work "as proper sociolinguistic analysis", believing that "Social and linguistic information are only comparable when studied within the same theoretical framework". The inseparability of talk and social relationships is further highlighted in a study by Barnes and Todd; a description of which follows.

In a study of learning in small groups, Barnes & Todd (1977) noted four categories of collaborative moves which aided group discussion. These were the (i) initiating move, often begun with 'I think ...' or 'I don't think ...'; (ii) an eliciting move to sustain discussion - requests to continue or expand or support or for information; (iii) an extending move - taking up an idea where another left off; (iv) a qualifying move which led from extending - adding to what had been said or recognising contradictions and reconciliations. Barnes & Todd noted that cognitive
strategies were adopted by the groups because they constructed questions to answer, raised new questions of their own, set up hypotheses, used evidence and expressed feelings and recreated experience. The writers felt that this showed that group discussion led "to the construction of new ways of understanding" (p50). Their study concluded that collaborative learning in small groups developed cognitive and social abilities, and that this kind of organisation placed the responsibility for learning in the learners' hands thereby changing the nature of that learning "by requiring them to negotiate their own criteria of relevance and truth" (p151).

An equally strong appeal for group discussion in the primary school in particular, is made by Cornwell (1979) who recorded and analysed mixed ability small group discussion. In tabulating the performance of each child in a group, he shows that both those with a "high potential" and a "low potential" benefit, and he suggests, "Group talk can be, and should be, the foundation of literacy" (p21). Above all, he sees group discussion promoting

"... the child's own responsibility towards the understanding of the task, and of the sequence in which he and other members of the group present their ideas" (p22).

Interesting support for small group learning situations in a primary school comes from Harrod (1977) who, in making a study of classroom language, set out initially to show that

"... individual encounters would produce the richness of exploratory dialogue which had proved elusive in the class lessons" (p6).

He found, however, that the language of these individual encounters with the teacher proved to be disjointed, predictable and sterile, conforming to a general pattern of minor points on management. Harrod concludes that
"... it seems on the face of it that Barnes' label of 'transmission' teacher applies equally to individual learning situations in this sample, as indeed it does to the more formal lessons" (idem).

Official support for group discussion is found in various sources, including the Plowden Report (1967, Para 755, 757 and 758) which suggests that group arrangements could offer children opportunities for discussion, thereby stimulating their thinking and conversational skills; and the Bullock Report (1975, p146) which sees the intimacy of a small group as an ideal setting for

"... an encounter with unfamiliar ideas and material ... the children can 'stretch' their language to accommodate their own second thoughts and the opinions of others".

Thus far, an attempt has been made to indicate the importance of talking as a means of learning. The standpoint has been taken that small group discussion may well be the most fertile means of generating talking to learn. There are obvious implications for teaching in what has been reported and these need clearer definition.

2.8 Implications for teaching

2.8.1 The central problem of primary school teaching, it is suggested, is how to put adult knowledge at children's disposal so that it does not become restricting. In the previous chapter, evidence suggested that the teacher who adopted an interpretation model of teaching was more likely to succeed in educating the pupils. Writers quoted in the present chapter, make it clear that teachers who adopt a more flexible and 'open' approach will establish opportunities for small group discussion because they will recognise its value. With this 'open' approach
the teacher, far from dominating the discussion, will act as listener, guider and contributor.

2.8.2 Teachers will need to know more about language and learning so that they may be able to adopt a view of learning and language that is compatible with practices in the classroom and which encourages exploratory talk.

"The job of the teacher in the 1980s demands an application and a degree of technical expertise considerably in advance of what has been required in the past" (Cashdan, 1979, pviii)

2.8.3 It follows that knowledge of learning and language will enable the teacher to plan a learning situation which has structure and direction.

2.8.4 It seems necessary to make a distinction between the child's initial groping to verbalise and his final attempt at verbalisation. Tentative first-stage thinking in talk will lack many of the characteristics of the more confident and organised formal use of language, when finally communicating what has been learned.

2.8.5 If the child is to articulate his own understandings in a meaningful way, he will need an audience of more than the teacher. "The need to explain to someone who does not understand is crucial" (Barnes, 1976, p92). In the small group situation, the pupil will clearly be challenged to communicate his viewpoint to others with different assumptions.

2.8.6 Great emphasis is placed by teachers on the value of questioning. However, in an atmosphere of enquiry and exploration, the wrong question by the teacher may very possibly stem the flow of thought. Teachers will need to consider very carefully the kinds of
questions they ask - this will no doubt require an interpretation of the way children's talk is going and the nature of the contributions being made. Rosen & Rosen (op cit, p69) warn that group discussion may require a treatment different from that of questioning by the teacher. (1)

2.8.7 "... since the child can speak when we first meet him, there is nothing for education to do" (Wise, 1965, p47). Wise does not, of course, support such a view, but clearly any teacher holding a "threshold" view of speech will need to change it, if she is to recognise the value of talk as a means to learning.

2.8.8 If teachers do intend adopting a talking-for-learning policy, then certain questions relating to small group work and its organisation need to be asked and answered. Boydell (1979, p33) lists these as follows:

(i) How can opportunities for teachers to work with small groups of children be increased?

(ii) How can teachers set up groups which really 'work' in the sense that there is free-flowing conversation amongst the children with sustained exchanges about the work in hand?

(iii) Which kinds of task are most helpful in encouraging the type of interaction needed for effective group learning?

(iv) In which areas of the curriculum is group learning most feasible and profitable?

(v) What kinds of resources are needed?

Undoubtedly, answers to these questions would assist teachers in adopting strategies which allow for the kind of talk that has been suggested in this chapter.

1. Further discussion on the matter of questioning will be found in the ensuing chapter.
Possible strategies may be the provision of interesting material which would stimulate discussion. Certainly, if children are being encouraged to think for themselves in all subjects in the curriculum, they will feel challenged in the group situation to explore and discuss solutions to problems presented by the work in hand. Tasks which have a clearly defined purpose and involve some form of selection and evaluation would perhaps be the most suitable.

2.9 Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the place of talk in the primary school curriculum. It has been shown that talk forms the bedrock of the curriculum and should, therefore, occupy its proper place in the curriculum. The main conclusions reached are:

2.9.1 Oracy is as necessary to the educated person as literacy and numeracy.

2.9.2 Oracy is central to classroom activities because it is through talk that early attempts are made to understand experience.

2.9.3 There is a difference between language for communication and language for learning.

2.9.4 Talking is a dynamic way of learning.

2.9.5 Small group discussion is a powerful means of developing both language and thinking skills, so as to solve problems.
2.9.6 Teachers will need an understanding of language and learning processes to facilitate the adoption of techniques more conducive to a real learning situation.

2.9.7 Accountability in teaching should be more concerned with guiding pupils than dictating to them. To borrow Cashdan's metaphor (op cit, p11), a teacher should see herself as running a shop in which she helps pupils to choose wisely -

"... the shopkeeper stays in business only if he can persuade his customers to come a second time. Given the choice, how many of our 'customers' would use our schools again?"

2.9.8 The school's conception of language will need to broaden to include all functions of language including all social functions. Halliday (1973, p34) has argued: "Our conception of language, if it is to be adequate for meeting the needs of the child, will need to be exhaustive ..." The language environment created in the school will need to be one which encourages all forms of language use.

2.9.9 The climate in the school should be such that respect is shown for the child's language performance.

2.9.10 "We want children, as a result of our teaching, to understand, to be wise as well as well-informed, able to solve fresh problems rather than have learnt the answers to old ones; indeed not only able to answer questions but also able to ask them" (Britton, 1971, p81).

If children are to understand and be able to solve problems and enquire about the unknown, talk will need to hold a central position in any language policy designed by a teacher or a school.

2.9.11 It seems that in group counselling lessons (which form part of the primary curriculum in the United States)
spoken participation by pupils is an important element. Competence in speech, in such lessons, ensures real participation in decision-making and in the oral exploration and classification of intellectual concepts and moral issues (Keat, 1974, p150). There are indications that group guidance and counselling will soon become a more significant part of primary school curricula in South Africa than is at present the case.

2.9.12 Contemporary teacher education stresses the need for pupil participation, the success of which clearly depends on speech competence. Therefore, the importance of speech as an element of the language policy across the curriculum, is established.

In the chapters thus far presented the role of language, and in particular of spoken language, in society and in education has been defined and explained. Expectations of teacher attitude and approach have been shown as central to any successful language and learning development in the child. Further evidence of the major position of talk in language development will be offered in the next chapter on Reading, where it will be shown how discussion helps comprehension of reading materials, and again in chapter four where talk is seen as crucial to any sustained writing development.
CHAPTER THREE

READING AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

3.1 The importance of the teaching of reading and literacy

Malmquist (1972, p342), in pointing out that literacy is necessary for survival in our world to-day, puts the matter very succinctly:

"The person living in the twentieth century who has not been given the opportunity to learn to read cannot function in a proper way, cannot live a full human, individual and social life. He is deprived of a fundamental human right to gain further education, to gain access to one of the most invaluable instruments for learning. It has been said: 'Learning is living and living is learning.' In a real sense, therefore, the ability to read is an indispensable element in a person's equipment for living in every corner of the world today" (p342).

Historically, the ability to read has never had the importance it now has. With modern technical development and means of transportation and communication, reading ability has become a necessary means of effective survival. It has been suggested by UNESCO that illiteracy is one of the subtlest threats to peace because it divides groups, races and nations. As expressed by a UNESCO group in a progress report on literacy (1970, p23):

"The crisis in education - and the particular symptom of it, mass illiteracy - has outgrown the preoccupation of educational planners to become a matter of public concern throughout the world."

The Bullock Committee (1975) show their concern for adult literacy (and they imply mainly an inability to read) by devoting a full chapter to it in their Report. They give a psychological emphasis to their discussion, pointing out that adult illiterates "often feel a sense of inadequacy, which reveals itself in
pretended indifference or in attitudes of hostility" (p277). The Bullock Committee quote research figures obtained by Reading University which show that since 1950 adult literacy programmes in England have provided at least 30 700 adults with instruction.

Pumfrey (1978, p420) endorses the Bullock Committee's view by saying,

"The ability to read is an amplifier of the child's power to understand, appreciate and control his environment. Our society reinforces high reading attainments and often punishes in subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle ways the child or adult who is not a competent reader."

Literacy is a basic component of reading ability, the development of which is the concern of this chapter. In working towards an assessable definition of literacy, Hillerich (1978, p35) brings the educational and the sociological viewpoints together to generate the following definition:

"Literacy is that demonstrated competence in communication skills which enables the individual to function, appropriate to his age, independently in his society and with a potential for movement in that society."

Emerging from Hillerich's article is the question of the extent to which the educational system has considered the literacy requirements of adult living, and adjusted the reading curriculum accordingly.

The importance of literacy to a child cannot be overstated for, as Luria and Yudovich (1959) have shown,

"The acquisition of a language system ... introduces ... new potentialities for the organisation of the child's mental life."(1)

J. Morris (1975) and Ralph (1975) among others, show that the teacher's responsibility is greatest in the matter of literacy. Morris (1966) produced research

evidence to reveal that pupils who fail to achieve functional literacy rarely succeed in subsequent life.

Postman (1978), however, questions the emphasis placed on reading in this society of electronic media and comments on the influence electronic devices have on students. The printed word, for Postman, is a medium which leads to "political and social stasis". He argues that while schools limit themselves to the written media, they will fail to generate new patterns of behaviour – an essential prerequisite for future living. It is worth noting, however, that Postman, in listing the resources of future schools, does include books – no doubt because even he recognises their value for a literate society.

R. Morris (1970, p13) suggests quite a different future for reading. With the abundance of communication through non-literary channels in contemporary society, Morris argues that the main contribution of reading to-day and in the future will be in

"... helping the individual to reflect upon, organise and understand at a deeper level some of the ideas and information that reach him first through other channels".

In his attack on the teaching of reading in schools, Smith (1978) places the issue of literacy in a wide context. Following on the school of thought that language gives dimension to life, he argues that schools cause "mental stultification". In his attack on schools and their "encouragement of ignorance", he claims that schools "are not concerned with literacy" but rather with "getting through the day". Because of this, Smith argues that literacy is "too precious to leave to our schools". Unlike Postman, who seems to suggest that as teachers make such a poor job of teaching reading they should not do it, Smith argues that "the price of literacy need not be the reader's free will and intelligence" if teachers were not so ignorant of the reading process.
Marland (1977) makes two points which bear on Smith's comments. In writing about schooling in England, he comments that compulsory education has been introduced up to the age of sixteen at the same time as a shift in curriculum emphasis to more independent learning and problem-solving. The success of these innovations, he points out, depends on a high level of literacy.

Marland feels that teachers, instead of meeting the demands of literacy, are actually "retreating from print". He explains that teachers attempt to simplify texts through worksheets and "rewrites", and, finding that these fail too, teachers "circumnavigate the print" by paraphrasing it. The danger in this practice, as Marland points out, is twofold. It implies that reading is unnecessary and that it is far too difficult.

The clearly dangerous practice of evading the task of teaching reading is elaborated on by Halliday (1975, p189), Director of a national programme to eradicate illiteracy in the U.S.A., who states, "If Right to Read is to succeed in its goals it will do so by improving education for all". Marland (1978) perhaps indicates the possible reason for limited reading instruction in schools by suggesting that teachers are trapped by a "threshold" view of reading - once you are over the threshold you can read, and nothing further need be done about it. To improve education for all by teaching literacy, the educational system, it would seem, will need to pay more attention to the reading which comes after the initial stages of teaching.

James Allen (1972, p446) underlines the point of reading beyond the "threshold" to foster literacy in schools by describing a cynical advertisement which depicted a young black boy reading a book on Dick and Jane at the farm:
It was, no doubt, these kinds of problems which caused the Bullock Committee (op. cit., p.78) to write "a detailed understanding of the reading process is of critical importance".

It is with the realisation of the critical role reading plays in a literate society that the writer addresses herself to a discussion of reading and its consideration in a language policy in a primary school.

3.2 The growing emphasis on reading comprehension

The statement that "children must read to learn while learning to read" (Smith 1978, p.3) may appear at first glance to be an oversimplification of what has come to be regarded by some as a process surrounded with awe and mystique. However, there is enough evidence to suggest that only a small minority of children should, for personal reasons, find difficulty with reading (Smith, 1978; Goodman, 1967; Kohl, 1973). The balance of children who find difficulty with reading, it is claimed, do so as a result of wrong or poor instruction.

"Much of the misunderstanding surrounding ... reading results from the lack of a proper examination of what the process involves." (Bullock, p.78)

As the area of concern of this dissertation is the 9 to 12 year old child, the discussion must centre on reading development and extension rather than on initial teaching of reading. However, it is probable that all teachers involved in furthering children's reading ability and interests, should be conscious of the initial stages of learning to read. "A detailed understanding of the reading process is of
critical importance in terms of its practical implications" (Bullock, idem). Such would discourage a "threshold" view of reading as previously described, and encourage a consideration of what is expected of the child reader in both the short and long term. For, as Marland (op cit, p25) points out,

"The real problem of reading in our education system comes after the initial stages and concerns pupils more able than the low achievers. The real problems, in fact, are the uses of reading by the older and average or above-average pupil. It is not that they can't read the words, but that they cannot master the sense."

Mastering the sense of what is read is clearly fundamental to any effective learning. Understanding the sense of what is read is, then, the prime purpose in reading. Halliday (1975, p123) in discussing the essential properties of text, explains that text, in the first place, is meaning. He says text is not made of sounds or letters or words, phrases, clauses and sentences, but rather of

"... meanings, and encoded in wordings, soundings and spellings ... text is a semantic unit realised as lexico-grammatical units which are further realised as phonological or orthographic units".

It seems fair to say that most of the older research on learning as a result of reading centred on what the reader remembered of the material but it has become obvious that learning is more than that.

"The crux of learning from reading is the ability to use appropriately what we have learned ... Learning from reading is thus not a simple matter of remembering something and giving it back to the teacher verbatim." (Gibson & Levin, 1975, pp396-397)

Any consideration of the learning process should lead inevitably to a consideration of reading comprehension.

'What is comprehension?' may appear to be a superfluous question as most people have an intuitive
notion of what the word means. However, many theories and models of reading comprehension have been designed this century, indicating that comprehension is a complex process eluding a clear, acceptable definition. Smith & Barrett (1974, p49) show there is no consensus on what is involved in the process of comprehension; while Simons (1) (1971, 1972) after reviewing seven approaches to the matter of reading comprehension concludes that not a great deal of progress has been made since Thorndike's work in 1917.

Thorndike (1972, pp24-30) in 1917 concluded that reading was the ability to reason. Understanding a paragraph, he explained, consisted of

"... selecting the right elements of the situation and putting them together in the right relations, and also with the right amount of weight or influence or force for each".

The influence of linguists such as Bloomfield (2) (1944) and Fries (1962) led, in some circles, to reading being narrowly defined as a process of decoding written symbols into the corresponding phonemes.

The theory that comprehension is made up of separate but related skills, is well supported. (See R.L. Thorndike (3), 1973; Melnik & Merritt, 1972; Spearrit (3), 1972; Chapman (3), 1969). Davis (1972) in various studies from 1944 to 1971 finally identified four subskills - (i) identifying word meanings; (ii) drawing inferences; (iii) identifying the writer's technique and recognizing the mood of a passage; (iv) finding answers to questions.

The current interest in reading comprehension is largely due to the blending of the knowledge of linguistics and psychology. The transformational-generative grammar of Noam Chomsky has provided a fresh slant on semantics. One recent model of comprehension is that of Trabasso (1972, p113). He views comprehension as

"... a set of psychological processes consisting of a series of mental operations which process linguistic information from its receipt until an overt decision. Two main operations are noted: (1) encoding the information into internal representations and (2) comparing these representations ... Comprehension may be said to occur when the internal representations are matched. The overt response is an end result of the act of comprehension".

Gibson & Levin (1975, p405) criticize the data on which this model is based, arguing that the

"... operations suggested do not appear to be easily generalizable to comprehending and learning from discourse".

Goodman (1967) and, to a large extent, F. Smith (1978) interpret reading as a "psycholinguistic guessing game" - a reconstruction of meaning cued by either syntax or phonology or word semantics or combinations of these three sources.

Following on the thinking of psycholinguists and with further research, the Schools Council Project 'The Effective Use of Reading', led by Lunzer and Gardner (1979, p38), defined comprehension as the ability

"... to penetrate beyond the verbal forms of text to the underlying ideas, to compare these with what one already knows and also with one another, to pick out what is essential and new, to revise one's previous conceptions".

Rather than viewing comprehension as a set of subskills, the authors see it as a unitary operation while recognising levels of difficulty.
It would seem that the psychological data available is inadequate to form a basis for a valid, reliable conclusion on the reading comprehension process. There is criticism to level at each of the models of comprehension in relation to pedagogical practice. The linguists' model is too narrow in concept to be of more use than possibly for the early initial teaching of reading. The subskills model, while being convenient to apply in the classroom, is one with questionable data (Davis, 1972, admitted this of his own much quoted data). It is a model which could lead to a distortion in the development of the child's comprehension process.

"The criteria against which the teacher evaluates the product of the reader's comprehension may not be those which the reader himself uses when he is comprehending."
(Augstein & Thomas, 1978, p108)

The Lunzer & Gardner model of seeing comprehension as a willingness to reflect upon what is being read is criticized by Hewitt (1979, p26) who argues that prior knowledge brought to the text may preclude the necessity to reflect. Hewitt sees reasoning as part of a more general comprehension ability and not as part of reading comprehension in particular.

The problem in this lack of consensus is possibly because emphasis has been given to the product of comprehension rather than the process. Most attempts at a definition of comprehension have resulted from hypotheses which measure comprehension against a set of criteria embedded in various forms of test material. It is perhaps fair to note that the Lunzer & Gardner research is one exception. Their empirical research revealed that comprehension was not what they had hypothesized, a set of distinct skills, but rather a unitary ability. They concluded,

"It is a very serious mistake to suppose that the completion of a test and comprehension in reading are one and the same thing. How a student completes a test is an index of his
capacity to comprehend: it is not the capacity itself and still less is it the comprehension itself" (p66).

Although there is no consensus on the process of reading comprehension, there seems to be no doubt that the abilities necessary for comprehension can be taught. Smith (1978); Herber (1970); Smith and Barrett (1974); Gray (1925); Harris (1970); Lunzer and Gardner. (1979) amongst others, support the idea that critical reading does not automatically develop, but must be taught.

"The fact that one cannot reliably measure different skills in comprehension does not mean that comprehension cannot be taught (p69) ... Given the initial willingness of pupils to reflect, steps need to be taken to improve the quality of this reflection" (Lunzer & Gardner, p301).

The lack of a clear, consistent conceptualization of reading comprehension has undoubtedly influenced classroom practice. However, there is sufficient evidence and information available to enable a teacher to help learners understand and react to a text.

One such effort to aid teachers has been the development of Taxonomies of Reading Comprehension (after Bloom, 1956). Examples are those proposed by Guilford (1958) and Barrett (1972). The taxonomies attempt to define and classify comprehension abilities.

A study of these taxonomies reveals many common features. There is, for example, recognition:

(i) of a hierarchy of levels of comprehension;

(ii) that understanding of the higher levels is not exclusive to the older, more experienced reader;

(iii) that greater and lesser demands can be made on the reader within any one level and tasks in one level may be more demanding than some in a higher level;

(iv) that there is an overlap of these levels;
(v) that lists of this sort can be reduced to the broad idea that there are three levels of reading: on the lines (literal level), between the lines (inferential level) and beyond the lines (evaluative level).

These taxonomies may, it is suggested, serve as a guide or framework to teachers in planning, teaching and evaluating reading comprehension. Crisp (1978, pp36-43) concludes that an application of a taxonomy can assist teachers in assessing the level of understanding of the child reader, and its use would encourage questions more appropriate to the demands of the higher levels of comprehension, thereby assisting the development of higher order skills in the reader.

However, there are dangers inherent in this approach. In the context of education, taxonomies may be viewed as leading only to clearly defined behavioural objectives, and although they may constitute an operational criterion of the pupils' comprehension, such objectives could well be limiting and, to some extent, inspire mechanical teaching. The questions that would be posed would inevitably influence the reading behaviour of the pupil to the possible exclusion of a deeper, more reflective, critical reading behaviour (as indeed Lunzer & Gardner, op cit, found in their research). Moffat (1970) contends that the behavioural approach is neither scientific nor honest. Because objectives must, of necessity, be observable, they rule out that covert response so vital to language. The danger of objectives, says Moffat, is that teachers will opt for short-range, well-segmented teaching fragments, "because observed 'responses' can then be more easily related to the applied 'stimuli'" (p112). A further danger, he contends, is that objectives imply evaluation and this would "pervert the curriculum into one vast testing system" that would leave no room for small group discussion, reading and writing. Clearly,
reading comprehension is more than responses to "short-range" questions which limit the critical reading potential of the child.

Another avenue of attempt at aiding teachers has been research projects carried out by bodies such as the Schools Council in Britain. One such project has been the detailed research into the effective use of reading directed by Lunzer and Gardner (op cit). In seeing comprehension as a unitary ability and not a collection of subskills, they came to the conclusion that for a child to comprehend fully, he must have a "willingness to reflect on what is being read" (p64). The research team claim that the school can develop the pupils' comprehension ability by providing "a structure of instruction, guidance and reading practice which improves the quality of reflection" (p301). Their findings suggest a combination of a skill-based procedure (for example as used in S.R.A. Reading Laboratories) and group discussion activities based on printed matter.

The printed word, it is generally accepted, can be used as a stimulus for reflective and critical learning. It is therefore apparent that if a child is to use reading for the purpose of learning, he must approach the material in an active, interrogating manner.

"Reading then becomes a 'conversation' with the text in which the student asks his own questions, finds the answers, and makes his own comment."

(Lunzer & Gardner, p303)

Having established the place of reading and the contribution which comprehension of reading material makes to the learner, the writer proceeds to a closer examination of the demands made on the reader by particular functions of language in print.

Because of the great breadth of the topic of Reading, the present chapter will be limited to a consideration only of some of the aspects of the reading of
Transactional writing and poetic writing. (The writer chooses to use these terms of Britton's because, as suggested in Chapter One, his scheme is potentially a very useful one to teachers.) Further definition of these terms may be to some purpose at this stage of the dissertation.

Britton (1971) sees transactional language as that used by a person in a participatory role. It is the language of action; it is the language in which information is imparted. Theorizing, generalising and hypothesizing take place using this function; it is the language used for reports, records, argument and reasoning. It is the language found in most school textbooks in history, geography and science, for example.

Britton defines poetic language as that used by a person in the role of spectator. It is language used for its own sake. It is a verbal construct made for the pleasure of making it and sharing it. It is, therefore, the language used for storying and for poetry. Much of the prescribed and recommended literature in schools, for example, makes use of this function of language.

Marland (1978, p372) explains the difference between these functions by showing that transactional language often uses the passive rather than active voice, longer sentences are more common in transactional language and the connectives not only differ from the narrative mode, but differ depending on the subject of the material.

The writer submits that Britton's terms serve to delineate the kinds of printed matter to which the primary school child is normally exposed. The reading of transactional writing will be considered first, in an effort to identify some problems which children meet in terms of this language, and some of the concerns regarding the teaching of the reading skills
necessary for this type of reading. Later in the chapter, the reading of poetic writing will be considered in a similar light.

Section A

The Reading of Transactional Language

3.3 The place of transactional language in school

Transactional language dominates much of the curriculum of the primary school. The Natal Education Department, for example, has laid down a minimum time allocation for subjects from Standards Two to Four (Circular Minutes No. 38/1978). This states that five hours (ten periods) per week should be spent on main language and seven-and-one-half hours (fifteen periods) per week, on Mathematics, History, Geography, General Science and Health Education. The Natal Education Department Guide to Differentiated Education lays down a minimum time allocation for subjects in Standard Five. Nine hours (eighteen periods) per week should be spent on main language and nine hours (eighteen periods) on Mathematics, History, Geography and General Science. Clearly, much of the lesson time is devoted to transactional language for it is the language used almost exclusively in the 'content subjects' and the sciences. It is the language of most of the reading pupils must do for projects, assignments and self-study tasks. This language has its own style and vocabulary, demanding, therefore, particular reading skills.

It has been found (Rosen, 1972; Herber, 1970; Robinson, 1965) that pupils experience difficulty with transactional language because of the high-order abstraction not only in the terminology but in the concepts themselves of the separate subject disciplines. As
Rosen (p119) puts it,

"Difficulties of this sort turn whole subjects into foggy mysteries and for many children the fog is so impenetrable that all higher levels of learning become unattainable."

Vygotsky (1962); Halliday (1973); Wilkinson (1971) and many others have shown that language is acquired almost entirely through linguistic experience and activity. The home and the environment extend the child's use of everyday language but it is the responsibility of the school to give the child access to the transactional language required by much of the curriculum and subsequent career pursuits. The school has the unique opportunity to introduce the child to this language. Olson (1977) as cited by Smith (1978, p82), claims that our ability to produce and understand spoken transactional language is a by-product of literacy in that this ability comes about through experience in reading this kind of language.

The work of Vygotsky (1962, p82f) may be seen to explain further the responsibility of the school in teaching transactional language, for he believes that to succeed in teaching children systematic knowledge, "it is necessary to understand the development of scientific concepts in the child's mind". Vygotsky distinguishes between two kinds of concept - scientific and spontaneous - contrasting them to show that scientific concepts are consciously taught, depend upon their verbal mediation and provide systematic, general structures, unlike spontaneous concepts which are acquired in everyday living without systematic instruction. The child becomes conscious of his spontaneous concepts relatively late - he has the concept but is not conscious of his own act of thought, he is unable to define it; whereas the development of a scientific concept begins with its verbal definition and its use in non-spontaneous operations. Vygotsky
concludes that "the development of the child's spontaneous concepts proceed upwards, and the development of his scientific concepts downward" (p108). However, he sees a close connection between the two developments and, what is of relevance heuristically, he points out that "the development of a spontaneous concept must have reached a certain level for the child to be able to absorb a related scientific concept" (idem). It seems then, that the school will provide the pupils main chance of acquiring the language and thought of impersonal observation and description, generalization and theories, argument and speculation.

It was previously noted that, if a child is to use reading for learning, he should approach the material in an active, interrogating manner. Transactional language clearly demands particular reading techniques, which would seem to imply a fundamental relationship between reading purpose and the effective use of reading techniques in order to learn. Because the recognition and development of this relationship would ensure a more successful and appropriate use of transactional language by the child, the writer proceeds to a consideration of 'purpose' and its effect on critical reading.

3.4 Reading 'purpose' and the effects of purpose on reading behaviour

In order for children to learn successfully, it seems that the situation should be meaningful. Bruner (1966, p119), in his discussion of competence and accomplishment, states that unless there is some meaningful unity in what a pupil does, he is not very likely to strive to excel himself. Smith (op cit, p89) states quite emphatically that,

"Anything that bewilders a child will be ignored; there is nothing to be learned there."
It is not nonsense that stimulates children to learn but the possibility of making sense."

This is possibly the most important single feature of the psychological process of learning to read: if the child cannot see the purpose of the reading act, he will not be motivated to read (Reid, 1966; Downing, 1970). Therefore, it may be said, it is vital to ensure that reading activities at all times and at all stages, are purposeful.

The key emphasis here is on the child himself recognising the purpose in reading, for as Smith (op cit, p97) explains,

"Teachers might see quite clearly that a certain exercise will improve a child's useful knowledge or skills, but unless the child can see some sense in the exercise, the instruction is a waste of time."

That there are different purposes for reading may be self-evident to the experienced reader. For example, he has discovered that a magazine may be read for amusement, for gathering factual information or for opinion; a child reader still has to recognise these various purposes.

The current plea made by educational authorities to teachers to expose their pupils to a wide range of sources rather than just to a single source (often the prescribed textbook); and the sheer bulk of information which is recorded in printed form in our society, has created the necessity for a reader to organise his own effective use of this mass of information. The Bullock Committee (1975, p95) state that, in order for a child to cope with a vast amount of reading, he "should have extensive experience in defining his own purposes". The Committee see motivation as the key to real gain in reading development and this, they interpret, as "reading to satisfy a purpose" (p117).
The idea of establishing purposes for reading in school is not a revolutionary one. This has long been in practice in pedagogy as reflected, for example, in the common instruction given to pupils to read a particular section in preparation for a test or assignment. However, the literature (H.K. Smith, 1967; Merritt, 1975; Augstein & Thomas, 1978) suggests that these practices should be broadened in scope to include better defined purposes relating specifically to the text. As Herber (1970, p33) explains it, the teacher should develop in the pupils on 'I'm-looking-for-something' attitude, for, "If the pupil is to understand what he is reading, he must know why he is reading".

Various lists of reading purposes have been drawn up by experts in the field. A well quoted list is that of H.K. Smith (1967) who distinguishes between primary and secondary purposes. She sees primary purposes as the life purposes, the ultimate ones for which people read; while the secondary purposes are "desired behaviours or instructional objectives related to comprehension" (p89). Her primary purposes are reading for:

1. enjoyment;
2. intellectual demands;
3. utilitarian purposes or meeting the practical demands for living;
4. socioeconomic needs or demands;
5. vocational or avocational interests;
6. personal needs or demands;
7. problem-solving;
8. inspiration, spiritual or religious needs.

Smith's secondary purposes are reading for:

1. the general impression or general idea;
2. details;
3. sequence (time, space, ideas);
4. directions;
5. comparison;
6. cause-and-effect relationships;
7. generalizations and conclusions;
8. anticipation of ideas or predictions of outcomes;
9. characterization;
10. description;
(11) mood;
(12) tone;
(13) sensory imagery;
(14) fact and opinion;
(15) fact and fiction.

Clearly, Smith's secondary purposes are related to reading tasks; for example, to read for cause and effect relationships could be related to a science experiment or a geography assignment. There are possible disadvantages in this sort of listing in its application in the classroom. One is that the purposes are not specific enough, giving the prospective reader little guidance in what techniques to apply.

A more useful kind of categorization of purposes would seem to be that of N.C. Farnes (1973, p13) who summarizes categories of purpose into four levels as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 life purposes</td>
<td>the person as an individual</td>
<td>to enrich my experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 role purposes</td>
<td>the person in a particular role</td>
<td>to do well at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 task purposes</td>
<td>the person in a role and a task situation</td>
<td>to write a project evaluating the increase in world population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 specific purposes</td>
<td>a particular resource within a task</td>
<td>to obtain information on population statistics of the U.K. from the Registrar General Report</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It becomes obvious when studying this proposal that awareness of specific purposes will give the reader immediate and direct guidance as to how to approach the reading task.

The need for well defined purposes for reading was recognised as early as 1917 by Thorndike (as published 1972) who concluded that comprehension takes place
"under the right mental set or purposes or demand". Yet Perry (1972, pp370-377) found that 99% of freshmen entering university were reading purposelessly and subsequently failing as critical readers. He shows that the reader's purpose for reading is inseparable from the reading techniques applied, as the purpose for reading not only provides a basis for judging the relevance of material, but it indicates how the material should be handled. The implication for teachers to delineate purpose is very clear.

It seems that if a reader has a specific purpose, his reading becomes goal-orientated and he will apply those reading techniques which allow him to concentrate on what is relevant. "If pupils know what ideas are to be discovered, they will know what reading skill to apply" (Herber, op cit, p33).

The ideal situation would no doubt be the ability of the child to set his own purposes. In this way, he would gain further independence in learning, for he would be able to select appropriate materials from a range of resources and apply the various and effective reading techniques to these materials. Downing (op cit, p21) shows this ability to set purposes as an important educational aim for, in this way, the reader expands his personal autonomy. Bond and Tinker (1973) see personal autonomy in terms of versatile adaptable reading habits. The versatile reader is one who has "learned to set his own purpose ... [who is] able to size up the materials and clearly understand the purpose" (p453).

Before the pupil is able to set his own purposes in reading, however, he should presumably be made aware of the wide range of purposes that can be met through reading. This would ensure a more accurate definition of purpose and application of the appropriate skill. Furthermore, as Farnes (1973, p11) points out,
"... the efficiency of skills can only be assessed in the context of the purpose for reading. If the reader has a limited conception of the range of purposes, his range of skills will be consequently limited."

Reading for different purposes obviously fosters flexibility in reading. An essential part of this flexibility would seem to be reading rate. Experiments with cameras measuring eye-movement show that a good reader changes his rate of reading according to his purpose. Burmeister (1974, p238), in pointing out that all ideas cannot be assimilated at the same rate, suggests that:

"Students should use different rates for reading various types of materials and/or when reading for different purposes ... the rate must be appropriate to the reader, the material, and the reader's purpose."

This would accord, in some respects, with what Lunzer and Gardner (op cit, p26) found: "Flexibility in reading pace is essential to profitable reading for learning." In accordance with their idea that comprehension is "a willingness to reflect on what has been read", they offer a fresh slant to the principle of reading rate. They believe,

"For optimal efficiency, [in the context of reading to learn], the reading of each phrase should always be comfortably fast. The difference in rate is, or should be, due to the length and frequency of pauses between reads" (p28).

In summary then, the idea of introducing children to a wide range of reading purposes, and encouraging them finally to set their own purposes in reading, would lead to flexible, effective reading habits. This ability would, in turn, greatly assist the child's development towards autonomous learning.

It may be concluded that the teaching of transactional language and the establishment of specific purposes in reading, is the responsibility of the school. Such an approach has much of consequence for the
teacher, implying as it does, a particular attitude in the learner. Some of these implications will now be discussed.

3.5 Some implications arising from the teaching of transactional language

In Chapter One, the crucial part language plays in thinking and subsequent learning was examined, together with the necessity for teachers to adopt a model of teaching commensurate with this relationship. The influence of that discussion may be seen in what follows because:

"There is unanimous agreement that the classroom teacher is the key to successful reading on the part of all school children" (Robinson, 1972, p483).

3.5.1 The pupil as interrogator of the text

The knowledge explosion has given a new emphasis to "the means for acquiring, interpreting, and using knowledge independently" (Herber, 1970, p3). It would seem to demand a learning situation in which the pupil is actively and intimately involved. This would hold true for reading to learn as it would for any other learning situation. The Bullock Committee (1975, p118) sum up the situation by saying,

"... reading for learning will be most effective when the reader becomes an active interrogator of the text rather than a passive receiver of words".

Active involvement in a reading task would seem to imply a certain curriculum strategy: a strategy which would encourage pupils to read purposefully and make fuller use of the variety of cues in all the texts they read. The conventional comprehension test or exercise with questions provided, is clearly not a strategy which encourages the pupil to make
full use of the text. A typical example of this sort of comprehension exercise, taken from a Standard Four textbook currently in use in Natal primary schools may illustrate the point:

Read this passage carefully and then answer the questions which follow.

They called him "The Rat"...

There is no doubt about it he was extremely ugly, and instead of improving as he grew older, he became worse; yet I could not help liking him and looking after him ... and sometimes really admiring him. He was extraordinarily silent. While the other puppies barked at nothing, howled when lonely, and yelped when frightened or hurt, the odd puppy did none of these things ... He hardly ever barked, and when he did it was not a wild excited string of barks, but little suppressed, muffled noises, half bark and half growl ..., and he did not appear to be afraid of anything ... If anyone fired off a gun or cracked one of the big whips, the other puppies would yelp at the top of their voices ..., and start running ... as fast as they could towards the waggon without looking back to see what they were running away from. The odd puppy would drop his bone with a start ..., his ears and tail would flicker up and down for a second; then he would slowly bristle up all over, and with his head cocked first on one side and then on the other, stare hard with his half-blind, bluish puppy eyes in the direction of the noise ...

From *Jock of the Bushveld* by Sir P. Fitzpatrick

1. What did people mean when they called Jock "The Rat"?
2. What sort of noises did the other puppies make?
3. Describe the sort of noise made by Jock.
4. In what two ways did Jock differ from the other puppies?
5. Describe what the other puppies did when someone cracked a whip.
6. What words tell you that Jock was never a good-looking dog?
7. When did the other puppies howl?
8. What is meant by to "bristle up all over"?

(Hosking G.A. & Dale G.A.H., pp38-40)

An analysis of the questions reveals that the first seven may be answered directly from the passage, requiring literal comprehension ability only. Question eight presumably is aimed at some form of inference on the part of the reader. However, a prior knowledge
of dogs, which most Standard Four pupils would bring to this text, would make this unnecessary. Question nine seems somewhat pointless as an illustration of Jock is included on the page. Questions based on other passages in the book fall into a similar pattern. For example, questions based on an extract from The Children of the New Forest (p53) are as follows:

1. To which of the following families does a stag belong?
   - The deer (buck).
   - The cat (lion, tiger, leopard).
   - The dog (wolf, fox, hyena).

2. Does the word printed in colour rhyme with "lose" or "goes"?
   "The does fled rapidly away."

3. Jacob and Edward were hunting the stag for venison. What do we call meat from:
   - a) sheep?
   - b) cattle?
   - c) pigs?
   - d) fowls?

4. Did Edward get any proof that the stag's ears were sharp?

5. How far was Jacob from the stag when he fired? Give your answer in feet.

6. What are "does"?

7. What forced Jacob and Edward to go hunting?

8. Write down three words, all of which end in "ly", which tell us how they moved.

9. What were the animals doing when they were first seen?

10. Use these words in sentences which will show that you understand the difference in meaning:
    - sight, site.
    - sent, scent.

Of the ten questions, only questions 4, 7, 8 and 9 are directly related to the passage. Question Four requires a one word answer, 'Yes', while the other three merely require location and transcription of answers.

Further investigation indicates that questions in other textbooks currently in use also fall into this pattern. For example, a passage from King Solomon's Mines is questioned as follows:

1. Who was the author of the book from which this extract is taken?
2. The writer says that he has done a good many things in his life. What things are we told?

3. Why does his life seem to have been long?

4. Write out the sentence that tells us when he acquired enough money to retire on.

5. Explain the meaning of the expression "made my pile".

6. What does "timid" mean?

7. How do we know that he doesn't want any more exciting and dangerous experiences?

8. Which four of these adjectives would best describe the writer? wealthy, bold, experienced, violent, timid, sick, contented, poor.

(Ridout R., Better English, 1966, p51)

Of the eight questions, only question five, and possibly question eight need inference through contextual clues to be answered. The name of the author is printed directly above question one.

This kind of exercise would seem to be an unproductive task. Lunzer and Gardner (1979); Stauffer et al (1978); Thomas and Augstein (1972), amongst others, question the validity of the task. Walker (1977) states that this traditional approach of testing 'comprehension' is unsuitable at levels beyond the most transparently literal. Merritt (1978, pp92-106) demonstrates an application of the Barrett taxonomy on a nonsense passage to illustrate how invalid an approach to teaching comprehension this is. He makes the point that a passage and questions invariably demonstrate linguistic facility, a manipulation of words. Merritt sees this as failure on the part of teachers, failure "to diagnose linguistic facility when it masquerades as comprehension" (p95). He points out that strategies which encourage the active involvement of the pupil should be used. Merritt sees activities which do not encourage the pupil to interrogate the text as "positively training them in mindless reading" (p101).

It is probable that the way to help children think deeply about the ideas in what they read is to allow
them much closer scrutiny of the text in a group situation, where discussion, however tentative, can lead readers to possible and acceptable solutions of the author's message. Only in this way, as Lunzer & Gardner (op cit, p26) suggest, will the text under discussion be "used" in its fullest sense. The idea that small group discussion leads to productive learning was examined in the previous chapter. It was shown that exploratory talk is essential to the formulation of ideas and that group work afforded the opportunity to take individual thinking that much further through interaction with other group members' thoughts and ideas. Small group discussion of a common text, it is suggested, would maintain a balance in the reader between responding freely as a person to the message of the text, with his own distractions and distortions of personal associations, and reaching out, through discussion, more critically in search of the exact intention of the author.

"Group work can encourage the reading and discussion of a common text ... to further reading skills, particularly in the areas of comprehension and response."

(Peacock, 1980, p8)

The Bullock Committee (p118) lend their support to group discussion of printed matter by stating that they believe that "group discussion based on co-operative reading is a valuable means of learning". They re-emphasize the point in their conclusions on page 123.

3.5.2 Knowledge of the reading process

Arnold (1977, p165) suggests that one of three main factors which shape teachers' perceptions of their pupils' reading behaviour is the teachers' own concept of what the reading process constitutes. It follows that these initial concepts form the basis for any emphases the teacher might place on the various aspects of the reading process. Downing (1973), in
his comparative study of the teaching of reading, dramatically demonstrates the practical effect of teachers' beliefs and attitudes about reading on teaching methods. Moreover, he warns (p139) that there is no correlation between professed methods and actual methods used. He implies that only a true understanding of the reading process, rather than a professed understanding, will lead to effective methods being implemented in the classroom.

Arnold (op cit, p169) after investigation into teachers' concepts of the reading process concluded:

"The reader who matches up to the teacher's ideal model will be a pleasant, cooperative girl from a 'good' home background, who exhibits her skill through fluent oral reading. She will be able to extract factual information from a given text and to write her information down neatly. She will be happy to pursue a set reading scheme systematically, use phonic attack successfully, but not necessarily prediction skills."

Arnold, quite rightly, asks if this is enough. If one accepts this psychometric description as a general one held by primary school teachers, then there would seem to be an urgent need to encourage teachers to augment and/or change their basic understanding of the reading process.

Southgate and Roberts (1970) give much evidence to show that a teacher teaches best when she is teaching by what she believes to be the best method. The writers argue, therefore, that it is vital that teachers understand the reading process, for it is on the basis of this understanding that teachers rely when selecting methods and materials.

Moyle (1977, p53) in his discussion of reading materials and their use in classrooms, cites the work done by Murphy (1973) to show that there is a low correlation between success in, say, the reading of a newspaper and the reading of a recipe. He argues that teachers
must acknowledge this low relationship if they are to improve the quality and appropriateness of reading skills among their pupils. Moyle supports the use of a wide and varied range of reading material in the classroom to develop the reading skills necessary to a versatile and flexible reader, together with an appreciation of the range of reading skills. Without this appreciation of reading and the accompanying skills, the teacher of reading may very well be limiting.

Both Gray (1956) and Kohl (1973) remind teachers that they should ask themselves leading questions before teaching children to read. The former (p105) suggests this principle: "In trying to find out which of two methods is the better, we must first ask: better for what?" while Kohl (pp145-146) offers seven groups of questions to be answered before teachers can help others learn to read effectively. A sampling of these is,

"Why should your students learn how to read? How difficult do you think learning to read is? Would you rather be teaching something else?"

Answers to these questions may be an indication of whether a teacher holds a "threshold" view of reading or whether she believes that learning to read is an on-going process. As Goethe, at the age of eighty, is reputed to have said,

"The dear people do not know how long it takes to learn to read. I have been at it all my life and I cannot yet say I have reached the goal."

A surer understanding of the reading process may help teachers appreciate more fully that reading is for meaning. Unless teachers accept that reading is for meaning, it is probable that priority will be given in their teaching to the lower order skills such as literal comprehension, phonics and word calling rather than the development of higher order skills. Maxwell (1977), in reporting an investigation
into the teaching of reading in Scottish primary schools, states,

"Of the one hundred classes whose practices were observed ... none received consistent teaching which stressed comprehension skills" (p45).

R. Morris (1970) believes that all teachers involved in the teaching of reading, irrespective of the level at which they themselves teach, should not only know about the reading process but should take an interest in the initial teaching of reading

"... to ensure that a climate of opinion is produced which favours the growth, in schools for young children, of early reading methods that will promote ... subsequent development ... " (p15).

Morris is categoric about this because he believes that a child's first encounter with learning a particular skill can have "profound far-reaching effects" not only on the acquisition of that skill but also on any subsequent profitable use which may be made of it.

There would seem to be an urgent need for teachers to be informed of the real purpose for reading. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Bullock Committee felt it necessary to comment that

"... a detailed understanding of the reading process is of critical importance in terms of its practical implications" (p78).

3.5.3 Awareness of the linguistic demands of text

A great deal of meaning can be derived from a text provided that the reader has sufficient experience in making full and effective use of the cues that are available. The child reader needs to be taught how to make a full and effective use of these cues. Smith and Dechaut (1961) state that, "Reading is one of the few academic areas in which we demand success
from all children" (p1). They show that the child's need for effective reading increases as he advances through school owing to the particular reading demands of each subject in the curriculum. Jenkinson (1973, p40) points out that not only do the concepts that the reader meets become more complex, but the ideas are presented in language which itself is linguistically more complex and usually removed from the reader's experience. Two implications for teaching arise from these findings: teachers will need to be sensitive to the language of the texts used if they wish to encourage pupils to make more use of printed material, and they will need to be aware of the reading demands made by any printed material used.

To the teacher sensitive to the language needs of her pupils, a close scrutiny of texts to be presented to pupils should reveal areas where difficulty may arise. The relationship between understanding conjunctions and reading comprehension is a pertinent example. Stoodt (1972) found a significant relationship between the understanding of conjunctions and reading comprehension. She found the most difficult conjunctions for her test subjects (fourth graders) were when, so, but, or, where, while, how, that and if. The easiest were and, for and as. A further example of difficulty which children might experience with the reading of transactional language is that much of it is written in the passive voice. Blount and Johnson (1973) found that complex sentences in the active voice were recalled more easily than those written in the passive voice.

Further, if it is recognised that bringing meaning to print more accurately describes the reciprocal process between the printed symbols and the mind of the reader, the teacher will need to be aware of those features of the text which may hamper comprehension. Lunzer and Gardner (op. cit., p270) list these as technical and semi-technical vocabulary, abstract ideas, density
of presentation and the imperfect matching between the importance of an idea and the amount of space devoted to it. Hewitt (1979) in his suggestions for promoting effective comprehension suggests that readers should be exposed to more complex forms of language, and that teachers should avoid circumventing reading problems by using 'worksheets' or by avoiding reading altogether. Rather, they should ascertain what prior knowledge the reading material requires and try and provide pupils with that prior knowledge. He suggests that all teachers ask themselves, "Will my reading policy enable my pupils to develop their competence in reading?" (p31).

3.5.4 Defining reading purposes

The idea that teachers should assist their pupils in developing suitable strategies for specific purposes is well supported (Downing, 1976; Herber, op cit; H.K. Smith, op cit). Robinson (1977, p62) suggests that "purposes should be set prior to reading" and points out that "these will differ in terms of ... the demands of the learner, the demands of the instructor and the demands of the curriculum".

In order for the teacher to set various and effective purposes for the pupils, she herself needs to realise the many purposes there are for reading. As Farnes (op cit, p12) says,

"If the teacher has a narrow view of the variety of purposes that can be met through reading, she will be unable to develop her pupils' reading skills."

Not only does the teacher need to recognise the various purposes for reading, but she needs to plan reading tasks to train the pupils in accomplishing these purposes (Herber, op cit, p33). An item from the Standard Five Natal Education Department Geography Syllabus may serve to illustrate how the
teacher could plan a reading task to serve a reading purpose: During the teaching of 'The Netherlands', pupils could be trained in recognising cause and effect relationships by completing the following worksheet with the injunction to read the source material for this purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Dutch farm only with pedigreed animals and do not keep herds of beef cattle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The farms are small and land is expensive.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Much of the Netherlands is below sea level.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transport of goods is done mainly on water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Top soil is brought down by the rivers flowing into Holland.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Initially the polders are very salty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Many hectares of tulips grow in the Netherlands.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Dutch make no use of hydro-electric power.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Holland imports most of its grain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. There are gates but NO fences on the pastures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It follows that a teacher's aims are closely linked with the reading purposes she plans for the children.

An example from the Natal Education Department History Syllabus, Standard Four, may serve as another illustration of the close link between the teacher's aims and her pupil readers' purposes. Farnes's categories (1973) are used in this example:

**Pupils' Purposes**

Task purpose: A study of the Voortrekkers in Natal (1)

Specific purpose: Why did Dingaan kill Piet Retief?

**Teacher's aim**

To train pupils in testing the bias of writers by referring to more than one source and weighing up the evidence accordingly: comparative reading.

**Exercise**

Read these five accounts of the death of Piet Retief and decide why Dingaan killed Piet Retief. Give reasons for your decision.

(Obviously, the five chosen accounts would differ in style, information and interpretation).

Lunzer and Gardner (1979, p26) describe four styles of reading - receptive reading, reflective reading, skim reading, and scanning; claiming that the appropriate style is selected according to the reader's purpose. The reader can only apply the appropriate style if he is fully aware of the particular purpose for reading that material. Lunzer & Gardner seem to imply that along with indicating the purpose for reading a particular text, the teacher should indicate the appropriate style. For example, if the purpose were to locate a particular piece of information, the teacher would encourage a skim reading and then a scanning; training the pupils to ignore all other information in the text as irrelevant to the purpose.

Downing (1976, p20) after reviewing a great deal of research evidence on purposes for reading concludes

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1. I am indebted to my colleague D.W. McKellar for this
that there are three possible improvements in reading education: (i) more attention to helping pupils to establish purposes in their reading; (ii) deliberate teaching and practice in adjusting reading technique to reading purposes; (iii) more concern for reading skill development by subject area teachers for all specific reading purposes in their particular disciplines.

3.5.5 Effective questioning in the teaching of comprehension

Closely linked with training children to read for defined purposes would be the kind of questioning approach the teacher would adopt. For if the teacher were to check the accomplishment of purposes for reading, she would need to question accordingly. In fact, H.K. Smith (1972, p93) warns that, if questions asked by teachers do not relate to the stated purpose, "pupils lose faith in directions and instruction given them and become confused about their real goals".

Allied to the close link between teacher's questioning and reading purpose is the linking of questioning with teacher's aims. This relationship implies the need for teachers to have wide and diverse aims. Burton (1972) shows how crucial the teacher's awareness of aims is for developing effective questioning techniques, by arguing that,

"As long as the aim of education is believed to be the mastery of content, the memorization of masses of unrelated, fragmentary facts; a barrage of minute fact questions is a natural and legitimate procedure" (p378).

Burton points out that the aims and purposes to be served by questioning are fundamental. He lists eleven of what he considers to be the most important aims and suggests further that teachers should write out some questions in advance with probable answers, to train themselves in making questioning more meaningful and various.
That effective questioning needs to be both artful and well planned is shown in the findings of various studies made on the questioning of comprehension. Balmuth (1975) in discussing the difficulties of measuring reading comprehension, believes that constructing questions to determine success of comprehension is extremely difficult, because of the ramifications and implications present in reading selections. Bloom (1956) acknowledged the dangers of inferring too much from answers to particular questions; while Hewitt (op cit) queries the validity of some questions intended to measure comprehension by pointing out that prior knowledge brought to the text can supply the answer without any reasoning being necessary. The question, 'What are some of the results of Marco Polo's explorations?' for example, might stimulate critical thinking; on the other hand it might only elicit rote recall if pupils have learnt 'facts' from a textbook. These dangers would seem to lend further support to the need for restricting questions to those appropriate to the aims and purpose in reading the selection. For example, if the purpose were to read a text to find out whether it were fact or opinion, the teacher would limit her questioning accordingly: Is this true? Why do you say so? What other evidence, if any, supports your answer? Is any of the evidence possibly not supportive of your answer?

It is a truism for educators that questions play an important role in teaching. The importance of this is shown by the many studies made on the kinds of questions teachers ask in the classroom. Gall (1972) after an intensive study of the findings on teachers' questioning practices concludes that 60% of teachers' questions require students to recall facts, about 20% require students to think; and the remaining 20% are procedural. In the light of this Highet's observation (1951, p124) that "there is probably as much bad teaching done through bad questioning as in all other fields put together", seems valid. Many experts in the field (Flanders, 1970;
Barnes, 1976; Bellack et al, 1966) have shown that almost all teachers appear to use the question-and-answer routine. These researchers suggest that much of this routine is used as a way of controlling pupils' attention. Barnes (op cit, p177), in his discussion of this teacher centred question-and-answer technique points out that controlling behaviour is, in fact, controlling knowledge. He sees this control as being detrimental to real learning.

If teachers wish to encourage rational problem-solving in their pupils, if indeed they wish their pupils to take a responsible part in their individual learning, a particular kind of questioning seems necessary. Most of the studies made on questioning have been descriptive and offer little guidance to the teacher as to what questioning is effective. However, Gall (op cit, p348) lists four question types as worthwhile, claiming that they are scantily treated; (i) questions which cue students to improve on an initially weak response to a question; for example, Can you explain in more detail? (ii) questions which create a discussion atmosphere; for example, Do you agree with Tom's answer? Can anybody add anything further? (iii) questions which stimulate students' sense of curiosity and inquiry; for example, What would you like to know about this? What do you think is going to happen next? (iv) questions which guide students' learning of a problem-solving, behavioural or effective skill. For example, What do you think our next step should be? Do you still dislike that character?

Many reading experts believe that for full comprehension to develop, pupils should be encouraged to ask their own questions. This is in accordance with the idea that a good reader is one who sets his own purposes for reading and therefore his own questions. H.K. Smith (op cit, p93) suggests that "Deeper comprehension results when students ask questions than when the teacher does". Blackie (1972) reported on an experiment she conducted in literature classes. Groups
of children were instructed to read and talk about, for example, a poem, and set out to formulate questions about it. The stipulation was that the questions should be (a) questions to which they did not already know the answers and (b) questions to which they would like to know the answers. These were collated on the chalkboard and used in subsequent discussion. Blackie feels that this procedure encourages independent work and leads to a deepening response to the real insights that occur.

These, then, are some of the implications for classroom practice of the teaching of reading of transactional language.

3.6 Conclusions to Section A

In this Section certain aspects of the teaching and reading of transactional language have been examined. The linguistic demands made on the reader through the particularities of transactional language, and suggested reading behaviour of this language have been some of the concerns of this Section.

Some conclusions are as follows:

3.6.1 The teaching of transactional language is the responsibility of the school for this language is, generally, first encountered at school.

3.6.2 Both teachers and pupils should be clear on the purposes for reading for this would ensure a meaningful and active interrogation of the text.

3.6.3 An open-ended approach such as is possible in the small group learning situation allows for a closer scrutiny of the text and an opportunity to reflect
on the author's intent. This would seem to be a more favourable approach to the teaching of reading comprehension than that of the teacher-dominated, close-ended passage and question technique which does not account for independent response to the text.

3.6.4 It is perhaps appropriate to repeat an earlier quotation, "Children must read to learn while learning to read". Although this statement may appear to be somewhat paradoxical, it is only so if reading is conceived of as a skill to be learned once and for all at an early stage of schooling. If reading is seen as a developmental process, it seems only natural that the ability to read is developed through experience in reading.

3.6.5 A knowledge of the reading process is essential for teachers. Clearly, if teachers recognized reading as a developmental process, their approach would alter accordingly. The approach would possibly be founded on a set of principles on which decisions regarding the choice of methods and materials could be based. The set of principles could lead to the formation of a reading policy, a policy which would encompass all reading across the curriculum. A policy such as this would, it seems, ensure the reading development of every pupil.

Section B

The Reading of Poetic Language

3.7 The place of poetic language in primary schools

"... we dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip,
learn, hate and love by narrative. In order really to live, we make up stories about ourselves and others, about the personal as well as the social past and future."

(B. Hardy (1), "Towards a Poetics of Fiction")

It would appear that narrative imagination is a common human possession; so much so that sociologists see the study of a culture's literature as a necessary part of the systematic study of a society -

"... literature neither 'reflects' nor 'arises' from society, but rather is an integral part of it and should be recognised as being as much so as any institution, the Family for instance, or the State."

(Rockwell, 1974, pvii)

Because of the place of literature in society, literature clearly has a place in the school. It seems, too, that every child should be given the opportunity to generate hypotheses, testing them out and modifying them in the light of fresh experience so as to construct "a theory of the world in the head" which will make sense of the world for him. Britton (1970) has argued that being in the role of spectator affords the opportunity to contemplate and "digest" experience, organizing and modifying the experience to our own satisfaction. It follows that exposure to the poetic function of language will afford the child the opportunity to evaluate experience, his own and that of others', and in so doing, bring order and control to his construct of the world.

If arriving at an interpretation of the world is closely linked with hypothesizing about stories, then clearly the acquisition of literacy ought also to be approached through literature. As Spencer (1976, p2) puts it, "Our most pressing unsolved problem is to define and exemplify the place of children's literature in literacy".

1. Source : Cate D. (1971)
What follows in this chapter is an attempt to define the place of children's literature in a school policy for language, for it may well be that it is from his "narrative purposes that each child will discover the real urge to become literate" (Lavender, 1979, p16).

Three specific contributions to the child's developmental growth will now be examined as examples of the possible contribution literature may make to that growth. These are: the contribution to the child's language development, his emotional education and his moral awareness.

3.8 Specific contributions of literature to the growth of the primary school child

3.8.1 The connection between language development and literature

Literature may be seen as a storehouse of the poetic function of language which can be manipulated by the child, for the child. Aiken (1972, p23), although stating that the primary function of children's books is to provide readers with an objective view of life, notes

"... even before that ... one of their first purposes must be to exhibit language ... language is for [children] to enjoy in their own way ... it is not a set of fixed traditions, but a useful store of the most flexible raw materials in the world."

The Bullock Committee (1975, p525) re-inforces this in Recommendation 97:

"Literature brings the child into an encounter with language in its most complex and varied forms and is a valuable source of imaginative insight."

A review of some of the relevant writings indicates that whilst there is no consensus on the view that
literature assists mastery of language, the need for poetic language may well be crucial to a child's language development.

Strongly rooted beliefs that the effective use of language can be mastered through reading find support among experts. Whitehead (1975, p7) in working on children's reading interests has stated,

"There are grounds for believing that, where it exists, this habit of wide independent reading has a massive influence for the good on the child's mastery of the written patterns of his language."

Some have argued that our heritage of songs, poems, nursery rhymes and fairy tales affords an opportunity for language learning. Wilkinson (1971, p106) and Watts (cited by Field & Hamley, 1975, p22) both draw attention to the value of this heritage in the informal linguistic education of young children.

In advice to teachers offered by the Centre for Language in Primary Education, London (McKenzie & Warlow, 1977, p20) it is suggested that,

"Literature offers optimum opportunity for developing language, for within the 'world of the book' language is learned in a context of meaning and experience, where imagery and metaphor give life to words ..."

That a child meets written language when he reads is irrefutable but whether he masters the language patterns of non-functional writing through exposure to it, is questionable.

A note of doubt is sounded by Young (1978, p212) who says that it cannot be assumed that the language of great literature and other great examples of communication skill can be acquired "simply through exposure to such examples of greatness in the first instance".

Mallett & Newsome (1977, p80) found no evidence in children's writing to support the belief that a focus on the language of the story would develop children's
language ability. To the contrary the authors argue, in fact, that "focus upon language may well divert attention from the search for meaning and significance".

It may be that those who support the idea of a child's expertise developing as a result of 'exposure' actually encourage a close attention to the language of the story. In this highlighting there is the danger of children mimicking the language to 'please the teacher'. This mimicking, it is suggested, is in direct contradiction of the belief that for any real learning to take place the child should communicate his ideas in his own language, however unpretentious it may be. According to Roberts (1977, pp20-25) too close an attention to poetic language encourages artificiality and "manufactured glitter" which stifle the natural voice.

"We get them busily mimicking other people's language; and we punish or reward according to how well they deny themselves".

Regarding the child's need for the language of literature, it may be noted that many researchers in both psychology and linguistics have shown that the narrative function of language is vitally necessary to the child's development(1). A crucial part of any child's development would seem to be his need to make sense of the world around him. According to psychologists such as Piaget and Bruner, play and the narrative mode appear to be the two main vehicles in the child's attempts to come to terms with his world. It is the part that language plays in this that is relevant to this discussion.

Piaget(2) explained that it is through play that the

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1. This would seem to lay doubt on the already questionable assumption that children should read literature purely for pleasure.

2. Source: Krech, Crutchfield & Livson (1958)
child tries out his hopes and fears. The child indulges in symbolic activity, and language, having its most rapid development in these early years, is a very important symbolic activity. Piaget believed that language helps the child assimilate aspects of the external world without the need for accommodation. Wilkinson (1971), Moffett (1968) and others have shown how crucial the function of the narrative mode is to children, for not only is it part of the whole process of symbolic representation but it is the only kind of discourse available to children for some time. Further evidence of this kind of discourse being heavily relied upon by the child is found in their early attempts at writing.

Britton (1970, p115) shows that the habit of sorting impressions through storying remains. "We so readily construct stories out of past experience that it is difficult to perceive that anything has been constructed at all."

In conclusion, it is clear that literature has a place in the language development of the child; differences of opinion lie in the kind and degree to which this is so. In the light of the available evidence it would seem desirable to ensure that primary schools expose pupils to a great deal of literature, both for personal reading and for listening to, so that the child has made available to him this construct for personal use in hypothesizing on experience and, possibly, for use in oral and written discourse.

3.8.2 The connection between emotional development and literature

"What sort of things do you like reading?"
"Well", said the eight year old girl, "there's Treasure Island - that's a bloody one for when I'm feeling boyish. And there's Little Men - a sort of half-way one."
"Don't you ever feel girlish?"
"Yes, when I'm tired. Then I read The Smallest Dormouse."

(Britton, 1977, p109)
This conversation may be seen as evidence, not only for the total disregard of 'literary quality' children show in book selection, but, more importantly, it would seem, the decisive role children's feelings play in their choices. That there is emotional response to literature is shown by most readers. Laughter, anger, tears, excitement, fear are some of the emotional reactions familiar to many readers. Accepting that readers do, in the main, respond emotionally to a text, the question is whether it is possible to educate this response.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the reader's experience and response will influence his future appraisals of behaviour and feeling. The idea of literature contributing to the emotional maturity of the child is lent support by experts in the field.

The Bullock Committee (op cit, p125) explain that literature presents the thoughts, experiences and feelings of people who exist outside the reader's awareness. They see literature's greatest value lying in the widening of the reader's consciousness because literature has the capacity to develop empathy, for it

"... provides imaginative insight into what another person is feeling; it allows the contemplation of possible human experiences which the reader himself has not met".

Storying would seem to be a powerful vehicle through which the child may channel and come to terms with feelings.

So powerful a vehicle is this means of examining and realising feelings that children protected from fairy tales inevitably make up their own. Chukovsky (1977, p49), in his study, comes to the conclusion that if a child is not offered fairy tales "he becomes his own Anderson, Grimm, Ershov". Both he and Britton (1977, p45) show that a child's play is a dramatization of storying. The latter writer states that part of the
assimilative function of play is

"... to improvise freely upon events in the actual world and in doing so enable ourselves to go back and meet the demands of real life more adequately".

Humes (1979, p17) would seem to come to the root of the matter of educating the emotions through literature by quoting Hepburn, who considered what the task of educating the emotions through literature would consist of:

"It will be concerned ... with ousting vague and imprecise or crude emotions by more specific, appropriate and discriminating ones; with preventing emotion-experience from stagnating – replacing jaded and repetitive habit-emotions, with fresh and keen emotions, coupled logically to new individualized ways of seeing".

Humes elucidates his argument further by saying that literature provokes new ways of perceiving the world and, therefore, can be "creative of new emotions". He concludes by saying, "The process of educating the emotions is, therefore, essentially an attempt to bring about refinements in perception and articulation".

It would seem then that the principle of organisation of a work of literature is, in the final analysis, affective. James Britton (1977, p111) reminds the reader that Sapir pointed out long ago that man handles reality "via a symbolic representation of the world as he has experienced it". This means that man will improvise the representation to please himself; for example, to allay his anxieties, to boost his ego, to ease his disappointments. Britton concludes his discussion on the reader's response to literature by saying,

"We take up as it were the role of spectators: spectators of our own past lives, our imagined futures, other men's lives, impossible events ... Why do men improvise upon their representations of the world? Basically because we never cease to long for more lives than the one we have; in the role of spectator we can participate in an infinite number" (idem).
By extension then, it would seem that if the child reader were placed in the role of spectator as often as possible, he would become more discriminating for his emotion-experience would not stagnate but rather, through education, become virile, perceptive and wide ranging.

3.8.3 The connection between moral awareness and literature

The idea that moral awareness is developmental enjoys strong support. Piaget\(^{1}\) has shown that moral judgment is related very closely to the cognitive development of the child. He argues that moral judgment is nothing more than the cognitive structuring of how we feel we ought to treat others and how others ought to treat us. The point at issue is whether a child can become morally aware through a study of literature.

Both Dewey and Piaget (as cited by Kohlberg, 1971) hold that a child learns to accept authority genuinely when he learns to understand the principles and reasons behind the rules and power of authority. It is reasonable to suggest, in terms of a language policy, that literature can assist in bringing about this understanding in a context that has appeal and interest for the learner.

Whether moral education is the responsibility of the school is open to question. Schroenn (1978) has noted that "Moral Education should be one of the central concerns of all schools", and he suggests that moral education can take place through the study of literature.

Kohlberg (1971) makes a telling statement in showing that, although teachers are not fully aware of their role in moral education, they are "constantly acting as moral educators" because they are heavily involved in disciplining the child's behaviour and guiding his

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1. Source: Hersh; Paolitto; Reimer (1979).
interaction with other pupils and staff. Kohlberg argues that the so-called "hidden curriculum" should become overt and his studies define an approach to moral education.

The fact that there are many morally mature people who are unmoved by or who ignore literature would make it presumptuous to state that moral awareness comes only through a study of literature. Humes (1979, p19) illustrates this point by saying,

"There are some academics who seem to possess extreme sensitivity in their elucidation of texts [but] display extreme insensitivity in their dealings with colleagues and students!"

Literature has an elusive and intangible nature which makes it difficult to transform assertions into demonstrable evidence. However, it is the perhaps immodest intention of the writer to list some of the published assertions as to how literature can make the reader more morally aware. These will be borne in mind when the planning of a literature policy in primary schools is considered.

Field and Hamley (1975, p14) quote two assertions:

(i) "... of all studies, that of literature is the discipline which most intimately affects the character of a person's self, which most radically and permanently modifies the grain of being". (Walsh W, 1959, The Use of Imagination)

(ii) "... we are convinced of the value of stories for children ... children feel forward to the experiences, the hopes and fears that await them in adult life ... as children listen to stories ... they may ... be choosing their future and the values that will dominate it". (Plowden Report, HMSO, 1967, p216)

Field and Hamley ask, in relation to these claims, what would count as evidence? How do we know whether literature permanently modifies the grain of a child's being or whether it helps children choose the values
that will dominate their futures? (1)

The Bullock Report (op cit, pp124-125), in its discussion on the claims made for the value of literature quotes three sources in an attempt to give both sides of the argument:

(i) Nowell Smith (1917) saw literature's purpose as "the formation of a personality fitted for civilized life".

(ii) The Newsome Report (1967) said that "all pupils, including those of very limited attainments, need the civilizing experience of contact with great literature, and can respond to its universality".

(iii) George Sampson (1925) said, "... let me beg teachers to take a sane view of literature. Let us have no pose or affectation about it. Reading Blake to a class is not going to turn boys into saints".

The Bullock Committee admit that "we lack evidence of the 'civilizing' power of literature" but suggest that those credos upholding the moral value of literature represent "a faith that English teaching needs". The Committee state further that,

"In Britain the tradition of literature teaching is one which aims at personal and moral growth ... It is a soundly based tradition, and properly interpreted is a powerful force in English teaching" (p125).

In the United States, there are also two camps about the moral value of literature:

Postman (1970, p244) says,

"... among every 100 students who learn to read, my guess is that no more than one will employ the process towards any of the lofty goals which are customarily held before us".

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1. This whole argument presents complications when considering objectives for a literature policy. Are objectives feasible?
The rest, he says, will keep themselves at a relatively low level of emotional maturity and social and political awareness. (1)

Frank Smith (1973, p44) in direct reply to Postman's attack points out that Vietnam was the world's most televised war and yet it did not seem to end any sooner. He asks if the fact that there was very little written literature - as opposed to factual reporting - had anything to do with the way the war was tolerated.

Anne MacCloed (1976) and Clifton Fadiman (1975) both believe that there is a relationship between literature and a reader's morality. The latter states,

"We need, we must have, a way of developing better human beings ... And I still believe that literacy, the literacy that reaches its highest development in literature - is a pre-requisite condition for a society of better people. And if you want better people, it makes sense to start with children".

Moving from dogmas and assertions to empirical evidence, it is noted that little research has been done on the 9 to 12 year age group and the moral effects of literature on them. What research has been done is tentative. One of the most recent pieces is the Schools Council's Project: Children's Reading Interests (1975, p7) and here too findings are not conclusive in relation to moral influence: "we suspect that [reading] can have a far-reaching influence on the child's attitudes and values" (emphasis added).

The writer submits that, although there is no conclusive proof, there is sufficient evidence to support the idea that literature offers an awareness of

1. The writer wonders how much the teaching is to blame for this poor attitude to literature. The teacher is surely central to any reader's success with literature in school.
morality if, indeed, it does not lead to moral growth.

Having established that literature does have a vital contribution to make to the education of the child, the writer is inevitably led to consider the question of books and their suitability for the child reader, for it may be said that it is on the satisfaction that the child finds in a book that the successful contribution of literature rests.

In the light of her investigation of the field of study, the writer proceeds to offer some suggestions in the matter of book selection. These suggestions will cover three areas: the matter of responsibility for choosing books in schools; some issues in the type of book selected; and how knowledge of child development may aid book selection for children.

3.9 Book selection for nine to twelve year olds

3.9.1 Responsibility for selection of books in schools

If literature does have an important part to play in the primary school curriculum, it seems necessary that the selection of fiction for children becomes a matter of concern and care. A clear problem is the matter of who is entrusted with the selection of books in schools.

In primary schools of the Natal Education Department, for example, the selection of fiction is at best, a somewhat arbitrary affair as schools appear to rely on lists and recommendations made by authorities outside the immediate school environment. Some of these sources of recommendation are:

(i) Lists issued by the Natal Education Department's library services. These lists are drawn up largely from books which have been sent to the
Education Department by publishers for review purposes. Obviously, this means that books not sent in for review do not appear on the list, and also that there is little selection taking place by the Education Department library service itself.

(ii) Lists issued in the course of the Natal Education Department's in-service training of teachers. Generally, these lists are drawn up by the individual speakers and consist of lists of titles with no comments as to why the particular titles have been selected for recommendation. By their very nature, the lists are biased to a particular speaker's judgment of books and have not necessarily been tried on a wide or differing range of readers.

(iii) Lists issued by the College for Further Training of Teachers. Again, these lists reflect the bias of the lecturers concerned. For example, none of Roald Dahl's books appear on any of the lists which have come to the present writer's attention although Dahl is a highly respected children's author in many circles and is widely favoured by the child reader.

(iv) Model resource centres were set up by the Natal Education Department to display works of fiction regarded as suitable for children. These centres were closed in 1978 as they were allegedly non-viable as so few teachers took advantage of the services offered. However, it is possible that these services could have been more widely promoted.

(v) Lists circulated by the Natal Education Department on behalf of the Principal Adviser for English. These are lists which come to the Adviser's attention from other sources such as journals or schools.
(vi) Titles suggested by booksellers. In some ways these are the most useful as the booksellers are in the position of obtaining opinion of books from a wide range of schools. However, the bookseller is in the business of selling and must rid himself of stock in hand in spite of its possible lack of suitability to a particular age range or type of reader.

Although these avenues have assisted some teachers to some extent, it is likely that lists issued by an Education Department gain a kind of approval that they don't necessarily deserve. It is also likely that many recommended books fail because they are selected by adults: the child's response is not considered. Certainly, until books are read and personally selected by the teacher and children within any one school, many books will prove unsuitable and therefore remain unread.

The concept of an approved list should be a vital reality within each school. Lists should, by their very nature, differ in content from one school to another. It will be argued that a literature policy and its subsequent programme of action is discrete in its content because it is peculiar to its school and the pupils in it. Research has shown how fruitless it is to attempt compilation of a list of children's preferences drawn from a wide sample. Whitehead's team (1975) found Black Beauty to be the most popular quality book on children's reading lists but it was read by a mere 3.4% of the research sample. Indeed Fox, in a personal interview at Exeter University in April 1980, told the writer that because of the wide selection of books now available to children, it is an artificial and pointless task to judge any one book in a popularity rating. Chambers (1975) has pointed out that titles gain and wane in popularity and, therefore, lists should not be regarded as static affairs, nor should attempts be made to draw up a 'popularity' list from a wide sample.
3.9.2 Three issues related to the place of particular kinds of book in primary schools

"In both political and moralistic aspects, censorship can become a dangerous and destructive influence, not only in publishing and book-selling, but in library service, in education and in intellectual and cultural life."

(Haines, 1954, cited by Dobie, 1976, p81)

While it is not the intention of the writer to consider in any detail the matter of censorship, it should be recognised that certain forms of censorship do operate in schools. Dobie (1976, p83) states:

"It seems clear that censorship of some kind or another is almost inescapable as a form of social control and that even if it were totally abolished, other forms of control would appear."

While the most frequent concern of the censor is, no doubt, material which is pornographic, this would not seem to be an issue of any great significance in a primary school. However, the matter of 'poor quality' books and then of 'fearful' books in primary schools, follows.

3.9.2.1 Decisions on literary quality can only be tentative at best, for personal opinion inevitably comes into play. There is disagreement amongst authorities on what is 'good' children's literature and what is 'mediocre' or 'poor'. For the purpose of this dissertation, good novels will be those which are in Leavis's terms "a living principle", books which have both an aesthetic and educational (in its broadest sense) value. Two books which have been widely acclaimed by critics and avid readers alike, are examples of good novels. They are The Wizard of Earthsea by Ursula le Guin, Penguin, 1978 and The Borrowers by Mary Norton, Piccolo, 1977.

Some of the distinctions between 'good' and 'poor' books made by authorities in this field are respect-
fully offered here, together with criticisms of these distinctions.

Whitehead's team (op cit, p51) make a distinction between 'quality' and 'non-quality' books:

"... on the one hand those whose production has been essentially a commercial operation, a matter of catering for a market; and on the other hand those in which the involvement of the writer with his subject matter and his audience has been such as to generate a texture of imaginative experience which rises above the merely routine and derivative."

Recognizing the element of 'subjective' judgment in this distinction, the question the team were finally forced to ask themselves when applying this quality/non-quality discrimination, was roughly,

"Is this book one that a responsible teacher would recommend on the grounds that pupils were likely to take from it some imaginative experience?"

Chambers (1975, p42) argues that there are many books likely to be judged 'non-quality' that responsible teachers would find to be precisely of the value that researchers wanted when given to a child whose literary development was cruelly unformed. He criticises, too, the belief commonly held in educational circles that the literary quality of what you read matters more than how you read.\(^1\)

Egoff (1973, p7) offers this distinction:

"A poor book takes a child and puts him back a step or two, a mediocre book takes a child and leaves him where he is. A good book promotes an awareness of the possibilities of life, the universality of life, the awakening of response."

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1. It is outside the scope of this thesis to deal with the 'snob cult' in literature, but it seems likely that a belief that reading of so-called 'quality' books as the only 'worthwhile' reading, has been the cause of much of the disinterest in literature reported by teachers.
Yorke (1979) talks of first-rate and second-rate books, recognizing the quality of 'growth' in the first-rate; and Dickinson (1973, p101) labels as "rubbish" all forms of reading matter which contain "to the adult eye no visible value, aesthetic or educational" (emphasis added).

It would seem that criteria for 'goodness' will differ from one judge to another. Clearly, the warning to teachers implied by these differing distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' is that care must be taken before placing adult judgment on any book. The child's response to the book and his needs as a reader should perhaps be the main criteria for any grading in quality. Further, a teacher would need to keep her own bias in judgment in firm control and, indeed, keep fairly private her own opinion of what is 'good' and 'bad' so as not to frighten off the kind of reader Chambers so justly considers.

Teachers and librarians without the confidence gained by a thorough knowledge of children's literature and of the research in this field, are often in the situation of not knowing whether to condone the reading of certain books or not. For example, Enid Blyton was an author frowned upon by the Natal Education Department some ten years ago because her books were regarded as being morally unsuitable for children to read; in fact certain provincial libraries did not keep her books on the shelves. It is relevant to note what some authorities feel on the matter of censorship and exclusiveness.

Moss (1977, p335), editor of an annual list of books for children warns,

"If we mute colours, if we insist that the only worthwhile book is the one which deals with a subject in depth, we shall turn potential readers into non-readers. First steps must be sure but easy."
R. Bamberger (1975, p31) in a research paper for UNESCO points out that the aesthetic sense is not fully developed in the primary school child and therefore any aesthetic literature chosen should "deal with children's experience".

Malcolm Yorke (op cit, p24) found in his research that to children "rubbish" and the "classics" are all books and "the first are accessible and the second are often not". He argues, like Chambers, that the second-rate is very hard work for some pupils and "it does indeed extend him in terms of language, experience portrayed, insights into himself, society, values, relationships etc". He suggests too that some readers may never be ready to tackle the 'first-rate' or 'classics'.

Driver (1976); Inglis (1978) and Dickinson (1973) all plead for a balanced diet of reading for the primary school child, arguing that this leads to refinement in judgment of a personal and real nature rather than opinion imposed by some adult. In fact, Inglis (p74) uses the metaphor of food to make his point saying that a

"... homeopathic diet of chick peas, huskwhheat bread, nuts and sultanas, and raw fennel has a deadly earnest reek about it ... I would press curry and chips, gobstopppers, cherryade, HP sauce, SMASH and shreddies on the fourth year of the junior school".

Dickinson (op cit), an award winning children's author, says, in defence of the reading of 'rubbish',

"Nobody who has not spent a whole sunny afternoon under his bed rereading a pile of comics left over from the previous holidays has any real idea of the meaning of intellectual freedom" (p101).

He presents six points in support of the reading of 'rubbish':

(i) it is important that a child should have at least 'a whole culture at his fingertips';
(ii) a child should feel he belongs to his peer group and "inevitably the group interest will be mostly rubbish";

(iii) children should discover things for themselves, in the process they will learn "the art of comparison, and subconsciously acquire critical standards";

(iv) the psychological argument that an insecure or unhappy child may

"... need to reread something well known but which makes absolutely no intellectual or emotion demand. Rubbish has this negative value";

(v) any rational reading system should include both "plums" and "roughage";

(vi) adults' judgment of books as rubbish is dangerous as

"... the adult eye is not necessarily a perfect instrument for discerning certain sorts of values ... the child's eye can take or leave in a way an adult cannot, and can acquire stimuli from things which appear otherwise overgrown with a mass of weeds and nonsense".

Egoff (1973) distinguishes between "good", "bad" and "mediocre" books, arguing that "mediocre" books are the most dangerous because they are stultifying. They deprive the reader of judgment, new ideas and a sense of humour. The "mediocre" books harm pupils in the "sense of deprivation" rather than "actual damage"; while "bad" books are easily recognisable and therefore "combatable".

It may be appropriate to conclude this section with an actual case study in reading interests carried out by Brown (1979). Catherine's reading progress was charted through questionnaire and interview, for three years - from her last year in junior school in June 1975 when aged 11 years 3 months, till July 1978, when aged 14 years. Catherine was not a reluctant reader. On examination it was found that she read widely, irrespective of literary quality and reread many books
including easy ones, particularly during examination
time. (1) "I read all the books I can lay my hands
on", Catherine told the researcher, and yet she was
quite able to make sound value judgments on her
reading matter. In July of the final year of the study
she was reading only adult books and this included
_The Omen_ and _The Exorcist_. She was no longer reading
comics.

It would seem fair to conclude by saying that children
read books regardless of literary quality, that they
select books according to their mood, needs and
changing interests and that they do acquire value
judgment of their own if they are exposed to all
standards of fiction. The evidence suggests that both
books of merit and books with no apparent merit,
deserve a place on the book shelves of primary schools.

3.9.2.2

Whether books arousing fear and horror should be
excluded is a matter of opinion. It is reasonable
to suggest, however, that fear is present in all of
us. Witches and ogres have been present in the fairy
tales of all cultures for many generations. This,
as Tucker (1973) points out, is evidence of the
latent fear in all people being played out in the form
of story.

What exactly will cause fear in any particular child
seems unpredictable. Chesterton (1976) states that
anybody who knows children, or, indeed, has been a
child himself, would know that fear is incalculable.
"The hint of horror may come by any chance in any
connexion" (p126). Storr (1976), too, points out that
in spite of the progress made in this century, there
are still no conclusions about what causes fear in

1. The writer noticed the same trend with a group of Standard
Five children who, during the writing of their final
examinations, took to reading comics and annuals, with
one girl reading the class ii readers her sister brought
home.
children. The issue is further confused, according to Storr, because there are no rules among the children themselves as to what causes fear. She asks,

"Why is it that a child who can read the most blood-thirsty of the Grimm fairy stories without flinching, is reduced to a pulp of tears by Black Beauty and terrified by an illustration of a water nymph? ... Why is the under-the-bed monster for this child a wolf, for that a snake and for the third a spider?"

Storr answers her questions by saying, "We don't know".

The psycho-analytic work of people such as Freud and Klein has possibly influenced the approach to children's literature in this century for the Victorians hardly spared the child reader at all. Sherwood (1976) writing of the Fairchild Family tells how Mr Fairchild took his three young children to see a man hanging from the gibbet to teach them to love each other, for this man had been hanged for murdering his brother. Although death in a Victorian family was perhaps not as traumatic as it might be to a modern child, it does seem that the Victorians were instinctively 'cashing in' on the fear of punishment experienced by children in their early stages of moral development. (1) The old children's rhyme 'Step on a crack, break your mother's back' is indicative of a child's fear of physical punishment for wrong doing. (2)

Accepting that children do experience fear raises the problem of how to place fear in children's literature and what role this can play in the growth and development of the child.

1. The inevitability of physical punishment, often greatly exaggerated, is central to a child's conception of doing right. Kohlberg (1971) sees this as Stage One in a child's moral development.

2. For more examples, see OPIE (1959), The Language and Lore of Children, Penguin.
As to the child's development, McCreesh (1977) and Lewis (1975) suggest that literature can provide the child with the appropriate language to verbalize his fears. In showing the value of literature in developing the imagination, both suggest that one value of this is the control it brings to new and strange areas of experience. Lewis says, "It can help the child realize and define his feelings".

The argument to allow children to meet fear in books is lent further weight by Tucker (op cit) who states that the peak age for nightmares is between five and nine years of age. He advocates an element of fear in books for this age group reasoning that the child can "test himself out" on the fear in the story. (1)

Storr (op cit) suggests five ways in which a writer can depict evil of any sort without the danger of overwhelming the child participant:

(i) the innocuous "Ian Flemming" style where "goodies" and "baddies" are clearly defined;
(ii) dehumanizing the enemy and pitting the hero against Fate in the shape of either the forces of nature, or the evils of society, for example, Avalanche by Rutgers van der Loeff;
(iii) a humorous approach which reduces the horror of the villain, for example, Black Jack by Leon Garfield;
(iv) a distancing by time as this makes the horror remote, for example, The Chief's Daughter by Rosemary Sutcliffe;
(v) the use of fantasy as children move easily from fact to imagination, recognising the value of both, for example, The Hobbit by J.R. Tolkien.

1. The writer knows of a Class I group who begged their teacher daily to read and reread Sendak's Where the Wild Things Are. The teacher believed that the pupils were "trying on" the fear in the book.
books with an element of fear and/or horror in them could well find Storr's view of use in selecting books.

The value of literature would seem to lie in the pattern in which it presents both good and evil and the realisation it brings to the reader that both these elements are essential to people's lives.

The sociologist, Anne McCloed (op cit, p96) notes that although pessimism is not always the theme it is "a shadowy presence" in a number of recent books for children and points out that children's literature, like any other, is of its time. She concludes, "If the time is darkened by doubt and fear, the literature is likely to be shadowed, too, even against the intent of its creators". Russell Hoban's superbly written book *The Mouse and His Child* is a fine example of this undercurrent of pessimism.

It seems inevitable that children will meet the darker side of life and teachers would seem advised to take cognisance of this when selecting books. There is no reason why books dealing with these matters should not be provided for potential readers.

3.9.2.3
It is not uncommon to hear teachers complain that children will not read particular books and for no apparent reason. Nor is it uncommon to read criticism by educationalists of award winning children's books which are not regarded as such by children. (1) Concerned teachers, librarians and researchers in the field of children's literature, in an attempt to seek an answer to this vexing problem, are looking more closely at the reasons for children choosing one book in favour of another. This anomaly will now be discussed and the applicability of suitable theories.

1. McPhail (1975) says that the award of a Carnegie Medal "is the kiss of death" to a book as far as children are concerned.
of development to the selection of books for children will be suggested.

It seems reasonable to suggest that there is predictability in young children's tastes in books, although authors and plots may differ from one decade to another. This view is supported by many authorities in the field. A selection of these views follows:

The Bullock Committee (1975, p125) found enough evidence to support the idea that

"Children's favourite stories at different ages reflect the particular fantasies and emotional conflicts which are foremost in their experience at that time. ... It accounts for the conclusion that although the names of the most widely-read authors change from one decade to the next the characteristic features of their books remain much the same. The presentation is vivid and dramatic, the characters relatively unsubtle, and virtue triumphs in an ending which places everyone where he should be."

Richards, the author of the once popular Billy Bunter comics gave his recipe for success (as cited by Tucker, 1972, p49):

"I tell him [the boy reader] that there are some splendid fellows in the world, that it is after all a decent sort of place. He likes to think himself like one of these fellows and is happy in his daydreams."

The notion of heroism is predictably of interest to children. Meek and Warlow (1977, p74) explain it thus: "Children prefer the small courageous serf to outwit the bullying landlord, the thoughtful younger son to marry the princess", because this is how things should be ordered in the universe. Tucker (1972, p54) adds,

"You could say that growing up is one long process of cutting down this heroic view and gradually coming to terms with what really is."

Attending to this unchanging characteristic in children's taste in literature should lead one to a consideration
of some of the peculiarities of the particular age group which make children select one book in favour of another. Schlager (1979) explains that in order to predict children's choices in literature we need a cross-pollination between the literature expert and the child psychologist. The literature expert can tell us what children read while the psychologist can give the major reasons why children read particular books, because of their particular stages of development. Books that reflect the child's perception of the world and whose main characters reflect the complex psychological and emotional aspects of the reader, according to Schlager, gain wide readership. Books which fail to reflect this viewpoint, no matter how beautifully written, are seldom read. Schlager supports the position that books which succeed are those "that contain an identifiable stage of development, regardless of the literary quality so appropriately desired by the adult" (p138).

Of the theories of child development available (1), two have been chosen for review in terms of a relevance for teachers in understanding children's reading interests and selecting books. Both theories have found application by authorities in literature and both chosen for analysis are rather categoric by nature and clearly biased in their emphasis of certain aspects of development over others. However, their worth may perhaps be best illustrated by showing how some authorities use them to explain the popularity of certain books.

According to Erik Erikson's Theory of Development (1950), nine and ten year olds reach his fourth stage of development, which he calls "Industry versus Inferiority"; while the older primary school children are closer to his fifth stage of development - "Identity versus Role Diffusion".

1. Piaget's theory of moral growth in children or that of Kay could possibly serve the purpose.
Schlager (1978) applies Erikson's theory to children's literature for the middle childhood group (the fourth stage) while Taubenheim (1979) applies Erikson's theory to the adolescent group (the fifth stage). Each of these applications will now be reviewed.

Schlager (1978) in her exploration of the relationships between child development and children's literature applied Erikson's theory to Newbery Award\(^1\) winning novels and found that the five most circulated books matched Erikson's stages of development whereas the least circulated did not. As example, Schlager cites *The Island of the Blue Dolphins*\(^2\) by Scott O'Dell - the most widely circulated book on the Newbery list to date. O'Dell deprives his main character of adult help and pits her against a stark reality (her brother is killed very early on in the book). By doing this O'Dell has touched upon one of the most consuming concerns of the primary school child - what Erikson calls "reality orientation", the desire to handle real situations. As Schlager says, "It is highly gratifying for the young reader to observe a fictional peer's successful struggle with the problems of survival" (p138). A further reason for the wide circulation of this book is the element of what Erikson calls "task orientation" in the novel. The main character builds a shelter, a canoe, dries and preserves food and makes a bird's feather skirt for herself. Schlager points out that the character's obvious pride and pleasure in the finished products, and her skill of workmanship are greatly "appreciated by her reading peers" (p139).

It is pertinent to note that the least circulated of the Award winning books, although beautifully written,

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1. The Newbery Award is a prize awarded annually to the book judged the best children's book published in any one year. It is America's most respected children's literature award.

2. The writer has personal experience of the success of this novel with this age group.
did not, Schlager found, in any way reflect Erikson's stages of development.

Taubenheim (1979) compiled an annotated bibliography of fiction corresponding to concepts deducted from Erikson's fifth stage of man, namely "identity versus role diffusion".

One of the titles suggested by Taubenheim for early adolescence is Armstrong Sperry's Call it Courage (more often entitled The Boy Who Was Afraid in the publications available in South Africa). This is a Polynesian legend about Mafatu who is searching for an answer to the question, 'Where do I fit within the scheme of my cultural heritage?' Mafatu is frightened of the sea but because his people support themselves by the sea it is important that he learn to overcome his fear. He goes out to sea alone, overcomes his fear and takes his place as a respected member of his society. As will be noted the ingredients of identity searching and reality situations are evident in the novel and are therefore, in terms of Erikson's theory, of interest to the early adolescent.

Implications of Erikson's theory for book selection in terms of what the writer personally observed in her preliminary investigations towards the preparation of this work are perhaps of interest here. The Pigman by Paul Zindel is one of the books recommended by Taubenheim for late adolescence. This particular novel did not meet with the expected 'good' reception by a twelve-year-old group, thus supporting Taubenheim's argument. Clearly, according to Erikson's stages, these twelve year olds had not reached the stage of development whereby they could respond to this 'level' of novel. (1)

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1. On the other hand the writer has personal experience of this particular novel being 'a success' with adolescents in high school.
The second theory suggested in this section as useful to teachers for book selection is that behind Lawrence Kohlberg's *Stages of Moral Development* (1971). The theory proposes three levels of development with each level having two stages. Kohlberg (op cit, p171) explains that,

"Any individual is usually not entirely at one stage. Typically, as children develop they are partly in their major stage (about 50% of their ideas), partly in the stage into which they are moving, and partly in the stage they have just left behind."

In relation to literature, this would seem to imply that a reader can understand but not necessarily accept a stage through which he has passed and cannot grasp the reasoning of more than one stage above his own.\(^1\) Therefore, when a child is offered a selection of possible reasons for an action, he inevitably selects as 'best' the reasoning of the stage immediately above where he is actually functioning.

The applicability of this theory to books may be illustrated by means of reference to the findings of Broderick and of Hollindale, both experts in the field of children's literature.

Broderick (1973) finds Kohlberg's theory a useful one to explain the success or failure of books. Like Schlager, she cites Newbery titles, two of which will be mentioned here. Coatsworth's *The Cat Who Went to Heaven* has a limited audience. Broderick claims that the artist (the main character) is seen initially operating strongly at Kohlberg's stage four - evincing respect for authority. However, the artist,

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1. This perhaps explains in part why many "classics" fail with high school pupils, for some may not be ready to reason their way into the moral dilemmas presented by great authors and playwrights; who, according to Kohlberg, have characters operating at Level Three - the universal ethical principle orientation of a Postconventional Level.
in spite of the Buddhist priests, paints his beloved cat into the commissioned picture. This is, as Broderick explains, a classic case of Kohlberg's level six - where right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to universality. But, as she says, "The book's potential audience is not at an age where such reasoning has any meaning" (p37).

*Rabbit Hill* by Robert Lawson, on the other hand, was found to be far more popular for the same age group because the highest level the main character achieves is the "good rabbits do this" stage - which most ten-year-olds can easily accept.

Broderick concludes her findings by giving three implications of Kohlberg's theory for reader guidance (p38):

(i) the books a child likes best are either at his own level of moral development or the one immediately above;

(ii) books rejected by children are operating at a stage more than one above where the reader is at, or are below his level;

(iii) discussion groups containing children from two adjoining levels help the children at the lower stage move more rapidly into the next stage.

It is suggested that these implications of Broderick's should be seriously considered by teachers concerned with choosing books for children.

*Hollindale* (1977) comments in detail on the Narnia Series by C.S. Lewis\(^1\). This series enjoys a wide circulation among child readers and is, in the main, highly regarded and well reviewed by adults. The writer plans to discuss Hollindale's view and relate it to Kohlberg's Theory in an attempt to understand

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1. Called the Narnia series because the events take place in the Land of Narnia. There are seven titles to the series, each of which can be read independently.
the reason for the success of this series. For the sake of convenience particular reference will be made only to one book in the series - The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe.

Hollindale shows, with reference to the texts, how retribution and punishment are the moral order of the stories. Corporal punishment is in order, often of a brutal kind - for example, the brutal whipping of Aslan. As Hollindale says,

"It is not hard to see what children find so compulsive in such books ... Good and bad are clear and unambiguous, and romantic war continually takes place between them. The baddies get 'paid out', and 'our side' can use whatever methods it likes provided they are chivalrous and brutal" (p20).

Kohlberg's Level Two is the conformity level - the Morality of Conventional Role. The child characters in the Narnia Series are taught that conformity pays and that good behaviour and orientation to authority are primary values. For example, the guests attending the enjoyable but forbidden tea party are turned to stone when discovered by the witch. Good behaviour and orientation to authority are the very values which Kohlberg sets out in stages three and four of his Level Two. These are the very values which a primary school child would seem to grasp, and this, perhaps, is the main reason for the popularity of this series. J.R. Tolkien has said that before a child concerns himself with whether a story is true or not, he likes to make a clear distinction between the 'goodies' and the 'baddies'. The Narnia Series would seem to provide the reader with these clear distinctions.

It would seem that books intended for middle childhood readership must have characteristics to which that particular age can relate, in order to succeed. This means that well-written books with good plots and good storylines, but lacking in the developmental perceptions of middle childhood, remain basically
unappealing to nine-to-twelve year olds.

It is submitted that theories such as Erikson's and Kohlberg's have much to offer teachers who wish, not only 'to fit the book to the child', but to plan a pupil's reading path through the primary school.

In this section (3.9) the writer has attempted to examine some of the concerns relevant to book selection in schools. It has been established that those responsible for selecting books should be familiar with the contents of the books and should be conscious of their own biases and tastes. It has also been established that there is a place for 'poor quality' books and books containing elements of fear and horror. Lastly, it has been suggested that theories of development, such as those evolved by Erikson and Kohlberg, can guide teachers in the choice of books for primary school children.

The discussion thus far in this chapter has focussed on the child and the books. How literature may assist the child's development to a level of literacy where he may operate independently and satisfyingly in society, has been the main 'thrust' of this presentation. Implications for the teaching of literature are clearly evident in what has been examined. Three such implications, which seem vital to the promotion of an interest in literature, will now be mentioned.

3.10 Some implications for the teaching of literature in primary schools

Three possible ways of awakening and maintaining a child's interest in literature involve considering and respecting the child's response to his reading; having a knowledge of and appreciation for children's literature; and, showing the insights literature may
offer to subjects other than that labelled 'English'.

The writer proceeds to an examination of these three avenues with the intention of indicating certain attitudes and behaviours which seem necessary among teachers for the promotion of interest in literature.

3.10.1 Considering the child's response to literature

"... We say what we think about the poem and if it is considered the wrong answer it is brushed aside. ... I'm fed up with people who ask you a question and then when you give them an answer which they don't understand or it's rubbish in their way of thinking they pass over you - I think it's very much wrong."

(Pauline, quoted in English in Education, 5(3), Winter, 1971, p7)

The assimilation and re-shaping of past experience in the light of new experience has been shown to be of primary importance in the learning situation. Moreover, it has been argued that teachers who adopt an 'interpretive' or 'epistemological' pedagogical perspective are more likely to create an active learning response in the pupil than those teachers who impose a body of knowledge on the learner. In the study of literature it seems essential for the teacher to provide a situation for individual interpretation and enquiry - a situation that will encourage a rich and varied response to literature.

The work of selected experts in the field may serve to indicate the kind of teaching that may be required, if any modicum of success is envisaged in gaining and maintaining a child's reading interest.

Lewis (1975) in a discussion of fiction and the imagination points out that fiction is written as an imaginative act with the reader invited to join in the 'let's imagine' game. He says that it is the teacher's job to facilitate imaginative reception in the pupils, giving them the opportunity to reflect
upon the author's message and to move beyond it imaginatively. Teachers who do not allow for this reflection but impose their own reactions and literary critical processes on the pupils perform, in his view, the "worst kind of literature teaching". Lewis argues that the teacher's role in fostering responsive reading is a delicate one, in which the teacher is a learner trying to help children formulate their responses and reactions to books. In this process, he says, there can be no 'right answers', but rather different qualities of response.

Britton (1977, p107) believes that the child's response to literature, however naive, differs in degree rather than kind from that which is desirable. He sees the teacher's aim to be an attempt to refine and develop the responses which children are already making to stories, songs, films and television programmes. Progress in response, according to Britton, lies in

"... perceiving gradually more complex patterns of events, in picking up clues more widely separated and more diverse in character, and in finding satisfaction in patterns of events less directly related to their expectations and, more particularly, their desires" (idem).

He warns that to have children take over the teacher's response "is a short circuit that destroys the whole system". The response of another reader, he maintains, can only have value if it helps the reader "become aware of the form of a response we have already made or are capable of making" (idem).

Britton believes that the independent, active response - "a fabric of comment, speculation, relevant autobiography" - is the one to invoke. "Talk in class should arise from, and further stimulate this individual response" (p108).

The Bullock Committee (1975, p134) give clear indications of the role the teacher must play in deepening the reading experience of children:
A child derives value from a work of literature in direct proportion to the genuineness of the response he is able to make to it. The teacher's skill lies in developing the subtlety and complexity of this response without catechism or a one-way traffic in apodictic judgments.

In the teaching of literature it would seem crucial that a teacher assume the role of an agent leading the child to personal autonomy rather than that of a moulder to her own set of value judgments. It has been suggested elsewhere in this work that the reader is a spectator to the events represented in a story. It is unquestionable that each reader will look on in his own way bringing his own personal experience to bear on the text; taking from the text that satisfaction which suits his needs and interests. Opportunity to do this would seem to lie in the sympathetic handling of literature by the teacher.

If the teacher accepts that she must meet the child where he is in his response, and yet must encourage him to progress in his sophistication of response; it follows that the teacher will need to consider the kind of discussion she wishes to initiate or guide.

Field and Hamley (1975, p57) suggest that there are two main types of discussion with children about books which are worthwhile. The first is during the reading of the book - noting the "signposts" developed by the author and asking if subsequent events are likely to be pleasant or unpleasant and why. The second type of discussion occurs on completion of the book where only two questions need to be asked: "Did you like it?" and "Why?" In the exploration of the 'Why?' answers comes critical awareness. Although articulateness is difficult and slow, the authors believe it does, finally, have a cumulative effect.

Fox, in a personal interview at Exeter University in April 1980, told the writer that individual response to books is vitally important. In his on-going
research (as yet unpublished) he has found the most important questions to ask of the child reader are: "Which character do you like best?", "Why?", "What do you think he/she looks like?".

The value of small group discussion has already been established earlier in this work. It would seem to be a favourable approach to adopt if any real opportunity is to be afforded for individual response to literature. Support for literature to be discussed in this way in the primary school is found in the work of many researchers, for example, Barnes et al (1971), Rosen & Rosen (1973) and Phillips (1971). These authorities show that regular discussion of literature in small groups has a cumulative effect both on the child's personal writing (Martin et al, 1972) and in his perception of stories. In fact, Rosen & Rosen (op cit, p192) show, through recorded discussions subsequently transcribed, a group of eleven-year-olds reaching a new stage in their responses. The transcript reveals that the children finally became conscious of a writer behind the text, a writer who is capable of making choices.

At the Conference for English teachers held at Dartmouth College in 1966 teachers came to the following conclusion:

"Response is a word that reminds the teachers that the experience of art is a thing of our making, an activity in which we are our own interpretive artist. The dryness of schematic analysis of imagery, symbols, myth, structural relations, et al should be avoided passionately at school. It is literature, not literary criticism, that is the subject."


3.10.2 The teacher's knowledge of books as a pre-requisite for their subsequent promotion

Knowledge of children's books as a requirement for primary school teaching would seem to be self evident. However, according to a questionnaire circulated to
teachers in August 1980\(^{(1)}\) indications are that class teachers rely heavily on teacher-librarians to promote interest in the reading of fiction. It is suggested that a more positive way in which to promote reading interest is for the class teacher herself to take an interest in children's literature. This implies that the teacher will need to do more than merely acknowledge the availability of certain books, she will need to know the contents as well.

Foster (1975, p53) in drawing up a reading policy for his school recognised how vital it was for teachers to read children's books. He states:

"The skill in recommending books to children lies not only in knowing the child and his interests, but in knowing the books as well."

Whitehead et al (1975) in their research on children's reading interests came to the very strong conclusion that it was essential for teachers to acquire a knowledge of children's books if interest in reading were to be sustained. The authors state (p49):

"It is impossible to overstress the influence of the teacher's own knowledgeability about books. The right book brought forward or recommended at the right time can make all the difference to a child's reading development."

They recommend that various educational institutions and organizations should give a higher priority to courses, conferences and study groups to deepen teachers' insights into children's literature. Whitehead et al state that experience has shown that very few children, if any, cannot be 'hooked' on books if the right selection is made.

The Bullock Committee (op cit, p128) concur with this in saying that ingenuity in 'promoting' books is an important feature of developing self-initiated reading. They explain this by saying that it is "a case of the teacher's knowledge and enthusiasm bringing child,

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1. Details of this questionnaire follow later in this work.
book and situation together in a natural interaction".

The point about "natural interaction" is enforced by Blishen (1970) who describes the influence one of his own teachers had in his developing love for fiction. This teacher loved some novels and scorned others and discussed this in a "running commentary" with the boys. In Blishen's view this discussion and knowledge of books in its informal approach taught the natural enjoyments of reading fiction. He concludes with what may be construed as a warning to those teachers who do not make the effort to read or show interest in children's literature. Blishen believes, "Reluctant teachers create reluctant readers ... it must be through the exhibition in ourselves, the teachers, of what a true reader is - an excited person, whose responses to books are many and varied and complicated" (p37).

The implication would seem to be that if a teacher is not a reader herself, and lacks interest and knowledge about children's literature, she is not likely to engender a love of reading in her pupils. That literacy is is a desirable and crucial part of the education of the child would seem to be irrefutable. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, must be that teachers will need to recognise the part literature plays in the education of the child, or fail in their responsibility as teachers.

A recognition of the unique role literature can play in the child's education would be illustrated, it is suggested, by a wide, rather than confined use of literature. This suggestion will be expanded in what follows.

3.10.3 The place of literature in other subjects in the curriculum of a primary school

"The work of the primary school should have a pupil's language development as its central and unifying factor. To foster language growth and to make it the concern of all teachers,
integration with other subjects is essential." (Natal Education Department Syllabus for English First Language in the Primary School, 1977, Introduction, p3).

Because the teacher in the primary school is responsible for the whole or most of the school-work of her class, she is well positioned to use literature to enhance an understanding and appreciation of the content in subjects other than that labelled 'English'. The teacher can create in the classroom an environment which encourages a wide range of literature reading, permeating all subjects.

The Natal Education Department Guide to the English Syllabus in the Senior Primary Phase (1977, p1) explains why literature should permeate all subjects: The Department believes that literature can enhance an understanding of many subjects:

"Children's literature offers provocative material that lends interest and excitement and encourages children to reach a level of interpretive critical comprehension. Many of the skills necessary to an understanding of the content and science subjects can be taught most effectively by initiating interest through children's literature."

There would seem to be two main purposes for the use of literature in the content and science subjects. It could be used to initiate an interest in an area of study and it could deepen an interest in the subject.

It would seem that literature can be a most effective way to initiate interest in a subject. Billig's (1977) metaphor is very suggestive of this intention - she suggests that children's literature can serve as a springboard to the content area. She gives examples of how interest in the social sciences and sciences can be awakened by the skilful use of fiction.

Quina and Greenlaw (1975, p105) argue that Science Fiction
"... contains a hypothetical picture not only of what various fields of science may look like under other conditions, but also of what the humanities may look like".

They suggest that this is a way of helping students cope with an everchanging world in an inter-disciplinary mode. This inter-disciplinary approach has the added advantage of showing how knowledge is applied in society, creating thereby, an interest in particular subjects.

A deepening interest in subjects may be achieved, it would seem, by a study of selected literature. History and Geography are included in some form in the primary school curriculum because it is a common belief that these subjects develop attitudes and understanding of other people and places; they also help children to grasp the interaction between people and environment. The emphasis in these syllabuses (certainly in Natal, at least) is on this sort of understanding rather than on the mere accumulation of facts. Because of this emphasis it may be argued that stories could provide a kind of insight which text books and other factual source material cannot approach.

Atkinson and Evans (1979) believe that the reliving of the past through fiction is a valuable aid in the teaching of history particularly as the historical novels for children published since the 1950s "set a high standard of research and creativity" (p9).

An interesting Schools Council Project at present in progress is that of Williams (1980) who has embarked on a project to show that literature extends the child's "world-view" because literature "gives the child the opportunity to examine ways of living that he can't experience at first hand" (p1). Williams gives as examples of this, the life of a pioneer in the western U.S.A., or of a Roman Soldier stationed in Britain.
That literature can be mis-used in the curriculum would seem to be a real danger. Fox (1974, p68) expresses a reservation in using literature in subjects other than 'English' because he fears that "Fiction may become a quarry-face, hacked about by well-meaning social studies teachers ..."

Clearly, there is the possible danger of losing sight of the function of literature when it is used in the content subjects. For example, The Wheel on the School by Meindert de Jong is not a book on Holland but a book about relationships and independence. Using it as source material for facts on Holland would seem to be a most insensitive and impertinent use of the book. However, it does offer the 'flavour' of living in Holland and could be used successfully in that way. As Rosen & Rosen (1973, p195) warn,

"Treasure Island is not a handbook of piracy and Hickory Dickory Dock is not a footnote on the nocturnal habits of mice."

To summarize, it may be said that literature offers unique perceptions - other disciplines invite the reader to observe phenomena, fiction puts the reader within the situations presented. Parker (as cited by Johnson, 1979, p37) illustrates the unique contribution literature makes to a child's learning by comparing a piece of informational writing with an extract from a novel: "The lower part of the rabbit's hind leg is long. The upper part is short. This makes the leg just right for running and jumping" (Who Lives in This Meadow? by G.O. Blough). Blough does not tell how it feels to have legs just right for jumping, but the following does:

"His legs were like coiled springs of steel that released themselves of their own accord. He was hardly conscious of any effort, only of his hind feet pounding the ground, and each time they hit, those wonderful springs released and shot him through the air."
(Rabbit Hill by Robert Lawson)

The point to be made, it would seem, is that although literature offers unique perceptions, they are not
necessarily superior; other views are as valid. But it is in its very uniqueness that its value lies when offered alongside more 'cerebral' views in the curriculum.

It would seem that literature, provided that it is well selected and sensitively handled, can be a very effective mode towards the promotion of integrated knowledge across the curriculum in the primary school. In addition, this would surely make reading a much more dynamic and enriching experience.

3.11 Conclusions to Section B

Section B has been an attempt to describe the contribution literature may make to the development of the child - linguistically, emotionally and morally - and to show how teachers may contribute to this development through a judicious and wide use of books. Some conclusions are:

3.11.1 Narrative is a common possession and as such is an essential part of our lives. Literature has, therefore, a vital contribution to make to the developing child.

3.11.2 Literature provides a child with a representation of experience; in the role of spectator he is able to broaden his knowledge of experience making it that much easier for him to develop a frame of reference more effective for life in a community.

3.11.3 Regular exposure to and reflection on literature will provide the child with the language of storying in order to express his own emotional reaction to life's experiences. In addition, it can offer emotional possibilities and interpretations of life as yet not contemplated by the child.
3.11.4 An awareness of the developmental stages of a child's growth to maturity would assist in the recommendation of books for particular age groups.

3.11.5 There is no uniformity of response to any one story. Teachers will need to be prepared to tolerate a great deal of tentativeness, grasping towards coherence, fragmentariness in children's responses to literature. Obviously, this is preceded by the condition that teachers should elicit individual responses from the pupils.

3.11.6 In the congenial context of small group discussion the child, through the collaborative effort of the group, will reach new areas of consciousness in understanding his own and others' reactions to life.

3.11.7 The selection of books for pupils should be a matter of personal concern for each teacher. The idiosyncracies of each reader can only be accounted for if teachers have a knowledge of children's literature, and offer a wide selection of qualities and themes.

3.11.8 In the primary school, the 'interpretive' type teacher is more likely to see a study of literature as an intellectual adventure into all fields of study, both cognitive and affective, than the 'transmission' type teacher who views literature as a 'filler' for spare time or as a source of suitable extracts for 'comprehension' exercises.

3.11.9 The role of the teacher in the teaching of literature is manifold - spectator, contributor, organizer, coordinator, initiator, adviser and promoter.

3.11.10 The teacher who profoundly affects the relations of children and books will be one who talks with joy and
pleasure and, if necessary, abusively about books; who, in other words, exhibits all the natural responses to books.

3.11.11

The school has the responsibility of educating the child to a level of literacy whereby he may move independently and positively in society. Poetic language is part of this literacy. A recognition of this responsibility could be realised in a literature policy and programme as part of a broad school language policy. A literature policy could ensure a coherent synthesis of the many ways in which literature can contribute to the "sentient inner man" - that part of the growing child which could so easily go by the board when an emphasis is placed on more pedantic educational concerns.

This and the preceding chapter have been concerned with the skills of spoken language and reading as part of the language development of the child. The final language skill to be considered is writing.
CHAPTER FOUR

WRITING AS A COMPONENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

4.1 Introduction

The particular concern of this chapter is writing. However, writing should more correctly be seen as part of the total context of language, and as a feature of language development. This is not to deny that writing has its peculiar structural properties, but rather to stress the necessity for a view of writing which allows for an account of the relationship between language development and the maturational process of the child. It also enables recognition of the necessary links and diversities of modes of language.

In considering the relationship between writing and speech, for example, diversities do appear. Two aspects entirely absent in speech but present in writing, are the page and its layout, and lines. These aspects are unique to the presentation of written language. However, there are more subtle differences that need to be understood by teachers if writing ability is to be fully developed. Harpin (1976, p32) gives the reason for the necessity for this understanding.

"If speaking and writing are distinct modes, each with its own strengths and weaknesses and its own range of functions, these need to be acknowledged in what children are asked to do."

A study of dialects and the use of standard English in print leads naturally to the conclusion that spoken English, certainly at the levels of phonology and morphology, varies much more than written English, for written language is the product of deliberate formalization - a formalization that is crystallized in a way that does not seem possible for spoken English. Clearly adherence to convention is necessary to reduce ambiguity, which is combated in other ways in spoken language.
Perhaps the most dramatic example of formalization is the spelling system operating in written language. Spelling in English is a relatively inflexible convention and has gone virtually unchanged for two hundred years. It has been the target of spelling reformers and humorists (George Bernard Shaw's spelling of 'fish' as 'ghoti' is perhaps the best known example of this) but they have had little effect in implementing any changes in the system.

The development of literacy in large sections of the populations, particularly in the twentieth century, has given characteristics and functions to written language which are absent in spoken forms. Written language seems to have developed a kind of autonomy that it initially did not possess. For example, writing is public and official in a way speech is not. The Law and minutes of meetings are two instances where written documentation is accepted but verbal agreement is not. In many cases business letters are given a kind of attention that telephone calls are not. As Stubbs (1980, p30) points out, "The written language takes on a life of its own, develops along partly independent lines and is used for different purposes".

It would seem that an appreciation of the particular functions and characteristics of written language would surely have a positive effect on the development of the writing ability of pupils. The remainder of this chapter is addressed to that end.

4.2 The development of writing ability in primary school children

A great deal of research into the development of writing ability has taken place in the last decade, and is indeed still of major interest. What has been made clear from this research is that writing is generally a language skill first learnt and used at school. The development of this language skill is therefore of pedagogical concern.
Early studies of word count, vocabulary and language structures would seem to be of little help in explaining writing development in children. It is possibly for this reason that recent research has focussed on the process of writing rather than the product and in so doing, has attempted some conclusions on the stages of development in writing.

That there are stages in writing development is quite obvious - there is a difference between mature and immature writing, between an appropriate and inappropriate use of language. However, evidence suggesting measurable stages of development in writing ability is slight and inconclusive. As Graves (October 1979, p830) points out:

"Writing process research is virgin territory, we are only beginning to identify and understand some of the significant variables."

What some selected researchers have already noted on the general development of writing ability will be reported here as an introduction to a closer study of the development through writing of the three functions of language - expressive, poetic, transactional - identified by Britton (1970).

Burgess et al (1973, p83) suggest that a developing writer's progress is slow, "although not necessarily gradual", that he does not develop "on all fronts at once" and that there is "some relation between what a person reads and what he writes".

The idea of writing development being slow but not necessarily gradual is also a conclusion of Harpin (1976) who sees the stages between the spurts of development as "plateaux of consolidation":

"Some children seem to advance very little over considerable periods of time. Others appear to mark time for months and then accelerate with startling rapidity to overhaul their peers" (p74).
Harpin believes that development in writing ability seems to lie in sentence length and complexity and variety of fundamental forms, a more subtle use of subordination, for example, but he warns against the temptation of measuring this against the Piagetian idea of moving from 'concrete' operations to 'formal' operations as there is still too little evidence on language acquisition to support this matching.

A different conclusion from that of Harpin is the one offered by Mallett and Newsome (1977). Rather than seeking syntactical evidence of writing development as noted by Harpin, Mallett and Newsome see writing development moving alongside the child's developing personal relationships and his intellectual operations. They illustrate their discussion with a lesson they observed where a story was read and discussed with great expertise on the teacher's part. They found that the older children in the age range were triggered to write of their own experiences. However, the researchers believe that younger children in the observed age range cannot so easily maintain

"... such a clear focus as was demanded in this lesson, nor conceive of the story, the discussion, then the writing, as a continuous sequence, each part building on the other" (p87).

Britton's contribution to monitoring the development of writing ability has probably been the most influential in recent years. Because he took the view that language and learning are closely interrelated and that children learn to write by writing, he studied the functions of writing, saying that it was "misguided to expect [children] to 'practise' in one lesson what they will actively employ in another" (Britton et al, 1975, p3). In recognising the different demands made by various subjects in the curriculum, Britton et al were able to plot various stages in the development of writing ability.

1. Details of Britton's Function Categories are given in an appendix to this work.
There was, for example, a general rise in the abstractive level of writing coupled with a concentration on classificatory writing of the analogic kind. They noted, too, that few children at the end of their schooling were able to cope with speculative or tautologic writing. Their recommendation to teachers was clear – in order to develop the writing ability of pupils, teachers should concern themselves with the functions of language and the interrelation of function with a sense of audience.

Britton's function categories are very detailed with many sub-categories (See Appendix). However, for present purposes, concerns relating specifically to the development of writing in the three main categories – the expressive mode, the poetic mode, the transactional mode – will follow, while the concept of 'audience' will be reserved for a later section of this chapter.

4.3 The development of the expressive function in writing in the primary school

"Expressive language appears to be the means by which the new is tentatively explored, thoughts are half uttered, attitudes half expressed, the rest being left to be picked up by the listener, or reader, who is willing to take the unexpressed on trust."

(Britton et al, 1975, p11)

Expressive language would seem to have a direct relationship with thinking. This relationship is well described by Martin et al (1976) who see language as facing both outwards and inwards. Its outwards face is the relatively constant common forms and meanings developed by speakers everywhere. Its inward face "is towards everyone's individual experience which never exactly coincides with anyone else's" (p144). Martin et al see this opposition between common forms and individual utterances as the "dynamic by which we advance in our use of our mother
tongue" (idem). They believe that both directions are necessary parts of one's education and suggest that expressive writing should be encouraged throughout a child's schooling and in every subject because

"... such writing would free the writer to think in writing and to learn through using written language in the same way that he already uses talk" (p61).

Burgess et al (1973, p22) also argue that the expressive function of writing is vitally necessary as a way into learning because this kind of writing

"... affords a chance to make explicit in a first draft those processes of thinking which the demand for an immediate objective presentation would force him to leap".

Burgess et al would seem to imply that a leap to a more objective presentation is a missed opportunity to think things out, a lack of appreciation on the teacher's part of the necessity for exploratory writing. It may be said that teachers who are concerned with imposing a model of writing on the child - the 'transmission' type teacher - would, of course, see no necessity for expressive writing as an initial step to the more formal demands of poetic and transactional writing.

It is reasonable to suggest that the expressive mode is the function which every child uses and, indeed, should use as a basis for moving out towards either end of the continuum. The lesser formality and the more personal nature of expressive writing release the writer from the demands of an audience. Rather is he given a sense of their support, in their appreciation of knowing that he is not ready, as yet, to explain his thinking through a clearly differentiated function. Dixon (1975, p135) sees this phase where the writer is free to follow the ebb and flow between expressive and communicative impulses as the "natural precursor to more careful, deliberate learning, when we are ready to meet the demands of an audience".
The use of expressive language in writing should be encouraged as a crucial part of each child's learning. Recent surveys (for example, Britton et al., 1975, Harpin, 1976) show that there is a profoundly institutional aspect to writing as it occurs in schools, for it is overwhelmingly of an 'imposed', 'public' and 'formal' kind. This would seem to be an incorrect focus if writing is to be seen as a means of learning. If teachers aim to improve the quality of learning, optimal opportunity should be given to the use of expressive language. For example, expressive writing should be envisaged as the child's first steps into note making in the content subjects. The practice of issuing pupils with duplicated notes and 'worksheets' should be viewed as confining and 'close-ended'. Rather should the child be allowed to experiment with ideas through the use of expressive language, thereby learning and gradually developing to a more formal, explicit presentation of information.

4.4 The development of the poetic function in writing in the primary school

"In poetic writing the expressive language of the writer moves under the demands of the spectator role towards the articulation of an independent verbal construct."

(Britton et al., 1975, p161)

The contribution of the spectator role to learning was discussed in the previous chapter. It was shown that in this role the child can gain wide and varied experience. As Britton and Newsome (1968) explain - not only do we savour our own experiences in the spectator role but we enjoy experience in a wider context because we are interested in the possibilities of experience.

It is presumably with a similar belief in the power of storying that Fox (1977) criticizes the practice in many schools of promoting and valuing activity to the exclusion of reflectiveness. In showing how essential poetic writing is to the developing child's imagination, he quotes Hughes's argument that in
focussing only on the outer world, the inner world becomes indescribable, impenetrable and invisible. Fox suggests that this breakdown in communication atrophies the imagination.

"... for the patterning of our experience through the interplay of inner and outer worlds is an essential imaginative activity" (p18).

Having established the need for poetic writing in the primary school, consideration needs to be given to its development.

Expressive writing is close to "inner speech" and so not all of the writer's thoughts are made explicit; it is also relatively unstructured. Poetic writing, on the other hand, uses language as an art medium; a piece of poetic writing is, therefore, a verbal construct, a formal pattern.

According to Britton et al (op cit, p85) development in poetic writing may be seen as a move away from the expressive mode into a language where the writer "takes on responsibility for rules of use that represent, in sum, a different kind of organization".

It may be said, therefore, that development in poetic writing is a progression in the increasing recognition and attempt to meet the demands of poetic tasks and the increasing internalization of forms and strategies appropriate to these tasks.

Clearly, this progression in poetic writing depends, not only on an appreciation of form, but on the child's capacity to internalize experience, and make imaginative use of it. Rosen and Rosen (1973) believe that the youngest writers have a limited appreciation of the poetic function of writing because "their capacity to internalize language is so limited" (p149). On the other hand they believe that with regular exposure to experience that engages the imagination, the primary school child may develop the capacity not only to internalize language but to discipline his imagination.
The authors see imaginative penetration as vital to the child's learning situation. For this reason, Rosen and Rosen argue against an over-emphasis on factual writing in the primary school, pleading for the use of poetic writing in all subjects. They see a teacher's over-emphasis on factual writing as collaboration in an "escape into reality" (p150).

Further support for poetic writing in all subjects comes from Burgess et al (1973, p22) who ask why there seems to be so little concern for poem and story outside the 'English' lesson. They feel that "it is not in English alone that imaginative entry into experience is required".

Another aspect of the development in poetic writing is the idea of interest matching the developmental stages of the child. Mallett and Newsome (1977, p177) in seeing poetic writing as a means for the child to express his desires and fears, found eight year olds enjoying taking up a role of power, with many of their stories being improbable or impossible. Similarly, they found older boys seeking a male identity by choosing themes centred on "aggression, power and status-seeking".

To summarize it may be said that evidence suggests that progress in poetic writing is probable if the child's imagination is regularly engaged in all learning situations. The regular excitement of the imagination should include exposure to poetic language as described in Section B of the previous chapter. Moreover, the context in which the writing is done would seem to have an effect on the results; by the teacher not specifying what a story should be about the child is freed to use his own resources drawn from his inner needs.

A narrow concept of literacy, like that held in the early part of this century, would view poetic writing
as a training in penmanship towards accepted models of writing. On the other hand, teachers who see language as an integral part of learning will have a far more meaningful concept of poetic writing, for they will view this kind of writing as the development of a medium of expression with its own unique possibilities for enabling children to understand and act in their world.

This 'interpretive' type teacher would, for example, allow her pupils to speculate with the imagination - 'what would it feel like to find oneself in such a situation?' - and would welcome a varied response in writing to a learning activity or situation. Poems and stories would be regarded as valid writing in history, geography or science. Clearly, the all-too-common isolated 'composition' lesson, condemned by recent researchers (see, for example, Mallett and Newsome, 1977; Burgess et al, 1973, Martin et al, 1976), would have no place in such an integrated approach to the curriculum.

4.5 The development of the transactional function in writing in the primary school

Moving from a consideration of poetic writing to transactional writing, a change of emphasis may be noted. Whereas in poetic writing there are implicit connections between the parts, rendering an aesthetic whole inseparable from its parts, in transactional writing the emphasis is towards a linear logical set of connections. Britton et al (1975, p93) set out these contrasts as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transactional (Participant role)</th>
<th>Poetic (Spectator role)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The writing is an immediate means to an end outside itself.</td>
<td>The writing is an immediate end in itself, and not a means: it is a verbal artifact, a construct.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The form it takes, the way it is organized, is dictated primarily by the desire to achieve that end efficiently.

Attention to the forms of the language is incidental to understanding, and will often be minimal.

The writer is concerned in his writing to entwine with his reader's relevant knowledge, experience, interests; and the reader is at liberty to contextualize what he finds relevant, selectively. This 'piecemeal contextualization' we consider to be a part of the conventions governing transactional writing.

The arrangement is the construct: the way items are formally disposed is an inseparable part of the meaning of the piece.

Attention to the forms of the language is an essential part of a reader's response.

The writer is concerned to create relations internal to the work, and achieve a unity, a construct discrete from actuality. Thus he resists piecemeal contextualization: the conventions holding between writer and reader in poetic writing call for global contextualization.

It may be clearly seen that these kinds of writing make different demands on the writer and have clearly different purposes.

It was shown in the previous chapter that transactional language is generally first met at school and that the school has the unique opportunity of introducing this mode of language to pupils. Therefore, a knowledge of the development of the ability to write in transactional language should be a priority for any teacher who is likely to demand this kind of writing.

Britton et al (op cit, p160) see the development of transactional writing as a modification of expressive language under the demands of the participant role; a developing ability to be more explicit through a growing consciousness of audience.

Transactional language focusses the child's attention on the world as it exists outside himself. It would appear therefore, that transactional writing requires a subordination of personal, self-revealing features
in the writer. In fact, Mallett and Newsome (1977, p138) see the development of the child's ability to write in the transactional mode as a growing ability to "inhibit the self and the organisation of feeling, or at least its expression".

The 'inhibition of self' would seem to develop along with the increasing ability to "de-centre" - the capacity to see the world from different perspectives and to understand the view points of others. The move towards this objectivity, in G.H. Mead's terms (1934) would be the ability to internalize a "generalised other". This internalization, it is suggested, would develop the writer's capacity to anticipate likely responses of other people, a necessary requirement of communication.

Burgess et al (1973, p27) see the ability to "de-centre" as a necessary adjunct to transactional writing while still recognising that "there is a range of ways in which the writer's sense of self can be integrated into the ongoing business that he has with the reader". Persuasive writing is surely an example of the ability to 'de-centre' while integrating a 'sense of self' in the writing.

A further aspect to the development of transactional writing is the recognition that each subject discipline has its own technical vocabulary and particular ways of presenting information and structuring arguments, but what is possibly not recognised is that growth towards this recognition is slow and in some cases minimal - "progress towards being competent is made in small stages" (Mallett and Newsome, op cit, p182). Vygotsky's explanation, as described in an earlier chapter, that scientific concepts are only possible when a child's spontaneous concepts have reached a certain level, gives an indication of the gradual way in which transactional language is acquired. Vygotsky (1965, p100) observes that some modes of writing are
particularly remote from the purposes of the child and sees the growth towards this writing as being particularly strenuous:

"The change from maximally compact inner speech to maximally detailed written speech requires what might be called deliberate semantics - deliberate structuring of the web of meaning."

The acquisition of the technical language used to structure this web of meaning requires connections to be made between the meanings of these new words and other meanings which are already part of the child's existing framework. Torbe (1972, p140) quotes an example of a child's writing in science to show how meaningless a grasp of terminology and style can be when no allowance has been made for the child to grasp the concept. Torbe believes that until the child

"... has developed his own matrix of language with which to grid and map his experience, he will not be able to impose an alien matrix."

He believes that teachers should question the assumptions on which they base their demands for written work from their pupils and states that, if necessary, the teacher should change her approach to allow the learner to "approach the complexities of the subject in his own way, at his own pace, and with his own concepts of relevance and appropriacy" (idem). Or, as Martin et al (1976, p66) express this idea - a child's writing should be "coloured by his own voice".

Evidence of the difficulty children have with transactional writing may be seen in many 'project' books in many schools, where material is copied with little understanding from sources, in an effort to complete the written exercise. (1) One of the dangers of this transcription is the possibility that children may

1. An excellent literary comment on so called project work and the mindless occupation it often turns out to be may be found in the children's novel Thunder & Lightnings by Jan Marks.
believe that copying from books has educational value.

However, an interesting indication of development in transactional writing may be seen in the child's attempts to copy only phrases from books. Mallett and Newsome (op cit, p101) see this kind of copying as being "one way of making information our own".

Reflection and discussion are obviously important to the learning situation. It seems that if these elements were present in the writing situation, children would not need to distort their work by indiscriminate copying.

4.5.1 Specific implications arising from transactional writing in primary schools

Teachers would perhaps gain by asking which is the more effective learning situation - reconstruction or reproduction? The Bullock Committee (1975, p50) comment at length on this point in their support of reconstruction through language in order to learn:

"It is a confusion of everyday thought that we tend to regard 'knowledge' as something that exists independently of someone who knows. 'What is known' must in fact be brought to life afresh within every 'knower' by his own efforts. To bring knowledge into being is a formulating process, and language is its ordinary means, whether in speaking or writing or the inner monologue of thought."

One of the central threads in this work has been the reconstruction of knowledge through language and thinking. The main purpose of transactional writing is to inform the reader; the child requires, therefore, a personal construct to use as information.

Certainly, there are occasions when the pupil is called upon to perform a writing task to show his capability of performing that kind of task. For example, the child may be asked to write an essay on, say, the Savannas after a study of these lands, not
actually to inform a reader but to learn how to organize his information through transactional writing. This 'pseudo' use of transactional writing while perhaps being inevitable in some instances in the school situation, needs to be approached with great sensitivity, to avoid a delay in the development of transactional writing in children. Mallett and Newsome (op cit, p182) feel that a child may come to believe that

"... there is a model of 'how it should be done' in the teacher's mind, and that success will be judged more on how closely he makes his piece resemble the model than on what he has to say".

Clearly, to avoid this dangerous impression, and if these transactional tasks are to have any value as a learning situation, it needs to be recognized that writing for a public audience develops out of writing in a teaching rather than a testing situation. Burgess et al (op cit, p23) see the writer "as a person committed to his own search for meaning", a learner who finds in language "an instrument at his disposal and in writing a way of using it" (emphasis added). Certainly there is sufficient evidence to suggest that primary school children are capable of using the transactional function of language in writing, given the right climate for the development of this capacity.

The right 'climate' would seem to be one in which the needs and interests of the child are an initial concern. Unless the interest of the child is arrested, information will probably remain inert, a collection of facts which have no real significance. Clearly, writing from first hand observation and experience holds much interest for the child and allows him to offer not only the information, but something extra - his own experience, or thoughts, or feelings - which is not already known to the reader, giving the writing a freshness and purpose that other transactional writing may not have. This kind of transaction encourages
hypothesizing and affords an opportunity for the teacher to focus the child's attention on how he feels about the facts in terms of his own observations.

Writing initiated by secondary sources is probably less original as the child is influenced by another writer's perceptions. Nevertheless, an opportunity to discuss and reflect on interesting secondary sources may lead to speculation and a penetration of the facts, providing new insights in the child's construction of knowledge.

The teacher's capacity to maintain the child's interest, making connections between what she knows of the child and what she knows of the subject is perhaps the mark of the successful teaching of transactional writing. Martin and her co-workers' definition of a good teacher of writing captures the view of teaching suggested in this study:

"If [the teacher] can encourage her pupils to find points of contact between the unfamiliar and the known - in their own terms and in the context of their own needs and interests - she will be helping them to extend their insights into the world around them and their own relation to it, which after all is what teaching is all about" (op cit, p83).

Having established the possible form development may take in expressive, poetic and transactional writing among primary school children, the writer proceeds to a consideration of some issues regarded as vital for developing writing ability in pupils.

4.6 Some considerations for the teaching of writing in the primary school

Writing development seems to mean the developing ability to write in certain ways appropriate to the writer's purpose, subject and reader. This development will, therefore, depend on the writer's understanding of
the needs of his reader, the subject matter, his own purpose, his knowledge of appropriate models of writing and his familiarity with the conventions of written language.

Four issues of methodology which seem to be crucial to the successful development of children's writing ability are (i) the value of discussion; (ii) the writing of more than one draft; (iii) the idea of purpose, authenticity and audience; and (iv) a knowledge of the lexicon and spelling system of the language. Each issue will now be considered.

4.6.1 The place of discussion in the writing situation

It is often asserted that in the teaching of writing in schools, talk should come first. A representative expression of this belief is Dixon's (1975, p44):

"... writing assignments without a background of discussion and shared experience are unlikely to elicit much response from many children".

The principle would seem to be a sound one although Harpin (1976, p136) warns against preparatory talk being a universal principle in writing and gives evidence to show that in some instances, such as creative writing, verbal preparation can actually hinder development in written language. An over-employment of this approach, he feels, may "set boundaries for the writer" and, in addition, "the self-motivating writer is less likely to emerge if these are the standard conditions for work".

Graves (October 1979, p830) also warns against an over preparation for the creative writing task showing how word lists restricted the first graders he and his co-workers observed. "Restricted by inexperience, the word list, and the desire to write correctly, the children wrote nearly identical compositions." In an earlier piece of research Graves (1978) distinguishes between two kinds of writer - the
reactive type and the reflective type. While appreciating the distinction as a gross one, he believes that the reflective type of writer does not require the same amount of verbal and/or other preparation to write, as he is in a "constant state of rehearsal".

These findings lead to the question Rosen and Rosen (1973, p154) believe every teacher should ask in a writing situation: "What sort of talk should be going on?" Teachers, it seems, need to appreciate that different kinds of talk are required by different writing situations. If the writing is to be transactional in function, the discussion will surely aim at appreciating the facts in hand, speculating on them, interpreting them and coming to certain conclusions. On the other hand, for poetic writing, the discussion would presumably be more tentative and exploratory in nature; more like the invitational mood of "let us suppose ..." as described by Kelly (cited by Martin et al., 1976, p135). Kelly suggests that this mood helps bridge the gap between the known and the unknown. This procedure, he believes, allows for a wide range of constructions and hypotheses leaving the person himself intact and whole.

A further kind of discussion which has gained a great deal of support recently is the talk carried on during the process of writing. In America the work done by Graves with 7 to 10 year olds is perhaps the most influential in this regard. He, and his team, found that interviews with the teacher during writing had a valuable impact on the finished product. "Nowhere is contact time, particularly of the one-to-one variety, more important than in the teaching of writing through conferences" (Graves, January 1979, p77). Benefiting from Graves's work, Petrosky and Brozick (1979) reported on their conclusions of developing the composing process:

"The central idea is to keep the writers moving toward more sophisticated writing in the most unobtrusive way possible - through the use of conferences" (p101).
The idea of conferences during the writing process is, obviously, closely linked with the idea of there being more than one draft necessary for a satisfying piece of writing.

4.6.2 The value of writing more than one draft

Having more than one draft is an essential practice of most professional writers. However, in schools, it would appear that having more than one draft often means merely copying out the original neatly, and as Hillerich (1979, p772) points out, children often "resent the busywork of recopying merely to clean up a final draft". The value of preparing more than one draft is clearly more than this, and when linked with the notion of individual conferences, it becomes a very powerful means of improving one's attempts at writing.

Doughty (1973) argues for reworking of writing as a necessary aid to fluent command. Mallett and Newsome (1977, p181) in supporting the idea of conferences with the teacher as "a sounding-board for their first drafts" welcome the idea of more than one draft.

"Once we have given basic shape to our idea, some rearrangement to achieve greater impact will help us feel more satisfied with what we have made."

As a result of his intense research with young children Graves (op cit) believes that revision is a vital factor in children's writing progress. Beginning with single word revision the child moves to larger units of revision. This is when crossing out enters the picture. Graves sees this as an important step because the draft then takes on an important, temporary quality and the child learns that print "is a means toward a more permanent end" (March 1979, p316).

However, Harpin (op cit, p137) warns that revision tactics are relative to the age and skill of the child.
The younger child hardly ever expresses "dissatisfaction with a piece of writing, once complete". He sees the ability to detach oneself and view the writing objectively as being "learnt over considerable periods of time and often with great difficulty".

Harpin does not, however, make mention of how this ability to revise is accelerated if individual conferences with the teacher take place. Graves found 7-year-olds coping well with the idea but they were having interviews with a teacher or research team member. A control and understanding of the writing process, Graves believes, leads the child to the "clarification of experience through several drafts" (March 1979, p316). Discussing the difficulty and reluctance of one of the children (Andrea) in their study, they note that the premium she placed on neatness, combined with her understanding of writing as "a one-step process, prevented Andrea from actualizing her potential". Permission from her teacher to draw arrows and insert sentences is an "important early step towards becoming a critical and deliberate writer" (May 1979, p571). Graves believes that revision, once appreciated, moves to whole paragraphs and relocation of ideas; the children's drafts begin to resemble "the working manuscript of a writer" (ibid, p574). He found, too, that a great deal of revision became covert by the end of six months. Calkins, a member of Graves's team, by using examples of children's writing in her class of 10 year olds, shows how writing improves by the writing of more drafts than one. "Revision", she says, "is a tribute to the potential in a piece. It is not punishment but opportunity" (1979, p751). She sees successful writing as coming "from crumpled papers on the floor" and discussion with the teacher.

There would seem to be a great deal of potential in the idea of writing more than one draft. The child would be able to recognise writing as a learning
process with the opportunity to see his errors as a source of fresh learning. Clearly, a conference/draft approach would also afford the teacher the opportunity to present and discuss the different devices available to the writer; in this way the child becomes conscious of form within the context of his own need to express his ideas as potently and appropriately as possible.

Just how much revision is necessary in any one piece of writing depends largely on the purpose of the writing and the audience for which it is intended. Purpose and audience, therefore, would seem to be of paramount consideration when dealing with children's writing.

4.6.3 Purpose, authenticity and audience as part of the function of writing

"Writing offers a means of thinking through by oneself the complications and justifications for a point of view, the subtleties and intricacies of states of feeling."
(Mallett and Newsome, op cit, p165)

Children, initially at any rate, seem unable to see this as an advantage. The child on school entry is already competent in speech and is generally unable to appreciate the advantage of a permanent record of what he thinks. Stubbs (op cit, p114) explains that

"Because written language has complex and sophisticated intellectual and social functions which are inevitably beyond the needs, interests or understanding of young children",

it is not surprising that they see little value in the exercise and are often vague and confused about the functions of written language. The question arises as to what will contribute to the pupil seeing writing as a worthwhile means of communication. Mallett and Newsome (op cit) see two conditions contributing favourably - the writer finding his work seriously received by the reader, and secondly, finding that
he makes progress in the act of writing. For these conditions to be fulfilled, Mallett and Newsome state that the writing task must have a real purpose. But the purpose must be one which the pupil recognises for the writing must fulfil the pupil's purpose before ever it can fulfil the teacher's.

"... the writing task must offer an invitation to tell, explore or state, and suggest a real purpose, rather than an exercise or mere practice" (p166).

The Bullock Committee (op cit, p164) also see the solution to developing writing ability as dependent upon purpose. They see purpose as being a prerequisite for the successful development of writing techniques.

The idea of a clear purpose on the part of the pupil has already been discussed in relation to reading, and it would seem to have as vital a role to play in writing as an aspect of language development. As Harpin (op cit, p35) explains: "Before writing is undertaken it needs to be justified as an inescapable product of the experience that has preceded it." The confusion that arises in a child's mind when he is not clear on the purpose for a writing activity can, perhaps, best be illustrated by an example used in the Science Teacher Education Project, as quoted by Adams (1977), to make the same point:

The example is a transcript of a teacher talking to a group of pupils in a Science lesson, and reads like this:

Teacher We're not going to do Science for the first few minutes of this lesson. As an exercise I want you to write down what a corkscrew is like, without saying what it's used for.

Pupil Why?

Teacher Because there's a man at the University who's interested to see how well you can describe things and this is one of the easy examples he's chosen.

Pupil I don't understand what you want.
Teacher: Just describe, let's say, as if to a blind man, what a corkscrew is like, but without saying what you use one for.

Pupil: But a blind man could feel it, couldn't he?

Teacher: Look! Imagine taking a blind friend into a museum. One of the exhibits in a glass case is a corkscrew. You say that there's a corkscrew in this case and your friend says, "What does it look like?" O.K.?

Pupil: (After five minutes) Please sir, what is a corkscrew?

Another Pupil: One of these (producing a knife with a corkscrew attachment).

Several Pupils: Hey! Those aren't allowed in school!

Pupil: (At the end of the lesson). Please sir, what are we doing this for?

Teacher: A man at the University is going to show it to his student teachers to help them learn how to become good teachers.

Pupil: Is he blind?

Clearly, the pupils were totally confused as to the reason for the writing task and were unable to appreciate the unknown audience of a "man from the university".

If writing were viewed as the product of experience and thought, purpose would surely be an inherent element of such writing.

Rumsby (1977) in his discussion of the function and nature of the creative act, proposes that the intention for a piece of writing is inextricably bound up with its creation. He continues, "'How to get children to write' has always been the stated problem rather than 'How writing gets done'" (p30).

It follows that if a teacher appreciates "how writing gets done" and intends that the child should write, she endeavours to give the child the opportunity to
accept the purpose as his own. As Rumsby (op cit, p31) puts it: "The teacher must convince the child of the possibilities in the situation; the youngster must assimilate the purpose as his own".

This transfer of purpose would seem to be a clear directive to the teacher if she wishes to develop in her pupils the creative ability to write, for this is surely part of her responsibility as a teacher. "The teacher's job is not to create, but to transfer desire for the power which creates" (Rumsby, op cit, p32).

It follows that if the pupil has a genuine purpose for his writing, it will have an authenticity to it which tasks such as the one cited by Adams seem definitely to lack. It was suggested earlier in the present chapter that authenticity produces language which is in close relation to the writer and his purpose for it forms part of the creative whole. The ideas cohere in a way not possible, it seems, in writing that is less purposeful and meaningful to the writer.

"Unauthentic writing contains a dislocation of coherences, in that the writer is himself aware of a weakness obscured, a hollowness, an expression or a thought which he has not entirely made his own" (Rumsby, op cit, idem).

Authenticity and purpose would seem to lead to a genuine communication rather than a spurious one; a communication that has a sense of positive engagement with the ideas and an urge to share these ideas. Purposeful writing would seem to include a sense of a potential audience.

The idea of "sense of audience" has been much commented on in recent publications, possibly due to the close examination given to this concept by the Schools Council Project, The Development of Writing Abilities 11 - 18 (1975). Steered by Britton, the team, after studying examples of pupils' writing, concluded that
"One important dimension of development in writing ability is the growth of a sense of audience, the growth of the ability to make adjustments and choices in writing which take account of the audience for whom the writing is intended" (p58).

That the concept of "audience" is inextricably linked with purpose is explained by this team -

"... a highly developed sense of audience must be one of the marks of the competent mature writer, for it is concerned with nothing less than the implementation of his concern to maintain or establish an appropriate relationship with his reader in order to achieve his full intent" (idem).

Because Britton et al attributed so much importance to the writer's sense of audience, they evolved a model of the categories of audience for whom one writes. The model is represented below:

1. Self
   Child (or adolescent) to self

2. Teacher
   2.1 Child to trusted adult
   2.2 Pupil to teacher, general
   2.3 Pupil to teacher, particular relationship
   2.4 Pupil to examiner

3. Wider audience (known)
   3.1 Expert to laymen
   3.2 Child to peer group
   3.3 Group member to working group

4. Unknown audience
   Writer to his readers

5. Additional categories
   5.1 Virtual named audience
   5.2 No discernible audience  (p66)\(^{(1)}\)

What is of concerned interest in the findings is that 92% of the scripts examined fell into just two of the above categories - pupil to teacher (special relationship), and pupil to examiner.

It is not surprising that in the school situation most writing has the teacher as at least one member of the audience. What has caused concerned comment

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1. Britton's detailed table of Audience Categories is an appendix to this work.
is the high percentage of writing done for the teacher as examiner, assessor or judge as it is generally accepted that this limits the kinds of writing available to the child.

It is perhaps necessary to look at the young child and his initial writing to see what, if any, effect a developing sense of audience has on his writing. Rosen and Rosen (1973, p137) believe that initially children "talk to themselves on the page". It is only when they appreciate that writing serves a different function from speaking that they become aware of the reader as a vital part of the communication process. It is with this realisation in mind, Rosen and Rosen believe that a child's writing changes.

"When once the writer becomes aware that he must take active steps to accommodate the reader, his writing will change in certain important respects" (p137).

Obviously, by the nature of the situation, the teacher becomes the child's first reader in his groping attempts to communicate in writing. However, it is the role the teacher adopts which seems of paramount importance. The young child, accustomed to having instant feedback and reaction to his spoken communication, a source of information unavailable in the writing situation, needs a reader whose function will be much the same as someone he talks to - the teacher should, clearly, be this kind of audience. "Children come to accept the teacher-reader and, if they are lucky, find the best audience they have" (Rosen and Rosen, op cit, p138). It is for this reason that it has been generally advocated that the teacher should be a sympathetic reader and adviser.

"When the child begins to write in school, he seems to perceive a dual audience. One is his own self: he is writing for his own purposes, fulfilling his own intentions. The other is the sympathetic adult to whom he looks for praise, encouragement and assistance." (Torbe, 1972, p130)
On the other hand, if the teacher adopts the role as assessor too often, the child's writing, it is generally found, develops according to his understanding of what the teacher wants as judge, for the child will modify his writing according to his expectation of his teacher's reaction. Burgess et al (op cit, p121) show that the young child finds it difficult to write for an unknown audience, for the child has no experience of any other audience and, indeed, does not know, as yet, the tastes of an unknown audience. It is for this very reason that the authors warn of the dangers of a teacher-as-assessor being a child's only experience of audience, for the child then has "a picture of his reader as a judge".

The image of the teacher as a "judge" is yet a further instance, it would seem, of the damaging influence a teacher with a "psychometric" view of learning may have on the learner; for the teacher-as-assessor role, by implication, brings to the child's writing a set of criteria, a 'model' of publicly acceptable writing which has clearly defined norms of appropriacy. The role seems to encourage the writer to focus on returning as exactly as possible what he has been given, excluding independent thoughts, reflection, the sense of any other audience and his own intentions.

Clearly, this is opposed to a view that sees the child's own use of language as central to the learning situation. Martin et al (op cit, p132) see the role of teacher-as-assessor as being the reason for much of the poor writing found in schools:

"... one reason for the great amount of inert, inept writing produced by pupils is that the sense of audience, learned through speech, has been perverted by the use of writing as a testing or reproductive procedure at the expense of all other kinds of writing."

While accepting that evaluation in some form is desirable in any learning situation, the problem as it affects children's learning, they claim, is linked
with "how they see their teacher (and themselves)" (p141).

A further restricting influence of the teacher-as-assessor role is that it tends towards a negative response on the part of the teacher - to correct rather than to assist and advise. Torbe (op cit, p136) sees this as counter-productive to the development of writing ability.

"Instead of the child developing a concept of autonomy in writing, the negative reinforcement is so effective that what is developed is an internalized set of teacher's sanctions."

This negative approach to assessment is seen by Kantor (1979) as pathological. He notes that terminology for assessment is pathological and gives terms such as 'learning disability', 'error analysis' and 'restricted codes' as examples of this negative approach. He asks why evaluation cannot be positive and particularly in relation to writing. He believes that teachers need "a greater appreciation of children's writing" (p743). This appreciation would lead to teachers seeing errors "not as deficiencies but as signs of growth" (idem). Drawing on the work of Mellon (1975), Kantor shows that errors are often indications that the writer might be stretching for a higher level of understanding or capacity. Clearly, the teacher-as-assessor would disapprove of "risk taking" and the concomitant errors which risk obviously generates, encouraging the child to "play it safe" and not experiment. Appreciation of children's writing, Kantor believes, is revealed in "positive, specific comments on a striking image, a unique idea, a clear and concise statement, or something that touches a chord in the reader's experience ... in a gesture of approval" (p744).

Rumsby (op cit, p30) also comments on the stultifying effect the teacher-as-assessor has, for he believes this role results in the end-states receiving "unduly
fallible scrutiny"; supporting the claim that this role in demanding a particular model of writing cannot appreciate the child's experiments with language in order to make it his own.

Medway (1976), in fact, believes that teachers focus too much attention "on the way the medium is being handled" before making the purpose for this writing model clear to the pupils. He sees this as an incorrect focussing of awareness, for the pupils lose sight of the learning by channelling their energies into 'how'; into what Polanyi (as cited by Medway) calls "subsidiary elements" which cause confusion because "subsidiary awareness and focal awareness are mutually exclusive". Medway feels that this focus on the end-state "destroys one's sense of the context which alone can smoothly evoke the proper sequence of words" (p56). He believes that talking and writing to discover what you know is more important in many ways than talking or writing to show what you know. By moving pupils too quickly to the end-state, teachers miss out stages of the learning process. As Medway puts it:

"[Learners need to] break patterns down in order to come to grips with their meaning - their significance - by a process of reconstruction" (p59).

The criticism of "incorrect focus" by the teacher-as-assessor has been heavy and well researched in England and America. It has, for example, led educationalists to revise their attitudes to the teaching of grammar in schools. Their findings show conclusively that formal grammar exercises are ineffective as a means to improved language use. John De Boer, as reported by Meisterheim (1977, p5) surveyed more than fifty years of research, and reported the impressive fact that

"... in all these studies, carried out in places and at times far removed from each other, often by highly experienced and disinterested investigators, the results have been consistently negative so far as the value of grammar in the improvement of language expression is concerned."
Quite clearly, insistence on understanding of grammar would affect the approach to language study a teacher adopted in her classroom. Perhaps this may be summed up by suggesting that children only need an understanding of the structures of language and their functions in the context of use, when a problem of communication arises. This individual need for particular understanding could take place most fruitfully during the individual conferences with the child while he is in the process of writing and working towards a final draft. For, as Loban (1979, p485) expresses it,

"In writing, such editing skills as agreement of subject-predicate, spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are final courtesies to the reader. They are important, but they are not central."

This does not suggest that a casual, haphazard approach is recommended, rather is it supportive of the idea that it is the child's individual use of language and its development that should be of constant concern, together with a consideration of language use in the context of the work under scrutiny. Harpin (op. cit., p130) states categorically that language growth will be "stifled in the world of standard exercises". It is interesting to note that Thurber (cited by Meisterheim, 1977, p7), as early as 1894, argued against the use of textbooks with exercises in English. He saw the textbooks as an obstacle to every teacher for the "good teacher will accomplish something good in spite of the book; the poor teacher will accomplish nothing even with the book".

Britton et al (op. cit., p107) state quite categorically that the sample of writings they classified in the Schools Council Project cannot be taken as a sample of what young writers can do but rather of what they have done under the constraints of a school situation. It is hoped, and possibly assumed, that if teachers adopted the role of sympathetic reader and adviser
more often, and used the teacher-as-examiner role less, the pupils' writing would have freedom to develop in ways not possible when writing for a limited audience and that audience being one of judge. In this sense, Britton's audience categories become even more meaningful for the categories are defined in terms of relationships and it is these relationships which either develop a child's writing ability or stultify it. For, as Britton et al explain, the writer defines himself in a role which is complementary to the role he assigns his teacher as reader. They suggest that two sets of expectations are set up in the pupil's school work - one 'closed' and the other 'open'. Whichever set of expectations operates depends very heavily on the teacher's conception of the learning process.

"Polarizing the distinction, we should say that the closed view sees teaching as instruction, while the open view sees learning as exploration and discovery. Methodologies appropriate to the two views would clearly have divergent implications for the teacher's role and hence for teacher-pupil relationships" (p194).

The indications of this discussion seem clear. Pupils need to be absorbed and committed to what they write and it is up to the teacher's ingenuity to see this happens. Mallett and Newsome (op cit, p182) suggest that if pupils view writing as a useful activity from the very beginning "many of the later problems may never develop". This implies less writing of the "showing what we know" variety and for more opportunity to support a viewpoint or justify an opinion; a writing task which enables a pupil to use rather than report what he has learned, which must, by its nature, be more satisfying for it is in essence more purposeful. Harpin (op cit, p35) expresses this view most succinctly:

"... with relatively unimportant exceptions, writing is exploration of experience - the experience and the comprehending of it are in a real sense created by the words in which they are expressed".
To summarize then, it would seem that there are stages of development in writing ability and that this development can be encouraged if the pupil is given the opportunity to discuss his writing with a sympathetic reader/adviser in order to improve on his initial draft. Further, if the child writes purposefully with a sense of audience, his writing will be both authentic and more satisfying.

4.6.4 Word study as a further aid to the development of writing ability

Earlier in this chapter it was noted that orthography is an example of the formalization of written language. Clearly, if a pupil is to develop his ability in written language he will need a knowledge of the spelling system and of the lexicon. The Bullock Report (1975) states:

"We believe that in the course of their writing children should acquire a knowledge of the spelling rules and an ability to generalize about words" (p168).

In any consideration of spelling, one may be justified to ask, 'Does it matter if one spells correctly or not?' Two main reasons for correct spelling seem to emerge from writings on this subject. One is that of social convention. "Spelling is clearly important, because people attach so much importance to it. What people think is important" (Stubbs, op cit, p69). The other reason, and it would seem to be the more important one in the context of the present chapter, is that spelling ability frees the children to write. Even Martin and Mulford (1971, p380) in an attack on too much emphasis on spelling, admit

"It is true that a writer (adult as well as child) may choose to write down a word that he thinks he can spell, but which doesn't precisely capture his meaning, just because he cannot spell the right word."

In their enquiry into the teaching of spelling in schools, the Bullock Committee report (op cit, p181),
"Most of the contention surrounding spelling is concerned with timing and method rather than justification".

It would seem appropriate, therefore, to look at what abilities are needed to spell well, before deciding on what method of teaching to adopt. Peters (1970, p20) summarises these as

"... the ability to generalize, possibly though not very satisfactorily, from explicit formulated rules, more certainly from having learned the serial probability of letter occurrences. This involves transfer via visual perceptions and recall through imagery".

One may conclude that whatever method is adopted in the classroom, it should include the training of these abilities.

The systematic teaching of spelling as a means of assisting progress in spelling is well supported in the literature. Peters (op cit, p38) found that a class of children given no instruction in spelling, but plenty of time for creative writing deteriorated significantly in generalizing ability. She came to the conclusion that generalization is dependent upon rational and systematic teaching procedures.

In the light of recent research, such rational and systematic teaching of spelling would seem to be at variance with the traditional rote learning of words from published spelling lists.

"The traditional spelling lesson is an ad hoc approach to the task of internalization (of spelling patterns) and one which, for lack of awareness of the working of the orthography, falls back on random procedures and on rote learning."

(Mackay and Thompson, 1968, p68)

In an investigation of 65 classes in primary schools in England, Peters (1967, p52) shows that haphazard practices and reliance entirely on published lists are not aids to progress in spelling. She comments:
"Children left to themselves with word lists learn these in a very haphazard kind of way, reciting alphabetically, reading over the words ... the time spent on spelling can be used more effectively if children are taught to attend carefully to word structure, to look for the 'hard spots', to identify familiar word sequences within long words, to syllabize, to exercise visual imagery."

Although there is agreement by researchers that spelling should be taught, there is disagreement as to when this instruction should begin. Martin and Mulford (op cit, p389) criticize Peters for her "earlier the better" attitude to instruction in spelling; while Johnson and van der Merwe (1979) suggest that instruction should begin when writing begins. In their comments on spelling in junior primary classes they come to the conclusion that "learning correct spelling is important but should not be stressed to such an extent that it stifles a child's creative efforts in writing" (p112). Templeton (1979, p795) sees correct spelling as part of a child's developing orthographic awareness. Spelling consciousness, he believes, should begin as a feature of proofreading.

In order to ensure that spelling progress is maintained, regular testing would seem to be essential. Peters (1970) suggests that it is highly likely that a class's spelling will progress if it is tested regularly rather than irregularly. If it is agreed that good spelling frees the pupil to write, it would seem to indicate that his ability in spelling should be measured. It is suggested that dictation exercises are a suitable means of doing this. Further, dictation exercises provide an opportunity for pupils to proofread materials by comparing them with the correct copy. In the words of Clanfield and Hannan,

"Skill in proofreading is one of the most valuable language skills pupils can learn. ... Proofreading provides pupils with opportunities to evaluate their own work in terms of accepted standards, to develop critical
judgment, and to set and maintain high standards for themselves" (p20).

Thus, in the context of writing, spelling plays an important role in a language policy.

Studies of language development reveal that the wider the child's experience of language, the more he can manipulate it for his own purposes. That each sentence we utter is unique, implies a choice. The more a child experiments with and experiences language, the wider his choices become, so that he is able, finally, to select that word which fits exactly and precisely the meaning which he wishes to convey. It follows, therefore, that effective and efficient communication requires a firm knowledge and experience of vocabulary. Such knowledge and experience could be gained by designing opportunities for vocabulary enrichment, in which the child is given the opportunity to experiment with words, to compare and discuss words, and to reflect on the various ways in which words come to hold so much meaning for the writer and the reader.

In order to ensure a pattern in the child's developing awareness of words, it is suggested that word study policy be designed and implemented, as part of the overall language policy in the school.

4.7 Conclusions

In the present chapter an attempt has been made to examine some of the processes and elements of creative thinking in the writing of primary school children. Various conclusions may be drawn from this examination. Some conclusions are:

4.7.1 If the child is to learn by writing, the teacher will need to teach the process by which knowledge is
acquired rather than a body of accepted knowledge.

4.7.2 Creativity is initiated by the child's interests. It is dependent upon the ingenuity of the teacher as to whether this interest can be sustained in the writing situation.

4.7.3 Intention would seem to be the motivating force for thinking, therefore creativity in the writing process is dependent upon a clear purpose within the mind of the writer.

4.7.4 Progress in writing may be seen to involve the ability to communicate successfully to one's intended audience, in language appropriate to that audience.

4.7.5 Progress in effective, satisfying writing is more easily accomplished through the writing of more than one draft in consultation with the teacher and peers.

4.7.6 For a written communication to achieve full impact, it should be written with the 'comfort' of the reader in mind - grammar, spelling and punctuation are, therefore, necessary considerations.

4.7.7 The teacher's influence on her pupils is immense. In the context of learning this implies that the teacher adopt a view of learning which does not impose on the structure of the pupil's thinking but, instead, is committed to reciprocity, to co-operative learning, a learning environment which supports the growth of creative thinking. The role of teacher-as-assessor has a minimal place in this environment.

4.7.8 For writing ability to be fully developed in pupils it is suggested that the school adopt a policy whereby growth is ensured: a policy which would take into
account those features of writing and learning that have been mentioned in this chapter. With such a policy, the child's writing may assume a potency far deeper than the surface features of inculcated models of writing.

Thus far, this study has considered the effect language has upon a child's learning behaviour: how talk is generated not only to suit the situation but also to influence it in accordance with the child's needs and purposes; how reading is a way in which a child may, independently, constantly draw on other people's knowledge and wisdom; how writing is a means by which the child comes to terms with other people's knowledge and wisdom, and with his own representation of experience. The belief underlying all that has been said about language-in-learning is that knowledge is not something that exists outside the knower; knowledge is not just transferable matter. The study has been a criticism of traditional notions of what constitutes 'learning', and has proposed that accountability in teaching rests on a view of learning which recognises and appreciates the many uses of language by which a child goes about his learning. The way is now clear to propose how a school may ensure the development of language potential in every child, through the formulation of a school-based language policy.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE MAKING OF A LANGUAGE POLICY: A REVIEW OF SOME ATTEMPTS

5.1 Introduction

One of the underlying concerns in this work has been the role of language in education. Arising from this concern the value of, and necessity for, a language policy for the primary school has been postulated. The study has taken place at a time when important changes in the teaching and assessment of language are occurring. Such changes will no doubt continue as education benefits from research into learning and language.

The present chapter involves a review of the feasibility of a school language policy. The possible merits of such a policy are considered as well as suggested content. Examples of policies obtained by the writer on her visit to England are included, as well as the partially completed language policy of a primary school in Natal.

5.2 A review of moves in England and Natal towards the idea of a school-based language policy

In May 1966(1) the London Association of Teachers of English began discussion on functions of language and the relationship between language and thought. Inevitably this led to discussion of the place of language in subjects other than that labelled English, and subsequently to the coining of the phrase 'language across the curriculum'. In the May 1968 Conference of the London Association of Teachers of English, the terms of enquiry into language use were broadened, culminating in the drafting of a statement

for circulation to schools. This Discussion Document inspired some school staffs to attempt their own drafting of language policies for cross-curricular purposes.

The 1971 Conference theme of the National Association of Teachers of English in England was "Language across the Curriculum", and gave impetus to the publication in 1976 of the NATE booklet, *Language across the Curriculum: Guidelines for Schools*.

In 1972 the Open University introduced a Reading Development post-experience course, marking the acceptance of the need for understanding and teaching reading in all subjects in the curriculum.

The recognition of the importance of the continued teaching of reading and of the role of language in learning culminated in the unified approach taken by the Bullock Committee in their recommendation in 1975 of a 'language across the curriculum policy'.

The influence of these ideas continues to grow in Britain as may be seen by the examples of policies and guidelines quoted later in this chapter.

In Natal, it is probable that the awakened interest in reading in England, evidenced by the volume of publications over the past decade on reading and its development, gave the necessary impetus to the Natal Education Department to focus attention on the language development of pupils.

In 1976 two teachers were seconded to work in an itinerant way under the direction of the Inspector of Education for English as First Language. Guidance in the teaching of reading was given by these teachers to teachers working in junior high schools. This led to the secondment of one such teacher for a further

two years to help staff in primary schools with the teaching of reading.

The idea of the role of language in learning was introduced to primary school principals at an Easter vacation course in 1976. This was followed by a one day in-service course for teachers on the role of language and reading in learning.

1977 saw the issuing of Circular Minute 36 officially requesting schools to draw up a language policy, and a one day in-service course for principals and senior staff which focused mainly on the place of talk and the teaching of reading. In addition, the Natal Education Department paid the expenses of teachers attending the National Conference of the English Academy of Southern Africa in July 1977, which took the theme 'The Teaching of English as First Language in Schools'. Official recognition of the need for a school language policy was further given by the inclusion of the Bullock Committee recommendation for school language policies in the Natal Education Department Syllabus for English as First Language in Primary Schools, issued in 1977.

A one day in-service course, titled 'Language across the Curriculum', was offered to teachers in 1979; while in 1980 a talk urging teachers to interest themselves in devising a policy for language was offered to principals and senior staff of primary schools.

While it may be seen that the Natal Education Department has gone some way to furthering the interest and knowledge of teachers in the teaching of language, it is possible that this assistance has either been insufficient or of the wrong kind\(^1\) for at the time

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1. Attention will be drawn to what may be weaknesses inherent in the form of in-service training of teachers as reported here, in the conclusions to this study.
of writing it has not been possible to find a primary school in Natal which had yet developed an explicit language policy.

The Bullock Committee (para 12.3) point out that the primary school teacher has the power to establish a language policy across the curriculum because she is responsible for most of the work of her class. But the Committee add this rider:

"Whether or not he is taking that opportunity will depend upon the extent to which the various uses of language permeate all other learning activities, or to which, on the other hand, language learning is regarded as a separate activity."

Evidence of a lack of permeation of various uses of language into some Natal primary schools comes from replies to questionnaires which the writer circulated as part of her research. These replies are examined in detail in a separate section of the present chapter.

Replies to questionnaires issued at an in-service course organised by the Natal Education Department in 1979, showed that 78% of the teachers attending the course felt they were ignorant of the role language played in learning. 82% of the teachers admitted that they were ill-equipped to teach developmental reading.

Clearly, if teachers in Natal primary schools are to adopt policies whereby language permeates all learning activities, they will need more intensive training than that which has already been offered.

Having established some of the background leading up to a call for school-based language policies, the writer turns to an appraisal of the possible merits in designing any such policy.
5.3 Some suggested merits inherent in formulating a language policy

While it may be said that the preceding chapters suggest to a large extent the value of a language policy and the considerations necessary for a full language policy, it seems relevant to consider other merits inherent in any language policy which may lead to more effective teaching behaviour. What has preceded this chapter has been written largely with the child in mind; what follows has the teacher more specifically in mind.

Clearly, all teachers do have some form of language policy, in the sense that assumptions about the relationship of language and learning are made. It is the degree of permeation into all subjects in the curriculum, however, that would seem to indicate how aware a teacher is of the crucial part language plays in learning.

5.3.1 One of the principal values in devising a school language policy, it is suggested, lies in the opportunity the exercise provides for teachers to articulate their views on language and learning and to listen to the views of others. Drawing up a language policy, it may be said, is a process of recognising the assumptions about the relationship of language and learning, challenging them and moving towards a "consensus of activities linked to a theoretical basis that is sound linguistically and educationally" (Harris, 1977, p.85). The scope of a school policy is such that it involves all teachers in an awareness of language and an understanding of how language works to mediate learning.

The discussion held towards devising a language policy would no doubt encourage members of staff to explore for themselves the validity of particular approaches and ideas. Although change in teaching does not come
about simply from learning someone else's theory, for change is more complex than that, hearing about other theories, as Torbe (1980, p280) points out, can "short-circuit" the reconstruction process, it can "accelerate" the process of discovery, and lead to the possible adoption of an approach more conducive to the language and learning development of the child.

5.3.2 A language policy may offer a different way of exploring teaching and learning. Teachers would need to search for, and adopt, strategies that would enhance the use of language in learning situations.

"For language to play its full role as a means of learning, the teacher must create in the classroom an environment which encourages a wide range of language uses."

(Bullock, op cit, para 12.3)

5.3.3 While considering the child's language development, the teacher would inevitably be forced to a state of self-evaluation; for her own use of language would need to be considered in the light of its effect on the language learning development of her pupils. Evidence of the value of this personal consideration is given, for example, by teachers writing in Language Policies in Action, with reference to their own lessons. Torbe (op cit, p156) concludes,

"... the power of a tape-recording to change or affect a teacher in a very particular way when he or she is 'ready' to listen to himself or herself, is unique. It enables a teacher to make perceptions about his or her own language in the classroom and how it affects pupils' language ...".

This self-evaluation could lead to a more appropriate and considered use of language by the teacher.

5.3.4 The possibilities of what may be termed a unified approach to language lie in the creation of a language policy. The Bullock Committee (pxxxv) based its
deliberations on the "principle that reading, writing, talking and listening should be treated as a unity". The fragmentation of 'English lessons' into composition, grammar, comprehension and so on, is seen by the Bullock Committee as counter-productive to language development, and, indeed, untypical of the growth of language competence (para 1.10). The adoption of a unified approach to language teaching would not, it seems, ignore the differences between spoken and written forms of language; rather, it is suggested, a language policy would ensure the distinctness of each element while recognising their relationship.

"It is in the careful recognition of the relationships between the different modes of language, that we shall find a coherent unity ..."

(Allen, 1980, p98)

Moreover, recognising the relationship between the different modes of language would surely go some way to achieving a balanced programme with no undue stress on any one aspect of language.

5.3.5 A language policy would, in essence, provide an overall view of the language demanded of children in each subject of the curriculum. This would highlight other imbalances possibly operating in the school. Saunders (1976, p89) gives the example of "a crushing over-emphasis on one particular mode of expression - the transactional", evidenced, for example, in the duplicated and dictated teacher-prepared notes issued to pupils, and in the lesson presentation of the teacher-class variety. This highlighting would, in turn, show how essential expressive talk and writing is to the learning process. Torbe (1979, p116) has pointed out that if expressive talk or writing is bypassed, there is every possibility that learning will be bypassed, too.

In summary, it may be said that a language policy makes views, values, ideas, approaches and behaviours
explicit, affording the security for teachers to face and study the nature of their teaching and to change it where necessary.

Moving from the abstractions of the possible merits inherent in formulating a language policy, the writer turns to the more concrete idea of guidance in devising such a policy. It is intended that this may show, by example, what various educational bodies understand by a 'language policy'.

5.4 An example of a document offering guidelines towards a language policy

Various associations and education authorities in England have attempted to assist schools in the formation of language policies by offering points of departure, possible aims and suggested content - a framework on which schools can build. The writer was privileged to study some of these documents during study leave in England.

Parts of one of these documents (from Norfolk County Council) have been selected for inclusion in this dissertation. It is hoped that such inclusion may give some idea of what is intended by a language policy. The qualification for choice of this particular document is that it covers the age range 8-13 years, being almost exactly the age range under consideration in this work (9-13 years).

The document was developed by a group of headteachers, deputy heads, teachers, lecturers and members of the local Advisory Service. It is intended as a basic framework for individual school policies. The document

1. As far as the writer is aware, no such guidelines have been issued by the Natal Education Department for use in primary schools in Natal.
introduces the idea of language and learning and the part played by the teacher in a child's language growth. The suggestion is made that teachers in schools start discussion on a language policy by examining their present practices. This is followed by an analysis of some of the "special skill and knowledge areas thought to be most desirable for children" (p6). These number seven in all—Spoken language, Writing, Reading, Literature and Poetry, The application of study skills, Drama, Language Rules. The first four of these skills will be considered here. Each of these "special skills" is treated in the document under sub-headings of Important Considerations, Skill, Example of Strategy and Most Likely Stage. Only the sub-sections of Important Considerations and Skill will be quoted here, as these seem to give sufficient indication of the detail of these guidelines.

Spoken Language (pp7-9)

Important Considerations

1. Children should be given the opportunity:-

   a) to discuss with peers in various working situations.

   b) to discuss with their teachers the work they are doing and the problems they may meet.

   c) to talk with adults other than their own teachers e.g., other teachers and parents, visitors to the school, adults met on school visits.

2. Children should be encouraged to explain answers and comments and helped to find more precise and appropriate ways of describing their experiences.

3. A vital strategy for all areas of oral work is the skill of the teacher in questioning. The more demanding the range of teacher questioning the wider the range of oral skills the children will develop.

Skill

1. Discursive

   1.1 expressing own ideas/thoughts clearly.
   1.2 following a sustained discussion and contributing appropriately.
   1.3 following the line of an argument.
1.4 giving reasoned response
1.5 debating
2. Informative
2.1 responding to instructions and directions
2.2 giving instructions/directions clearly and concisely
2.3 giving information clearly and concisely.
3. Questioning
3.1 asking questions
3.2 predicting outcome of activity
3.3 presenting verbal report of conclusions
3.4 setting up hypotheses
3.5 setting up logical sequence of argument/action - testing of hypotheses.
4. Listening
4.1 following and understanding an informal exposition
4.2 inferring missing parts of a conversation from what is actually heard
4.3 detecting the kinds of relationships existing between people from the language they employ
4.4 understanding differences in meaning brought about by different emphases
4.5 understanding differences in meaning brought about by different stress and intonation patterns.

Writing

IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS

1. Children should be actively encouraged to share with other pupils what they have written.

2. A child's move through hesitant command of his language to fuller competence will be facilitated if at least some of the following strategies are employed:

a) giving children opportunities to explore in talk before writing.

b) exploring in writing, pupils knowing that they will be able to alter, re-arrange etc. at a subsequent time. Writing received at this stage should be treated as a working document: crossings out, insertions, etc. should not be penalised, in fact alternative forms of presentation (such as notes) might be encouraged on occasions.

c) wherever possible, providing opportunities for children to discuss written first drafts in order to test and clarify understanding.

d) using first drafts (hesitant command stage offerings) as the basis for discussion directed towards a further piece of work on a similar topic.
e) encouraging the "translation" of first drafts into other specified forms. For instance, practical material garnered through reading may be offered first as report, and later incorporated into a story, or presented as persuasive material for one side of an argument.

In the lower middle years it seems sufficient simply to build a learning structure which brings about redrafting and refocussing, whilst still producing final presentations. In the upper middle years it is suggested that it may be possible to focus the child's attention on the process of redrafting etc. so that he may make explicit the reasons why he has changed a particular form to fit a given purpose or audience.

**Skill**

1. 'Personal' Writing
   1.1 Writing diary/news
   1.2 letter writing to friends
   1.3 biographical/auto-biographical
   1.4 narrative/descriptive.

2. 'Public' Writing
   2.1 formal letter writing
   2.2 presenting a coherent statement
   2.3 exploring alternative possibilities.

3. Recording/reporting
   3.1 classifying information and ordering of notes
   3.2 expansion of notes to make a summary
   3.3 selecting most appropriate means of recording different types of information
   3.4 ordering of observations for report on experiment
   3.5 ordering of information to present conclusions
   3.6 selection of most appropriate means/style of presenting materials/conclusions etc.
   3.7 following different lines in an argument and drawing a conclusion according to selected values.

4. Note making
   4.1 preparing headings from heard material
   4.2 preparing headings from read material
   4.3 listing important points from observations
   4.4 introduction of more complex note making.

**Reading**

**IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS**

1. Reading tasks should be undertaken to satisfy a clear purpose.

2. Reading for information and for pleasure can both be pursued through opportunities for children to:
   a) select books for themselves
   b) comment on what they have read
c) discuss books they have read at other than a superficial level of comprehension.

Other aspects of reading for information may usefully be developed through a systematic approach to study skills.

3. Opportunities for children to read fiction and poetry of quality should not be neglected.

4. Reading schemes:
   'As soon as the children have gained some confidence in reading, these schemes should be supplemented with reading material which has been carefully selected to provide broader literary experience and extension of knowledge. Once the skills of decoding are firmly established further skills should be introduced ...

   (Primary Education in England 5.47).

**Skill**

1. **Further development of decoding**
   1.1 fluency
   1.2 vocabulary
   1.3 meaning.

2. **Development of study skills**
   2.1 identifying main points
   2.2 reading for detail
   2.3 reading to establish evidence/arguments for and against
   2.4 detecting bias.

3. **Development of reading research techniques**
   3.1 skimming for quick retrieval of information
   3.2 scanning to establish the main points
   3.3 information location including library skills.

**Literature and Poetry**

**IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS**

1. To interest children in books:
   a) the teacher must enjoy books - read as much as possible to the children, plan the reading carefully and above all show enthusiasm.
   
   b) let children review books and recommend them to each other - their recommendation carries more weight than any other.
   
   c) make full use of libraries, school bookshops, book clubs, T.V. programmes, displays and exhibitions etc.

2. Stories and poems should be taught in school as part of the curriculum because they promote:
   a) enjoyment
b) experience outside "the trivial round"

c) insight into one's own personality and problems - an aid to personal growth

d) exploration of someone else's mind through their writing

e) an appreciation of others' problems

f) learning more about the world

g) development of a lasting and worthwhile interest in good books

h) development of personal use of language

i) reading for complex meaning

j) sensitivity to form, rhythm and imagery as means of expression.

3. As soon as a child can read for himself and understand enough to have enjoyed the experience, he should be directed in a number of ways so that his continued reading is a planned part of the learning process.

Aspects to be taught

1. Literature
   1.1 characterisation
   1.2 background setting and illustration
   1.3 identifying sub-plot
   1.4 excitement
   1.5 themes.
2. Poetry
   2.1 themes
   2.2 rhythm
   2.3 form
   2.4 concentration of language and expression of emotion
   2.5 meaning.

The document concludes with a section on assessment, record keeping and remedial action. It also includes a list of selected titles for further reading.

From a study of this document and others of similar nature, it may be concluded that a language policy should be more than a concentration on surface issues such as a common marking scheme in the correction of errors in writing. While these surface issues are important, they are not, it is suggested, in any way a
language policy. A language policy may be seen to concern itself with the fundamental issues of language and learning in all aspects of the curriculum.

Marland (1977, p264) explains it thus:

"To plan ways in which we can effectively improve our pupils' learning is inevitably to consider how we use language, the language environment of our school, the language expectations we have of our pupils, and the tuition and encouragement we give in language. If we do all this, that is if we establish a whole school language policy, we shall not only have helped the subject learning of our pupils, we shall also have helped them with their own language for life."

Having established what is meant by a language policy, the way is now clear to examine some language policies which are in operation in particular schools. Before doing so, however, it seems necessary to consider the reasons why each school should devise its own separate and unique language policy, rather than adopting one devised by an education authority or another school.

5.5 The need for a school's individual language policy

"We are born into a vast potential cultural heritage, but we can only hope to succeed to a very small part of the total heritage and then only in stages. There would appear to be a need to emphasize that for each stage of childhood and youth, for each type of child, there are a relevant environment and relevant forms of language."

(Writer's emphasis) (Firth J, 1935, cited by Rosen in Barnes, Britton and Rosen, 1971, p158)

Educationalists have benefited sufficiently from research on language to appreciate that while there are similarities in the acquisition and development of language, each child is unique in his use of language. Broadening this realisation to encompass the school, it may be said that each school has its own set of language users, with their own demands, problems and needs. Aspects such as socio-economic,
psychologocial and cultural factors will affect the particular design of a language policy.

The implementation of a language policy may be seen to have two directions - towards the classroom, and towards the collective decisions made by the staff of a school. The teacher makes her own decisions about her teaching behaviour and classroom procedure; while the staff of any one school collectively give priority and emphasis to particular curricular areas and pupil behaviour. These may differ widely from priorities in another school. For example, one school may have a large percentage of children with reading difficulties while another may find pupil talk a crucial issue.

The successful implementation of a language policy rests on the decisions made by each individual teacher herself and in conjunction with the other staff, for it is these people who will either implement or ignore the policy. It would seem, therefore, essential for each school to design and implement its own language policy, for such a policy would reflect the concerns, interests and strengths peculiar to that particular school. Moreover, it would be a policy founded in the confidence of the ability of that staff actually to implement it; unlike an imposed policy from some other source which may very well include approaches or beliefs untenable or impossible for particular teachers or schools to adopt. Torbe (1976, p5), an authority on the devising and implementation of language policies in schools, points out,

"A language policy cannot exist outside the school that creates it; it must relate to the specific problems and approaches of that school, and it draws its impetus from the kinds of questions the staff themselves ask about teaching and learning."

This, of course, implies or necessitates a low turnover of staff, initially at any rate, for the policy actually to reach the stage of documentation and
implementation. Certainly, one reason for documenting a language policy would be so that new members of staff may more easily become familiar with the existing policy in the school but the policy may need subsequent alterations to accommodate that particular staff member's aptitudes and idiosyncracies. While these alterations may be an improvement on existing policy, it may, on the other hand, well entail further training of new staff members to ensure skilful implementation of the policy. Clearly, this would hinder any monitoring of the effectiveness of the policy.

It is with these qualifications in mind that the writer turns now to specific examples of language policies.

5.6 Some examples of language policies

The writer finds it necessary to draw from documents she was able to study while in England as no similar documents exist in any Natal primary school. Possible reasons for the lack of such documented policies will be considered later. However, the writer is privileged to be on the staff of a primary school which is presently engaged in the devising of a language policy. This experience will be reported on later in this chapter.

It is the intention of the writer to report and comment on selected language policies, and then to quote one policy in full.

5.6.1 Aldermaston Church of England Primary School (Aldermaston)

This policy was initiated and documented by a teacher on the staff who attended a post-experience course at Bulmershe College of Higher Education. The devising of a language policy was the main practical assignment demanded of the students. Although guidelines and
lectures were given to augment their knowledge of language and learning, students were required to consider the individual needs of their own particular schools. The policy referred to is a language and learning policy detailing aims and practices in talking, listening, reading and writing. It includes a section on monitoring children's language development and also diagnostic procedures for the classroom.

Although much theory on language and learning is included in the document there seems to be conflict between this theory and some of the practices recommended. For example, the policy states that reading can be a source of pleasure and personal development, yet there is no mention anywhere in the policy of suggested or intended use of children's literature.

This policy is perhaps an example of insufficient discussion among staff members of views of learning and language and the concomitant classroom procedures.

5.6.2 Bentley Heath School (Solihull)

This policy, documented in May 1980, was initiated by the headmaster in consultation with his staff. The policy recognises the limitations of the staff in theoretical knowledge of learning and in expertise and is, therefore, simply and clearly expressed, quoting only from the Bullock Report. It has two sections - Reading and Writing. The policy has an instructive tone to it - "When hearing children read, please refer and adhere to the recommendations ..." (p2) - and the use of the first person singular - "Reading is a two-way process and I am often disappointed to discover ..." (p3) - leads the reader to suspect that the headmaster interprets a policy as being a form of teacher control. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that on visiting the classes in the school, the writer found evidence of misinterpretation of the
policy. However, it should be recognised that the initial thrust towards an awareness of language development may be made by a document of this nature and that with follow-up discussion, teachers may find the confidence to change their classroom behaviour to suit more adequately the school policy.

5.6.3 Clifton Withant County Primary School (York)

This policy was devised in 1978 as a result of the headmaster's attendance on a course involving language. The policy is written in a most polished form and covers listening and talking, reading, and writing. To the eye of a teacher in Natal, the policy reads similarly to a syllabus with carefully planned areas of study for each year group. Although the policy supports modern views on language and learning - "Language is the main means of communication and the chief tool in learning and forming concepts" (p1);

"In writing we must provide time to search out the best way to express a thought and its meaning and allow opportunity to alter and re-draft" (p5) - the teachers in the school used a rigid approach with little talking being allowed. Rote learning and traditional comprehension exercises were also in evidence. The impression gained was that this policy, devised and written by the headmaster, had not engaged the imagination of the staff. Perhaps the comment of Nancy Martin (cited by Torbe, 1980, p271) about staff-room discussions is relevant here,

"... where a school is talking to itself ... then language across the curriculum can be implemented; if a staff is not talking seriously about education, then that must begin first before innovation can take place".

5.6.4 Clifford Bridge Junior and Infant School (Coventry)

The staff of this school are fortunate to be in Coventry. The Elm Bank Teachers' Centre in Coventry
is heavily committed to assisting teachers with language development across the curriculum. The Director of Education for Coventry explained in an interview with the writer that language was a fundamental priority for in-service work throughout the authority. Rather than request statements from schools about their language policies as some authorities in England have done, the Coventry LEA has been more subtle. The Director explained that they have tried to find ways to let the ideas have a currency in their schools which would make them familiar to teachers and so sensitize them to thinking about the language use in their own classrooms. In addition to this general assistance has been the more specific assistance given by the Curriculum Development Officer for Language, based at the Elm Bank Teachers' Centre, whose brief has been to encourage and support work in language in schools. This means that there has been a central co-ordinator of work and also someone to visit schools and discuss specific needs.

Clifford Bridge School, therefore, has been able to take advantage of the facilities offered in Coventry. Their policy was devised as a result of many staff discussions and experimentation in language work. The policy is of particular interest because it is a statement of intent and a description of action which is embodied in classroom practice, as observed by the writer. Because this policy seems to come closer to what may be termed a school language policy in that the majority of the staff appeared to be committed to its implementation, it seems to be worth quoting in full:

**LANGUAGE POLICY**

The starting point for our policy is the children. We try to look at the interests and needs of the children, both present and future and organise the ways in which we 'teach' language around those needs. We feel that a child's language is part of the child as a whole and shouldn't be artificially separated. (You can't separate the language from the child). We value the child and her/his
language.
Just as language is part of the whole child, so the
different aspects of language (spoken and written
word) are interrelated. Our language policy is a
unified one which takes account of this in relation
to the children's needs.
For the purposes of this document, however, the
various aspects have been categorised as follows.

1. SPOKEN LANGUAGE  a) Talking  b) Listening
2. WRITTEN LANGUAGE  a) Reading  b) Writing
3. LITERATURE  (Does this need a separate section?)

There is no special section for remedial work as
this is integrated into the normal school day
rather than being isolated or different.

Each aspect is dealt with as follows:

A. What are our goals/aims?
B. What are our teaching strategies? (How we
   implement our goals).
C. How do we evaluate and develop our teaching?
   (There are two aspects here (i) Evaluation of
   teaching strategies and (ii) Evaluation of
   children's progress/learning.)
   (i) This is informal and takes the form of
   team discussions.
   (ii) Also generally informal. Written records
   are kept but are more detailed for children
   with problems - 'language' or other.

Spoken Language  a) Talking

Goals
We accept, encourage and value the children's
talk.
We encourage them to learn through talk.
We recognise the importance of adults as 'language
models'.

Strategies
1. We use children's talk as a prime resource for
   reading and writing - we make their 1st reading
   books from their spoken sentences/phrases,
   using Breakthrough to Literacy materials. This
   is just one example of the interrelatedness of
   language.
2. We encourage children to talk to their friends,
   while working - they can work with children of
   different ages, go and see siblings, friends in
   the Inf. or Jun. dept, go and talk to other
   teachers, head, caretaker etc.
3. We encourage mums, grans, visitors to talk with
   the children, share their experiences and set
   up others (play reading games, share a book,
   cookery, sewing, knitting etc.)
4. We create opportunities for children to talk in
   small groups without direct supervision of
   teacher. (making tapes of subjects that interest
   them stories etc. in the staffroom)
Children sometimes make personal tapes for their teachers.

We try to help children towards the use of technical terms (eg. Fletcher Maths) by first helping them to understand concepts in their own language. (exploratory talk)

We try to ask open-ended questions, which encourage exploratory (thinking) talk, rather than closed-ended ones which usually have a right or wrong answer.

We try to create opportunities for quiet children to talk (eg tapes).

We actively create different functions and audiences for the children's talk, encouraging them to develop and use different styles of talking, appropriate to different situations, (talking to friends, into a tape-recorder, to teacher, in assembly etc).

We give children the freedom (and time) to ask their own questions.

**Evaluation**

- We evaluate our teaching strategies informally in staff meetings. (i.e. do we create enough opportunities for children to talk?)
- We assess the children's talk informally too and only record in great detail the development of children with problems.

**Spoken Language**

b) **Listening**

**Goals**

- We try to encourage children to listen when others are talking.
- We try to show them real reasons for listening, (active listening, not passive). (Listening to stories, tapes, radio, T.V., on country walks etc).

**Strategies**

- Tapes are used a lot (children making tapes for others to listen to).
- Stories are used a great deal (on Radio, T.V., tapes and teachers reading and telling stories).
- In group discussions children and teacher sometimes sit in a circle on the floor to make it easier to listen to what others are saying, instead of teacher sitting apart.
- Children are allowed to ask genuine questions of teachers and other children, therefore, creating situations where they really listen to the answers.
- Children are encouraged to bring and talk about interesting things in assemblies. (Another situation in which children have a real reason for listening).
- We really listen to children and value what they say. (Value of the teacher's model).

**Evaluation**

- We evaluate our teaching strategies informally.
- We assess children's listening informally too.
**Written Language**  

**a) Reading**

**Definition** - To get meaning from a page.

**Fluent Reading** - Ability to read independently (silently?), using a variety of techniques for a range of purposes (e.g. recipe, novel, newspaper, Ceefax etc). Also ability to evaluate critically what is read.

**Goals**

- To get children into the 'reading habit' (reading for pleasure).
- To produce functionally efficient adult readers (by encouraging functional independence at school).

**Strategies**

- We try fit the reading material to the child, (not vice versa). (We use Breakthrough to Literacy materials initially).
- Children are encouraged to select and evaluate their own reading materials from the wide range available. (Books are colour-coded according to approximate readability levels).
- We try to create a balance between reading for pleasure and functional reading by introducing children to formats other than books (schedules, notices, instructions, timetables, labels, forms etc.)
- We use children's writing as a prime resource for reading. (Their 1st sentences with Breakthro' made into 'reading' books for themselves and others to read, children writing for younger children to read etc.)
- We create opportunities for children to read differently for different purposes therefore developing different strategies (a skimming, b scanning, c intensively reading - a selecting a book, b looking for a word in a dictionary, c following instructions).
- We present books (stories) by using different media - story telling, drama, Weston Woods film, radio, T.V., tapes etc.
- We see pre-reading as an introduction to books/stories rather than a programme of matching activities. (We show them our enthusiasm, explain how to find their way around a book, talk about books without words, create an interesting book environment, make books from their own talk etc).
- We try to provide flexibility in the timetable for children to read at length and to set aside a time for silent reading.

**Evaluation**

- Evaluation of teaching strategies takes place informally in staff meetings.
- We assess children's reading informally when listening to them read. We try to look at the strategies they are using and not using rather than what they know, (analysing their miscues
and self-corrections is more helpful here than using standardised reading tests).

- Diagnostic tests are used for specific problems.

- Children are encouraged to help with record-keeping (listing books read etc) and we try to look at the pattern of their reading and record specific difficulties rather than listing what they know.

**Written Language**

**b) Writing**

**Goals**

- To show children the need for writing.
- To show children the enjoyment possible from writing.
- To teach them to write differently for different situations (different functions and audiences).

**Strategies**

- We use Breakthrough materials so that children can 'compose' written language before they are able to 'write'.
- Alongside this we teach letter formation and the physical techniques of handwriting.
- We try to develop different styles of writing appropriate for different situations, eg. note to friend, story for others to read, instruction, menu etc.
- We create situations in which the children's writing produces responses that encourage further writing therefore showing the 'communication' process, eg letters.
- We encourage children to write for teachers in ways other than 'for assessment' and value what they write.
- The children are encouraged to use Breakthrough materials (word-makers) to develop correct spelling.
- Generally we encourage writing more by the use of 'real' (as in Reading, Writing and Relevance - Hoffman) activities than by the use of worksheets/exercises.

**Evaluation**

- We try to keep samples of childrens writing to put in their folders.
- We find it more helpful to look at children's use of word makers and the strategies they are using rather than just correcting writing.
- We try to record the pattern of children's writing (moves from personal writing, close to talk to other modes - story, poem, instruction etc).
- Children are encouraged to record the kinds of writing they do and sometimes the audience for whom it was written.
Literature

Definition - Any written language which sets out to represent the human condition, (Novel, poem, T.V. series, child's story).

Goals
. To encourage children to read/write stories.
  Why? Because it can help us to understand ourselves through understanding others. Also (Bullock 9-9) the narrative mode provides the strongest motivation towards reading books.

Strategies
. We value children's writing, using it as the 1st step towards literature, (children's sentences stories etc being a prime resource for reading).
. Children are encouraged to read 'literature' (stories) from the reception stage (story books not reading primers).
. We read to children as often as possible and at varying times (as much as timetable restrictions allow), showing our own enthusiasm for books, knowing the books, sharing responses.
. Children have access to a wide range of books and the time to preview, select and read them.
. We encourage children to select (from reception stage) their own reading material. (Selection is part of reading).
. We encourage children's responses to literature, both individual and in groups, (discussion - how did it make you feel? etc reviews, adverts, cover designs, writing to authors etc).
. We run a school bookshop, selling cheap paperbacks and we encourage children to borrow books from school libraries etc.
. Our criteria for choosing books include the following - aesthetic qualities, intrinsic value (purpose in writing), interests and needs of children (need for both real life and fantasy situations) and reading abilities of children (if book is to be read by them). Also possible bias (race, sex, class etc).

Evaluation

While this language policy does not have the 'public' polish in appearance (the original is handwritten and duplicated on a spirit-carbon machine) or in written expression that other policies may have, it would seem to have value because it is the genuine statement of what is implicit in school. Moreover, the policy's somewhat temporary appearance is partially intentional
as the staff believe that a policy is not an end-state but a statement of a process which must alter according to the needs of the pupils and the expertise of the staff.

These then are examples of language policies devised in England. Although they are different in form, it should be noted that in every case there was at least one member of staff who had the confidence and knowledge to institute what may be seen as a difficult undertaking. Such knowledge is usually gained from the variety of resources available in England such as teachers' centres, reading centres, post-experience full-time courses, long and short period in-service courses, all designed specifically to train teachers in the concept of "language across the curriculum".

It would seem that until teachers have a full understanding of the concept of "language across the curriculum", existing approaches to teaching may not be radically changed. Whiteside (1978, p74) notes that resistance to change is common in those who are not "true believers" in an innovation; "Existing patterns are not readily given up ...". Another problem of innovation, he feels, is one of misconception of an educational innovation. Misconception may lead to distortions of the innovation in the classroom practice. Recognition of this difficulty led Goodlad (as cited by Whiteside, op cit, p42) to stress that "it is essential that educational change begins from a full understanding of what already exists".

Teachers in Natal have not had the benefit of the kinds of intensive in-service courses offered in England and so may misinterpret what is meant by a policy for language in learning, or they may resist change to their own teaching behaviour. Both of these possibilities may be seen as contributing factors to the responses received to a questionnaire circulated by the writer to some primary schools in Natal. A report on this questionnaire follows.
5.7 Comment on the results of a questionnaire circulated to some Natal primary schools

In order to obtain some impression of selected aspects of the teaching of language in primary schools in Natal, the writer drew up a questionnaire for completion by teachers in some primary schools in the province.

The writer realised that the use of a questionnaire was not necessarily the most satisfactory or reliable method of gathering information. Problems such as low response and misinterpretation of the questions, would have to be taken into account. Nevertheless, the questionnaire method seemed acceptable when considering the overall aim, which was broadly to survey attitudes and practices in relation to the teaching of language.

Official permission to distribute the questionnaire was given by the Director of Education in Natal. A copy of the questionnaire appears as an appendix. Replies were received from a range of schools, urban, rural, parrallel-medium, co-educational and single sex. Approximately 50% of the schools to which the questionnaire was sent, replied. This may be regarded as a comparatively satisfactory response. A questionnaire circulated to all primary schools in Natal by the Inspector of Education for English First Language in 1979 resulted in an approximate 20% return.

The questionnaire was designed to allow for responses which might be considered more in the nature of 'evidence' than in terms of statistical data. It was felt that a survey of such 'evidence' regarding the teaching of language might indicate in some measure what effect recent thinking on language and learning had had on teachers.

The questions fell broadly into three areas of concern. Six questions (numbers 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11) were related to matters on the teaching of reading. Three questions
(3, 9, 10) related specifically to the teaching of writing, and the balance (1, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15) were broader in scope, the intention being to gain some impression of teachers' views on language in learning and the notion of "language across the curriculum"; in this way it was hoped to discover to what extent new ideas in education had permeated the schools.

The writer now proceeds to a presentation of an analysis of the responses. This analysis will focus on the three areas of questioning rather than on individual questions as a general analysis probably fulfils the intention of the questionnaire more closely. The questions will be given where relevant in the discussion.

5.7.1 Analysis of responses to the questions relating to reading (Numbers 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11)

2(a) In general, do you provide your pupils with opportunities to read other sources as well as the class textbooks, in your teaching of history, geography, and general science?

(b) Whatever your answer, please elaborate.

4. What methods are used in your school to promote or encourage the reading of books?

5. How do you, personally, acquire information on new books and publications which may be suitable for your pupils or for your own teaching purposes?

6. What would you say are the largest problems relating to interest in reading among pupils in your school?

7. Mention some follow-up activities to reading in which your pupils engage (e.g. writing book reviews).

11. Please indicate briefly how you go about teaching reading comprehension.

It is evident from the responses that teachers show a concern for the teaching of reading. Efforts are made to promote an interest in reading through, for
example, reading aloud to the pupils and frequent use of the resource centre. The teaching of reading comprehension seems to be a regular feature of classroom procedure and obvious attempts are made to offer a variety of sources of information to the pupils.

However, there is cause for concern in the evident lack of understanding of the reading process displayed in these responses.

In response to the question on use of textbooks and other sources, teachers gave the impression that the textbook was relied on for teaching purposes. Typical replies were:

"Yes - If, for example, the development of shipping is being done in History, then books are collected from school and town libraries and displayed in the classroom for the children to read during their spare time";

"Yes. The textbooks do not contain enough material for their assignments, so they have to find suitable material in the Resources (sic) Centres";

"Yes. Self-study tasks involve consulting books in the Resource Centre or books they have at home".

Other sources, unfortunately, appear to be regarded by these teachers as means of gaining additional factual information rather than for the more critical use of comparison and evaluation.

As to engendering a desire for reading in pupils, the writer could find only two responses which implied that the teachers read children's books themselves in order to promote interest in reading. One teacher replied, "I don't, this requires effort", to the question on acquiring information on new publications. Although many teachers encourage dramatisation, much of the follow-up work to children's reading seems to be in the form of written book reviews or oral retelling of stories. No indication was given that the
teachers themselves contributed to book discussion, they would appear to rely heavily on peer recommendation. Typical of the replies to the question were:

"Nothing of this nature is being done in Std II. Some pupils are still 'learning to read' and those who are already fluent are being encouraged to read for enjoyment's sake only. I feel that book reviews and related matters are only necessary from Std V";

"I only have time to attend to Reading Skills used in conjunction with S.S. Tasks (sic) and English and have not been able to extend the scope of the activities mentioned previously";

"Each term, they are expected to prepare one oral book review".

It is possible to conclude from these responses that teachers are ignorant of the immense value of suitable follow-up activities as an aid to deepen an interest in literature.

Reading comprehension is taken by most to mean the traditional comprehension exercise of passage and questions to be answered in writing. The procedure adopted by most teachers is similar to this description,

"I choose Comprehensions from Brighter English, Buck-Up and extracts from books I've read to the class. They read the story (sic) twice and then I read it once. Questions are asked about the content. Full sentences are required and one word answers to test their vocabulary."

While many teachers said that discussion is held (more class than group discussion), the discussion seems to be merely the first step to a final required written answer (individually or by a group leader). A criticism of this kind of instruction in comprehension was made in Chapter Three of this work, where it was shown that use of this method was evidence of the ignorance of teachers of the reading process. Techniques such as cloze procedure and prediction exercises are being used by some teachers and although reading laboratories appear to be in use, no mention is made of how techniques learnt on the laboratories are transferred to other learning situations.
'Comprehension' is still seen by many teachers as being part of the 'English' lesson although non-fiction passages may be used as exercises:

"I give one written exercise a week. Often this is read as a class first";

"I do formal comprehension +- three times a term. We do do oral comprehension in groups where the children are free to discuss their answers".

Obviously, a unified approach to the teaching of language is not recognised as being necessary by some teachers.

5.7.2 Analysis of responses to the questions relating to writing (Numbers 3,9,10)

3(a) To what extent are your pupils involved in "note making" of their own composition in various subjects?

(b) Please elaborate on your answer.

9. Do your pupils ever write for an outside reader or "audience" apart from a teacher? Kindly explain your answer.

10. Do you feel that the "formal rules of grammar" should be taught at primary school level? Please explain your answer.

Many of the teachers see children writing their own notes as impossible, boring or a waste of time. Two typical replies are:

"I feel that they are too young and irresponsible to compose their own notes";

"They spend a lot of time copying pages from various encyclopaedias etc. Often their answers are inaccurate, facts incorrect and it takes so long, very little of the syllabus is covered".

While many teachers are attempting to train their pupils in the use of keywords for future note-making, little opportunity is given for this except in self-study.
tasks. Many teachers claim that the examination/test system operating in the school demands uniformity of notes throughout a standard:

"It is school policy to provide each pupil with the same notes for learning purposes ...");

"Pupils write an end-of-year exam therefore need accurate and concise notes from the teacher for study";

"... with our testing system there isn't time...".

It is what appears to be the lack on the part of teachers to recognise the learning value in note-making, that may be seen as perturbing. Indications of this lack of recognition come from replies such as:

"Too much personalized 'note making' is detrimental to the subject at the Std 4 level";

"When too often used, this method can be a definite handicap to weak pupils".

These comments articulate, perhaps, a view of language and learning that is widely at variance with an "epistemological" view.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the majority of these teachers feel that the "rules of grammar" should be formally taught to primary school pupils. High school requirements and those of second language are given by some as reasons for formally teaching grammar, but typical replies are:

"It is impossible to expect children to use correct tenses, punctuation, grammar etc if the pupils have never been taught it (sic)";

"It will help combat spelling and language errors";

"In essay writing grammar is fairly important, and later on in life it would be difficult for the pupil to communicate effectively if they do not have the basic grounding of certain rules in grammar (sic)".

Although some teachers see the teaching of grammar
as being necessary only when the need arises as evidenced in the pupils' writing; all but one gave the impression that their reasons for teaching grammar were founded on "tradition" rather than from a study of relevant research.

Many teachers are attempting to offer a wider "audience" for children's writing through authentic letter writing, displays and school magazines, indicating an appreciation of the purpose of written communication, but a disappointingly large number state that they are their pupils' only audience.

5.7.3 Analysis of responses to the questions relating to "language across the curriculum" (Numbers 1, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15)

1. Have you any ideas on how speech and writing can be made to play more positive roles in the learning of subjects other than English? Please elaborate.

8. Has your school, over the last few years, introduced any new trend or innovation in connection with the teaching or improvement of language among pupils? Please explain your answer.

12. Do you use the tape recorder as an aid to language development in your classroom? Please elaborate.

13. Please indicate how in your teaching you make use of outside media such as magazines, newspapers and television programmes. Ignore this question if it is not applicable.

14. "Every teacher is a teacher of language". Explain briefly what you understand by this statement.

15. If your school has attempted a language policy, what were the problems experienced? Please elaborate, with regard to solutions which may have evolved.

The overall impression gained from these responses is that many teachers interpret 'language across the curriculum' as meaning that children should use
language 'correctly' - "Children's language usage should be corrected or praised by every teacher regardless of subject being taught" - and that teachers should serve as a model for good language usage - "The teacher serves as a model for the pupils at school and thus sets a certain standard for pupils". While these interpretations are commendable, it is somewhat disturbing to note that almost no mention is made of the relationship between language and learning. Teachers seem to view language as something separate from learning. Time and subject teaching are used as reasons for not applying the teaching of language to all learning situations. To quote:

"Time - money - staff shortages - unmotivated home environment";

"Time factor - themes are interesting but there is often not enough time to devote to a complete section";

"Time ... this is especially noticeable with subject teachers ...".

Where new trends have been introduced, they seem to be in connection with group work or different reading techniques. It is perturbing to note that teachers see the introduction of cloze procedure exercises or prediction exercises as being sufficiently dramatic to be mentioned as innovations. Replies such as, "No. Any initiative or enthusiasm has been dampened" or "We have decided to go back to formal language tuition", seem to indicate that teachers do genuinely attempt new ideas but without the necessary theoretical knowledge for proposed practices or possibly the required expertise, teachers become nervous or disillusioned and return to more traditional approaches. Reference was made earlier in this chapter to these being typical reactions to and problems of innovation in schools. Innovation does not find sustained success because it is undermined by the 'non-believers' and/or because it is not easy to show continually improving results.
Although schools had been asked officially (CM 36/1977 as quoted in the Introduction) to devise a language policy, clearly many teachers are in ignorance of what a language policy is. A sample of replies to question fifteen may indicate how the Natal Education Department request has been interpreted:

"The most difficult task has been to persuade some members of staff to use this method";

"A balanced programme combining formal teaching and experiential learning";

"No language policy - it was felt that it would be easily interpreted as a 'watch dog' or set of rules interfering with individual rights of teachers to apply their own policy to teaching English";

"We teach combined classes so the needs of each class are different; often the needs of individual pupils are different";

"There could be many meanings to the words 'language policy'. To me the meaning of 'language policy' is the way in which it should be spoken, written and read. In a dual medium school, such as ours, it is not always easy to implement this. The English teachers, however, do their best to uphold a standard which is, to a certain extent, being corroded by the 'intrusion' of another medium... ";

"Lower standards II and III want to follow more orthodox methods - they feel suggested language policies (new approach) more suited to older age groups IV-V...".

Clearly, these teachers do not view a language policy as involving a unified approach to the language and learning development of the pupils, something that would continue to alter as the needs of the children in the school changed.

Although these questionnaires are not fully representative of the position in Natal primary schools, they do give clear indications of the need to assist teachers further in their efforts to teach reading and writing. Further, if schools are expected to devise and implement a language policy, it would seem vital that teachers gain some insight into the part language plays in learning so that any such policy
can be founded on understanding and implemented with fair confidence.

The lack of awareness of the enormous contribution language does make to the learner's development may be seen to be one of the main stumbling blocks in the attempts of one Natal primary school to devise a language policy. A report on this school's efforts follows.

5.8 Comment on the efforts of a Natal primary school to implement a language policy

Manor Gardens Primary School began work on a language policy in 1979. Recognising their own ignorance and lack of expertise, the staff decided at their first meeting on this matter, to focus initial attention on particular aspects of language development.

A survey of the pupils' spelling ability gave impetus to the idea of a word study policy. The writer drew up a document to initiate discussion on word study. A series of meetings resulted in a final documented policy being accepted by the staff. It reads:

STD II - V WORD STUDY POLICY

I MOTIVATION

Spelling is regarded as a test of literacy in adult life. Socially speaking, it is as important as a good accent, but this in itself is not reason enough for teaching word study. Some of the good reasons are:

(i) to communicate accurately and efficiently;

(ii) bad spelling is just as discourteous as mumbling over a telephone;

(iii) precision - habit forming precision in all work is part of a successful education;

(iv) the need for freedom to write unhindered by spelling problems.

Margaret Peters, a world authority on spelling, has shown "that children left to
themselves with word-lists learn these in a very haphazard kind of way, reciting alphabetically, reading over the words, etc., and that the time spent on spelling can be used more effectively if children are taught to attend carefully to word-structure, to look for the 'hard spots', to identify familiar word sequences within long words, to syllabize, to exercise visual imagery." (Peters 1967)

In the drawing up of this policy and in the design of the programme for implementing the policy, we have taken into account some of the factors revealed by research as being determinants of a good speller. These are:

(i) reading words aloud;
(ii) knowledge of sequential probability;
(iii) immediate memory for visual material;
(iv) the intellectual factor - NOT 'intelligence' as measured on an I.Q. test.

II OBJECTIVES

that children

(i) realise the real reasons for learning to spell;
(ii) spell effectively in all situations;
(iii) enrich their vocabularies;
(iv) have a positive self-image of themselves as good spellers.

III SYLLABUS

1. Phonics
2. Syllabification
3. Root/affix
4. Spelling rules where justified
5. Plurals, degrees of comparison, contractions
6. Synonyms, antonyms, homonyms
7. Homophones
8. Dictionary skills
9. Other enrichment e.g. emotive language.

IV ORGANISATION

1. Pupil to work at his/her own level.
2. Pupils to be exposed to as many aspects of the syllabus as is feasible at each level.
3. Test, learn, test to be the mode of operation.

V TESTING

1. Initial testing to place the pupil on a level.
2. Wherever possible testing to be done through dictation to measure pupils' ability to spell while thinking in context. Dictation also provides an opportunity to proofread materials by comparing the words with the
correct copy - one of the first steps in learning to proofread one's work.

3. Testing to be done after every section, rule pattern etc., has been taught.

VI ERRORS

a) Errors during word study lessons.
The correct version of the word should be written below the test in red (by the pupil) and immediately proofread. This highlighting of "unknown" words makes revision at home easier. All words must be continually revised at home as future testing will be cumulative so that words keep recurring for long term memory training.

b) Errors in class written work.
These errors to be the responsibility of the class teacher. Errors in pupils' books to be underlined by teachers. Pupils must cross out the word and insert the correct version above or near the original. Corrections to be marked with a 'C' by the teacher. Further to this the teacher should keep a Spelling Error Book in which to record all these errors and their frequency. Lessons must be given on these errors adopting the strategies used in the programme e.g. highlighting the root or the 'hard spots'. This will assist transfer of learning from the block word study lessons. These words must then be tested, preferably in a dictation passage. NOTE: Research shows quite clearly the value of teaching lists of words directly related to children's writing needs, and spelling progress rests on very regular testing.

VII SPECIALISED VOCABULARY

Research has shown that a preview of new vocabulary aids comprehension of unfamiliar work. Words that are particular to or relevant to a section of the curriculum should be studied in detail by the class with the teacher. The words should be tested by the teacher when planning that section.

e.g.  

Maths: On introducing fractions- numerator, denominator, fraction, equivalent ............

English: A theme on loneliness - forlorn, forsaken, abandoned, solitary, derelict, deserted, privacy, isolation ............
Using the strategies of syllabification, root/affix, origins (e.g. numerator from Latin 'numerare' to count, number) and word families (e.g. solitude, solitary, solitaire, solitarily, Latin 'solus' alone) introduce the words to the pupils. The spelling of these words to be used by the children should be tested, learnt, tested.

VIII LANGUAGE

The following terminology must be used by all teachers on every occasion:

1. syllable  e.g. ac ci dent
2. root       e.g. sur round ed
3. prefix     e.g. sur rounded
4. suffix     e.g. surround ed
5. vowel digraph  e.g. say; bread
6. consonant blend  e.g. show; chop
7. short vowel sound  e.g. bÔt
8. long vowel controlled by the 'e' ending  e.g. make; puce
9. vowel  e.g. a;e;i;o;u
10. consonant
11. accented syllable  e.g. per/for m
12. synonym
13. antonym
14. homonym  e.g. I can run fast. He will run the show.
15. Homophone  e.g. meat; meet
16. Phonic sounds - these are the sounds we make for individual or combinations of letters (Never 'What does this word say?)
17. Contractions  e.g. don't; didn't
18. Recognition of vowel sound  e.g. make
IX LEARNING STRATEGY

Pupils will adopt this procedure:

Look, cover, write, check.

X DICTIONARIES

Each classroom should have an assortment of good dictionaries. Every pupil should be encouraged to buy a good dictionary for personal use from a standardised list available in the Resource Centre.

XI EVALUATION

For this only one question needs to be answered at regular intervals:

"Is this child on the way to becoming a good speller?"

Note: The responsibility of each child rests, finally, with the class teacher.

However, what was immediately evident was that teachers required advice and direction on how to implement the policy. Four months of strenuous work on the part of the staff resulted in a programme of work consisting of graded 'worksheets', dictation tests and introductory lessons, to teach word structure and vocabulary enrichment. Two published spelling programmes were purchased to complement the school-produced work.

A year after the policy's implementation, the pupils were re-tested to check the effectiveness of the policy and programme. The results, documented for internal purposes, are quoted below:

WORD STUDY PROGRAMME TEST RESULTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial test</th>
<th>Re-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 1979</td>
<td>August 1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test: Dictation passage designed by M. Peters (1970) and standardized for 9-10 year olds.

TABLE 1

Comparison within the same standard - 1979/1980
TABLE 1
Comparison within the same standard - 1979/1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STD V</th>
<th>STD IV</th>
<th>STD III</th>
<th>STD II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of errors</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average no. of errors</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of pupils</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most interesting result in Table 1 is the Std V group. The 1979 group were exposed to an intensive word study programme prior to the initial testing. The 1980 group form what might be called a control group as they have had the minimum requirement of exposure to the school programme over a year, with very limited 'back-up' teaching in other lessons. The results seem to indicate that intensive concentration on word study is necessary to remediate pupils of this age.

The 1980 Std IV group, again an experimental group having intensive word study training in all lessons since last tested, show a radical improvement against the 1979 control group.

For further indications of growth in word study ability it is necessary to study Table 2 where the groups are compared against themselves one year later (new admissions to the school in Std 3-5 were excluded from the statistics).

TABLE 2
Comparison of group ability one year later

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of errors</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average no. of errors</td>
<td>19.79</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidence of growth is well indicated by this table. The following are the percentage growths over the past year:

Std III (1980) show a 48.45% growth
Std IV (1980) show a 35.37% growth
Std V (1980) show a 16.66% growth
Although maturation is an element not to be discounted in this table, it is felt that more than this is needed to account for the obvious growth. In looking at both tables, therefore, it can be seen that the pupils in this school are spelling with far more expertise in 1980 than they did prior to August 1979. It is possible to conclude that the drawing up of a word study policy and its implementation through a structured programme through the school leads to a marked improvement in the spelling ability of pupils.

Once the word study policy had reached the stage of consensus, discussion began on the place of literature in the primary school. Suggested aspects for consideration were listed by the writer. A series of meetings produced a documented policy. This policy has recently been revised in the light of the experience gained by the staff during 1980. The revised policy is reproduced below:

LITERATURE POLICY FOR MANOR GARDENS PRIMARY SCHOOL STD 2-5

I GOALS

1. that our pupils should read more books with satisfaction;
2. that our pupils should read books with more satisfaction.

II THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN A PRIMARY SCHOOL

1. A study of literature helps the child in his language development. The child needs the language of literature for his own play and storying. Through storying, and the language of storying, we make sense of our world.

2. Literature contributes to the emotional development of the child. Stories help explain emotions we feel and extend our range of emotions.

3. Literature contributes to the moral awareness of the child. Although we recognize that "reading Blake to a class is not going to turn them into saints", children are exposed to moral issues in literature. Strategy: Through reflection and discussion of each child's response to the story (preferably in small groups) they can become aware of possible emotions and moral principles, as reflected by the actions of the characters in the story, and the results of those actions.
III BOOK SELECTION

The following issues should be borne in mind when selecting books for children:

1. The book must correspond to the child's level of general development. e.g. most senior primary pupils are in the "task orientation" stage of development and so respond to situations in a book where the characters work for reward or for survival etc. ('My side of the Mountain' by Jean George; 'The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe' by C.S. Lewis etc).

2. Books must offer moral exploration at the child's level of moral development. e.g. Many pupils are at the reward/punishment level where they believe all baddies get caught and all baddies get punished - thus the popularity of Enid Blyton's books. Books beyond the child's level of moral development will fail - the child will find them boring.

3. Plots, for young readers, must work out (c/f no 2).

4. The theme of journeying is popular as this gives them the chance of "trying on" independence.

5. Have books which have an element of fear in them so that children, all of whom have private fears, may see how characters cope with fear. e.g. Fantastic Mr Fox; Roald Dahl Let the Balloon Go; Ivan Southall

6. Let the children read rubbish as well. Children must develop their own set of values if they are to be worth anything at all. By being exposed to a wide range of books in quality and kind, children will learn to evaluate for themselves what is quality and what is not. The staff must at all costs stop pupils seeing a difference between school reading and home reading creating an artificial 'snob' attitude to school reading which destroys many potential readers. There is no place in this policy for "class readers" of the traditional sort. Pupils must have the final say in any book chosen for reading.

IV TYPES OF BOOK

Children must be exposed to all kinds of fiction so that they experience what each offers. Myth, legend, fairy tale, historical settings, science fiction, family settings, adventure,
books that are both action centred (e.g. Hardy Boys) and feeling centred (e.g. The Secret Garden). To ensure that a child reads widely over the course of his years in primary school, recommended reading should follow an overall plan.

The purpose of the selection should be borne in mind i.e. what use is to be made of the book? Is it for group discussion? class discussion? free reading? reading aloud? for use with a content subject?

V THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

1. The teacher must have a knowledge of the books to stimulate discussion.
2. She should read and share books with the pupils.
3. The teacher must allow the child to make an independent response to a book by not only requesting a response but respecting it. Children can voice their responses through class discussion on books generally or in small group discussion. The teacher's response should be regarded by the children as one of many possible responses NOT the best.
4. Discussion and activities centring on books should be designed to deepen the child's understanding and satisfaction of the book. Discussion should centre on "what character do you like best?" "Why" "If he/she walked into the room now, how do you think he/she would behave or what would he/she look like?" "What did you like most/least about the book?" It can be very revealing to both the teacher and the pupils to compare these responses.
5. Stories are works of imagination requiring an imaginative response from readers. They should NOT be used as a source of facts in order to justify their use e.g. 'Charlotte's Web' is not an exposition on the life cycle of a spider. We believe in integrating literature with all subjects in the curriculum in order to deepen our pupils understanding and feeling for subjects not for the factual information.

VI SYLLABUS

1. Novels for group study
2. Reading aloud to the class
3. Individual controlled reading
4. Individual free reading
5. Poetry
6. Literature across the curriculum
7. Short stories
8. Drama.

VII SUMMARY

1. "For children, to live is to discover. To discover means to find out about things vaguely known or completely new. They will discover new opinions and possibilities, new values and new doubts. Perhaps surprises and doubts - even anguish and terror - are the essence of life: we cannot withhold them from our children. If we do, we fail, because we deceive them. Deceit is often so easy and cosy for them and their grown-ups: but only for the moment, not in the long run."
(A. Rutgers van der Loeff - author)

2. Teachers have to ask themselves questions about books and methods; but in the end I believe it is an utterly simple thing - we accept ourselves the natural benefits of reading, using the word benefits in all its richest senses, and from that acceptance we develop and draw out of it naturally those intuitions that tell us what to do about literature in education. And this, I believe, is really fundamentally our task: to become as sensitive as possible to the whole nature of literature, and to join that with our other professional task of becoming as sensitive as possible to the nature of human beings, and in our case especially young human beings. I believe that this is what, at heart it is all about: it is about simply delighting in the existence of literature and using the energies that arise out of that delight in a natural way.
(E. Blishen - teacher)

It was found that this policy also required a programme for its effective implementation, for two main reasons: to reserve certain books for particular standards so as to avoid repetition and ensure exposure to a wide variety of kinds and authors, and to guide those members of staff who had minimal experience and knowledge of children's literature.

The next focus of attention is writing. A written description of how one of the staff members teaches writing, expressive, poetic and transactional, has been prepared as a preliminary to discussion on a writing policy for the school.
What is of relevance in mentioning the work done at this school is that these first steps, although some distance from a full school language policy, have done much to innovate change in teaching behaviour. To borrow Torbe's words (1980) - the Word Study and Literature Policies may be seen as "thrusts" towards an understanding of language and learning; but what follows these "thrusts" is a "seepage" of ideas, attitudes and approaches towards teachers who were hitherto untouched by recent language and learning theory. As Torbe explains (op cit, p278):

"Thrust may be either the preliminary push, or a final catalyst; but the change itself comes about ... in a much subtler way, with the teacher trying on, gradually and continuously to begin with, small things, and moving carefully towards what is at first only dimly perceived."

It is this process of "seepage" then, which may be seen to determine the real effect of a school language policy.

If a "thrust" is seen as a necessary element of this kind of innovation then each school will need someone to provide thrust. Clearly, this will need to be someone who has an interest in and some knowledge of language and its part in learning. Further, for innovation to have any modicum of success, the school principal would need actively to support any efforts made by the staff in this direction. The primary school reported here has been fortunate in this respect in both its previous and present principal, and in at present having other members of staff to provide future inspiration.

Some effects of the policies thus far implemented are already well in evidence in this particular school. For example, more children are reading more books with more satisfaction and the number of reluctant readers is diminishing markedly. Spelling ability is no longer the problem it was. Teachers appear to be re-considering their role as there is more exploratory talk and discussion taking place in the classrooms than ever before, and far more integration in the curriculum is in evidence. There seems to be more careful planning of
lessons and less reliance on textbooks. The Resource Centre has become active and the purchasing and selection of books is far more purposeful. The process of "seepage" would seem to be evincing change. Indeed it may be said that talking about language and learning and devising a school policy generates teachers who actively demonstrate in their classrooms that the ideas work.

5.8 Conclusions

"Every teacher in English is a teacher of English". This remark was made in the Newbolt Report on The Teaching of English in England, published by the Board of Education in 1921. The remark has, in the last decade, changed to "Every teacher is a teacher of English". The implications of this remark are many, particularly in the light of present knowledge on language and learning.

5.8.1 If every teacher is a teacher of English, language should be of central concern to all teachers. A close consideration of language should, therefore, mean more than seeing language as a set of skills. It should mean paying attention to the way children learn through language. The recognition of the way in which children use language to learn should, it seems, be the basic rationale behind all teaching behaviour.

The belief in a language based rationale of learning would lead inevitably, it is suggested, to an appreciation of the value of talk and writing as instruments of learning in all parts of the curriculum; and with this appreciation, an increasing recognition of the need for school staffs in consultation to develop school policies for language which would cover the whole curriculum. A school policy would be a statement of

1. Widely used with and without quotation marks. Used, for example, by Sampson in his book English for the English.
intent, aiming at the consistent development of the full language potential of each child.

5.8.2 For a language policy to be of any real value, it would need to be a comprehensive document covering all the skills of language. That the policy should be documented, rather than remain as an implicit agreement in the school, would seem to be essential in the event of staff changes. A document would be, whatever the circumstances, an effective way of ensuring continuity of teaching in the school.

5.8.3 Each school would need to devise its own language policy, for only in this way would it truly reflect the needs and requirements of its own pupils and the practices of its staff.

5.8.4 The composition and implementation of a school language policy would need to be a gradual process if the confidence of the staff were to be maintained and disillusionment controlled. Allowance should be made for "seepage" of ideas and for positive effects of a policy to be recognised by those staff members reluctant to change their teaching behaviour.

5.8.5 The production of a language policy would seem to require someone or some body to provide the "thrust" towards a policy, or at least to initiate and sustain discussion on the role of language in learning.

5.8.6 A school language policy has the merit of focussing attention on the teacher as well as the child. Teachers would be given the opportunity to examine closely their own beliefs, views, approaches and language use. These considerations could well result in classroom procedure which was favourable to the learner's situation.
5.8.7 If schools are to follow the Natal Education Department injunction (CM 36/1977) to devise a language policy, teachers will need far more intensive, long term assistance and guidance towards the adoption of a model of learning which has as its underlying principle the belief that children learn through talking, listening, reading and writing in all subjects in the primary school curriculum. A confirmed belief in and understanding of how a child learns through his own expression, is central to the success of any language policy.
CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS

The final chapter of this dissertation contains some recommendations arising out of the study. The recommendations are concerned in particular with the role of the teacher, the role of the school, and teacher education. Some general recommendations are also made. The recommendations are presented in all humility and with the specific features of primary school education in Natal, South Africa, in mind.

6.1 The role of the teacher

6.1.1 Reference to the role of the teacher has frequently been made in the foregoing chapters. These references may be summarised in the over-riding recommendation that the modern primary school teacher should be one who places the main emphasis on the pupil actively learning through language. This implies a radical revision of teachers' and pupils' roles for if pupils are actively to formulate knowledge, they will do so as a result of negotiation - negotiation between teacher and pupil will therefore be an important characteristic of the classroom situation.

6.1.2 All teachers will need to take deliberate responsibility for helping children use language to question, to set up hypotheses and test them. Teachers will need to give children the opportunity to use language freely and experimentally, so that they may profit from their primary school experience.

6.1.3 While the recommended change to an 'interpretive' model of teaching may appear radical, it does not imply a negation of particularly successful elements in traditional teaching practice. Torbe and Protherough (1976, 82) described the successful teacher...
"The successful teacher continues to learn from experience, changing to meet the social and educational changes around him, but without rejecting the valuable elements in the past and present."

It is recommended, then, that the teacher combine the wisdom arising from past success, with innovation.

6.1.4 It is recommended that teachers have a firm knowledge of the reading process. This should include an awareness of the divergent views on the teaching of reading that presently exist. Teachers need to recognise the differences between a 'skill-based' view of reading and a 'cognitive' view of reading. This is vitally important for the choice of method.

The teacher who believes that 'meaning' is paramount in reading will avoid methods involving the use of structured materials giving training in isolated, disconnected skills; she will not use reading schemes which rely on phonic knowledge or the artificial repetition of vocabulary; she will not use the traditional 'comprehension' exercise, or exercises involving a purposeless search for isolated facts; but will teach reading comprehension in the context of use and purpose, recognising that success lies in what one does with information, not how one locates it. Published language and reading programmes will be of little or no use to this kind of teacher and textbooks, if used at all, will be regarded as merely a source of information. In summary, her aim will be to develop critical readers through an 'open-ended' approach; such aim can only arise from the basis of firm knowledge of the reading process.

6.1.5 Children's literature should play a far more important role in the life of a primary school child than at present seems the case. Teachers should read children's literature regularly and regard a thorough knowledge
of children's literature as being part of their professional accountability.

6.1.6 The crucial role that talk plays in the learning situation should not be under-estimated. Regular and consistent opportunity for small group discussion will develop in the child a mode of enquiry and of social discourse, an involvement in perceptiveness impossible in a teacher-class situation.

6.1.7 An integrated curriculum seems better suited to the needs of the modern primary school child. In such, emphasis may be placed on the development of learning skills, rather than on the mere accumulation of facts. The Natal Education Department, in recognising the need for integration, already sees the traditional, segmented time-table as out of place in a modern primary school. The Department's latest Schools' Handbook (1980, G.3.3) reads:

"...Because modern approaches to senior primary teaching often involve studies across the curriculum the Department does not prescribe the type of timetable to be followed ..."

It is up to teachers to take advantage of this situation and release the pupils from seeing knowledge as isolated, disconnected content to be passively received. This implies determination on the part of the teacher (and principal) to take a stand and to innovate in terms of role; to be, in fact, autonomous.

6.1.8 Methodology that increases the use of language by the pupils should be practised. For example, broad-based topic or project work, where the edges between the subject disciplines are blurred or erased, provides an organizing principle under which pupils and teachers may engage in a variety of activities which promote learning and language skills. In this way, "participant -" and "spectator-role" activities can be catered
for in a purposeful way and knowledge becomes meaningful. Broadbased work can give the opportunity for first hand experience, for talking about information, reflecting on it, writing about it, comparing it, verifying it, responding to it - in short, actively using the information.

6.1.9 It is suggested that teacher-prepared notes and completion-type worksheets are totally out of place in a modern primary school. Writing their own notes is one way in which pupils can actively use information and develop the appropriate language skills for presentation of information. Those schools which use standardized testing as a reason for distribution of teacher-prepared notes are out of order. A change in teaching approach naturally demands a change in the method of assessment.

6.1.10 In terms of an "epistemological" paradigm, assessment surely means the assessing of language and learning skills that have been taught to the pupils and not the testing of the number of facts the child might have memorised, whatever the 'subject' being 'examined'.

Four examples of testing strategies (of some reading and writing skills) used by the writer while engaged in language-across-the-curriculum work in a primary school in Natal follow. They may serve to indicate the direction in which primary school teachers are recommended to go if they plan to implement changes in methods so as to facilitate an atmosphere of enquiry and curiosity in the classroom.

6.1.10.1

Testing the ability to select relevant information and to record it appropriately.

Study the two sources of information below and then make a flow chart of cocoa farming from planting to marketing. Include climatic
requirements in your diagram.

Cocoa

Although the Congo does not produce as much cocoa as Ghana and Nigeria who, incidentally, produce more than half of the world's cocoa supply, there are today, large cocoa-plantations in the Congo.

The cocoa-farmer has to burn or chop down the forest trees to make room for his plantation. The cocoa-beans are first planted in bamboo pots, and when the seedlings are about a foot high they are transplanted. After four years, when the trees have reached a height of twenty feet, they start bearing fruit.

Pods of different sizes and colours as well as flowers of different colours are to be seen simultaneously on the same tree. Because the pods do not all ripen at the same time, the harvesting of the cocoa-bean goes on throughout the year. The most important harvesting time, however, is from November to May. When the pods are about six to ten inches long and yellow in colour, they are ready for picking.

With heavy chopping knives the Negroes cut the short stalks off the pods. The women gather the pods under the trees in heaps and cut them open. In each pod there are about twenty to thirty pink beans surrounded by a while, woolly covering. The beans are scraped out of the pods and sent to a fermenting-house to ferment. After a week the white coverings disappear. The beans are then put on frames to dry in the sun. When the beans are dry, they are put into bags and sold to the dealers. The dealers export to factories overseas, where chocolate and cocoa drinks are manufactured. In a warm country like the Congo very little of the cocoa which is produced, is used locally.

THE COCOA FARMERS OF WEST AFRICA

Among the most valuable products of the hot wet forests of West Africa are palm-oil and palm-kernels, and cocoa. In West Africa are found two of the most important cocoa-growing countries in the world, namely Ghana and Nigeria.

Cocoa trees want plenty of heat and moisture. They also need shelter and shade. Cocoa is usually grown in clearings in the forests, where there is shelter from strong winds that might otherwise blow the pods from the trees. On many cocoa farms the necessary shade is often supplied by banana trees. On such farms the work of planting, weeding, and harvesting, and getting the beans ready for sale, is done by the farmer and his family.

If we visited one of these cocoa farms we should notice bunches of flowers springing from both the main trunk and the branches. As the petals of the flowers open they uncover the pods, and these grow rapidly and reach a length of 15 to 20 centimetres. Inside each pod are from 20 to 40 beans set in a white pulp. Harvesting takes place between mid-October and mid-February, and during this time the ripe pods are cut off the trees about every three weeks. The pods are split open and the beans are scraped out of them. They are then piled in heaps and covered with banana leaves, or are placed in baskets lined with banana leaves and are allowed to ferment for six or seven days. During this process the beans are turned over every other day or so. After they have been fermented the beans are dried in the sun by spreading them out either on mats placed on platforms, or on cement drying-floors. When thoroughly dry the beans are packed in sacks and are taken for sale to a produce store, where they are inspected and graded for market. Most of the cocoa-beans grown in Ghana and Nigeria are exported to other countries, especially to England and the United States, where they are used for making chocolate, powdered cocoa, and cocoa-butter.
Read the following article which appeared in the Daily News (11.1.79) and then answer the questions which follow.

**INVESTMENT IN BITTERNESS UNDER FIRE**

**Daily News Reporter**

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has described a proposed issue of silver medallions to commemorate the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 as disgraceful and said they would fill any proud Zulu with hatred if they were struck.

The proposed issue, to be marketed by the South African Historical Mint (Pty) Ltd of Cape Town, will consist of eight medallions and it is proposed to mint 2,000 sets, 500 of which will be sold in South Africa.

One medallion is titled "Death of a Zulu" and portrays a Zulu warrior being impaled on a sword wielded by a British soldier on horseback.

Others depict British officers escaping across the Buffalo River, Rorke's Drift, the death of the Prince Imperial of France, the saving of the regimental colours by two British officers depicted fighting off Zulu warriors, the capture of King Cetshwayo, British soldiers being slain at Isandhlwana and the battle of Ulundi.

"I am appalled at the approach adopted towards this tragic war. Although the British were the aggressors, the Zulu people are portrayed in a negative light," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It is disgraceful that a war fought by brave men on both sides should be depicted in such a poor fashion as far as the Zulus are concerned."

"It is tantamount to a glorification of the imperialism that caused the war in the first place - an imperialism of which the British people of today are not proud."

Apart from drawing attention to the manner in which Zulus were depicted on the medallions and that the Zulu King was shown only as a captive, Chief Buthelezi said he wished to give two examples to typify the approach adopted in the brochure designed to sell the medallions.

These were the description of the Zulu King Cetshwayo as a despot and the use of the word "murder" to describe the destruction of the British force at Isandhlwana.

"It is unbelievable how such a word can be used after the British had invaded the Zulu kingdom," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I note that the company claims purchasing the medals will be an investment. To purchase something can only be an investment in bitterness and can do nothing for reconciliation," he said.

A spokesman for the company in Cape Town said today the medallions were designed to depict an historic event.

The first medallion was of British soldiers being slain at Isandhlwana and the brochure made it quite clear that the British started the war. There was no intention to degrade Zulus whatever but simply to portray significant events.

He said he would be willing to Chief Buthelezi personally expressing his concern over the Chief's objections.

1. "It is tantamount to a glorification of the imperialism that caused the war in the first place".

Discuss the cause of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.

2. Why do you think Chief Buthelezi objects to the word "murder" to describe the destruction of the British force at Isandhlwana?

Do you agree with his objection? Why/why not?
3. According to this article eight medallions were minted. Why does Chief Buthelezi object "to the manner in which Zulus were depicted on the medallions"? Give a detailed answer.

6.1.10.3

Testing the ability to use appropriate language.

Imagine that you are a scientist out in the veld with a poet. You both watch a hyena. The poet writes the following poem about what he sees. Using only the factual information in the poem, write a description of the hyena in the language that you would use.

**Hyena**

I am waiting for you.
I have been travelling all morning through the bush and not eaten.
I am lying at the edge of the bush on a dusty path that leads from the burnt-out kraal.
I am panting, it is midday, I found no water-hole.
I am very fierce without food and although my eyes are screwed to slits against the sun you must believe I am prepared to spring.

What do you think of me?
I have a rough coat like Africa.
I am crafty with dark spots, like the bush-tufted plains of Africa.
I sprawl as a shaggy bundle of gathered energy like Africa sprawling in its waters.
I trot, I lope, I slaver, I am a ranger.
I hunch my shoulders. I eat the dead.

Do you like my song?
When the moon pours hard and cold on the veldt I sing, and I am the slave of darkness.
Over the stone walls and the mud walls and the ruined places
and the owls, the moonlight falls.
I sniff a broken drum. I bristle. My pelt is silver.
I howl my song to the moon—up it goes.
Would you meet me there in the waste places?
It is said I am a good match
for a dead lion. I put my muzzle
at his golden flanks, and tear. He
is my golden supper, but my tastes are easy.
I have a crowd of fangs, and I use them.
Oh and my tongue—do you like me
when it comes lolling out over my jaw
very long, and I am laughing?
I am not laughing.
But I am not snarling either, only
panting in the sun, showing you
what I grip
carrion with.

I am waiting
for the foot to slide,
for the heart to seize,
for the leaping sinews to go slack,
for the fight to the death to be fought to the death,
for the glazing eye and the rumour of blood.
I am crouching in my dry shadows
till you are ready for me.
My place is to pick you clean
and leave your bones to the wind.

EDWIN MORGAN

6.1.10.4

Testing the ability to generalize after studying
the particular in a learning block on Deserts.

Pretend that you are Nature. Describe an
imaginary plant that you would design to grow
in the Sahara Desert.

This kind of testing is, of course, only one form of
assessment. Teachers will best monitor the needs
and progress in oracy and literacy of their pupils
if they involve themselves with the pupils in small
group and individual discussion and provide a regular
and sympathetic audience for the child writer. The
teacher-as-judge role will inevitably be seen as a
minor role by any primary school teacher with current
knowledge of language and learning processes. It is
distressing to record that in some Natal primary
schools 'formal examinations' with clear-cut subject
divisions still occur. They are preceded by rote
learning and followed by time-wasting activities.
6.2 The role of the school staff

6.2.1 It is recommended that a teacher with specific knowledge of language and the part it plays in learning, should be appointed to the staff of each school. In this way, the staff may combine in their efforts to implement desirable change and gain confidence in the knowledge that there is someone who can guide and advise where necessary.

It was noted in the previous chapter that schools in England which had explicit language policies were those fortunate enough to have a member of staff who could initiate discussion and decision on language policy. The promotion post of Language Specialist is offered by most primary schools in England. The post of Head of Department in primary schools in Natal could fulfil a similar function, or special posts could be created. Teachers aspiring to such posts should be required to have a firm grasp of language processes.

6.2.2 It is essential that the whole staff commit themselves to a sound policy for language teaching if any marked progress is to be made in the language growth of pupils. Lewis (1976) has shown that the work of any one teacher can be seriously compromised by the power of a particular school organization when the general aims of the school conflict with those of a teacher attempting to give priority to the language of the child. Lewis points out that a school which underestimates the imaginative work of the child limits what any one teacher can achieve.

"The teacher might manage to awaken a genuine response, but his next essential concern, to make sure this response is nourished and sustained, cannot be his alone" (p125).

It is recommended, therefore, that principals of primary schools commit themselves to an examination of school policy and practice, and in so doing, implement desirable change where necessary in school
organization, teaching practice and pupil assessment.

The traditional prize-giving ceremony, for example, is surely a contradiction in terms of the present trend of assessment, operating as it does a sort of "Catch 22" situation where the dice are loaded against those whose achievements may never measure up to those of the more linguistically and intellectually favoured, irrespective of the effort they may make. Indeed, is it feasible to suggest that effort can be measured?

6.2.3 Principals should ensure that regular opportunities are provided for staff to meet and discuss the theory and practice of language and learning. It would seem that the pressures of general class teaching and extracurricular duties intrude on the time available for staff to meet and discuss educational trends and practices. This is surely short-sighted in the extreme if education is to meet social change, and if every teacher is to know how language interacts with learning. Teachers, too, must retain their interest in, and capacity for, learning.

6.2.4 Curriculum planning should be a matter of extreme importance to a primary school for it is only in this way that the interests and needs of the child can be met. Principals should initiate discussion and planning on this matter to ensure that the school offers the child as sound and realistic an education as is possible under any one set of circumstances. The Natal Education Department has paved the way, to some extent, for schools to take more responsibility in curriculum planning. The Department's latest Schools' Handbook (1980, para G.11.3) reads:

"... The syllabuses should be regarded by teachers more as guides than as schemes of work which must be rigidly followed. Provided the approval of the principal and/or the district inspector or subject adviser/inspector is obtained teachers may modify and adopt the
syllabuses to suit the specific needs of their classes, the social and geographic environment of their pupils and their own ideas of the subject they are teaching."

### 6.2.5

It seems that school staffs exist too often in isolation, almost as cloistered groups. Staffs could learn much from one another and benefit from more interaction, particularly in the case of primary schools which are joint 'feeders' to local secondary schools.

### 6.3

**Teacher education**

### 6.3.1

Student teachers should be exposed to and personally experience various learning situations. Much of the learning done by students in colleges of education is through the lecturer-class approach where the student, in the main, is a passive recipient of information. Far more opportunity should, it seems, be given to other forms of learning such as small group discussion where the students regularly experience the value of exploratory talk and recognise the kinds of learning that are possible in this situation. While the tutorial class may be claimed to fulfil this need, it lacks the kind of negotiation that takes place in a group situation where there is a common responsibility and common commitment, where all responses are equally received and debated, and conclusions drawn in spite of the presence (or absence) of the lecturer. It would seem to be artificial to offer and or support the theory of an 'epistemological paradigm' without including the pragmatics of the rationale in the professional training of students.

"How we are introduced to theory, how we attempt to make sense of it, how we grapple with it is itself an essential part of educational theory" (Rosen, 1976, p136).
6.3.2 The apparently intractable dilemma of theory versus practical experience is often raised in discussions on the professional training of primary school teachers. However, a high-status teacher is surely one who is familiar with those theories apparently advisable for the effective implementation of the curriculum. For example, a knowledge of the process of language-learning is crucial to any successful teaching. Furthermore, lecturers at colleges of education in Natal seem in the main inexperienced in the methodology of current educational trends in primary education. It is difficult to advise on methodology without experience in the day to day currency of methods in a primary school where, for example, integration is the recommended policy. A possible resolution of this dilemma is to have students, after three years of training, teach full-time for a minimum of one year before returning for a post-experience final year of training. From speaking to three lecturers from colleges of education in Australia, where students return for a further year of study after two years of teaching practice, the writer gathered that these students are far more motivated and career-oriented and, therefore, respond more positively to the further theory and training that is offered.

6.3.3 It is recommended that colleges of education should take more cognisance of the injunction to schools to devise language policy. This does not imply that colleges should design language policies for use in schools, as this would not be feasible; but if teachers are expected to do such designing, they need to be trained to do so. Colleges of Education could contribute by devising comprehensive guidelines for language policy and training students in their interpretation so that students have some indication and understanding of what is expected in a language policy. They would thereby be able to appreciate, for example, that a language policy is not a list of isolated skills to be taught and 'ticked off' but a policy to ensure a
unified, global approach to the teaching of language across the curriculum. The writer's investigations in Natal revealed that colleges of education did not formally prepare students for devising language policies.

6.3.4 In discussion with lecturers at colleges of education in Natal, the writer was led to believe that language policy was regarded as the responsibility of the English Department. Such compartmentalising of a concept as wide as this seems to indicate that these colleges still support a non-integrated curriculum with too little emphasis placed on the language of the subjects that the students meet.

Every lecturer is surely responsible for the language of his own subject. The way the lecturer handles the teaching of the language of his subject is a measure of the kind of teaching the student will subsequently choose to use. A belief in the tremendous contribution language makes to learning should be evinced in the way in which lecturers attempt to share their knowledge with students. This would surely be one way in which to link pragmatics and theory comfortably and realistically.

6.3.5 While the Natal Education Department has attempted to bring new thinking on language and reading to the attention of practising teachers, more intensive training is necessary. One-day in-service courses, as presently offered, place heavy demands on the listening ability and concentration of those attending. Even more perturbing is the lack of organised follow-up to these courses. It is not surprising, therefore, that much of what is offered at in-service courses is ignored or misinterpreted.

If any recognition is made of current thinking on learning, it should be appreciated that real learning takes place through exploratory talk and experimentation. One day in-service courses hardly give the opportunity
for this kind of learning. A more acceptable idea would seem to be residential courses where teachers, freed from the responsibility of class teaching, could participate more actively and have the time to develop an understanding of the concepts being offered. Courses of this nature in Canada, which has problems of geographical distance as does South Africa, are residential and, according to John Dixon (who as a visiting lecturer to Canada has spoken and worked at these courses) they are very effective.

The writer, while attending a one-month full time course for practising teachers at Reading University found an atmosphere of commitment. Teachers attending such protracted courses return to their schools with the confidence and knowledge to implement change where necessary.

The College for Further Training in Natal already has the 'machinery' for offering such courses and could make a dynamic contribution to the further training of teachers in this way.

6.3.6 Some of the long-term in-service training courses that are urgently required are:

6.3.6.1 Courses for principals and senior staff to acquaint them with moves in Departmental policy.

The Natal Education Department has recommended that formal examinations are an inappropriate form of assessment in the primary school; that primary schools should adopt a more integrated approach to the curriculum and that some curriculum planning be done in the schools.

The Departmental school report form, although unfortunately still separating the content subjects under the general heading of "environmental studies", does
very definitely emphasize the importance of language and numeracy and demands the use of symbols not marks to encourage the idea of continuous assessment. Yet many principals still cling to traditional practices which forestall change in their schools. Clearly, this is because of ignorance and a lack of perception, or fear, of present educational demands in a changing society.

Courses for head teachers should be offered prior to any for class teachers, to ensure that teachers will be given every encouragement to move to a pedagogical perspective more consistent with the needs of the modern child.

6.3.6.2

A knowledge of language and learning processes is essential for primary school teachers. Far more long-term training is necessary if the effect of recent thinking on language and learning is to be felt in the schools. The skills of talking, listening, reading and writing need close attention, for radical changes have been proposed in the last ten years. It is too much to expect full-time class teachers to keep up with the wealth of educational publications or indeed to expect them, working in isolation, fully to comprehend what is implied by recent educational theory.

Training in the concept of a unified approach to the teaching of language in a more integrated curriculum should be given top priority by educational authorities. Initial and advanced courses should be organised so that teachers may implement change in relation to their own growing understanding of and confidence in this concept.

6.3.6.3

With the present change of emphasis, courses on the assessment of primary school children's language ability are necessary, for it is no longer possible
to issue a 'comprehension' exercise, a composition, some grammar exercises and an oral topic and call this language assessment.

6.3.6.4

Children's literature has a powerful contribution to make to the development of the primary school child. Courses should be designed to show how literature and talking about literature should enter teaching at all levels. For example, the State College of Victoria, Australia, offers a Graduate Diploma in Children's Literature as a one year full time or two year part-time course. The Department of Education and Science in England offers courses which involve a weekly two-hour session on various aspects of children's literature.

The writer was privileged to attend a session organised by Dr Atkinson at the University of Warwick, at which practising primary school teachers discussed, read and learned about the ways in which fiction can assist an understanding of environmental studies. The English Adviser for Wakefield, England, runs a weekly book discussion with groups of teachers who read and discuss recent publications and write book reviews for the benefit of other teachers.

All of these courses are successful because they train more and more teachers to value and appreciate the standard of many novels now published with the child reader in mind. These teachers no longer regard literature as a soft option or time-filler.

6.3.6.5

The need for a language specialist in each school is clear, if schools are to implement effective policy on language. Specific courses providing this kind of training are essential. Teachers selected for this course should be released from their posts, and on completion of the course be expected to lead their schools in matters regarding language teaching across the curriculum.
6.3.7 In terms of present legislation, colleges of education may offer courses for junior secondary phase teachers, under the guidance of universities; and in some universities, primary school teachers are trained. It is recommended that the universities, with their facilities for research and development, mount investigations into language and learning, and make the fruits of this research available to students and qualified teachers.

6.3.8 It is possible that teachers' associations could assume a more educative role than is at present the case in South Africa, thus assisting their own members in professional development in such areas as curriculum planning and policy formulation.

6.4 General recommendations

6.4.1 Until such time as schools are staffed with people who are language specialists, it would seem necessary for education authorities to appoint one or more persons in itinerant positions to assist schools in this work. Positive and prolonged guidance of this nature would do much to train practising teachers in the concept of language across the curriculum. It is of interest to note that in Coventry, where such a post exists, twenty of the twenty-one secondary schools in that education authority now have trained personnel on their staff who have established meaningful language policy for all subjects in the curriculum in their schools.

6.4.2 While Teachers' Centres have, in some instances, been found to be largely 'white elephants', the idea of a central point at which teachers can meet remains a good one. Those Teachers' Centres and Reading Centres which are capably organised and which offer
interesting and stimulating courses on educational and professional matters are an example of the possibilities of such meeting places. The College for Further Training in Natal could have its function further extended in this way, offering displays of current material, advice on reading and related matters, courses and follow-up courses relating to primary school teaching and opportunity for research into primary education.

6.4.3 Very little research is done into primary education in Natal, the tendency being to await developments elsewhere. This is unfortunate and professionally unsound. Research into the language needs of the Natal school-going child, the place of literature in the primary school, the reading habits and interests of these children, the language of local textbooks, the language demands of local syllabuses, the development in writing ability of young children, those ways of talking together which help children learn, and assessment of the primary school child, are some areas in which research could benefit primary school education in Natal. It is recommended that the education authority give the impetus and support for research of this nature, and that collaboration with universities should also occur.

6.4.4 Until inspectors/advisers are appointed specifically for primary education, inspectors and advisers who are presently responsible for primary school education and who may be unfamiliar with current trends in primary education, should be given the opportunity to learn of new developments, either through courses specifically designed for them or through programmes of reading. In this way, they may form a coherent pedagogical theory of language and learning sufficiently powerful to illuminate and guide those schools for whom they are responsible. This would do much to establish reciprocity in the relationship between theory and practice.
6.4.5 The present expenditure on in-service training in Natal is hopelessly insufficient, allowing as it does, for an odd day's training in the year for those teachers who can be freed from their classes to attend. This is totally inadequate when it is considered that this is the only form of further training given to primary school teachers by the Department aside from occasional published bulletins.

Primary schools lack guidance from senior personnel in the Natal Education Department as the majority of Inspectors and Advisers have no first-hand experience of primary school teaching. If primary school teachers are to extend the activities that they and their pupils pursue as they strive to achieve the goal of competence in listening and speaking, reading and writing, not to mention the greater richness and effectiveness that is advocated by leading educationalists, then education authorities must commit themselves to a realistic budget for training teachers to appreciate the value of moving from a narrow orthodox view of teaching to a more enlightened approach.

6.4.6 Because many teachers in Natal and other provinces are appointed on a 'temporary definite' basis, that is for a year at a time, the staffing situation at many primary schools is often unpredictable. Because such teachers may not as yet apply for promotion posts, too, they may lack commitment to teaching. These facts, and the generally low salaries paid to all teachers, may lead to lowered morale among school staffs as a result of which pupils suffer. Radically improved conditions of service would help to remedy this.

Apart from three Appendices which follow, and the Bibliography, this dissertation is now complete. Appendix A has reference to Chapter One, B to Chapter Four and C to Chapter Five.
FUNCTION CATEGORIES

TRANSACTIONAL (1) Language to get things done, i.e. it is concerned with an end outside itself. It informs, persuades and instructs.

EXPRESSIVE (2) Language close to the self, revealing the speaker, verbalizing his consciousness, displaying his close relationship with the reader. Possibly not highly explicit. Relatively unstructured.

POETIC (3) A verbal construct, patterned verbalization of the writer's feelings and ideas. This category is not restricted to poems but would include such writings as a short story, a play, a shaped autobiographical episode.

ADDITIONAL CATEGORIES (4)

INFORMATIVE (1.1) Instruction and persuasion.

CONATIVE (1.2) Language which lays down a course of action to be followed, makes demands, issues instructions where compliance is assumed, and makes recommendations which carry the weight of authority or the force of the speaker's wishes.

REGULATIVE (1.2.1) E.g., undissociated categories, categories, created by the practice of education.

PERSUASIVE (1.2.2) Since compliance cannot be assumed, an attempt is made to influence action, behaviour, attitude by reason and argument or other strategy.

INFORMATIVE CONATIVE (4.2) Exercise and demonstration of the ability to perform a writing task, which fails to take up the demands of that task.

IMMATURE CATEGORIES (4.1) Categories created by the special contexts of education.

SPECIAL CATEGORIES (4.2) Language which lays down a course of action to be followed, cannot be assumed, an attempt is made to influence action, behaviour, attitude by reason and argument or other strategy.

REPORT (1.1.2) Witnessing or recording events, places but he is detecting a pattern of repetition in them; and he expresses this in generalized form.

GENERALIZED NARRATIVE OR DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION (1.1.3) The writer is tied to particular events and places but he is detecting a pattern of repetition in them; and he expresses this in generalized form.

ANALOGIC, LOW LEVEL OF GENERALIZATION (1.1.4) Generalizations related hierarchically or logically by means of coherently presented classificatory utterances.

ANALOGIC-TAUTOLOGIC (SPECULATIVE) (1.1.6) Speculation about generalizations; the open-ended consideration of analogic possibilities.

ANALOGIC-TAUTOLOGIC (1.1.7) Hypotheses and deductions from them. Theory backed by logical argumentation.
APPENDIX B

BRITTON'S AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

1. SELF
   - Child (or adolescent) to self (1)
     - Writing from one's own point of view without considering the intelligibility to others of that point of view: a written form of 'speech for oneself'.

2. TEACHER
   - Child (or adolescent) to peer group (3.2)

3. WIDER AUDIENCE (KNOWN)
   - Group member to working group (known audience which may include teacher) (3.3)
   - Expert to known laymen (3.1)

4. UNKNOWN AUDIENCE
   - Writer to his readers (or his public) (4)
     - Writer to his readers, marked by a sense of the general value or validity of what he has to say, of a need to supply a context wide enough to bring in readers whose sophistication, interests, experience he can only estimate and by a desire to conform with and contribute to some cultural norm or trend.

5. ADDITIONAL CATEGORIES
   - Virtual named audience (5.1)
   - No discernible audience (5.2)

6. ADDITIONAL CATEGORIES
   - Pupil to teacher, general (teacher-learner dialogue) (2.2)
     - Writing for a specifically educational adult, but as part of an ongoing interaction; and in expectation of response rather than formal evaluation.
   - Pupil to teacher, particular relationship (2.3)
     - Writing for a specifically educational adult; a personal relationship but also a professional one, based upon a shared interest and expertise, an accumulating shared context.
   - Pupil to examiner (2.4)
     - Writing for a specifically educational adult, but as a demonstration of material mastered or as evidence of ability to take up a certain kind of style; a culminating point rather than a stage in a process of interaction and with the expectation of assessment rather than response.

Child (or adolescent) to trusted adult (2.1)
- In the early stages, transference into writing of the talking relation with the mother—writing that accepts an invitation because it comes from this particular person; later the liberating sense that this particular adult wants to hear anything you have to say.
APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE (submitted to teachers: see Chapter Five)

1. Have you any ideas on how speech and writing can be made to play more positive roles in the learning of subjects other than English? Please elaborate.

2. (a) In general, do you provide your pupils with opportunities to read other sources as well as the class textbooks, in your teaching of history, geography, and general science?

(b) Whatever your answer, please elaborate.

3. (a) To what extent are your pupils involved in "note making" of their own composition in various subjects?

(b) Please elaborate on your answer.
4. What methods are used in your school to promote or encourage the reading of books?

5. How do you, personally, acquire information on new books and publications which may be suitable for your pupils or for your own teaching purposes?

6. What would you say are the largest problems relating to interest in reading among pupils in your school?

7. Mention some follow-up activities to reading in which your pupils engage (e.g., writing book reviews).

8. Has your school, over the last few years, introduced any new trend or innovation in connection with the teaching or improvement of language among pupils? Please explain your answer.
9. Do your pupils ever write for an outside reader or "audience" apart from a teacher? Kindly explain your answer.

10. Do you feel that the "formal rules of grammar" should be taught at primary school level? Please explain your answer.

11. Please indicate briefly how you go about teaching reading comprehension.

12. Do you use the tape recorder as an aid to language development in your classroom? Please elaborate.
13. Please indicate how in your teaching you make use of outside media such as magazines, newspapers and television programmes. Ignore this question if it is not applicable.

14. "Every teacher is a teacher of language". Explain briefly what you understand by this statement.

15. If your school has attempted to introduce a language policy, what were the problems experienced? Please elaborate, with regard to solutions which may have evolved.

Thank you for your co-operation.
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