

PROBLEMS FOR THE TEACHING OF
ENGLISH DERIVING FROM THE
HOME BACKGROUND OF A
GROUP OF SOUTH AFRICAN
INDIAN SCHOOL PUPILS

BY

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*Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the
Degree of*

MASTER OF EDUCATION

*in the Faculty of Education
at the University of Natal,
Durban.*

DURBAN

DECEMBER 1981

PREFACE

Remarks about falling standards in English and language difficulties experienced by South African Indian pupils are made by Directors of Education, English subject advisors and in Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports but no independent research has been undertaken to investigate the underlying causes of the problem. The influence of the home on language development is a well established field of study in Great Britain and the United States of America but very little research of this type has been conducted in South Africa. The present study was therefore undertaken to indicate some factors in the home background of South African Indian pupils which may affect linguistic development, usage, and attainment in English.

This investigation considers the complex relationship between the child's linguistic development and educational performance. In a review of pertinent literature in this field, academic performance is considered against the background of a number of variables such as social class, socio-economic status, family size, parental support, and the parents' level of western education. The shift in emphasis from the more traditional 'deprivation' theory to the more recent 'difference' theory to explain educational failure is traced.

One of the main limitations of this investigation is that it was confined to a few secondary schools in the city and suburbs of Durban. However, the majority of South African Indians live in Durban and the surrounding area. A further limitation is that this is essentially a descriptive study. Analysis of the teachers' and pupils' questionnaires and of the written test was made with the intention of presenting a descriptive rather than empirical dissertation. Therefore, no conclusive generalizations about the

entire population can be made.

This study has focused attention on a number of problems experienced in the use of English by South African Indian pupils and it is suggested that a thorough investigation be undertaken into all aspects of English teaching.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all who helped with this dissertation. In particular, I am grateful to my supervisor Dr. B.A. Dobie, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Natal, for his guidance, encouragement and very able supervision of this study. His thoughtful recommendations, perceptive criticisms and interest helped me to shape the work and clarify elaborate details of my argument.

I am also grateful for the assistance given by:

The Director of Indian Education for permission to conduct this investigation in seven secondary schools in the greater Durban area.

Mr A.E. Khan, Principal subject advisor (English) for his encouragement, advise and guidance.

The Principals and teachers of the schools I visited for their co-operation; and to the children and parents, for their willingness to participate in the research project.

My wife for typing the draft form of the dissertation, and for her patience and encouragement during the many months of this research.

Finally, I must thank Kamini Naidoo for the sacrifice of her weekends and evenings in typing this dissertation.

N.P. SONI

DECEMBER 1981

I declare that the dissertation for the Master of Education degree at the University of Natal hereby submitted by me, had not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university, and that the whole work has been designed by me and that all material contained herein is recognised.

N.P. Soni.

Durban

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1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE DISSERTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

It is well known that children from different socio-economic backgrounds do not achieve the same degree of scholastic success. The Plowden Report (1967) in Great Britain and the Coleman Report (1966) in the United States of America found that there were inequalities of educational opportunity for pupils of different socio-economic groups. The Public Schools Commission (1968) found that more money was spent on the predominantly middle-class pupils in private schools than in maintained schools. Anderson (1961 : 252-263) studied the social composition of university student bodies in twenty four countries and found inequalities in output at the level of higher education. He found that the children of manual-workers only furnished between 10 and 30 per cent of the students for the universities, though such workers were a majority group in the populations concerned.

Several studies have agreed that the foundation for academic success or failure depends on the child's development and use of language in the early years of his life. They indicate that in the educationally disadvantaged home there is little verbal communication between parents and children and that children from such homes come to school with a set of pre-school experiences which are different from other children and that they are at a disadvantage because they do not understand 'the language of the school.' The school does not always take

into consideration these differences in pre-school experiences. Bloom, Davis and Hess (1965 : 69) suggest that the child's language development depends on the objects in the home, the amount of parental interest in learning, and the amount of practice and encouragement the child is given in conversation and general learning. In short, it is the home which will determine the child's academic success or failure.

During childhood, diminished adult attention and linguistic stimulation, poverty of play materials or opportunities for activity, result in retarded intellectual and linguistic growth (Vernon, 1969 : 39). Tough (1973 : 28) suggests that the child's home experience is the source of his early learning about language and that if parents do not spend sufficient time in talking to their children then the child will not be able to use language adequately. The child is handicapped if his parents have benefitted little from education and if he is not involved in situations in which his parents, brothers and sisters provide the need and the example to talk, listen, discuss or read aloud. In disadvantaged homes parents rarely talk to their children, listen to them, answer their questions, or encourage them to ask questions or read aloud to them. In such a home language development is stifled.

A teacher's knowledge of a child's poor home background may, ironically, lead to lowered expectations.

"The literature of the past decade is replete with evidence that poor children are deficient in language development and with claims that their failure in reading stems from this language deficiency...
..... Unfortunately, because the poor child's language is

different some educators have tended to misinterpret the child's language development and thinking abilities and have underestimated the potential for learning to read" (Adler, 1979 : 165-166). The home environment clearly seems to influence the language development and usage of all pupils. Because of the lower socio-economic status of the majority of Indian families in South Africa, the home background seems to exert a considerable influence on educational attainment. In South Africa, such attainment (for Indians in particular) is directly linked with career and job opportunities, social mobility and status.

The question confronting the present writer is: What are some of the handicaps of the South African Indian pupil in regard to the use of the English language? Stated more bluntly: How does the home environment of such a child affect his use of language?

This problem is one that affects not only the formal education of the child; it also affects his self esteem and his interrelationship with other members of society. The underlying question, too, is so broad that no definitive answer can be hoped for; guidelines, however, may arise from the study of a small group.

One of the purposes of this dissertation is to bring together from diverse sources evidence relating to the influence of home background on language development. The main focus of attention is upon how social placement affects education 'chances' and attainment at school. The writer will argue that socialization patterns in the home determine the child's 'verbal fluency' and that this 'verbal fluency' as judged by the education authorities and teachers, will affect the child's academic success. The writer, therefore, felt it necessary to consider the pre-school, the primary school and the

secondary school levels and to examine the influence of the home on early language development. The pupils actually considered, however, were in 'junior secondary' schools.

One of the main limitations of this study is that while it attempts to ascertain some of the factors which may affect language development and usage among Indian pupils in general, it is confined to a few schools in the city and suburbs of Durban. However, it is important to remember that the majority of the Indian population live in Durban and the surrounding area. Although the sample surveyed is a small one, it may be taken to display the broad problem areas.

This study, therefore, is an attempt to establish some of the specific factors which affect language development and usage by the South African Indian pupil, including his home background, socialization patterns and size of the family, and system of education. The writer will indicate some of the factors which are at present contributing to the poor performance of these pupils in language usage and development, and suggest ways in which the schools, teachers and the parents might assist to overcome the problems encountered by pupils in the use of the English language.

1.2 REASONS AND MOTIVATIONS FOR THE STUDY

The writer undertook this study because more knowledge is needed about the effects of home conditions among the Indian population group. The majority of the pupils who formed the sample for this study are drawn from areas characterised by particular social problems such as poverty, overcrowding and a lack of cultural and sports facilities. The problem which gave rise to the study started with the writer's concern at remarks made by Directors of

Education, a study of Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports and the general worry expressed by the public and educators at the high failure rate among Indians in English. Consequently, there was a need to identify the problem as well as to furnish more information and suggestions that might help ease or overcome the problems encountered by pupils in the use of the English language.

As part of the research, questionnaires were sent to teachers and pupils in selected schools in the Durban central, Chatsworth and Sydenham areas. These schools were chosen because most of the pupils who attend them live in the city, some in the more affluent suburbs, and some who have been uprooted and widely dispersed from settled communities and resettled in the Indian complex of Chatsworth. A short description of the particular areas concerned seems necessary.

Durban comprises a number of suburbs stretching from Merebank and Chatsworth in the South to Phoenix and Mount Edgecombe in the North, and forms a very densely populated residential, industrial and commercial area. In the 1950's the majority of the Indian people were market gardeners, labourers in industries, and businessmen. About 50 per cent of South Africans of Indian origin are concentrated in Durban. Chatsworth as a whole may be described as a residential area with a few businesses, situated about twenty kilometres from the central business area of Durban. This area accommodates about half the city's Indian population including the majority of the lower-income section, and is the largest Indian residential area in South Africa. The Indians were moved there in terms of the Group Areas Act. Previously they lived in settled communities in Cato Manor, Stella Hill, Mayville, Second River, Greyville and Sea Cow Lake. Many of them owned small plots and were market gardeners. They lived in

small communities, built places of worship, and promoted their vernacular languages and their culture. In Chatsworth they live either as owners or tenants in economic or sub-economic council houses on very small plots of land. There are few opportunities for employment, and the majority of the people commute daily to the city to work. The growth of industrialism has led to an increase in population and a scarcity of sport and recreational amenities for children.

The increase of population has created problems with regard to housing. Some of the units and houses were intended for occupation by the workers and families from low socio-economic category. Many families live in large blocks of flats with few essential amenities. Many homes are crowded and a number of families live in tiny out-buildings and garages. Here, conditions are extreme. There is often no hot and cold running water, no proper drainage system and poor sanitary and sewage facilities. Most of the side streets are very narrow and not properly lit. Children loiter and play in the streets and small crowded backyards because of the limited recreational and sports facilities. Many of the workers in this area are employed in manual and unskilled jobs, and all suggests that both socially and economically this is a section of the community who could reasonably be classified as underprivileged and disadvantaged.

Even though modern primary and secondary schools have been built, they are situated alongside the busy and noisy main roads, and near shopping centres and, therefore, do not provide a stimulating environment for the child. In the mornings and after school pupils gather in shopping centres and spend their time smoking and loitering. Very often, pupils take part in or witness street brawls or arguments.

There are no youth organisations or facilities for evening studies, a limited number of nursery schools, only one hospital and a shortage of space. Compared to that in a middle-class suburb, life here is non-intellectual and unaesthetic. It is representative of those environmental and social factors which several writers refer to as disadvantaged or culturally deprived. According to Miller (1967 : 56-58), children living in such neighbourhoods lack consistent care from parents, grow up in noisy, overcrowded apartments, witness parental drunkenness, are exposed to erratic, aggressive outbursts and experience parental neglect and abuse. To such children alcoholism and violence are home and neighbourhood life experiences. In disadvantaged homes children are rarely played with, talked to and given explanations. In short the varied physical, emotional and intellectual stimulation of a mutually enjoyable relationship with the the mother are minimal. Such a neighbourhood is characterised by overcrowding, a large number of young children, an absence of amenities and facilities, and disorganisation.

Pupils attending schools in the Durban central area come from the city and the suburbs of Overport, Clare Estate, Reservoir Hills, Kenville and Sea Cow Lake.

In the city most Indians live in very old flats. Much of the area is in a state of general decline and many of the buildings in a condition of physical decay. There is a shortage of space and no recreational facilities are provided. It is quite common to see pupils roaming and playing in the streets during weekends and holidays. Some of their parents own shops, cinemas, and properties and these pupils spend a greater part of their spare time behind the shop counters. Pupils who come from Reservoir Hills and Sydenham are at an

advantage because many of them live in their own homes, which are not always overcrowded, and are provided with some sports and recreational facilities. But even in these areas many families live in outbuildings and garages and the problems prevalent in Chatsworth are also present. Very little is done to clear up depressed living conditions.

From this we see that the survey population is broadly homogeneous and represents a complete community, which has been disrupted and spread over a number of small areas.

1.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE EFFECT OF HOME BACKGROUND ON EDUCATION

Several studies concerning social class, home background and educational achievement have been conducted in Great Britain and the United States of America. The most significant studies in England were those of the Plowden Committee (Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967), the Newsom Report (1963), Schools Council Working Paper 27 (Cross'd with Adversity, 1970) and Wedge and Prosser's (Born to Fail, 1973). These studies emphasised the importance of the home. A study similar to that of the Plowden Committee was conducted by Coleman (1966) in the United States of America. The study and its follow-ups (e.g. by Jencks, 1972) examined the availability of equal educational opportunity in the United States of America and found that factors related to the home and family background were more important in producing educational disadvantage than factors concerned with the neighbourhood or the school. The studies of Fraser (1959), Douglas (1964), Wiseman (1964), Goodacre (1970) and Douglas, Ross and Simpson (1968) are other important examples. They were conducted

on smaller scales and will be referred to later in this work.

A few studies dealing with Indian life in South Africa and Natal have been conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Institute of Social and Economic research of the University of Natal and by the Institute of Social Research of the University of Durban-Westville. However, none of these has any direct bearing on the influence of home background on the language development of the child. Further, a number of small scale studies have been conducted, mainly in the form of unpublished dissertations and theses. Of these, the study by Naicker (1979) dealing with social class, home background and education is the most significant. He found that:

1.3.1 The general educational performance of middle-class Indian South African pupils is consistently better than that of working-class pupils.

1.3.2 The two most important dimensions of the home which emphasise the greatest social class differences between the two groups, and which account for the most variation in school performances are the general cultural and educational experiences, and the educational motivations and aspirations of parents. This study will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters. The study by Naicker was restricted to primary school pupils and limited in range and scope.

The most significant study to date dealing with the use of the English language among Indian South African pupils was that conducted by Bughwan (1970). She found that the Indian languages were imperfectly known by the Indian pupils in the sixteen to nine-

teen year age group and that over 90 per cent of pupils could speak, read and write better in English than in the mother tongue. Although a limited study, it does identify the main problems encountered by Indian pupils in the use of English a decade ago.

Small scale studies have been conducted by Naidoo (1957), on truancy; Gopaulsing (1960) who studied home conditions in relationship to poor academic achievement; Ramphal (1961) who conducted investigations into mental efficiency in an Indian afternoon school, the performance of Indian students in intelligence and scholastic tests in relation to their bilinguality and efficiency in English, and the performance of Indian children in intelligence and scholastic tests in relation to delayed entrance into school; and Naguran (1978) who studied failure in Indian secondary schools. Though important, these studies have limited relevance to the present dissertation.

1.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE ABILITY FOR LEARNING

Language not only serves a social function as a means of interpersonal communication but is also of crucial importance as a tool of thought (Jensen, 1973 : 104). Numerous studies have shown on the basis of achievement test results that children from low-income homes do not achieve the same degree of success as the children of non-manual workers. These studies reveal that there is a positive relationship between linguistic ability and intelligence. Bernstein (1971 : 136) suggests that "the relative backwardness of lower working-class children may well be a form of culturally induced backwardness transmitted to the child through the implications of the linguistic process." With the aid of language the child is able to understand a far wider range

of past and present events and happenings. Through reading it is possible for the child to experience many things that would otherwise be beyond his reach. In this way language influences intellectual development. Several studies have also found that the child who is well equipped verbally is able to score highly on an intelligence test, not merely because of his superior performance on verbally loaded items, or because he is better able to understand the instructions, but because his verbal facility enables him to be more flexible in the thinking out of the solution of problems even of an apparently non verbal kind (Fraser, op.cit. : 4)

Jensen (op.cit. : 106) suggests that the characteristics of the language habits that are acquired and the "kinds of functions the language serves in the child's experience, actually shape his intellectual development, especially the development of the ability for abstraction and conceptual learning. Poor development of this ability places a low ceiling on educational attainment."

John and Moskovitz (1970 : 179) are of the opinion that parent-child dialogue is important in the development of language. The writers suggest that vocabulary development and usage reflects most clearly the significant effects of verbal interaction in the home. The quality of the parents' language, and the mother's teaching style, contribute to the child's verbal development as measured by vocabulary test performance.

According to Pringle, Butler and Davie (1966 : 115) a home which fosters linguistic development and true reading ability is one in which the level of verbal expression is at its highest; where

there is feeling for the spoken word as a tool for conveying precise meaning; where the vocabulary is rich and varied; and where children are stimulated by questions about the world around them and by explanations appropriate to their age.

Bernstein (op.cit.) has suggested that children have access to different speech system or codes because they "learn different roles by virtue of their family's class position in society" (page 145). In positional families the children would be limited to the restricted code because in their families the definition of roles is rigid. The child from a person-oriented family would have access to the elaborated code because in such a family "the child learns to make his role rather than this being formally assigned to him" (ibid. : 154).

Bernstein suggests that one of the effects of the class system is to limit access to elaborated codes. The working-class child is at a disadvantage at school because "schools are predicted upon elaborated code and its systems of social relationships" (ibid. : 186).

Deutsch (cited by Baratz and Baratz, 1970 : 190) found that in lower working-class homes the speech sequences were limited and poorly structured, and that a major deficit in the children's language development was in syntactical organization and subject continuity.

Brown and Bellugi (1964 : 140) suggest that a mother who expands her child's speech: "may be teaching more than grammar; she may be teaching something like a world view." The writers are of the opinion that "children can and do learn simply from

hearing their parents or others make well-formed sentences in connection with various nonverbal circumstances."

1.5 METHOD AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The material presented in this dissertation is essentially of a descriptive nature. Since this is not an experimental study, the following procedure is followed: relevant literature and other research drawing attention to key areas is reviewed. Questionnaires to teachers and pupils are analysed. Conclusions arise from an examination of some written work, interviews and questionnaires to teachers. First, the writer briefly surveys different forms of socialization and introduces the Indian population group with which this study is concerned. This is followed by a description of different forms of stratification. A discussion of social classes in the Indian community follows. A number of issues to be taken up in more detail in subsequent chapters are introduced.

The interrelationship between home background, social class and educational attainment is examined in the wider context. The factors which may affect educational success and language development of the Indian South African child are discussed. These factors include: social class, cultural lag, level of education of the parents, parental attitudes toward education, family size, material prosperity of the home, social disorganisation and abnormal family background.

The theory that the language of the child from a low-income home is deficit is critically examined. A discussion of the way in which socialization and language interact is introduced, and a survey made of the different theories of socialization and social factors which

may affect linguistic performance within the family, particularly of children from home backgrounds which put them at a disadvantage in certain ways. The development of language is central to the educational process; therefore it seems necessary to accept that language may be 'different' and not 'deficient'. It is the function of the school to build on this foundation because when the child comes to school his language is usually adequate for his communication purposes. Keddie (1973 : 1) suggests that "schools could become more flexible in their willingness to recognise and value the life experience that every child brings to school, and at the same time become more willing to examine and to justify what schooling could be about and what kind of life experiences children are being offered." Ginsburg (1972 : 93) is of the opinion that the poor child's language is not generally deficient in many respects; that he has a syntactically complex language; that some of them enjoy a rich verbal culture and that they need a different kind of education in the open classroom so that they can be literate.

A brief historical survey of education for Indian persons in South Africa forms part of this work. A turning point in the position of Indians in this country was reached with the formation of the Department of Indian Affairs and the transfer of education from the provinces to this body. But the problems of inadequate parental 'voice' in the education of their children and of unequal quality education remain.

The results of questionnaires sent to pupils and teachers of English are analysed under sub-headings in a separate chapter. The survey found, inter alia, that the value of education was fully

recognised by the parents; that pupils and their parents spend very little time in the reading of newspapers, magazines and books; and that the most important factor which seems to affect the educational attainment of many South African Indian pupils is the language used by the family and pupils.

Special emphasis is placed on the teaching of reading and comprehension, because they form the basis of English teaching, and certain suggestions arise. Some problem areas regarding pupils who do not experience success in English are considered. These include: a general lack of interest in books, difficulties in effecting transfer of training from one area of English to another, weaknesses in appreciating literature, a history of low performance in English, comprehension involving high level skills, inability to use language in specific areas, and the effects of a non-standard form of English outside school. After an examination of the above problems some approaches that may be used in the teaching of English to underachievers are suggested.

Although the present investigation is concerned with South African Indian pupils and their families, reference will be made to British and American studies because of the lack of research on language and socialization in South Africa. Although direct parallels cannot be assumed the problems of poverty, social disorganisation and unstimulating cultural and linguistic home environments are present in all societies.

1.6 THE NOTION OF 'CULTURAL DEPRIVATION'

All over the world school systems have developed primary and secondary programmes which work well for a sizeable proportion of

the students. Bloom, Davis and Hess (op. cit. : 1) estimate that as many as one half of the entering students are able to complete these programmes successfully, "if financial and other obstacles do not loom too large." This implies that as many as 50 per cent of the students are not being developed to their highest potential. There are many reasons why these students fail to progress. They may be handicapped by poverty, overcrowding, unstimulating home conditions, a large family, broken homes, discrimination, and slum conditions. The terms 'socially disadvantaged', 'culturally deprived', and 'underachievers' are used to describe such pupils.

These students are not confined to the city areas. The problem of educational deprivation extends beyond the city areas to the suburbs and rural areas as well. It should be made clear that the disadvantaged and culturally deprived are not made up only of children whose fathers are manual-workers. This group contains a large number of potentially superior pupils whose capacities and talents are ignored or untapped. Several writers have suggested that the absence of books and other reading material, insufficient language and reading skills, little support and stimulus for learning and inadequate motivation to pursue a long-range educational career are reasons advanced to explain poor educational performance.

The notion of 'cultural deprivation' is one of the theories that explains children's educational failure. According to the deprivation theory "educational failure results from a mismatch between children's language and experience, and the language demanded by schools. It sets out to be a theory of the relationship

between children's language, social class and educational success" (Stubbs, 1980 : 143).

The cultural, social or verbal deprivation theory is an environmentalist theory. According to this theory the early social and family environment is particularly crucial to school success, and children from low-income homes or minority ethnic backgrounds fail because they lack early childhood experiences which are thought to be important for school learning. It is suggested that a lack of these experiences leads, for example, to poor motivation, poor attention span, poor language development and an inability to utilize and exploit formal educational resources. These theories lead to attempts to improve 'deprived' children's school performance by putting them through programmes of 'compensatory education' such as in New York's City's 'Higher Horizons' programme and in the 'Education Priority Areas' in Great Britain. Such intervention programmes rest "on an assumption of linguistic and cognitive deficits which must be remedied if the child is to succeed in school" (Baratz and Baratz, op. cit. : 190).

According to Robinson (1976 : 80) "Compensatory education seems to refer to two distinct processes, the activity which goes on inside the school, and the support given to both the institution and the individual to manage the transition between a world we judge disadvantaged and that of the school. Policy is geared to the latter rather than to the former, resources are given to improve the building but not its internal organization; to attract teachers but not to experiment with their use."

According to Friedman (cited in the Open University Course E202 Block V, 1977 : 45) research in regard to 'cultural deprivation'

seems to rest on the following underlying assumptions:

1.6.1 That formal educational systems, particularly in their success with middle-class students, and their practices, are essentially sound;

1.6.2 That the educational improvement of culturally deprived children in the large cities is a worthwhile effort that can succeed even within the existing situation;

1.6.3 That much progress can come about by giving special attention to individual children and categories of children, so that they will be helped to overcome some of the adverse conditions of their daily lives.

South African Indians possess a rich and stimulating culture of their own. They are not 'culturally deprived' but in terms of western culture and literature they may be disadvantaged. This is so because not all Indian pupils are familiar with English and American background and setting. This poses many problems for pupils. Some of these problems will be discussed in later chapters.

2. SOME FACTORS AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter is concerned with the agencies, practices and processes involved in socialization, and particularly with the factors in the home environment which affect academic success. From a general perspective, attention will be narrowed to the question of South African Indians.

2.2 SOCIALIZATION

There are many interpretations of the concept of socialization, but only a few will be considered here. Berger and Berger (1976 : 62) define socialization as the process through which an individual learns to become a member of society. According to this definition socialization is a shaping or moulding process. Socialization can also be regarded..... "as a process of initiation in which the child is permitted to develop and expand into a world available to him". From this aspect, socialization is an essential part of an individual's becoming fully human and realising his full potential. The child is then initiated into a social world.

It has been shown that the home is a very important influence on intellectual and emotional development of children, especially in the early years of childhood (Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965 : 69). According to Bynner (1972 : 9) the home background may affect a child's educational achievement in three ways:

2.2.1 The economic position of the family may influence a child's

educational aspirations; for example, a child from a low-income home may leave school early to augment the family income.

2.2.2 The amenities and the atmosphere in the home may restrict or enhance his opportunities for doing homework.

2.2.3 The attitudes of his parents and their level of education may stimulate or inhibit his own interest in learning.

It is through social interaction with their children that parents most influence language development and ultimately success in education. The family is, therefore, an important agency of education. The manner in which the child is socialized will determine his attitudes and achievement in school, the length of his school life and his view of education and schooling in general. The school depends on the home for support. Siegel (1959 : 39) suggests that: "The school is no isolated organisation. Its operational structure is continually affected by outside environmental forces. It does not set its own goals nor can it seek to implement them completely independently of other community agencies." The child is influenced by the behaviour of his parents, siblings, teachers, peers and others in his immediate environment. These influences are evident when the educational performance of children from low and middle-income groups are compared. Girard (1954 : 194) suggested that where intelligence is equal, the children of the upper classes benefit from a material and psychological environment more favourable to their full development than that of children from less favoured homes.

The child must travel a long way before it acquires all the physical, intellectual and social skills which are expected of every fully

fledged member of a human group. The long years of interplay between the formative influences of society and the native endowment of the growing person constitute socialization (Bram, 1955 : 19), White (1974 : 1) views socialization as a "process of learning to live in society." Bernstein (1971 : 174) defines the concept as the process whereby a child acquires a specific cultural identity, and his responses to such an identity. This is the process through which society maintains itself: and the individual becomes a member of a social group by learning the group's attitude and adopting behaviour approved by it. Socialization is basically a process by which individuals learn through experience and social orientation. In both childhood and adulthood, socialization concentrates on the learning of skills, attitudes and behaviour which will enable the individual to exist harmoniously within social groups and so live his life with as little aggravation as possible. Since the child is socialized in an existing social group it is necessary to see how society may be stratified into such groups.

2.3 STRATIFICATION

Stratification relates to a hierarchy of inequality (Swift, 1968 : 261). The three main hierarchies relate to income, prestige and power. Although we can distinguish analytically between the three hierarchies in any society, it is difficult to make a distinction between them in actual life. The Open University Sociological Perspective Glossary (1973 : 80) defines stratification as "the division of people into groups which have unequal wealth, power or prestige." Kronhauser (1955 : 225) views stratification as any system of ranked statuses by which the members of a society are placed in superior and inferior positions. Besides kinship, age and sex

typing, various other criteria such as economic position, power and so on, may provide the basis of stratification in any given society. Basically, stratification is dependent on specialization of function. Three types of stratification that are commonly described are derived from estate, caste and social class differences.

2.3.1 Estate

This system of stratification is associated with land tenure as in the medieval feudal system. The feudal estates were founded upon discriminations established in law. A member of a particular estate could not move out of his own estate because he was rigidly controlled by norms which concerned his standing within society, his privileges, right of inheritances and marriage. The abolition of legally sanctioned estate privileges freed men for participation in a competitive labour market (Giddens, 1973 : 83).

2.3.2 Caste

The most distinctive feature of a caste is its exclusiveness. In India the four main traditional castes were the Brahmins, Kshatryjas, Vaishjas and the Sudras. The identity of each group was carefully projected by the rule of endogamy. This rule made the group self-perpetuating and bound its members together by ties of blood and marriage (Biteille, 1969 : 230). The caste system does not permit out-marriage, and mobility into another caste is impossible. Hence an individual's caste position is fixed at birth and cannot be changed.

Today the caste system is no longer law. Among South African Indians the influence of caste is negligible, but attitudes to caste consciousness are more widespread among the Gujarati speaking community. However, the influence of technological development, industry, urbanisation

and western education have helped to weaken the caste structure among the present generation. The schooling system of South Africa makes provision for pupils to be admitted to Indian schools on a non-caste basis. The only qualifying factors are race, and in some schools, the ability to pay an entrance fee. Even the vernacular schools are open to all members of a particular language group, and caste does not enter into or determine the system and syllabus of education. This also holds for the Gujarati group. Once the members of a particular language group have been educated the future does not depend on caste but rather on opportunity and ability.

2.3.3 Social Class

The basic form of stratification in most western industrialised societies is that of social class. Social class indicates one's position in society. This position is determined by educational, economic or occupational criteria. In the present analysis, class figures largely as an economic concept. Max Weber distinguished four main social class groups: the manual working-class, the petty bourgeoisie, the propertyless white collar workers (middle-class), and those 'privileged through property and education' (upper-class). But he pointed out that the notion of 'social class' comes much closer to that of 'status group' than does the conception of purely economic class (Roth and Wittich, 1968 : 305).

The major social classes in almost all western societies are the middle-class and the working-class. The Open University Sociological Perspective Glossary (op. cit. : 85) defines social class as "categories of individuals/groups based on measures of power, income, wealth, prestige relationship to the means of production, or occupation.

Obviously, such groups of people are not communities, but they are likely to express common interest and actions, especially in relationship to other classes." In western societies it seems that the rank one ultimately achieves is more important than the one into which one is born.

The class system of stratification is based on money and achievement. Adler (1979 : 243) defines social class as "those distinctions and differences that stratify people according to characteristics such as socio-economic status, sociopsychological behavioural patterns, and sociolinguistic speech dialects."

The social structure of modern Britain, the United States of America and South Africa can be described as class stratified because groups of similar occupations in terms of training, entrance qualifications, conditions of work and wages, are given fairly distinct social positions or status (King, 1977 : 7).

Most industrialised societies consist of socially ranked groups with varying degrees of social movement existing among them. Each group consists of people who participate, or may participate in intimate social relations with one another over long periods of time. It is important to realise that such movement is not determined by law. Social class is not a legal distinction and in theory all members of society, irrespective of social class are equal before the law. Class is a social category designed by the social scientist and by society. Although the classes may be distinguished from one another according to the suggested criteria, it is important to remember that social "classes are not clearly distinct from each other - the boundaries between them are very vague" (Lawton, 1975 : 30).

In most published research, classes on a national level are identified by reference to broad types of occupations, as in the Registrar General's division of the British population into five social classes ranked according to the general standing within the community of the occupations concerned (Littlejohn, 1972, 105-106). The following table reflects the Registrar General's division of the population in Britain into five social classes in terms of occupations.

<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION TYPE</u>
a) Upper and Middle	Higher professional, and directors of large businesses.
b) Intermediate	Lower professional, owners and managers of small businesses, farmers.
c) Skilled Workers and Clerical Workers	Artisans, clerks, foreman, supervisors
d) Intermediate	Semiskilled workers, agricultural workers

Schlemmer and Stopforth (1979) devised a code of occupations for rating social status in South Africa. Approximately eight hundred occupations are alphabetically listed and categorised into social class groups. The class structure is a dynamic one in that a man may change his occupation, or an occupation may change its characteristics, and, therefore, there is a possibility of movement between the classes called social mobility. A girl may change her status by marriage, or a man may change his job during the course of his working life, but for the majority of children education confirms their status, be they middle or working-class (King, op. cit. : 10). While the middle-classes follow occupations which are non-manual in character, the working-classes, who form the majority of the population, are the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

The father's occupation was used by Bernstein (1971, 1973), Lawton (1968), Henderson (1973), and Brandis and Henderson (1970) to categorise children into classes.

In race stratified societies, the movement from one rank to another cannot only be explained by social class. For example, in South Africa, there are social differences within the Black and Indian communities, and these differences are to a certain extent influenced by the super-imposed system of race classification (Naicker, 1979 : 21).

2.4 SOCIAL CLASSES IN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

Lever (1978 : 5) suggests that South African society is complex, fragmented and heterogeneous and that social differentiation is based on racial or quasi-racial lines. There is a very clear status system based on race. The Whites are at the apex of the hierarchical system. They control political and economic power. Below them are the Coloureds, Indians and Blacks. Although all the groups participate in a common economic system in a restricted manner, there is institutionalised resident, economic, and occupational segregation.

Kinloch (1972 : 148) is of the opinion that stratification within South African society derives from a mixture of caste plus social class. The inequality in South Africa's class structure is seen clearly through an examination of the education, income and occupations of the different population groups.

Kinloch suggests that the stratification system in South Africa contains a White professional and administrative elite, an Asiatic white-collar section, and a Black and Coloured general labour force. Such a system is complex and highly structured and reflects the

racial structure as a whole. Kinloch sums up the social position in South Africa in the following words:.... "The result is a society structured by a racial-caste hierarchy with internal class divisions to a restricted degree. Such a caste-class structure is most complex and change within it is slow and restrained." But there is one fundamental difference between the Indian caste structure and the social stratification system in South Africa, that is, "the Indian caste structure was sanctioned by religion, (and) the South African colour structure is preserved by law" (Meer, 1969 : 60).

It may broadly be stated that in terms of access to power, South African society is stratified along the lines of colour, with the Whites occupying the upper-class, the Indians and the other two racial groups occupying the middle and working-classes. There is little upward mobility for the non-White groups, except within their own race groups. However, this situation is likely to change as the range of employment opportunities increases.

Since this dissertation is concerned with the Indian population group, it is appropriate to consider the social classes of this section of the South African society.

2.5 SOCIAL CLASSES IN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

Naicker (op.cit. : 25) suggests that: "If the concept of social class is to be related to the Indian race group in South Africa, then this must first be done within the demographic context. This will make it clear that primarily the Indians belong to a race-stratified society, and the existence of social classes within the Indian group must be seen as a second order stratification in the context of the wider society." We must remember that the Indians in South Africa

subscribed to traditional caste values and practices before being influenced by western influences in an industrial society.

Vajubhai Patel (cited by Naidoo, 1957 : 19-20) described the influence of western culture on the Indians in India. Patel wrote: "The influence of western culture and thoughts the influence of modern inventions and scientific thinking ... is making a very potent and powerful effect, and we find the new patterns of life slowly and increasingly making a headway especially in the cities and among the educated people. We can say that the family life now is in a transitional period. The old patterns of life are no doubt shaken."

This viewpoint is also true of the Indians in this country. But that does not mean that the Indians in South Africa have discarded their culture. The men have discarded the dhoti and the turban but the women still prefer the sari and India-fashioned jewellery. Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati, Telegu and Urdu are still spoken in some homes. Indian delicacies such as curry and rice are still the basic foods of the average family. Even the younger generation still flock to see Indian films, and many of the rituals, religious practices and marriage ceremonies have changed very little.

Naidoo (1970) discussed the reasons for the accelerated trend away from traditionalism. He mentioned the European-type educational system, a breakdown of the joint family structure, industrialism and the demands made by the occupational sector. "The structural changes which the Indian society is experiencing today reduce or limit the role of caste and increasingly take on the characteristics of class. Consequently, caste lines are further disrupted and, in response to the objective conditions prevailing in the community,

caste values are either moribund or retained till their utility comes into question" (ibid : 13-14). Since the caste structure is not based on economy it has yielded to the influence of class.

The relative importance of these social changes is that Indians are conforming to the dominant values and norms of an industrialised society. But this does not mean that total cultural and social assimilation occurs, because the laws of the country do not encourage the different racial groups to integrate. Of particular significance, is the point that Indians as a group in South Africa have predominantly accepted the English language as the medium of communication.

All societies grade their members, using such bases as age, sex, occupations and standards of living. It is important to realise that all the differences that have been emphasised for the purpose of social evaluation, whether in terms of sex, caste, class or race, are apparently due to social invention. "Science cannot establish any significant biological variations between race groups, to account for the vast disparities of function and behaviour that obtain among them" (Meer. op. cit. : 60).

The impact of social class influence can be seen through an examination of the income, occupations, education and certain aspects of the home background. The traditional, distinguishing characteristics of the home background of Indians is the range of religious and vernacular language groups. There are Hindus, Moslems and Christians. These are further divided into language groups. For example, the Hindus are divided into four language groups namely Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati and Telegu. In the same way the other religious groups are further divided into other language groups. But today there is evidence of

western social class influences in many aspects of Indian family life. In this regard the writer would like to mention the provision of higher education for girls and working mothers. About twenty five years ago this would not have been heard of.

2.5.1 Socio-Economic Position and Occupation

In 1968 a total of 87 per cent of the Indians earned less than R1000 per year. Muller (1968 : 29) found that 76,2 per cent of the Indians had no source of income, which meant that the whole group lived on the earnings of 23,8 per cent of the population. Every breadwinner therefore had an average of 3,2 dependents. The corresponding figure for a White earner was 1,4.

TABLE 1
LEVEL OF INCOME OF INDIANS IN 1968

AMOUNT	PERCENT
a) Less than R1000	86,55
b) R1000 to R1999	10,18
c) R2000 to R2999	1,82
d) R3000 to R....	<u>1,45</u>
	<u>100,00</u>

SOURCE: Kinloch, (1972 : 120)

An examination of the occupational structure gives a clear indication of the reasons for the relatively low-income earned by the majority of Indians.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS STRUCTURE OF INDIANS

OCCUPATIONS	PERCENT
a) Professional	7,08
b) Proprietors and Managers	5,71
c) Skilled labour	13,92
d) Semi-skilled labour	35,16
e) Unskilled labour	12,10
f) Administrative and clerical	26,03
TOTAL	<u>100,00</u>

SOURCE: Bureau of market research, 1977 : Table 44

From the above table it can be seen that most Indians are employed in administrative and clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Although only 47,26 of the Indians are in the lower-occupational categories this is not a true reflection because sales occupations have been included in the upper-occupational category. Although most non-manual Indians work as sales people they are basically a working-class people. The income earned shows clearly that most are really in the lower-occupational category.

TABLE 3
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF INDIANS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION	AVERAGE INCOME
a) No schooling	R 1 409,90
b) Class 1 to Std. 4	1 385,59
c) Std. 5 to Std. 8	2 241,50
d) Std. 9 and 10	2 633,50
e) Post Matric	6 382,86

SOURCE: Bureau of market research, 1976 : Tables 15M and 88S

From the table it is notable that those who have had higher levels of education tended to earn higher salaries and were presumably in higher-occupational categories.

Naicker (op. cit. : 28) found that the majority of Indians belong to the working-class with a small percentage who belong to the middle-class. Van den Berghe (1970 : 361-362) also found that most of the Indians are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers. "Above this poor working-class, one finds a lower middle-class of medium farmers, clerks, small shopkeepers, and unskilled workers." But, just as in Britain and the United States of America, there is evidence of a trend in upward social mobility in terms of education and occupation. As opportunities for both education and varied occupations increase, so mobility is likely to occur.

Social class is generally reflected in the kind of English used and may vary according to the place of residence. For instance the English used by groups in the higher socio-economic area of Westville differs markedly from that used by many of the manual-workers in some areas of Chatsworth. The latter may be functionally illiterate, despite having experienced primary education, because their occupations do not require literacy of a higher order.

In addition to occupation, income and religious and vernacular groups, the size of the family and the role of education are other indicators of social class. These factors will be elaborated upon in other chapters.

Now that the concepts socialization and social class have been defined, and the Indians placed in the context of the total South African

population, the writer will specifically discuss some of the social factors that seem to affect educational attainment.

2.6 SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

During childhood and adolescence, most of the social influences upon individuals are associated with the home or school environments. The most important factors in the home environment that seem to influence educational attainment are social class, attitudes of parents, family size, material prosperity of the home, and social disorganisation and abnormal family background. The tendency for the variables to be discussed separately does not mean that they work independently. It has been found that the effects of most of them are always intertwined. But for the sake of convenience, they will be discussed separately in this work.

2.6.1 Social Class

At the outset it should be made clear that much of the relevant research on this topic is British but is cited for purposes of general information. Social class cannot be regarded as a factor that effectively influences educational attainment. It is more of a summarising variable and works in conjunction with other factors such as the interest shown by parents and the material prosperity of the home.

Attainment is closely related to social class from the early years of the primary school. Pringle, Butler and Davie (1966 : 116) in a survey of 11 000 seven year old pupils found that; 55,5 per cent of those from social classes one and two (Register-General's Scale) were what may be termed 'good readers' as opposed to just 30,3 per cent of those from classes three, four and five. They concluded: "... the lower the status of the fathers' occupations, the poorer

the reading attainment of the children." Davie, Butler and Goldstein (1972 : 102) found that in Britain the chances of an unskilled worker's child being a poor reader at seven years "are six times greater than those of a professional worker's child" and that an unskilled worker's child has fifteen times more chance of being a non-reader at seven years.

Social class differences in attainment increase as children grow older. Douglas (1964 : 76) found that the differences between the mean attainments of the children of manual and non-manual workers increased between the ages of eight and eleven. He concluded: "At eleven years the average test scores made by children in the four social classes differ more widely than they did at eight. The two middle-class groups come closer together and move further away from the manual working-classes; this shows itself in intelligence tests as well as in tests of school achievement."

One of the most important factors affecting educational attainment in Britain has been the type of secondary school to which one gains entry. Douglas (op. cit. : 77) found that children of non-manual workers were several times more likely than those of manual workers to gain a grammar school place. He wrote: "54 per cent of upper-middle-class children, but only 11 per cent of lower manual-working children, go to grammar schools; and not all of the poor achievement of the working-class children is explained by their lower measured ability." He also found that in areas where a relatively small number of grammar school places were available, upper middle-class children relative to the others, obtained many more places than their test scores would have warranted in other areas. Ford (1969 : 280) also found that "at the same ability level, the middle-class child stands a greater chance of placement in the grammar streams of a

comprehensive school than the working-class child." Ford found that 40 per cent of the middle-class children in the grammar school with high IQs were placed in the 'A' stream, while only 10 per cent of the working-class children in the same ability range achieved this placement. Swift (1966 : 83) found "that children of middle-class parents had six times as good a chance of selection at eleven-plus as working-class children." Midwinter (1975 : 12-13) is of the opinion that social composition provides a firmer guide to educational form than type of education. He suggests that the business executive's son has a seven to one chance of higher education and that a miner's son has a chance of only thirty five to one.

It seems important to note that studies concerned with the effect of social class on attainment usually consider only achievement in the basic subjects of English and arithmetic/mathematics (Morrison and McIntyre, 1971 : 22). Douglas, Ross and Simpson (1968 : 21-22) found that the children of non-manual workers scored higher test marks in reading and mathematics, between the ages of eleven and fifteen.

The number of pupils and the level of passes that they obtain in external examinations is related to both the type of secondary school to which they gain entry, and their attainment in the different courses at school. The Central Advisory Council for Education (England), on Early Leaving (1954 : 129) found that success in the General Certificate of Education examination was as closely related to a pupil's social class as to his assessed ability at eleven. The important finding was that 67 per cent of those from social class one among the least able third of entrants obtained at least three O-level passes, whereas only 40 per cent of those from

social class five among the most able third obtained the same passes.

Douglas, Ross and Simpson (op. cit. : 26) confirmed these findings, even when the pupils were classified on ability at the age of fifteen.

The Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, 1963 : 51-2) found that the proportion of middle-class children who reach degree level courses is eight times as high as the proportion from working-class homes. The Report suggests that the difference in grammar schools is not due to lower intelligence, but rather to early leaving.

Evidence showed that, both before the age of eleven and in later years, the influence of environment was such that the differences in measured ability between social classes progressively widened as children grew up. But Floud, Halsey and Martin (1958 : 58) found that in most parts of the country social origins no longer decided the chances of children at any given level of ability entering grammar schools.

Social class is also closely related to school leaving age. Morrison and McIntyre (op. cit. : 23) suggest that working-class children are more likely to leave school before taking O-level examinations and those who do stay at school are less likely to be successful. The Committee on Higher Education (Robbins Report, op. cit. : 51) found that "the proportion of young people who enter full time higher education is 45 per cent for those whose fathers are in the 'higher professional' group, compared with only 4 per cent for those whose fathers are in skilled manual occupations." Although the underlying reasons for this are complex, the Report suggests that the "differences of income and of the parents' educational level and attitudes" are factors that certainly have an influence. These factors will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Crowther Report (1959 : 119) found that two-thirds of those in the two highest ability groups had left school at fifteen, and that 82 per cent of them came from manual-worker homes. Lunn (1971 : 19) found that children from working-class backgrounds did academically better when their fellow pupils were of a higher social class. In other words as the social background of their classmates increased, the achievement of working-class children increased. In the United States, Coleman (1966) found that the achievement of children from minority groups varied according to the social background of their classmates.

Social class is related to educational success in four distinct ways: ability at age of entry to school; attainment in school subjects, age of leaving, and in secondary school selection.

2.6.2 Parental Attitudes

The different social classes seem, then, to place different emphasis upon educational attainment. Parental attitudes are not likely in themselves to lead to success in educational attainment, but may act as a supporting factor amongst others such as family size, income, intelligence and physical conditions of living. The present section will review some of the literature pertaining to the role of parental attitudes in educational success.

Fraser (1959 : 71) investigated the secondary school attainment of four hundred and twenty seven pupils from six schools in Aberdeen. She found that abnormal background, income and parents' attitudes to the education and future occupation of the child were the three factors of the home environment that "stand out as being mainly responsible for the higher correlation with school progress."

The Plowden Report (1967 : 34) found that the relative importance of the parental attitudes increases as "children grow older."

Ainsworth and Batten (1974 : 145) in their follow up of the 2348 pupils in the Plowden Primary School Study, found that:

"Parental attitudes to the process of education were of far greater importance than social class or occupational level as far as school attainment was concerned." The close relationship between parental attitudes and success in the secondary school, was also shown by Douglas, Ross and Simpson (op. cit. : 183-188) who found that the most able third of the pupils from lower-working-class families succeeded when their parents showed high aspirations and when these pupils stayed on at school after the minimum school leaving age. Twice the number of pupils whose parents showed high aspirations succeeded when compared with the children whose parents were uninterested.

Some studies indicate that the mother plays a very important role in encouraging a working-class child to adopt a positive attitude to education, and on his chances of achieving a place in grammar school. These mothers are likely to have some connection with the middle-class. They may have been born into it or have had occupations, before marriage, superior to those of their husbands.

Douglas (op. cit. : 72) is of the opinion that mothers make a greater contribution to their children's progress in their attitudes to learning than do fathers. He found that views expressed by mothers brought up in working-class families and married to men of middle-class origins, were exactly the same as those expressed by mothers with middle-class origins who were married to men brought up in working-class families. Each group showed the same level of

interest in their children's school progress. But Douglas found that children from the manual working-classes were less interested in their work and did relatively less well in the eleven-plus examinations. Those differences in the performance of the children were reflected in the interests and aspirations of their parents.

Lynn (1969 : 272) suggests that "after innate intelligence, the second principal factor in school achievement is the quality of the home, consisting of the degree to which parents take an interest in the child's school work ...". Wiseman (1964) also found that parental interests were associated with academic achievement. The parents of pupils who visited schools contributed to their children's educational success.

Floud, Halsey and Martin (op. cit. : 88-89) found that the favourable attitudes of parents to their children's education distinguished the successful from the unsuccessful children in south west Hertfordshire and in Middlesbrough.

Kahl (1953 : 364) studied twenty four working-class boys who "had enough intelligence to go to college and thereby get a good start toward the higher levels of occupational life." He found that only 50 per cent of the boys strove to better themselves and suggested that this was so because their parents encouraged them.

The cited references throw light on the crucial importance of family motivation in deciding the educational fate of talented students from the working and lower middle-classes. It, therefore, seems that the scholastic performance of children is influenced by the attitudes of the parents, and the encouragement they receive at home.

2.6.3 Family Size

This is an important factor in educational attainment in the early years of childhood. Littlejohn (op. cit. : 127) suggests that within each class, children from large families tend not to do so well in IQ tests and scholastic examinations as children from small families. Floud, Halsey and Martin (op. cit. : 91) found that in south west Hertfordshire 17 per cent of the children of unskilled workers with families of only one or two children were successful as compared with only 2 per cent of those whose families numbered five or more. The writers concluded : "Once the grosser material handicaps are eliminated, the size of the family emerges as the most important single index of the favourable or unfavourable influence of home environment on educational prospects."

The Committee on Higher Education (Robbins Report, op. cit. : 51) found that the proportion of children reaching full-time higher education was four times as high for children from families with one or two children as from those with five or more children and attributed this to the economic circumstances of the home. The more children, the higher the claim on the family's resources will be.

Lunn (op. cit. : 22) found that the cause of children differing in academic performance include circumstances of their family background. She found that circumstances such as family size and position in the family were important for girls from working-class homes, and were relatively unimportant for all other children. Lunn suggests that this finding is consistent with that of Anastasi (1956) and Burton (1968). Douglas (op. cit. : 122-132) examined the effect of family variables with social class and found that the

effect of family size was smaller for the middle-classes than the working-classes. He explained the greater impact of family size on the latter as due to deficiencies of parental care as well as of the material background of the home.

Nisbet (1953 : 274) has suggested that children from smaller families perform better in intelligence tests because they enjoy greater exposure to adult language. The child from the large family has restricted contact with adults and therefore fewer opportunities of acquiring adult habits of speech and thought. Because he learns fewer verbal skills from adults, he is handicapped at school.

Himmelweit (1954 : 125) studied the relationship between social status and secondary school education. She used thirteen to fourteen year old pupils from four London Schools and found that in both the upper and lower manual groups, family size and ordinal position within a family were factors influencing a boy's chances of going to a grammar school. These were significantly greater for the boy from a small-size family (one or two children).

Douglas, Ross and Simpson (op. cit. : 127-128) found that in the General Certificate of Education Examination, boys and girls from large families were less successful than those from small families and that they generally had shorter school lives.

Ainsworth and Batten (op. cit. : 146) suggest that the influence of family size in educational attainment requires further study.

To summarise: family size, parental attitudes and poverty are associated with social class and seem to have an influence on the educational attainment of children. But the size of the family, by itself cannot be regarded as a factor responsible for

lowered attainment. It is interesting to note that the average size of South African Indian families has decreased over the last two decades, possibly as a result of increased educational opportunities for girls.

2.0.4 Material Prosperity of the Home

This factor is closely related to family size. Material prosperity refers to the parents' income, living space and conditions of the home. Most definitions of poverty are relative. Each writer tries to frame a definition of poverty so that it will serve some practical purpose. Hazlitt (1976 : 38) is of the opinion that it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to form a completely objective definition of poverty. In this dissertation a number of definitions will be considered and analysed. Wright (cited by Robinson 1976 : 30) classified poverty into 'true poverty' and 'apparent poverty'. 'True poverty' may result from the chronic ill health of the father, physical disability, desertion, a very large family or if the father is engaged in unskilled work. 'Apparent poverty' comes about as a result of poor management on behalf of the mother or extravagant spending on the part of the husband. Robinson (op. cit. : 27) is of the opinion that the numbers caught by poverty exceed those who have low-income, and include those who bear the heaviest effects of environmental poverty. This group is that which has the least access to education, to housing, to health and to security of employment.

Fraser (op. cit. : 49) suggests that the standard of living (dependent on income), the nutritional state of the child, and possibly also the sense of tension and insecurity in a family living permanently on the brink of poverty all affect educational attainment. Parents from such families are not enthusiastic about sending their children

to complete the last year at school when they could be contributing to the family income.

Extreme poverty, whether this is due to low wages, unemployment, a large family or the loss of a breadwinner affects the child's school performance (Banks 1968 : 69). There are many ways in which poverty exerts an influence on educational attainment.

Malnutrition and poor living conditions influence the health of the child, and so directly or indirectly his ability to learn.

Poor housing and over-crowding impede the child's opportunity for reading or constructive play. Poverty can make it difficult for parents to afford books and toys, or expeditions which help a child to learn; it can enforce housing conditions which make the atmosphere strained or unhappy and this may make it almost impossible for parents and child to talk or play together (ibid. 1968 : 74).

Floud, Halsey and Martin (op. cit. : 80) found in their Middlesbrough study that ... "the successful children at each social level were distinguished by the relative material prosperity of their homes." But this was not so in south-west Hertfordshire because here "the general level of material prosperity in all social classes is high enough to prevent it having any consistent influence on success rates ..."

Douglas (op. cit. : 60) found evidence that extreme poverty of the environment (such as surrounded mill children in North Carolina, or canal boat children in England), leads to a progressive deterioration in academic ability.

But it is important to remember that poverty is not the only influence. It is one influence amongst many others and one which may be relatively

unimportant (Banks, op. cit. : 70).

2.0.5 Social Disorganisation and Abnormal Family Background

Morrison and McIntyre (op. cit. : 36) suggest that social disorganization involves a complex of neighbourhood phenomena such as high illegitimacy rate, high birth rate, high incidence of crime, neglect of children, dirty homes and broken families. A child from an abnormal family background either does not live with its parents at all, or lives with only one of them. This factor is closely related to social disorganization, but whereas the latter concept refers to socially depressed neighbourhoods, individual children in all social classes may have 'abnormal' family backgrounds.

Wiseman (op. cit. : 94-95) in his investigation of fourteen year old pupils in Manchester Secondary-Modern Schools found that variations in backwardness were almost entirely accounted for by a factor he calls 'social disorganization'. This was characterised by a high birth rate, a high proportion of illegitimate children, and lack of parental care. Wiseman concluded that such disorganization was associated with poor educational performance.

Social disorganization is closely allied with poverty. Goodacre (1970 : 84) wrote: "Poverty does still exist, and usually implies low standard accommodation, overcrowding and a lack of privacy for the pupil, and therefore, inadequate facilities at home for study. It may also mean poor feeding, inadequate, standards of hygiene, and possibly strain and conflict in the family's personal relationships."

Douglas (op. cit. : 66-67) suggested that there were many possible explanations for the deterioration observed between eight and eleven years in the test performance of children whose home circumstances

were bad.

In overcrowded homes they are deprived of quiet and privacy. When they share beds they may sleep badly and, through tiredness, be unable to concentrate on their school work.

Ainsworth and Batten (op. cit. : 145) found that "A disadvantageous home background in early years leads to a disadvantageous school background in later years, and the adverse effects of both are thus compounded."

Fraser (op. cit. : 62) found that children from abnormal homes, and those who were not living with both their parents, tended to be below average in attainment. This difference was more marked for children from middle-class homes, than among those from working-class homes.

Pringle, Butler and Davie (op. cit. : 135) found that in social classes one, two and three, seven year olds who were not living with both their natural parents tended to be considerably poorer in reading ability than others. But this was not the case in the other two social classes. After studying education in twenty one countries Peaker (1975 : 22) concluded: "The immediate evidence and the external evidence agree in attributing more variation in student achievement to the family background than to the school factors."

Fraser (op. cit. : 1) has pointed out that "in spite of general acknowledgement that environmental factors exert considerable influence on a child's school progress, relatively little scientific research has been carried out to determine which aspects of the environment are most influential." Tyler (1977 : 17) is of the same opinion. He wrote: "All theorists admit that the home

environment does have a great deal to do with educational achievement and examination success, but there is now very little agreement about the assumptions that should guide policy." Tyler suggests that "A good home irrespective of its position in the social order, has been found by many research studies, to be the most powerful determinant of scholastic achievement and of educational attainment." According to Musgrove (1966 : 184) the 'Good home' is small; the parents are ambitious for their children; the father is at least a skilled manual-worker; he is somewhat ineffectual perhaps rather feckless; but one or both parents are demanding, even ruthless in their expectations of achievement. Relationships in the home are emotionally bleak. The family is unstable and has moved often; the mother goes to work. "The children grow up to be rather withdrawn and solitary, conscientious and given to self blame."

Although the writer has listed five independent factors that may affect educational attainment, it must be remembered that they tend to be associated with other possibly influential factors. At the same time it is important to remember that "the same features of the environment are not likely to be equally predictive of success for different subsections of the total child population. In different geographical regions, distinct sub cultural groups and ... in different social classes the factors most related to success are likely to differ" (Morrison and McIntyre, op. cit. : 37).

Most of the research cited is British. In England provision for social security is generally of a higher order than that pertaining for South African Indians. In this country very little state support is given to the destitute or very poor people. When considered in this light then only do we begin to realise how much more influential these conditions must be in South Africa.

With reference to the South African Indian situation the studies undertaken by Naidoo (1957), Gopaulsingh (1960), Ramphal (1961), Bughwan (1970), Naguran (1978) and Naicker (1979), investigated environmental factors and home background. They found a variety of home-background factors, including poor material environment, level of education of the parents, family income, size of the family, overcrowding, absenteeism, the use of English and the vernacular languages, and parental aspirations for their children, as related to educational attainment. These studies have drawn attention to the poor economic status of the Indians in South Africa. Kuper (1960 : 44) suggests that Indians aspire to full participation in all fields of social action in South Africa, but they have been excluded because the control of power is monopolised by Whites, and that therefore they have formed various 'elites'. Educational attainment is vital for membership of these various 'elite' groups. This means that in the present South African Indian context individual achievement is the main criterion of future success.

Naguran (op. cit. : 185) found that for every one hundred pupils in standard six in 1973 there were just under thirty pupils in standard ten in 1977. Bearing in mind a fairly stable population growth rate this suggested that 70 per cent of pupils left school before they could have. The comparative figures for 1966 and 1970 were one hundred in standard six and a little above twenty in standard ten. This shows that the position had not improved considerably.

Naidoo (1957 : 98) found that truants came from families where the average income was low. He also found that these families were very large. He concluded: " general instability forms the basis of truant behaviour, and if environmental conditions including the home and the school can be improved, the tendency for a child to

become truant can be halted."

Although the vernacular languages are still used in Indian homes, Bughwan (op. cit. : 223), Naicker (op. cit. : 183), and the present writer have found that the Indian school children speak mainly English when communicating with one another and with their parents. The vernacular is generally used only when communicating with grandparents and other older members of the family. This point will be elaborated upon later in this study.

The influence of the press, radio and television is important. Children from low-income homes do not always have access to the daily and Sunday newspapers, magazines and television. These children do not have the same opportunities as children from advantaged homes. Tyler (op. cit. : 10) when writing on inequality states that some children come from families that give them certain advantages such as encyclopaedias, visits to art galleries and museums, and help with their homework. Children from the poorer backgrounds never have, in the words of the Newsom Report "equal opportunity for acquiring intelligence" (cited by Tyler, op. cit. : 13).

In overview, it may be said that most writers on the relationship between stratification and education agree that stratification's outstanding result is an apparent reward of the middle-class and disadvantaging of the working-class in education. Floud (1961 : 99) found that in England only one working-class boy in fifty proceeded to the universities in the post-war period, as compared with one in five boys from other families.

Westergaard and Little (1954 : 67-68) found that: "Differentials in educational opportunity coincide with many other social differentials."

They suggest that their recent work pointed to the important role of cultural factors, class differences in educational aspirations, occupational orientations, language and intellectual climate as factors which perpetuated educational inequalities. They also found that an unskilled manual-worker's daughter had a chance of only one in five hundred of entering a university "a chance a hundred times lower than if she had been born into a professional family."

Over the last fifty years there has been a cry for equality of educational opportunity based on merit. Entwistle (1978 : 8) states that: "..... equality of opportunity implies that no one should be prevented through social or economic impediment from getting the best possible schooling from which he can benefit."

He suggests that irrelevant matters to do with social class, economic status, nationality, sex, ethnic origin, religious affiliation, race or geographical location should have no bearing upon access to education. It therefore seems that personal ability, interest and talent should be the relevant factors in education.

Criper and Davies (1974 : 146) suggest that educational failure cannot be attributed primarily to a single factor. The writers are of the opinion that educational failure is caused by an interplay of environmental, genetic, motivational and linguistic factors.

Having discussed the factors in the home environment which seem to affect the educational performance of children, the writer will now examine some views on the reasons for differential attainment among pupils.

2.7 SOME THEORIES ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

A number of theories have been suggested to account for class differences

in education. Some of these are the differential income theory, differential provision theory, differential ability theory and cultural discontinuity theories. Each will be summarised briefly, the writer being indebted to King (op. cit. : 18-24).

2.7.1 Differential Income Theory

This theory suggests that working-class children do less well at school because of their lower family income. Several Studies found that many of these pupils left school at the earliest permitted age or when they found jobs. The Crowther Report (op. cit.) showed that such job opportunities were commonly taken when the family income was low. In an attack on those who wish to preserve a system of differentiated (e.g. grammar) secondary schools, Rubinstein and Stoneman (1970 : 23) argue: ... "They ignore the fact that, at the age of eleven or even earlier, many of our children have their future as manual-workers determined, with very little chance to move into other occupations." But Behrman et al (1980 : 21) found that schooling per se does not have a large effect on earnings and is not a major source of inequality in earnings or occupational status.

2.7.2 Differential Provision Theory

This theory suggests that less is spent on education in working-class areas; that educational attainment is positively related to educational provision, and that social class differences in educational attainment are to a certain extent explained by the differences in provision. The Plowden Report (op. cit. : 66) suggested that equality of provision was not enough and asked for 'positive discrimination' in favour of schools "where children are most severely handicapped by home conditions." Floud, Halsey and Martin as long ago as 1958 showed that less was spent on primary schools in working-class areas. It is found that in low-income neighbourhoods problems such as poverty, which is

associated with low educational attainment of the parents, large families, broken homes and slum conditions, are problems which affect the educational attainment of children. But there is no conclusive evidence to suggest a connection between educational provision and attainment.

2.7.3 Differential Ability Theory

This theory suggests that class differences in education and attainment are explained by differences in academic ability. Intelligence tests are used to measure such abilities, and the mean scores on such tests are generally higher for middle-class children than for working-class children. It is important to remember that I.Q. tests are culturally biased and do not accurately measure intelligence.

The long standing debate about intelligence testing centres on the possibility of devising tests which are culture-free and still continues with no possible solution in sight. In this regard Entwistle (op. cit. : 45) wrote: "... Whatever the logical possibilities here, the fact is that educational psychologists rate highly in each of the hierarchies of class, status and power. Inevitably, with the best of intentions to do otherwise, they devise instruments of assessment which miss the point of working-class perceptions of the universe."

But Fraser (op. cit. : 75) found that the home environment was more closely correlated with school progress than was intelligence.

Vernon (1979 : 128) suggests that "A moderate correlation is consistently found between parental socio-economic class and child intelligence. This is generally attributed purely to the more favourable environment in which upper and middle-class children are reared and the deprived environment of the lower-class children."

2.7.4 Cultural Discontinuity Theories

These theories suggest that the social classes are sub cultural groups with different values, ideas, knowledge, norms of behaviour, speech and thought forms. Education is regarded as a process of cultural transmission and the culture transmitted in school is allegedly more related to the culture of the middle-classes than to that of the working-classes. Since upward mobility is widely accepted as a legitimate aspiration for the socially underprivileged and the disadvantaged, the assumption seems to be that working-class children should be made to appreciate middle-class culture. This view assumes that middle-class values and culture are superior. But this assertion is dubious and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

2.8 'CULTURALLY DEPRIVED' CHILDREN

It is often assumed that economic poverty alone is the prime cause of 'cultural deprivation'. But it seems that there are a wide range of causes. The source of the confusion is the absence of a commonly accepted working definition for the term 'cultural deprivation', that gives special attention to causative factors such as economic poverty, intelligence, parental attitudes, range of interests, values, and the nature of an individual's language problem. "At present, the term 'cultural deprivation' is used as the frame of reference for explaining academic failure among disadvantaged pupils" (Miller, 1967 : 31). Riessmann (1962 : 1) stresses the need for understanding the term 'culturally deprived'. He wrote: "while lower-socio-economic groups lack many of the advantages of middle-class culture, we do not think it appropriate to describe them 'culturally deprived!' they possess a culture of their own, with many positive characteristics that have developed out of coping with a difficult environment. The term 'culturally deprived' refers

to those aspects of middle-class culture - such as education, books, formal language - from which these groups have not benefitted."

Robinson (op. cit. : 42) is of the opinion that a group or individual is culturally deprived if lacking in those linguistic and perceptual skills which are considered necessary to allow a full participation in society. Rushton (1975 : 1) defines cultural deprivation as "the lack of an adequate preparation, either cultural or social, which places a pupil at a disadvantage when compared with his peer group."

The term 'deprivation' implies that there is a lack in the child or in his family, whereas the term 'disadvantaged' could more easily be taken to imply that there is nothing wrong with the child, but that his social experience puts him at a disadvantage because it is different from what is expected by schools (Stubbs, 1980 : 148).

Different writers and workers have defined the 'culturally deprived' and 'socially disadvantaged' somewhat differently. Some categorise them as the children of manual workers. Kelsall and Kelsall (1971 : 1) suggest that the socially disadvantaged "are those children who are held back by environmental factors from reaching the level of educational achievement of which they are capable." Havighurst (1964 : 23) states that children with social handicaps have always been present in society, and that the large number present in American society today are the result of urbanism and the changes in labour requirements. He suggests that disadvantaged and culturally deprived children may be defined in three ways:

A. Family Characteristics.

The 'socially disadvantaged' and 'culturally deprived' child lacks several of the following:

1. A family conversation which answers his questions and encourages

him to ask questions, extends his vocabulary and gives him a right and a need to stand up for and to explain his point of view to the world.

2. A family environment which sets an example of reading and provides a variety of toys and play materials that challenge him.
3. Two parents who read a good deal to him, show him that they believe in the value of education and of good speech, and reward him for good school achievement.

B. Personal Characteristics

Donnison (1972 : 341) suggests that these children speak unintelligibly and have poor oral ability, have poor general knowledge, are poor at reading or arithmetic/mathematics, may be classed as not specially creative, and underachieve at school.

C. Social Group Characteristics

It is important to note that not ALL children of the working-class families are 'socially disadvantaged' or 'culturally deprived'.

In the United States of America about 65 per cent of children are from working-class homes, that is, their fathers or mothers do manual-work for a living. They are groups which in 1964 were said to have the following characteristics:

1. They are relatively disadvantaged in terms of income.
2. They are widely distributed and may have a rural background.
3. They suffer from social and economic discrimination at the hands of the mainstream of society (Havighurst, op. cit. : 28).

The 'socially disadvantaged' and 'culturally deprived' children are said to make up about 25 per cent of the child population of the United States of America. They are not necessarily working-class or lower-class children, but tend to come from families that are poor, and are recent immigrants to the big cities. They are a group that need

special attention in the schools and special help to assist them to overcome the disadvantages of an unstimulating neighbourhood and home environment. Most 'disadvantaged' and 'culturally deprived' children are slow rather than dull in performing intellectual tasks. They have hidden verbal abilities and are surprisingly articulate in role playing situations. But there is a deficit in formal language. The parents of these children want education for vocational ends rather than knowledge for its own sake (Riessmann, 1964 : 129-132).

Having outlined the family, personal and social group characteristics of the 'socially disadvantaged' and 'culturally deprived', the writer now proceeds to analyse ways which have been proposed and tried to combat the 'deficiencies' of the home.

2.9 Some Attempts to Equalise Opportunity

Different types of social and intervention programmes have been designed to alleviate the problems experienced by 'disadvantaged' pupils. These include compensatory education programmes, Education Priority Area Projects and the community school.

Compensatory education programmes were first started in the United States of America and in Israel. The goal of the compensatory education programme in the United States of America was "to make up for those environmental deficits in society and school which retard and limit educational progress" (Chazan, 1973 : 3). In Israel the programmes were directed at the children of 'Oriental' Jewish immigrants. In Britain Education Priority Area projects are directed at immigrant children. To cater for slow learning pupils "who are unable to keep up with their class mates" special classes (also called adjustment classes) are provided at 'normal' schools for Indians in South Africa. The number of pupils in such classes is

small and allows for a great deal of individual attention to be given to pupils by specially trained and experienced teachers (Behr, 1978 : 119).

Many different programmes were developed in the United States of America and Great Britain and it is not possible to generalise about them. In the United States of America most of the efforts have been concentrated on the pre-school age group, with the intention of allowing children from under privileged homes the chance to start school on equal terms with middle-class children (Morrison and McIntyre, op. cit. : 75).

2.10 AN EVALUATION OF SOME INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

Some of the compensatory education programmes have been highly successful. Academic grades have improved, more children have gone on from school to college, school attendance figures have improved and parents have become more closely involved with schools (Banks, op. cit. : 215). But there is the general criticism that the educational system in educational priority areas is too uniform.

White (op. cit. : 72) feels that in spite of good intentions and the large sums of money spent, the Educational Priority Areas programmes have not been a notable success. In terms of the socialization process experienced by the so called 'culturally deprived' children, little has changed. Since socialization is a complex process, changes in education alone, cannot, in the short term at least, generate the sort of changes needed to modify the whole process.

White suggests that unless there are drastic changes in the patterns of opportunity for entry into the occupational structure, then those children who have been socialized in conditions of poverty, bad housing and adult unemployment will suffer in comparison with their

middle-class contemporaries. Douglas, Ross and Simpson (op. cit. : 185) suggest that there is a need for priority areas at the secondary stage. The writers are of the opinion that inequalities in educational opportunity could have been greatly reduced by raising the standards of many of the existing schools, by increasing the provision of grammar and technical schools, improvement in the staffing and amenities of many of the schools and the elimination of local discrepancies regarding the provision of capital and staff.

Midwinter (1975 : 70) suggests a community school as a solution of the problem of Educational Priority Areas. "By developing schools that gell with their attendant communities, and in particular the parents within these communities, one might hope, not so much to bring children to the starting line equal, but to bring more children to the finishing line equal."

Midwinter (1972 : 13-14) noted that a community school "is not merely a school that welcomes in the parents or is open in the evening for father to do a bit of fretwork. It is a thorough going device to identify school and community in every aspect of the life of each other for the better health of both."

Mackler and Giddings (1965 : 38) are of the opinion that the creation of good home-school relations is a desirable feature of all education and suggest that it is the responsibility of the educator "to furnish new modes of teaching that incorporate parents and the community into the curriculum."

Bernstein (1970 : 213-214) criticises the concept of 'compensatory education' because it directs attention away from the school and focuses attention on the families and children. 'Compensatory education'

implies that something is lacking in the family, and so in the child." As a result, the children are thought to be unable to benefit from schools. "If children are labelled 'culturally deprived', then it follows that the parents are inadequate; the spontaneous realizations of their culture, its images and symbolic representations, are of reduced value and significance. Teachers will have lower expectations of the children, which the children will undoubtedly fulfil." At school the child has to orient towards a different structure of meaning, whether it is in the form of reading books, in the form of language use and dialect, or in the patterns of social relationships. Bernstein suggests that the parents be brought within the educational experience of the school child and that the schools should work with what the child has to offer. "We should stop thinking in terms of 'compensatory education' but consider, instead, most seriously and systematically the conditions and contexts of the educational environment." Bernstein suggests the creation of an extensive nursery school system.

Adler (op. cit. : 13-15) also lays the blame on the school, because many schools fail to develop curricula consistent with the environmental experiences of culturally different children. Wax and Wax (1964 : 138) make the same point when they wrote: "If the (American) Indian child appears as 'culturally deprived' it is not because he is lacking in experience or in culture, but because the educational agencies are unwilling to recognise the alienness of his culture and the realities of his social world. It is not that the child is deprived of culture, it is that the culture which is associated with his parents is derogated because they are impoverished and powerless."

Riessmann (1962 : 104) points out that although enormous resources and money were poured into the projects in the early years, the results were not positive because the schools were previously neglected. He suggests that it is necessary to "develop approaches that will be effective on a large scale in the everyday school setting ... techniques that can be applied by the average teacher, hopefully with a fair amount of devotion, but not necessarily the shortlived zeal fostered by a unique experiment."

Chazan (op.cit) is of the opinion that the school itself, and the educational system as it currently functions, and not the children of the poor, should be the first targets of change. The concept 'compensatory education' detracts from the deficiencies in the school itself and focuses upon deficiencies within the community. The schools, Chazan stresses, must try to bridge the gap between the culture of the school and that of the 'culturally' deprived child.

While there are a number of criticisms, the concept of 'compensatory education' had led to the focusing of attention on the problems of disadvantaged children in several parts of the world. Chazan (op.cit) feels that education itself cannot solve the problem.

Banks (op.cit. : 216-217) suggests that none of the criticisms is an argument against some form of compensatory education, and all writers acknowledge that formal equality of opportunity is an inadequate basis for an equalitarian policy, but "they do underline the interdependence of education with other aspects of the social structure." She believes that there should be an increase in the development of compensatory education programmes.

2.11 CONCLUSION

Compensatory education programmes have served a useful purpose in

trying to raise the standards of the 'disadvantaged pupils' and have focused attention on their particular needs. They have also helped to make educators aware of the need to adapt school curricula and teaching methods to suit the needs of disadvantaged pupils. But if these programmes are to be successful in the present time, then they must be adapted to cater for particular pupils in different areas, and parents must be brought into the decision making process. The schools cannot succeed in isolation.

The discussion in this chapter has indicated that the majority of Indians earn very low incomes, have large families and live in crowded homes. Watkinson (1981 : 12-14) in a study of literacy among Indians in the Durban metropolitan area found that 47 per cent of the parents in her sample were unable to speak, read or write English; only 1 per cent earned more than R300 per month; and that 64 per cent had been to school only up to the standard three level.

Although many of the Indian pupils come from disadvantaged home backgrounds there are no special compensatory education programmes for them. The generally poor home backgrounds of many of the Indian pupils may, it seems, partially account for their poor performance in English.

It seems that the socio-economic status and the poor environment of the majority of the Indian pupils, their particular position in South African society, changes in their life style, and the system of education are factors which contribute to the problem of language development and usage, and will be taken up in the next two chapters.

3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOME ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN : AN OVERVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The learning of language is a primary human process and the ability to gain knowledge, understanding and skill through learning seems part of every normal human being. The learning of language is a social phenomenon and it occurs regularly and informally, even without instruction. Children learn language by interacting with parents, siblings and others in a social context.

Language plays an important part in the development of the child's learning and thinking. Whitehead (1966 : 15) wrote: "The child's development of language is very closely bound up with his whole development as a thinking and experiencing human being." From the earliest years until adulthood the child is constantly engaged in utilising his linguistic powers. King (1977 : 43) is of the opinion that the child is a member of society and language is part of the culture of society. Language is also the most important medium for the transmission of culture, within both the family and the educational system.

Bram (1955 : 2) views language as a structured system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which members of a social group interact. Wilson (1968 : 1) defines "A language, in the strict sense, as a consciously-organized method of control by the use of symbols or

conventions, which involves the notion of meaning." He suggests that language is unique to human beings only, and that "although animals communicate by making noises, "this is not a consciously organized language." It is through language that man makes his environment meaningful.

Language is more than simply a means of communication. It is crucially related to educational success. In the past few years two main linguistic theories have been put forward to explain educational failure. One school of thought has concentrated on the effect of the child's linguistic environment on the particular form of language he has grown up to speak (Halliday, 1974 : 21). There are two versions of the 'language failure' theory: the 'deficit theory' and the 'difference theory'. According to the 'deficit theory', children from the lowest social classes have less language, they are verbally (as well as culturally) deprived, and what language they do have is badly-formed and illogical (Hawkins, 1977 : 188).

Halliday (op.cit. : 22) has shown that according to the 'difference' theory, the problem is not that the child's speech is deficient but that it is different from some received standard or norm. He notes that the matter resolves itself into "a question of prejudice": if the child fails as a result of differences between his language and the language of the school, it is not because there are difficulties of understanding but because the child's variety of English carries a social stigma and therefore it is regarded by society as inferior. The difference theory, unlike the deficit theory is at least partially true because there are prejudices

against certain varieties of English and this prejudice is shared by a number of teachers and educators. Halliday suggests that educational failure is a social problem, and not a linguistic one, but it has a linguistic aspect, which we can begin to understand if we consider the cultural environment. He is of the opinion that the dialect is not as significant as the cultural or subcultural environment in which a child learns to speak. "In other words, the language difference may be significant, but if so it is a difference of function rather than of form" (ibid. : 22-23).

The child's capability to use language must develop; it cannot be forced. The home background plays a very important part in this development. In this chapter the writer proposes to discuss the most important factors which influence linguistic development in children and the role of language in socialization.

3.2 LANGUAGE AND SOCIALIZATION

According to Doughty (1974 : 40) socialization is the whole process of bringing a newcomer into the community and ensuring that he is taught the rules and meanings by which a community expresses its collective identity.

The primary vehicle for socialization is language (Berger and Berger, 1976 : 64). Language is essential, not just for socialization, but "for any continuing participation in society." In acquiring language a child learns to convey and retain socially recognised meaning; to think abstractly; and to reflect on the past, present and the future.

Socialization is a reciprocal process in the sense that not only the socialized but the socializers are also affected by it. As the child's capacity to use language increases so does his capacity to act individually upon the world. The child is then able to talk back to the adults. It is through socialization then that a child "learns to be a participant member of society" (Berger, 1963 : 116).

Bram (op.cit. : 19) suggests that socialization is basically a process of learning through experience and of social orientation, and that language is related to this in a number of ways:

3.2.1 In the first place, acquiring the mastery of speech and the ability to read and write are necessary for full participation in one's society.

3.2.2 Language is an important medium through which social beliefs and attitudes are communicated to the growing child.

3.2.3 Language describes and clarifies the child's roles and relation to society.

3.2.4 Finally, language initiates the child to the speech of his community and provides the feeling of belonging.

"The physical and social setting in which the child first enjoys play and learns to talk and think creates in him a particular hierarchy of skills and preferences; this is the process called language socialization" (John, 1971 : 68). More will be said about the role of socialization in language development and usage in the rest of this chapter.

3.3 SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS IN THE LOW STATUS FAMILY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE

John (op.cit. : 68-71) reviewed studies that were relevant to socialization through language. She suggests that mothers play a dynamic role in their children's earliest verbalizations. She reviewed Roger Brown's study of two to three year old children of Harvard graduate students. The study showed that middle-class mothers tended to 'push' their children towards intellectual achievement and that in their need for companionship they developed in their toddlers a skill and a desire for talkative exchanges. "Consequently, their children learnt at a very young age the technique of conversing with adults. In the context of this intensive one-to-one relationship, the dialogue served to transform the child's playful speech into speech for social use" (ibid. : 69).

Horner (cited by John, op.cit. : 69) studied the speech patterns of young children in the Negro ghetto of Rochester, New York. Horner's study was based on taped verbal interactions, among a complex network of speakers, listeners and a three year old low-income child. At home very young children address most of their talk to their mothers. The low-income mother lives in an environment where many children and adults speak to her. She does not spend many consecutive hours alone with one or two children. "She had neither the need nor the opportunity to shape her child's verbal utterances with the intensity found in the Harvard sample" (ibid. : 69). Havighurst (1970 : 15) suggests that such children are 'disadvantaged' because they have been denied certain basic social experiences in the family:

3.3.1 They lack a family environment that sets an example of reading and that provides a variety of toys and play materials that challenge their ingenuity with their hands and their minds.

3.3.2 They lack a family conversational experience.

Other studies concerned with young children have also stressed the importance of the mother in affecting language growth. In research on the verbal superiority of the firstborn, it was found that mothers were more involved with and spent more time in stimulating the verbal development of their firstborn than their later children. Although firstborns may show language proficiency, they often lose out in other ways, such as social maturity, and they may perform less well than later born on non-verbal tasks. John is of the opinion that our current knowledge of language socialization and its consequences to the growing child are still hardly understood.

There is no widely agreed-upon explanatory model of language acquisition, and many practitioners have chosen to look at the speech of low-income children as inadequate and 'restricted'. This is really a misrepresentation. Bernstein (1971) has done extensive work on this aspect, and his theories together with those of Lawton (1968), Robinson (1968), Hess and Shipman (1965), Henderson (1973), Deutsch (1964), Hawkins (1977), Labov (1969), Nisbet (1953) and others will be reviewed in the next section.

3.4 THEORIES OF BERNSTEIN AND OTHERS REGARDING THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION IN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Bernstein (cited in the Open University Course E 262, Block 3, 1973 : 14) suggests that speech and social relationships are

factors which affect the educational performance of pupils. "The term 'social relationships' refers to those relationships, the forms of their realization, and the attitudes which go with them, which the individual enjoys in his home, at school, at work, and in his recreation." According to Bernstein, social class and family methods of communication and control are two particularly useful indicators of the nature of these relationships.

In his early studies Bernstein (1971 : 24-25) indicated that social class was determined by the occupation of the father. Bernstein suggests that social relationships determine the language that the child uses, and that this, in turn, determines the child's performance on a verbal intelligence test. He predicted that the language scores of the working-class group would be severely depressed. Two extreme social groups were selected and given the Raven's progressive Matrices test and the Mill Hill Vocabulary test. Bernstein found that the language scores of the working-class group were depressed in relation to those of the public school group.

3.4.1 Socialization: Bernstein considers social class to be the most important single item in socialization and suggests that the learning experience of a working-class child is very different from that of a middle-class child. He is of the opinion that speech is a major reason for this difference (Open University, op.cit. : 21). The speech used is affected by family methods of communication and control.

Bernstein (op.cit. : 125) distinguishes between two general types

of codes; elaborated and restricted. "They can be defined, on a linguistic level, in terms of the probability of predicting for any one speaker which syntactic elements will be used to organise meaning across a representative range of speech. In the case of an elaborated code, the speaker will select from a relatively extensive range of alternatives and the probability of predicting the organising elements is considerably reduced. In the case of a restricted code the number of these alternatives is often severely limited and the probability of predicting the elements is greatly increased."

Bernstein is of the opinion that only a tiny percentage of the population has been socialized at the level of the meta-language (the language one uses to describe and reflect upon behaviour) and the mass of the population has only been socialized into knowledge at the level of context-tied operations. Since a tiny percentage of the population has been given access to the principles of intellectual change and the majority have been denied such access, Bernstein (*ibid.* : 175) distinguishes between two orders of meaning, namely, universalistic and particularistic.

Universalistic meanings are those in which principles and operations are made linguistically explicit and in principle they are available to all. Particularistic orders of meanings are meanings in which principles and operations are linguistically implicit and are therefore more context bound.

Bernstein has argued that elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient their users to particularistic meanings. According to the theory, in the case of an elaborated code, the speakers have less formalized roles, and restricted code speakers have communalized roles and are

less aware of individual differences.

The middle-class child accordingly, is oriented towards universalistic meanings whereas the lower-class child is oriented towards particularistic meanings. Bernstein (1970 : 216) is careful to point out that this does not mean working-class mothers are non-verbal, "only that they differ from the middle-class mothers in the contexts which evoke universalistic meanings." Neither they nor their children are linguistically deprived.

For a child to succeed as he progresses through school it is necessary for him to possess, or at least to be oriented towards, an elaborated code, because the school is "concerned with the transmission and development of universalistic orders of meaning." Therefore, the working-class child may be placed at a disadvantage in relation to the total culture of the school. It does not seem to be made for him. Children who use a restricted code are not linguistically or culturally deprived. Bernstein himself (1971 : 136), states that: "It is important to realise that a restricted code carries its own aesthetic. It will tend to develop a metaphoric range of considerable power, a simplicity and directness, a vitality and rhythm; it should not be disvalued." Children who use a 'restricted' code of speech, are more physically oriented. In a study of Hopi Indian children, it was found that their drawings were superior in many ways to the drawings of American White children (Havighurst, 1964 : 29). Havighurst suggests that these children have no language skills that help them in different kinds of creativity and they have little positive qualities that are of potential value in urban society. The school does not appreciate the other qualities that these children possess.

Lawton (1968 : 38) suggests that differences in social background are related to differences in linguistic development and educational attainment. He conducted an experimental study of the speech and writing of twenty middle-class and working-class boys. The social class of the working-class groups was determined by using the occupation of the father. Lawton found that except for a few qualifications differences were greater at age fifteen than at age twelve. This ties well with Douglas's (1964) findings that the differences between the mean attainments of the children of manual and non-manual workers increased between the ages of eight and eleven. In the speech analysis of the individual interviews, Lawton found that social class differences were still in evidence, but the actual numerical results were quite different from the figures relating to 'discussion speech.' Thus speech was found to vary not only according to social class, but according to general context of situation. He also found that there were few differences between working-class and middle-class boys. "In other words, working-class boys' speech did not break down completely when they were required to switch to an elaborated code as might have been expected, but they obviously experienced coding difficulty."

Lawton's findings that working-class boys could switch to an elaborated code when required suggests that Bernstein's findings cannot be generalized. It also suggests that there is still need for further study on the codes.

Robinson (1968 : 93) strongly supports Bernstein's theoretical framework and found that in discipline situations the working-class mother showed a preference for non-verbal strategies and abrupt commands. He also found that in the working-class home the mother attempts to

control or contain children who try to obtain information. On the other hand middle-class mothers convey more information in answer to questions, appear to encourage curiosity, and treat discipline situations as opportunities for giving information. While the working-class mother ignores and controls in both situations, the other emphasizes learning through language.

Robinson suggests that even if all else were equal, it would not be surprising that these differences would be reflected in the language of the children. He found that relative to five year old working-class children, their middle-class peers had developed an elaborated linguistic structure for talking about objects and they used a greater variety of lexical items to expound categories. Their speech differed from situation to situation and bore a closer correspondence to the non-linguistic world. They rendered their meanings verbally precise and unambiguous and made fewer "assumptions about the listeners' familiarity with their own world."

Hess and Shipman (1965 : 169) focused their work directly on Bernstein's theoretical position. In their study, maternal and child behaviour was observed by means of experimental teaching sessions in which Negro mothers and four year old children were engaged. The arguments that they presented were:

3.4.1.1 That the behaviour which leads to social, educational, and economic poverty is learned in early childhood.

3.4.1.2 That the single most important factor involved in the effects of cultural deprivation is a lack of cognitive meaning in the mother-child communication system.

3.4.1.3 That the growth of cognitive processes is enhanced by family control systems which offer and permit a wide range of alternatives of action and thought and that such growth is constricted by systems of control which offer pre-determined solutions, few alternatives and limited choice.

Their results showed that one of the most striking and obvious differences between the environments provided by the mothers of the research group was in their patterns of language use. The researchers found that there were differences in the quality of language used by mothers in the various status groups. They concluded: "The mothers of the four status groups differed relatively little, on the average, in the affective elements of their interaction with their children. The gross differences appeared in the verbal and cognitive environments that they presented" (ibid. : 176).

The significance of Hess and Shipman's argument is that the home environment influences the interaction between mother and child and that this has an effect on the linguistic development of the young child.

3.5 FAMILY ROLE SYSTEMS

Families from different social backgrounds have different attitudes and relationships, and these social relationships affect the use of language.

Jean Jones (cited in the Open University, op.cit. : 21) found a differential effect of family background on five year old children. She used one hundred and ten middle-class mothers, one hundred and

twenty four mixed-class mothers, and one hundred and twenty six working-class mothers and administered verbal questionnaires to elicit the nature of support they give to their children at the crucial time of starting infant school. because for most children this is the first major experience of a socializing agency outside their own home. The results showed that the attitudes of the working-class mothers and the middle-class mothers were different in the areas concerned, and the attitude of the middle class mothers seemed generally to be more favourable to educational success.

Bernstein argues that there are differences in the bringing up of working-class and middle-class children. He suggests that middle-class parents take extreme care to notice and comment on new patterns of behaviour in their developing children, take care to expand the embryo statements of the child, and speak to him in carefully differentiated language. Middle-class parents differ from working-class parents in the importance they attach to language potential and in their orientation towards the significance of language (ibid. : 21).

Bernstein and the Sociological Research Unit at London University have concentrated on variations between and within social class in familial patterns of communication and control with special emphasis on the effects of maternal control and communication on the child's speech. Control in the socialization and upbringing of the child, and the mother's attitude to communication, have been looked at in two ways: in terms of mother-other adult communication, and mother-child communication.

3.5.1 Mother-adult communication

Henderson (1973 : 48-52) analysed the results of two schedules administered to one hundred mothers randomly selected from a sub-sample of three hundred and twelve mothers who were interviewed when their children, who were also part of the enquiry, were seven years of age. Two schedules were designed to find out about the mothers orientation towards the use of language in inter-action with other adults. The aim of the first schedule was to discover how often the mother talked to other people and for what reasons. Henderson found that middle-class mothers talked to others significantly more often than working-class mothers did. Henderson then divided the twelve items in the schedule into three areas, namely, the 'cognitive', the 'interpersonal/affective', and the purely 'social' divisions. The mothers were asked to give their assessment of the relative helpfulness of words against actions across a range of situations. She found that middle-class mothers talk more frequently than working-class mothers for cognitive reasons. This links well with Bernstein's suggestion that social relationships determine language use which in turn determines educational attainment.

3.5.2 Mother-child communication

There are significant differences in socialization patterns of the lower-class as compared to the middle-class child. The foci of the families are different. In the lower-class, families are adult-centred and the parent-child relationship is very segregated (Waxman, 1967 : 20). Waxman reported on Herbert Gans' study of the White working-class in the west end of Boston where the child's report of peer group activities are of relatively little interest to parents in the adult-centred families. They are unlikely to attend his perform-

ance at a school event because this is the child's life and not theirs. Such behaviour contrasts sharply with the child-centred relationship which characterises the middle-class family.

Bernstein and Henderson (1973 : 25-38) reported on the replies given to a class schedule of eleven statements which covered the major aspects of socialization. The sample used in this study consisted of fifty working-class mothers and fifty middle-class mothers. The researchers found that:

3.5.2.1 The middle-class, relative to the working-class, place more emphasis upon the use of speech in the person area of socialization. They also found that working-class mothers give emphasis to speech in the acquisition of basic skills. They explained their findings in terms of the different social relationships involved. They suggest that in the learning situation between mother and child, the role of the working-class child is passive, but the role of the middle-class child is active. Previous research by Bernstein and Young (1973 : 21) suggested that middle-class mothers felt that 'play' was educationally important in the nursery school.

Henderson (op.cit. : 66) added further evidence in support of Bernstein's theory of the differential relevance of speech to socialization of children of different social classes. She administered a schedule to discover how mothers explained the meanings of words to their children. She found that middle-class mothers favour general and abstract definitions more often than do working-class mothers. She also observed that working-class mothers choose concrete examples more often than do middle-class mothers, and when middle-class mothers considered it

necessary to give a concrete example, the example chosen was more explicit and precise than the example chosen by working-class mothers.

In another study (ibid. : 57-60), mothers were presented with eight questions which a child is likely to ask, and they were invited to choose from a number of likely responses ranging from complete evasion to discussion of the matter with the child. It was found that working-class mothers more frequently avoided or evaded the question. In a similar situation middle-class mothers responded with 'brief answers'.

Bernstein and Henderson suggest that the different social classes may have different concepts of learning. The middle-class child is encouraged into learning the principles as well as the operations of the basic skills. On the other hand, the working-class child is much more likely to learn only the operations of the basic skills, he is passive and therefore, in his learning, he does not actively explore the environment. He is told how things work (Open University, op.cit. : 27).

Deutsch (1964 : 78-88) suggests that an unfavourable environment inhibits language development. In his study he found that both lower-class and minority group status were associated with poorer language functioning. This association was stronger for fifth than first grade children, thus lending weight to the 'cumulative deficit hypothesis.' The data, gathered in lower-class socially deprived and middle-class groups, indicates that when compared with the middle-class homes, there are fewer family organized activities in a large number of lower-class homes. As a result

there is less conversation, for example, at meal times.

The data discussed in Deutsch's paper came from a four year study called the 'Verbal Survey'. He found that lower-class children are subject to 'cumulative deficit phenomena', between the first and fifth years of school. He suggests that though there are significant socio-economic and race differences in the measured variables at the first grade level, it is more important to note that they become more marked as the child progresses through school. Deutsch observed that on the first grade level, lower-class status is associated with poorer performance on all the IQ scores. In the lower-class an explanation or an imperative or a partial sentence frequently replaces a complete sentence or an explanation. The feedback does not encourage the child to speak or allow him to start normative labelling and identification of the environment. Deutsch sums up his arguments by suggesting that the family background is responsible for the lower-class child not being able to succeed linguistically in the school.

John (1971 : 68-69) suggests that middle-class mothers encourage curiosity in their children at a very young age. This assists the child in his early language development. In an earlier study, John (1963 : 813) maintained that the middle-class child had an advantage over the lower-class child in the amount of tutoring and help available to him in his home. She emphasised that without such help it was very difficult for a child to acquire the more abstract and precise use of language. Her findings contribute to the 'cumulative deficit' hypothesis and provide insight into

the nature of the 'cumulative deficit'. She suggests that after four years of school experiences a child from a minority group or a poor environment is apparently less capable of handling standard intellectual and linguistic tasks. Such children have poor capabilities in handling syntax and hesitate to communicate across social class lines. Since the student is no longer in communication with anything that is meaningful to him in the school situation, there is a breakdown in communication and this can lead to a high drop-out rate.

Hawkins (op.cit. : 194-195) analysed aspects of children's speech elicited by a structured interview. He was concerned with the differences in the use of language by children from different social backgrounds. He found no social class differences in linguistic competence or evidence to show that lower-class children were "verbally deprived in the sense that they said very little or uttered one-word sentence." Hawkins is of the opinion that Bernstein needs to modify the concept of code and suggests an alternative formulation of the hypothesis by introducing the notion of verbal strategies. He notes further that the individual family most strongly influences the speech patterns acquired by the child.

Hawkins has made a valuable contribution in dispelling the theory that working-class children are deprived linguistically. Rather than an emphasis on competence, he suggests the use of strategies to study the use of language by families from different social backgrounds. In this way it is seen that the working-class use different modes of social control, and the use of language in

socialization of the child.

Davie, Butler and Goldstein (1972 : 37-38) conducted a study to evaluate the effects of parental education and social origins upon their children's reading and arithmetic attainment and their social adjustment in school. The results for the reading attainment indicated that both the mother's and the father's education was of considerable importance. The effect of each was approximately six months' gain in reading age in the context of their analysis. In contrast, they found that the father's social origins had no effect when allowance was made for social-class, family size and the sex of the children. It is interesting, however, that the effect of the mother's social origins, although quite small, was still present. The researchers concluded: "Perhaps the most surprising finding is that when allowance is made for other relevant factors, the parents' social origins are of little or no importance in predicting their children's school attainments - at least in reading and arithmetic."

Having reviewed the various studies on language and social background, the writer will try to evaluate these studies so as to show their relevance to the topic.

3.6 AN EVALUATION OF THE APPROACH OF BERNSTEIN AND OTHERS

Lawton (op.cit. : 102) criticized Bernstein for not satisfactorily defining social class, especially in his early (1958) work. This criticism falls away because in his later work Bernstein and the Sociological Research Unit used Brandis's index of social class, which divided social class into nine different categories and clearly

distinguished between totally middle-class and totally working-class. Lawton feels that the test of the predictability of the codes has never been applied to working-class and middle-class speech samples, and suggests that the empirical difficulties involved would be enormous.

Rosen (1972 : 15-19) criticizes Bernstein for omitting the two powerful agencies of socialization, namely the peer-group and the school. This is a valid criticism because Bernstein paid special attention to the family, although he does make fleeting references to the school and the peer-group. Rosen also criticizes the notion of elaborated and restricted codes. The elaborated code is supposed to be characteristic of the whole middle-class, and yet there are differences in certain parts of the country, for instance the middle-class man from Hampstead is not the same as the middle-class man from Liverpool. He is of the opinion that Bernstein has denigrated the language of the working-class child by referring to it as 'restricted'.

Rosen criticizes Bernstein for using questionnaires which required a mother's language to be represented by what she says she would say or do rather than by what she does say and do. He suggests that a sensitive awareness of working-class life and middle-class life would direct enquiries elsewhere and that to acquire this awareness the active, informed help of the very people whose language is being studied, would be needed. He makes a plea for other sociological methods to study the relationship between class and speech. A weakness in his arguments is that although he criticizes

Bernstein, he himself does not suggest what can be done to study working-class speech.

Coulthard (1969 : 99-100) criticizes Bernstein's definition of restricted and elaborated codes. He argues that there are still two large problems which are not satisfactorily explained by the theory. First, by what process can a restricted code speaker become an elaborated code speaker? He suggests that very little is known about the linguistic and psychological differences between the codes to allow a detailed teaching programme to be devised. In reply to this criticism, it should be pointed out that the Gagens (1970) at the Sociological Research Unit have devised a special language programme to help pupils. The second problem was raised by Lawton (1965) who found that the language of the boys he was testing varied according to context. Therefore, can the objective linguistic measures of the codes be regarded as absolutes? Coulthard suggests that there is no evidence to show that the social class groups are oriented differently in their mental processes and is of the opinion that new evidence has forced a gradual weakening of the linguistic definition and a lessening of its importance. He predicts that it will soon be rejected in its present form.

Coulthard's criticism of Bernstein's work is severe, but it must be remembered that his aim was to develop and stimulate further discussion of the theory of the codes. To some extent he has succeeded in achieving his aim. Coulthard suggests that it is essential to demonstrate in considerable detail differences between actual and potential linguistic ability before there can

be any successful attempt to help the linguistically deprived child.

Labov (1969), Baratz and Baratz (1970), Ginsburg (1972), Wolfram (1971) and Keddle (1973) reject the widely held belief that lower-class children are 'deficient' in language relative to their middle-class counterparts. The linguistic deficit arguments are based on two premises:

3.6.1 That Negroes and children from minority groups say very little, cannot form connected sentences and communicate mainly by single words and sentences.

3.6.2 That the utterances produced are ill-formed, ungrammatical, and illogical (Hawkins, *op.cit.* : 188).

"The essential fallacy of the verbal deprivation theory lies in tracing the educational failure of the child to his personal deficiencies. At present, these deficiencies are said to be caused by his home environment" (Labov, *op.cit.* : 208). Labov rejects the deficit approach. He examines long stretches of conversation between Clarence and his friend, Leon, in the presence of a black interviewer and shows that Clarence is not 'non verbal' but in fact highly articulate.

He suggests that Negro children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well formed sentences, and take part in a highly verbal culture. They have the same basic vocabulary, possess the capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English (*ibid.* : 198).

Labov suggests that disadvantaged children should not be regarded as less competent in speech and language than middle-class children. Disadvantaged and Negro children may perform poorly when interviewed by Whites or forced to use Standard English but yet they may be entirely competent linguistically with family or friends.

Labov has not conclusively shown that dialect differences by themselves are responsible for the lower educational achievement of children. The fact that he had to use Standard English to explain the basic arguments of Larry shows that it will be difficult for everybody to understand the language used by urban ghetto children.

Several writers have generalised from Bernstein's early arguments to suggest that children from low-income homes are linguistically 'deprived' and that their scholastic failure can be ascribed to this deprivation. But he emphasises that working-class speech should not be regarded as deficient, but as simply different from the codes available to middle-class children. Bernstein (1971 : 173) states that there is no reason to believe that any one language code is better than another. Bernstein suggests that he is concerned with differences in the use of language arising out of a specific context and not in the understanding of the linguistic rule system. Hawkins (op.cit. : 187) states that speakers from all social classes share the same linguistic competence, with possibly minor differences, that is they share the same set of underlying rules which enable them to produce sentences in language. Edwards (1976 : 82) suggests that the occurrence of the double negatives or the absence of the S-marker in verb forms does not mean that these are errors or random slips of the tongue and, however important as

a social handicap, they are no proof of linguistic deficiency.

Bernstein (Open University, op.cit. : 70-78) answers some of the criticisms made by Labov and others and then attempts to clarify any misconceptions that might have arisen from his early work. He states that by 1962, the crude correlation between forms of language use and social class had been made more sensitive, so that the basic unit had become a family type with a particular communication structure and focus.

Bernstein (1971 : 196) argues now, that the working-class mothers are not non-verbal or linguistically deprived. This suggests that the criticisms by Lawton (1968), Labov (1969), Rosen (1972) and Coulthard (1969) are based on interpretations of Bernstein's studies and research rather than on Bernstein's direct utterances. Bernstein's researches have made educationists aware of the problems of children from low socio-economic homes and an attempt has been made to alleviate their problems through the introduction of 'compensatory' education programmes and special language programmes such as those of the Gagens.

3.7 SOME PARTICULAR STUDIES OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIALIZATION

Brandis and Bernstein (1970 : 117) found that the social classes differ radically in their use of language for purposes of explanation and control and in the willingness of mothers to respond to communications initiated by their children. The working-class mother bases her estimates of her child's ability more in terms of what the child says, rather than in terms of what he does; whereas,

the middle-class mothers form their judgement equally in terms of what their children say and do. Thus the middle-class mother, in comparison with the working-class mother, is sensitive and responds to a wider range of behaviour offered by the child. Brandis and Henderson also found that middle-class children, when compared with working-class children, on the basis of ability, are likely to show a more developed use of language. The mothers listen to and answer the child's questions and in control situations are more likely to explain to him the reason for wanting a change in his behaviour. The less able working-class child receives less stimulation and support in his education than do less able middle-class children.

Many children from advantaged homes are offered a more elaborate pattern of communication, which in turn develops aspects of their speech. Because of the limitations of a working-class child's language, even when he is of high ability, he finds it difficult to communicate and think on an abstract level. To think on the abstract level the child must have a wide vocabulary and must have access to toys, library and picture books, and an opportunity to converse with both parents. In most cases this is lacking in working-class homes. Generally, there is no library in the neighbourhood where the child's curiosity may be satisfied (Morrison and McIntyre, 1972 : 55).

Naicker (1979 : 191) found that the performance of Indian working-class pupils in English was consistently lower than that of the middle-class group. This is consistent with the findings of Douglas (1964 : 185).

Naidoo (1979 : 173) found that for Indian pupils English and mathematics were the problem subjects in school and suggests that the poor performance of children in these subjects accounts for the large number being streamed into the practical classes in Indian Secondary Schools. He found that there is a significant relationship between fathers' occupations and the placement of pupils into practical and academic courses in the schools. Generally more parents of the practical course pupils are employed in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Dale and Griffith (1955 : 73-74) found that children who performed poorly came from skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual working-classes. But Naguran (1978 : 211) found that fathers' occupation does not necessarily influence academic performance. The fact that his sample was restricted to the academic course pupils may account for this finding.

Although today the majority of Indians regard English as their home language, they still experience problems with regard to its use.

Descoedres (cited by Carmichael, 1966 : 586) studied the vocabularies of three hundred children of upper and lower-classes and found that the upper-class children were decidedly superior to their less privileged contemporaries. The retarded linguistic competence of the latter group was clearly due to the poverty of their cultural circumstances and opportunities and not to their intellectual inferiority. Social circumstances exerted an influence upon pronunciation as well as vocabulary. The pronunciation of slum children was distinctly inferior to that of children from privileged neighbourhoods.

3.8 SOCIAL FACTORS WHICH AFFECT LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE WITHIN THE FAMILY

The main social factors which affect linguistic performance within the family are social class, cultural lag, provision for nursery school, family size, socialization patterns of the family, attitudes of the parents and the level of education of the parents. Although these factors have been considered previously in relation to educational attainment in general, they will now be considered specifically in terms of their effect on language development.

3.8.1 Social Class

The impact of social class influences can be seen through an examination of the cultural and material aspects of the home background, socialization patterns of the family and the attitudes of the parents. Some writers still believe that the poor are poor through their own lack of ability and initiative. Writers such as Leacock (1971), Rosen (1972), John (1971, 1963), Labov (1969) and Wax and Wax (1964) have attempted to correct the misconceptions that support such a view. It is evident that middle-class children come to school better prepared to handle the language skills that are required in education. The greater possibility for and attention to formal language training in the early years, the greater number of books, magazines, hobbies and educational games found in financially secure homes, provide a background for schooling upon which most teachers find they can readily build. "However, to jump from this to the assumption that there are class differences in the ability to think is another example of middle-class bias" (Leacock, 1971 : 32-33).

A large part of the Indian workforce is employed in average and low skilled jobs and many of the families are characterised by relative poverty. There is an absence of newspapers, library books and other reading material in many homes. Most of the parents of these children have had very little education themselves and, therefore, are unable to assist their children with their homework. The child also has to contend with the vernacular. But this in itself is not a major handicap. Bughwan (1970 : 165) found that the comprehension ability of Indian pupils was poor by comparison with that of White pupils. She wrote: "The fact that 62 per cent of the Indian pupils (in a total sample) fell within the very weak and below average category strongly suggests that the quality of the answers reflects a poverty of basic understanding." She provides some examples of faulty idiom peculiar to Indians, for example; kept his name - for christened, most of our Indians - for most of us Indians, dirty box - for dust bin, etc., and found that they could not be explained or accounted for conclusively. Some of these idioms can be traced to direct translations from the Indian mother tongue but most of them have become a way of expression among the large mass of Indians, and constitute a kind of dialect.

With regard to the writing of essays, Bughwan (op.cit. : 202) found that Indian pupils could not sustain their arguments and too often the language was incorrect. She then proceeds to quote Bernstein who contends that:

"Such children will experience difficulty in learning to read, in extending their vocabulary, and in learning to use a wide range of formal possibilities for the organisation of verbal meaning their reading and writing will be slow and will tend to be associated with a concrete, activity-dominated, content;

grammar and syntax will pass them by; the propositions they use will suffer from a large measure of dislocation; their verbal planning function will be restricted, their thinking will be rigid - the number of new relationships available to them will be very limited."

What Bernstein had to say about the 'culturally deprived' might well have been written about the South African child. Bughwan suggests that although the pupils in her sample had received comparatively little formal instruction in the Indian languages "the influences of Indian languages are nevertheless still apparent in their written English." Naidoo (1971 : 149) also came to the same conclusion. She conducted a study to determine to what extent the mother tongue had influenced the English of a selected group of Tamil children and found that: "In the learning of English, the speech habits of Tamil children have been carried over to their pronunciation of English, despite the fact that the majority of the children tested speak only English." She suggests that: "An explanation for these deviations in speech of the children speaking only English, may be, that their parents' speech is influenced by Tamil, and these phonetic deviations are copied by the children."

Religious and language differences also play an important part in the language development of the child, and reference has been made about the numerous religious and language differences within the Indian community in South Africa. Although the Indian South African is to a large extent adopting a western life style, he still retains many of his eastern customs and ways of life. This is particularly noticeable in the films watched by Indians and in their marriage and religious ceremonies.

3.8.2 Cultural Lag

The South African Indian child has often to contend with a foreign culture. When he goes to school, he has to adapt to the cultural requirements of the school. If the gap is not quickly bridged, he suffers. English is the medium of instruction in Indian schools. It is also studied as a subject in the curriculum. Although the surveys of Bughwan (op.cit.) and Naicker (op.cit.) showed that English is being increasingly regarded as the first language of the Indians, it is not in quite the same sense that it is for the White English speaking child. The White English speaking child hears and speaks mainly English both at home and at school. Many Indian children hear and sometimes speak at least one Indian language at home, and English is thus the second language here.

Bughwan (op.cit. : 166) wrote: "While their language of adoption, that is English, is the most potent medium of communication, there are many weaknesses in its usage. Among those which vitally affect its effective and correct use is the lack of depth of understanding by people of a different cultural background. How deeply is the Indian High School pupil immersed in the literature and background of English, or of the west at all? How rich is his background in this regard, so that not only the surface impact of the language, but its nuances, its subtler implications illuminate his comprehension and appreciation. How culturally replete or how culturally deprived is he?"

To re-capitulate upon what has been discussed so far: It has been shown that the vernacular languages have an influence on the Indian child's spoken and written English, and that a complete assessment

of the westernisation of South African Indians has not been made. But there is very little doubt that the South African Indian pupil is not as well versed in western culture as is the White child in South Africa.

3.8.3 Provision for Nursery School

There are very few nursery schools for children, especially in the centres out of Durban. Bernstein (1971), Havighurst (1964) and Robinson (1976) have pleaded for massive pre-school programmes. This factor is discussed further in a later chapter (Refer to 4.5.7). Bernstein (1970 : 214) has suggested "that the contexts of the learning in school should be drawn much more from the child's experience in his family and community."

3.8.4 Size of Family

This is another factor which affects language development and usage in the child. The Republic of South Africa, Statistics Year Book (1974), revealed that 51,1 per cent of the Asian families have five or more children, 18,6 per cent have four children and 28 per cent have either two or three. Because of the large families, the Indian parent, and especially the mother, does not give the child the amount of attention he would normally get in a smaller family. The mother has to see to the needs of all the children and is unable to answer all the child's questions. Her replies are generally short and do not encourage the child's curiosity. A large family may also affect the child in another and indirect manner. Parents of large families are generally of low educational level and therefore, employed in low-skilled jobs. This means that the family is affected by poverty. Therefore, there are no newspapers, library books or other reading material at home.

Although poverty exerts an influence on the language development of the child, this is not very great. In the large family there is limited opportunity for talk with adults. Many children lack the experience of having someone to listen to them. In the home their talk may be disregarded and their questions may receive curt answers and no explanations. Much of the mother's utterance is directed at regulating behaviour and establishing role, and a question or remark from the child is ignored. Every child gets some measure of this, but in some homes with large families it is likely to be the dominant feature. The result of such an outcome is that the child will become accustomed not to expect answers, and in due course not to ask any questions. This does not mean that the mother lacks care or warmth. It may just be that the teaching role is not within her experience. "Thus, unlike his more favoured counterpart, the child comes to school unused to the kind of conversation with an adult in which meanings are exchanged, past experiences reshaped, and questions posed and answered on both sides" (A Language For Life, 1975 : 69).

Davie, Butler and Goldstein (op.cit. : 176-177) found that the size of the family was a factor which could be related to poor performance in reading. This study found that the difference in reading attainment between first and fourth or later born children was equivalent to sixteen months of reading age and that the additional effect of two or more younger siblings could lead to a loss of almost seven months reading age.

Nisbet (1953 : 286) found that the environment of the large family

restricted the amount of contact between parent and child and consequently retarded the child's verbal development. He suggests that ... "the negative correlation of family size and intelligence test scores may be attributed to an environmental influence of the size of family on verbal development and through it on general mental development." But Nisbet emphasised that the whole of the negative correlation could not be explained in terms of environmental influence.

A large family does not necessarily inhibit language development and lead to poor educational performance. This factor seems to work in conjunction with material prosperity of the home, parental attitudes and the atmosphere in the home.

3.8.5 Socialization patterns of the family

Socialization patterns of the family have an influence on the language development of the child. Many researchers of intelligence and socio-economic status have noted that there are no apparent class or race related differences in infancy, but that the classes or races diverge at some point between eighteen months and three years of age (Caldwell, 1967; Hunt, 1968; Golden and Birns, 1968 ; reviewed by Deutsch, 1969 : 262- 263). Deutsch states that one of the most consistent environmental explanatory hypotheses has involved the development of language. According to this hypothesis language is both socially learned and fundamental to problem-solving, and therefore it is with the acquisition of language that socio-economic-status and race differences emerge in children's development. An individual's language characteristics reflect his social, educational, and geographical background.

It is through the use of language by adults in his community that a child learns his language. The adults in a child's environment provide him with a constant supply of information as they go about their everyday affairs. The parents draw the child into this world by interacting with him (Doughty, 1974 : 36).

Hess and Shipman (op.cit. : 171-172) found differences in language, cognitive behaviour, and maternal teaching and control between the different classes and suggest that the most obvious social class variations were in the total amount of verbal output in response to questions and tasks asking for verbal response. They found that mothers from the middle-class gave replies that were consistently longer in language productivity than did mothers from the other three working-class groups. They argue that these differences in verbal products indicate the extent to which the maternal environments of children in different social class groups demonstrate the usefulness of language as a tool for dealing with interpersonal interaction and for ordering stimuli in the environment. They also found class differences in concept utilization and maternal teaching styles. This study suggests that middle-class parents give their children specific directions concerning discipline, and behaviour patterns and therefore there is freer linguistic interaction between parent and child.

Drucker (op.cit. : 49) strongly criticizes generalizations about the lower-class family and suggests that the stereotype that we have come to expect has no substantial basis and that most of the generalizations

are nothing but limited observations made by researchers who have not made an in depth study. But it cannot be denied that the family which encourages the child to read, by providing suitable reading material does help to improve the child's verbal fluency. Books and newspapers will not help the pupils if the parents do not set an example. "In the family circle and indeed in the school circle where all those present sit down to read, or naturally spend a significant portion of their spare time in reading, the child in turn is likely to follow the same pursuit" (Buzzing, 1963 : 220).

McClelland (cited by Lawton, op.cit. : 16-17) claims that high achievement motivation develops in cultures and families where there is an emphasis on independent development of the individual. The parents of children with high need for achievement treat the child as an individual and allow him to develop in his own right rather than as a subordinate part of a larger 'solitary' family unit to which he owes loyalty over and above individual interests.

3.8.6. Attitudes of the Parents

This factor is associated with the behavioural habits of the family. It is from their parents that children acquire language and, therefore, they play an important role in the linguistic development of their children (Wales, 1974 : 26).

Although the attitudes of the parents are important in language development, what is really more important is the language environment in which the child grows up, and particularly the role played by language in his relationship with his mother. It is important to realise that there are differences in the language environment between

socio-economic groups, but there are also differences within groups. A child is at a disadvantage if he lacks the means to explain, describe, inquire, hypothesize, analyse, compare, and generalise if language is seldom or never used for these purposes in his home. This type of language is of particular importance for learning in the school situation (A Language for Life, op.cit. : 154). The attitudes of the parents will definitely help the child to acquire the type of language that leads to success in the school situation.

Flower (1966 : 9, 130-131) reviewed Joseph Trenaman's research on attitudes to education, and suggests that social class and the attitudes towards education as adopted by each social group may contribute more to the difficulties of communication between teacher and taught than intelligence. Trenaman (1957-1958) found that attitudes to education ranged from enthusiastic acceptance to open hostility. He suggests that these attitudes are broadly correlated with occupational groups and social class. The professional man with a longer and happier experience of education values education for himself and his children much more highly than the lower-working-class father with his briefer and usually less happy experience.

Flower notes further that parental attitudes are reflected in their children. The middle-class boy takes all the school has to offer as his birthright, while the child from the lower working-class home is eager to escape as soon as he can.

In another study, Trenaman (cited by Flower, op.cit. : 130-131) found that attitudes to education shade off gradually from enthusiasm at one end of the scale to rejection at the other. "For practical purposes

one could draw a line across this distribution at the point where indifference changes to a mild curiosity to know more about the world around one." Below this threshold were those "who could be said to be resistant to new ideas and higher values." In commenting upon those below the threshold the writer continues to explain that "such people tend to avoid unaccustomed ideas, or can't be bothered to consider them. Such people read little and what they do tends to be the lighter items in the newspaper; they do not look at or listen to the more serious broadcast programmes, or have much to do with what we might describe as cultural activities of any sort." There seems to be some similarity in this lack of intellectual curiosity and the use of the restricted code by Bernstein's working-class subjects. Flower (op.cit. : 131) suggests that "Bernstein's investigation proceeded on very different lines from Trenaman's but the findings of each enquiry seem to reinforce that of the other. Towards the lower end of his scale Trenaman identified 23 per cent of his sample who had hostile and evasive attitudes towards education," and Flower concludes that these were similar in character to those who, in Bernstein's terms, used a 'restricted code'.

3.8.7 Level of Education of the Parents

This is another important factor affecting language development. The level of education of the mother seems more important than the level of education of the father. This is so because the child spends more time with the mother than the father, and therefore the mother has a greater influence on the child than the father does.

Ramphal (1961 : 194) found that in his sample "nearly half the mothers had never been to an English school." Bughwan (op.cit. : 347) found that 60 per cent of the mothers had had some formal instruction through the English medium. The present writer's own investigation revealed that approximately 69 per cent of the mothers had had some secondary school education. Gopaulsing (1960 : 117) found that the general weakness in English, arising from poor expression was a contributory factor responsible for failure in examinations. He traced poor expression in language to unfavourable conditions obtaining in the home. He found that the mother was not in a position to make her contribution to the betterment of English. The father could not assist because he had little leisure to enrich the expression of his child in the mastery of the language. He concluded: "The general illiteracy of the mother is a cultural drawback and the student is so much the poorer for it." The mother whose educational opportunity has been restricted, is not in a position to create the atmosphere in the home which will be culturally congenial and intellectually stimulating to her children.

Lötter (1975 : 50) is also of the opinion that the mother plays a very important role in the child's language development. He wrote: "In respect of guidance one of the primary tasks of the parent is to present to the child a language norm which will serve as a model or example for emulation or imitation ... Garbers in this regard states categorically that the child-mother-pedagogic relationship is particularly strong and polyvalent, and that the influence of the mother is much stronger than that of the father ... It appears ... that the normative influence will centre mainly on the mother who will

by language example, determine largely the quality of language that the child will acquire."

Vernon (1969 : 47) suggests that a child's thinking is totally dependent on the speech models and communication he receives from parents, and that inadequate linguistic stimulation by illiterate parents can hamper the child's language development.

The level of education of parents affects the child's awareness of the function of the school and the role of language in hoping to achieve success. The parent who has had some secondary and post-secondary education will be the one who would continue to read newspapers and library books and this would be an example for the children. Lewis (1969 : 13-18) suggests that imitation is an important factor in linguistic development. He suggests that the development of language takes place by the process of imitation and exploration. "Through both imitation and exploration the forms of a child's language, and their meanings, come nearer and nearer to the language of his social environment. By a constant process of mutual adjustment in communication with others, he to them and they to him, his language becomes the current language, the mother tongue; and the mother tongue becomes his." From this we may conclude that the verbal behaviour of the parent is 'reinforced' in the child. The verbal behaviour of the parent is influenced by his level of education.

Stubbs (1980 : 157) argues that educational failure cannot have a single well-defined cause, since social class, measured IQ,

language differences, family environment and various other factors are all known to interact. He suggests that every individual pupil and his or her language and culture must be treated with respect and that every pupil must be encouraged to have confidence in his or her language and culture. They should also have access to standard English and mainstream culture, but not at the expense of denigrating their own family and background.

The above discussion makes it clear that parents do influence the language development of their children and that parents who have had higher levels of education are able to provide adequate examples for imitation by their children.

3.9 CONCLUSION

According to the Plowden Report (1967), "the development of language is central to the educational process." In this chapter the writer has attempted to show that the type of language initially used by different individuals determines their success in the school situation but that it is the school's responsibility to build on this.

Morrison and McIntyre (op.cit. : 50) wrote: "The best predictor of academic attainment in secondary schools has generally been found to be verbal-reasoning ability, with ability in language usage and interpretation almost equally effective. In general, the more success depends on abstract thinking and symbolism, the greater the influence of language is likely to be ... It thus seems likely that language differences contribute to social class differences in educational attainment." There is little direct evidence to support this

assertion, but it has usually been observed that school entrants from homes of low-socio-economic status tend to be more restricted in language development than in other respects. Lovell (1974 : 35) suggests that there is no data to show that children from linguistically disadvantaged homes cannot elaborate the basic linguistic forms as is evident in children from linguistically advantaged homes. Children from linguistically disadvantaged homes are able at times to elaborate complex linguistic constructions and they can at times be as explicit and precise as children from more advantaged homes.

There is little doubt that the difficulties lower-class children experience in school are directly related to their language structure and usage.

In summary it may be stated that the home is a powerful determinant of the type of language that the child will use, and will affect his success at school.

4. EDUCATION FOR INDIANS : AN APPRAISAL, WITH REFERENCE TO NATAL

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Because of South Africa's policy of multi-national or separate development there have evolved education departments for the control of education for each of the four main population groups in South Africa. In this chapter the writer will outline the development of education for Indians in South Africa from 1860.

4.2 A DESCRIPTION AND BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

To view the Indians in the context of the South African situation, it is necessary to present a description of the total South African population.

TABLE 4
POPULATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

CATEGORY	Total	Percentage
1. Blacks	15 970 019	67,18
2. Whites	4 453 273	18,74
3. Coloureds	2 554 039	10,74
4. Asians	<u>794 639</u>	<u>3,34</u>
	<u>23 771 970</u>	<u>100,00</u>

SOURCE: Statistical News Release, Dept. of Statistics, Pretoria, 16 September 1980.

Approximately 98 per cent of the Asian population is of Indian origin, and the other 2 per cent is made up of Chinese.

Most of the Indians live in Natal and comprise approximately 26 per cent of the province's population.

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF NATAL ACCORDING TO THE 1980
CENSUS (EXCLUDING KWAZULU)

CATEGORY	Total	Percentage
1. Blacks	1 240 669	48,96
2. Whites	557 044	21,98
3. Coloureds	87 753	3,46
4. Indians	646 927	25,52
5. Others	<u>1 841</u>	<u>0,08</u>
	<u>2 534 234</u>	<u>100,00</u>

SOURCE: As for Table 4

Since the present study is largely concerned with the Indian population of the Durban and surrounding area it would be appropriate at this stage to consider the population of Durban.

TABLE 6

POPULATION OF DURBAN ACCORDING TO THE 1980 CENSUS

POPULATION GROUP	Total	Percentage
1. Whites	232 616	45,97
2. Blacks	73 701	14,57
3. Coloureds	44 020	8,70
4. Indians	154 943	30,62
5. Others	<u>653</u>	<u>0,14</u>
	<u>505 963</u>	<u>100,00</u>

SOURCE: As for Table 4

Originally the Indians were a rural people, but now they are largely centred in the towns. There are a number of reasons for this development. The Indians originally came to work on the sugar plantations and at the end of their indenture most of them decided to remain in Natal.

Most of them found that it was more profitable to pursue a trade for which they were qualified than to work on the sugar cane plantations. Many of the free immigrants entered the commercial field. Muller (1968 : 10) suggested that there were numerous reasons for the Indians engaging in commercial enterprise and that it would not be justifiable to single out one factor as the most important cause. Indians required relatively small initial investment outlay and credit was provided by London shipping agents. Another reason was that there was a lack of alternative employment opportunities and trading did not "require specialised training or education." Bughwan (1970 : 2) attributed the increase in the urban population to the "combined factors of birthrate and migration from the rural areas."

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL POPULATION IN NATAL(%)

YEAR	URBAN	RURAL
1. 1951	74,0	26,0
2. 1960	81,0	19,0
3. 1970	87,0	13,0
4. 1980	91,2	8,8

There has been a gradual increase in the urban population over the

past 19 years, and a similar decrease in the rural population over the same period. Whereas in 1951 there were 74 per cent of Indians in urban areas in Natal and about 26 per cent in the rural areas, by 1970 the percentage in the urban areas had increased to approximately 87 per cent while that in the rural areas had decreased to 13 per cent. This trend has continued, and it is significant because through urban living the Indian family has modified and changed its traditional way of life. In adapting to a western way of life a majority of the present generation of Indians regard English as their home language. This has resulted in a weakening of their ties with their traditional culture and vernacular languages.

Now that Indians have been described in the context of the total population, it is necessary to examine the history of this race group in this country, because their home background and history play a very significant role in their social stratification.

Bughwan (op. cit. : 3) found that most of the Asians in South Africa were born in this country. This is significant because the present generation of Indians have had no direct links with India. This means that most of them regard South Africa as their home. "The significance of this can be seen in many aspects of the lives of the Indian community, chief among which ... is the 'foreign' linguistic affiliation of Indian South Africans for most of whom English is the lingua-franca, and the loss of affiliation with the Indian languages, which, when and if they survive, do so on foreign soil and in the face of competition from Afrikaans and English, the official languages of the Republic of South Africa. As most of the Indians are resident in Natal, the dominant influence is English."

The first lot of three hundred and forty two Indians came to Durban on 16 November 1860 on the paddlesteamer, S.S. Truro, from Madras. They were mainly South Indian Hindus. Although they came to work on the fields very few were actually equipped for this, for among them were potters, clerks, herdsmen, and priests. "All had been lured into believing that there would be a better market for their traditional skills" (Meer, 1969 : 10).

Many of the Indians in South Africa are the descendants of indentured workers brought to Natal between 1860 and 1911 to develop the country's sugar belt. They were peasants and craftsmen who came on contracts of service for a period of three (later five) years, after which they became automatically 'free' (Kuper, 1960 : 2). As 'free' Indians, they could remain in Natal or they had the option of a free passage back to India.

A second, smaller stream of immigrants, known as 'passenger Indians', followed the indentured to Natal. These were merchants and they opened up shops in small rural towns. They competed with the white colonists, who became alarmed and opposed the immigration of passenger Indians, with the result that by 1913 Indian immigration was generally prohibited. The result is that today, with few exceptions, Indian South Africans, are South African citizens by birth (Meer, op. cit. : 7).

The social and economic backgrounds of the passenger Indians varied widely. There were among them, local government officials, proprietors and impoverished peasants whose traditional economy had been shattered by the exorbitant land tax (ibid. : 16).

The indentured Indians were welcome as labourers but once they were 'free' they were identified with the passengers as potentially dangerous economic competitors. This resulted in numerous laws

which restricted their entry to the country and limited their economic and political opportunities. It was only in 1961 that the Government accepted that Indians are a permanent part of the population of South Africa and established a Department of Indian Affairs to promote their interests.

The indentured Indians were of different religions and cultures, and came from various localities. The majority were Hindus who spoke Tamil and Telegu. There were a few hundred Moslems and Christians who spoke the language of their locality. Less than 26 per cent of the indentured were non-Hindu, and of the Hindu, roughly 60 per cent were of the Sudra and scheduled castes, about 30 per cent were Vaishya, and the remaining 10 per cent mainly Kshatriya with a small percentage of Brahmins (Kuper, op. cit. : 7).

The passenger Indians were also culturally heterogeneous. They were mainly Gujarati speaking Moslems and Hindus from Kathiawar, Surat and Probandar; and Urdu speaking Moslems from the northern provinces; Parsees from Bombay; and Jains from Gujarat. Most of the passenger Indians brought along their wives and children as soon as they could afford their passage. They did not sever their ties with India.

Many of them sent their children to be married in India. The majority of both groups of immigrants chose to live in South Africa and their descendants are second, third, fourth and fifth generation born South Africans. They form a society very different from that of their forebears in India. In South African Indian Society caste operates to a limited extent but new elite structures are developing based on western criteria (ibid : 17).

Most of the indentured and some of the passenger Indians had no formalised education in India and, therefore, most of them could not

even sign their names.

TABLE 8

RELIGIONS AND LANGUAGES OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

RELIGION	PERCENTAGE
1. Hindu	68,3
2. Muslim	20,0
3. Christian	8,5
4. Jewish	0,0
5. Others	3,2

SOURCE: South Africa, 1980/81 : 724, Table 4.

From the earliest days the Indians came into contact with English speaking employers and this increased the need for English as the medium of communication. "The need to communicate successfully in the language of their adopted country has forced the Indians to attain a standard in the use of English commensurate with the nature of their individual requirements. The standard of achievement is also dependent upon the degree and quality of formal instruction received. The result is that the spoken and written English of the Indian in Natal today, ranges from utility repertoire of a few stock sentences and limited vocabulary of the hawker and street sweeper (who have enough for their needs), through the large mass of 'semi-Indian' English, to the idiomatic and grammatically acceptable language of the small intellectual elite" (Bughwan, op. cit. : 13).

Having examined something of the complex and interesting history of Indian South Africans, the writer now proceeds to review the development of provisions for their education, with particular reference to the situation in Natal.

4.3. EARLY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

The first private school, for thirty pupils, was opened by a missionary, Father Sabou in 1867 (Van Rensburg, 1975 : 123). Two years later a day-school for children and an evening school for older pupils were established in Durban by the Reverend Ralph Scott. In 1872 there were about nine hundred and thirty Indian children of school going age but only seventy three boys and fifteen girls were receiving education. Under 10 per cent were at school (Naidoo, 1976 : 17). As early as 1872 the Indian Commission Report urged the Natal Government to take measures to educate the children and consider making education compulsory for them. For the next twenty years Indian children were admitted to White schools. In 1878 Act No. 20 was passed providing for the creation of an Indian Immigrant School Board. This Board was given the right to establish schools. Three types were established namely, state schools, state-aided schools and the private venture schools. By 1892 there were two state schools with an enrolment of three hundred and forty pupils, and twenty four state-aided schools with an enrolment of 2249 (Behr, 1978 : 233). Schooling was not free and parents had to pay fees varying from three pence to two shillings. In 1893 the Immigrant School Board was abolished and Indian education was placed under the control of the Natal Education Department. This relationship continued until 31 March 1966.

Until 1900 standard four was the highest standard offered. In 1909 there were 3284 Indian pupils at school in Natal, and of these only three hundred and twenty four were girls (7,12 per cent). More than half of the pupils were in classes lower than standard two (Behr, op. cit. : 234). The first secondary school (up to standard seven) was started in Durban in 1899 and in 1903 another was opened

in Pietermaritzburg (Naidoo, op.cit. : 17).

At the time of Union (1910) Natal was the only province that provided schools specifically for Indians. In the Cape, the Indians, because of their small numbers, were grouped with the Coloureds. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State there were no schools for Indians (Behr, op.cit. : 234). After Union in 1910, education became the responsibility of the provinces.

TABLE 9

INDIAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS IN NATAL, 1895-1909

YEARS	No. of Schools	Enrolment
1. 1895	28	2919
2. 1900	31	3284
3. 1905	31	3149
4. 1909	35	3284

SOURCE: Behr, 1970 : 9

4.3.1 The Position in Natal

By 1926 less than one-third of the Indian children of school going age could be accommodated in the schools. In 1936 less than three quarters of the estimated possible number of Indian boys and 30 per cent of the girls of school going age were at school. The first major breakthrough in the development of Indian Education in Natal came in 1927, when the South African and Indian Governments concluded the Cape Town Agreement. One of the terms of this Agreement was related to the provision of educational facilities. "A commission

of enquiry was appointed to investigate the position of Indian Education, and the number of government-aided schools in the province increased rapidly" (Maasdrop, 1968 : 18).

In 1937 the Broome Commission found that the vast majority of Indian children did not acquire the rudiments of primary education (Behr, 1978 : 235). The Commission recommended the creation of a sub-department to control and administer effectively Indian education in Natal; the need for the gradual introduction of a modified system of free and compulsory primary education; and also the desirability for a larger subsidy from the Central Government. The request for free and compulsory education was repeated by the Wilks Commission in 1946.

Because of the shortage of schools and their eagerness for education, the Indian community began to erect its own school buildings. In order to encourage the community to continue with its own school building programme the Natal Provincial Administration contributed a grant of one-third of the cost of buildings (1931). In 1950 this contribution was raised to 50 per cent of the cost of the erection, but the building programme could not keep pace with the demand for schooling. The Indian Community spent large sums of money for the provision of school sites, buildings and equipment. For example, in the decade to 1962 Indians contributed R1,1 million towards the cost of school buildings (The Teachers' Journal, cited by Maasdrop, op.cit. : 23).

Because of the shortage of accommodation the platoon or double-shift system was introduced. It made its initial appearance in the

Clairwood area where one building was used to house two separate schools each day, each with its own principal and staff. This was later modified with one principal being responsible for each building and two sets of teachers. This still did not suffice. By 1951 there were over 30 000 children out of school in Natal and the Natal Teachers' Society started its School Building Trust Fund. Nevertheless, by the mid 1960's a quarter of the school going population was still in platoon classes, with some children not at school at all (Naidoo, op.cit. : 18).

In 1927 there were only sixty seven secondary school pupils (Behr, 1978 : 235). This represented 0,6 per cent of the total Indian school population. Sastri College, which was built without a state grant, opened in 1930. In spite of the addition of Sastri College secondary numbers increased to only three hundred in 1933 (Naidoo, op.cit. : 17). In 1958 there were 4000 secondary school pupils (4,4 per cent). The comparative figure for Whites was 24 per cent (Behr, 1978 : 236). In 1980 with 86 156 secondary pupils at school the ratio had risen to 39,6 per cent.

Indian pupils wrote the Junior and Senior Certificate examinations of the Natal Education Department. Failure rate was high. There were two main reasons for this: a shortage of suitably qualified graduate teachers and a lack of diversity of courses. The secondary school curriculum was restricted to English, Latin, Mathematics, Biology, History and Geography, with little regard for the problems of those pupils whose aptitudes and abilities were not purely academic.

TABLE 10
INDIAN PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

YEAR	Enrolment	Percentage
1. 1957	105 000	23,84
2. 1960	125 000	26,16
3. 1965	153 000	27,86
4. 1970	163 000	25,38
5. 1973	180 000	26,00

SOURCE: Malherbe, 1977 : 711, Appendix No. 15.

In 1980 there were 217 598 (27,38 per cent) Indian pupils in primary and secondary schools.

4.3.2 The Position in the Transvaal

Up till 1902 Indian education was a missionary enterprise. In 1907 the Transvaal Colony passed Act No. 25 which provided for free education for Coloured and Indian children. The first school for Indians was established in 1913 with an enrolment of one hundred and thirty six. Later two schools of a similar type were established in Pretoria. At first, vernacular and religious instruction was included in the primary school curriculum. Later these studies were discontinued (Behr, 1970 : 11).

In 1950 the Griffith Committee recommended that parents' associations for Indian schools be formed and that they be recognised by the Transvaal Education Department. Principals were empowered to exclude pupils who failed to attend school regularly. By 1950, the

Indian school population had increased by 365 per cent without enforcement of compulsory education. In 1962, the number of pupils attending school exceeded 20 000 (Behr, 1978 :238).

Secondary education up to standard ten was also made available free of charge. A greater range of subjects including the two official languages was available in the Transvaal but not in Natal.

4.3.3 The Position in the Cape Province

Because of the small number of Indians in the Cape Province, no provision was made for separate schools for Indians. These pupils attended Coloured schools but by 1980 there were three state primary and three state secondary schools in the Cape, with a total school population of 3487.

4.4 THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Centralization of educational control was achieved in 1965 when Parliament passed the Indians Education Act (No. 61 of 1965). This Act provided for the transfer of the control of the education of Indians from the Provinces to the Department of Indian Affairs.

To organise and administer the education of Indians, a Division of Education was established. The take-over of Indian schools from the Natal Education Department was effected on 1 April 1966, and from the Transvaal Education Department on 1 April 1967. The Indians Education Act (No. 61 of 1965) made provision for all education, but excluding university education, to be taken over by the Division of Indian Education.

In 1965 the South African Indian Council was created to advise and make recommendations to the Government on all matters affecting the

Indian people, including education. In 1976 the Minister of Indian affairs delegated most of the powers vested in him in terms of the Indians Education Act (No. 61 of 1965) to the executive Committee of the South African Indian Council (Behr, 1978 : 241). The S.A.I.C. had to see to the administration of schools. The executive Committee of the S.A.I.C. there upon delegated these functions to the Director of Indian Education. The Director of Indian Education has regular consultations with and reports back to the executive of the S.A.I.C., but in terms of the relevant Act he is also subject to the direct control of the Minister.

From 1966 public education for South African Indian children was organized in three stages: pre-school, primary and secondary. There are still no departmental nursery schools for Indian children in South Africa. The Director of Education stated that he would not consider the introduction of nursery schools as long as platoon classes existed (The Leader, 7 December 1979 : 10). Nursery schools, especially in low socio-economic areas, provide children with greater educational experience than would normally be provided by the home. Most Indian children do not attend school until they are six years old. The children normally spend three years in the infant classes.

Prior to 1960 children had to wait for school places because of the shortage of classrooms. Because of this, age ranges in Indian primary classes were greater than those in corresponding classes for Whites. Ramphal (1961 : 472) found that actual damage was being done "to the mental development of the late starters by the non-provision of school facilities." His study found clear evidence that early schooling provides "intellectual and scholastic benefits."

This finding is out of date now but it does throw some light on the reasons for the low standard of education of the parents of some children.

Indian pupils initially wrote the Junior and Senior Certificate examinations of the Natal Education Department. In 1975 the Department of Indian Affairs assumed full control of the Senior Certificate examination with its own moderators, examiners and sub-examiners.

The Department of Indian Affairs also controls teacher education at the Springfield and Transvaal Colleges of Education; technical education at the M.L. Sultan Technikon and special education for handicapped children. All special schools are registered as private schools and subsidised by the Department of Indian Affairs, Division of Education. There are also schools of industries for boys and girls at Newcastle. In 1980 there were seven such schools with a total enrolment of five hundred and seventy eight pupils.

When the control of Indian education was transferred from the provinces to the Department of Indian Affairs there were in Natal sixty six state and two hundred and fifteen state-aided schools, and in the Transvaal sixty six state schools for accommodating a total school population of 155 951. Because of the shortage of accommodation 33 543 of the pupils attended platoon classes.

Since the control of education was taken over by the Department of Indian Affairs the teacher-pupil ratio has improved from 1 : 35 in 1972 to 1 : 25 in 1980 which is not as favourable as the ratio for Whites.

4.5 PARTICULAR PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The attitude towards education for girls; the influence of the vernacular; the extent of gross poverty; the introduction of Afrikaans as a compulsory subject; lack of accommodation and of free and compulsory education; and the lack of pre-primary education are some of the problems facing Indian education.

4.4.1 Attitude Towards Education for Girls

From the very beginning parents were reluctant to send their daughters to school. In 1872 there were seventy five boys and only fifteen girls attending school. In 1909 there were 3284 Indians in Natal schools and of these only three hundred and forty were girls. By 1936 only 30 per cent of the girls of school going age were attending school (Behr, 1970 : 9-10).

Several factors were responsible for girls not attending school. Maasdorp (op.cit.) found that the growth of female education was for many years retarded by the traditional conservative attitudes towards the education of girls. Many parents believed that the Indian girl's rightful place was in the home, and that schooling was unnecessary. "Co-educational schools were not favourably regarded, and the relative shortage of girls' schools and female teachers in the early days, together with economic factors, militated against female education." (ibid. : 31). There are only two girls' secondary schools in Natal, namely, the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Indian Girls' Secondary Schools. They are not entirely staffed by females, although the principals are female teachers.

As recently as 1974 the Director of Indian Education wrote: "Even in the present decade in some sections of the Indian community the belief still persists that the woman is for the hearth and, therefore, she need not have school education beyond the primary stage" (Hirshmann and Rose, 1974 : 106). It is for this reason that the proportion of girls attending secondary schools and institutions providing tertiary education is small. However, traditional attitudes have broken down to a large extent in the last twenty years, particularly in the urban areas. In recent years girls have accounted for the increasingly large proportion of secondary pupils. In 1980 the secondary school enrolment consisted of 45 910 boys and 40 306 girls, and present indications are that teaching will soon become a field dominated by women. In 1980 there were 506 male and 625 female trainee teachers at colleges of education.

4.5.2 Influence of the Vernacular

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue (Unesco, cited by Rupert, 1975 : 40). But the Indian community is the smallest of the four main population groups in South Africa and the small numbers make a further division of the system of schools on grounds of language or religion impracticable. Therefore, Moslem and Hindi children with different mother tongues attend the same schools (Rupert, op.cit. : 98-99).

The vernacular is spoken mainly at home. The Indian languages are excluded from the primary school curriculum. This was due to the efforts of Kichlu, an educational expert from India, who came to assist the Commission of Enquiry into Education for Indians in 1928. He felt that the primary education of a country should be organized

on the basis of the official languages of the country and that if the parents desired to teach their children Indian vernacular, they should be permitted to do so outside school hours, and by separate teachers paid for by the Indian community (Van Rensburg, op.cit. : 126).

The Moslem community pays greater attention to vernacular education than do the Hindus. To the Moslems the vernacular has religious significance, and vernacular classes are held during or after school hours. The Hindu community is less enthusiastic about mother tongue education. Some Indian children attend vernacular classes even before enrolling at kindergarten. Most Indian children attend vernacular classes from the age of four. Many of them are handicapped by the change from the mother tongue to English both at home and in the vernacular schools. Nevertheless, many Indian children still experience problems in comprehending English and this has an adverse influence on their educational performance.

Although English is the medium of instruction in Indian schools, Hirshmann and Rose (op.cit. : 106) noted that a continuing lack of proficiency in its use remained a serious problem for Indian education. Because the Indian child comes from diverse and heterogeneous home language groups he predictably finds difficulty in 'going over' to this medium resulting in poor expression throughout school, compared with the English speaking White South African. This has resulted in poor examination results in nearly all school subjects at matriculation level. This problem may be gradually eliminated as English increasingly becomes the first language of South African Indians. Only 2,31 per 1000 of the population of Indian pupils completed secondary school in 1966 and 3,64 per 1000 in 1972. The

comparative figures for Whites were 8,65 per 1000 in 1966 and 9,03 per 1000 in 1972. One reason for these differences is surely language difficulty.

Ramphal (op.cit. : 169) and Naicker (1979 : 183) found that Indian school children spoke mainly English when communicating with one another and with their parents. The vernacular is generally used when communicating with grandparents and other elder members of the family.

Today Indians regard themselves as South Africans, and realise that their progress depends upon their acculturation in a western society. One of the indicators of acculturation is the adoption of the English language (Maasdrop, op.cit. : 33). The South African Indian Teachers' Association has always resisted the introduction of vernacular language into the school system. But today the secondary school curriculum has been extended to include the vernacular languages. Pupils may now write matriculation papers in Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati and Arabic. In 1976 the Director of Indian Education said this was welcomed for there was no doubt that the preservation and appreciation of the rich eastern culture was an integral part of the education of the Indian child (Krog, 1976 : 21).

4.5.3 Extent of Gross Poverty

Free primary and secondary education was not initially provided for Indians, as it was for Whites, although in the Transvaal, free education was provided for Indians by Act No. 25 of 1907. The majority of the Indians lived in Natal and had to provide their own schools and pay for their education. From 1878 Indian pupils

attended the schools provided by the Indian Immigrant School Board but they left after two or three years because the fees were 'exorbitant'. One hundred years later, pupils pay very low school amenities fees and 'welfare' cases are exempted.

The cost of education imposed a great financial strain on many families and parents made great sacrifices to educate their children. Maasdrop (op.cit. : 30) found that the cost of educating a child up to standard ten in the Verulam - Tongaat complex was R330. The enormity of these costs can only be gauged when they are measured against the wages earned and also the average number of children per family. The average labourer earned about three hundred rand per year when Maasdrop carried out his research in 1968.

Before the introduction of free education many pupils were unable to afford new books. This led to the exchange of books, purchasing of second hand books and the sharing of books by two or more pupils. Some underprivileged pupils worked during the holidays and after school hours to earn money to purchase books and clothing. Even today Indian pupils work as newspaper vendors after school and during weekends and holidays to earn pocket money.

There was an improvement in 1965 when the Natal Education Department decided to grant free books to 50 per cent of the pupils at all Indian Primary schools. The Principal had to decide which pupils deserved the free books. Pupils had to pay school amenity fees annually. This money was used for repairs and maintenance (most of the primary schools were state-aided) of buildings, purchase of sports equipment and the entertainment of visiting teams.

The free books were only provided up to standard six and in state schools only (Naidoo and Pillay, 1970 : 17). Since there were more state-aided than state schools at the time, very few (15 per cent) of the pupils were actually receiving free books. The other 85 per cent had to pay for their own books and only a small percentage of the parents could afford to send their children to school.

The fact that pupils had to travel great distances to attend school imposed a further burden in the form of bus fares. Some pupils had to take two or even three buses to reach schools from their homes. Those who could not afford the fares were forced to leave school to find employment. To some extent this problem was overcome when the Department of Indian Affairs introduced the system of zoning, whereby pupils were accommodated in schools serving the areas where they resided. Those who do have to travel more than three kilometres are now paid travelling allowances (Prinsloo, 1976 : 4).

Pupils were provided with school meals from 1944 onwards. The Education Department made an allowance of two and a half cents per pupil, per day. This meant that the parents were relieved of the expense of a day's meal for their children. But in 1957 the amount was reduced to one and two-thirds cents per pupil, per day (Maasdorp, op. cit. : 28). This meant that pupils could not be provided with substantial meals. But with the introduction of free education since 1970, the subsidy on school meals has ceased.

4.5.4 Afrikaans as a Compulsory Subject

The Department of Indian Affairs acting in collaboration with the Joint Matriculation Board resolved that as from 1974 Afrikaans should become a compulsory subject for the Senior Certificate Examination. With the implementation of differentiated education, Afrikaans became

compulsory in both the primary and secondary schools (Pillay and Naguran, 1976 : 22). Afrikaans was a compulsory subject in the Transvaal for many years before it was introduced in Natal Indian Schools. A number of Transvaal Indian communities regard Afrikaans, as their main language (Naidoo and Pillay, op. cit. : 15).

The introduction of Afrikaans has posed a number of problems for Indian pupils. When the Indian child attends the vernacular class usually from the age of three, he is in a familiar environment. The language and the culture of the home blends with the language, culture and values of the vernacular school. Then at the age of six or seven he enters the junior primary school. He mixes with pupils whose language is different from his. The medium of instruction in classes one and two is English. In the third year of school the pupil is confronted with a 'second' language, Afrikaans. Thus, this in reality becomes the third language. Within the short space of about five years the child is expected to read, write and converse in the different languages. If we consider the different grammatical rules to be mastered in the learning of language then only do we realize the enormous linguistic problems encountered by the Indian child.

Further, there is the problem of insufficient qualified Afrikaans teachers. To this day many pupils are instructed in Afrikaans through the medium of English. A further disadvantage is that the Indian pupil does not have much opportunity to converse in Afrikaans. Parents and older members of the family do not understand this language and, therefore, cannot assist pupils with their homework or projects. Afrikaans is only used during the Afrikaans lessons in class.

There is evidence that early contact with more than one language can

lead to confusion and may even retard the linguistic development of the child. The problem lies in that one language is used at home and another at school. The child who is bilingual is often low in conceptual development. Further, Afrikaans teachers have complained that the pupils do not 'think' in that language. The child thinks in English and attempts a literal translation into Afrikaans. Matriculation results in Afrikaans are generally poorer than in the other subjects.

4.5.5 Accommodation

Shortage of accommodation has always been a problem of Indian Education. After the Second World War secondary education was being offered for the first time in certain centres outside Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

More children were staying on at school and for the first time girls were staying on at school in appreciable numbers. To accommodate these large numbers of pupils the platoon or double-shift system was introduced (Naidoo, op. cit. : 18). The platoon system was originally intended as a temporary palliative, but has become entrenched in the Indian educational system in Natal (Maasdorp, op. cit. : 26). In 1966 there were over 33 000 pupils in platoon classes (Malherbe, op. cit. : 567), and by 1980 the number had dropped to 9343.

Several criticisms have been made against this double shift system of schooling. Teachers feel that children who attend the second session use up most of their energy in a number of play activities in the morning with a consequent diminution in mental capacity. However Ramphal (op. cit.) found that there was no significant difference in the performance of pupils when the two sessions were compared.

Maasdorp (op. cit. : 27) found that the platoon system disrupted the smooth organisation of school routine. Principals of schools having platoon classes have difficulty in preparing the time table to make maximum use of the classrooms. The lunch breaks in these schools is cut to half of normal duration so that the pupils do not have to remain later in the afternoon. There is no organized sport for pupils in the afternoon session. Further, the morning pupils cannot be detained after school to complete any work that they have not done because there are no available classrooms. Schools which have platoon classes usually start at half-past-seven in the morning. This results in a number of pupils coming to school at the end of the first period. The afternoon session normally finishes at four o' clock. The older pupils from the morning classes wait for their siblings. This means that their day is an unusually long one, especially in winter. They then have to attend to their studies.

There is also a positive side to the platoon system which to an extent alleviated the shortage of school accommodation. In Natal in 1951, before the platoon system was introduced, 16 029 children of school going age failed to secure admission to schools. By 1962 all such children were able to be accommodated (Maasdorp, op. cit. : 27), and that situation remains to-day.

Since 1966 the Department of Indian Affairs has made significant progress in its objective of providing school accommodation, and it has planned ahead to meet the future demand for school accommodation. Fifty schools are planned for completion in 1981/82.

TABLE 11

PUPILS IN PLATOON CLASSES, 1966 - 1976

	YEAR	PUPILS	CLASS UNITS	SCHOOLS
1.	1966	28 513	627	113
2.	1969	22 469	598	90
3.	1972	13 114	351	58
4.	1973	11 940	310	51
5.	1975	14 911	400	59

SOURCE: South African Institute of Race Relations 1966-19754.5.6 Free and Compulsory Education

Free education is clearly a pre-requisite to the introduction of compulsory education. The Indians Education Act (Act No. 61 of 1965) established the important principle that the education of Indian South Africans is a state responsibility. The money for financing Indian education is provided by the Government. The state provides free books and stationery to all pupils up to standard ten.

The first step in the direction of compulsory education was introduced with effect from 1973 (Regulation 63 of the Indians Education Act 61 of 1965). This regulation states that "regular attendance at a state or a state-aided school for Indians in the Republic of South Africa shall be compulsory for every Indian child who in 1973 or thereafter lawfully enrolls in class one at such school and that such child shall continue to attend school until the end of the year in which he reaches the age of fifteen." However, this regulation would not be enforced if in the opinion of the Director of Indian Education the child "was receiving regular and effective education in any other manner" or could not attend school regularly because of

ill health, or for any other valid reason. These regulations were not sufficiently rigorous (Behr, 1978 : 247).

The Secretary of Indian Affairs stated in his annual report for 1976 that a thorough investigation into all aspects of compulsory education had been made. Accordingly Government Notice R276 dated 17 February 1978 declared that "regular attendance at a state or state-aided school for Indians in the Republic of South Africa shall as from 1 January 1979, be compulsory for every Indian child from the beginning of the year in which such child reaches the age of seven until the end of the year in which such child reaches the age of fifteen years" (Government Gazette of 17 February 1978, Regulation No. R276).

Although compulsory education had never been enforced prior to 1973, Indian parents had always regarded education as highly desirable for their children. It was estimated that by 1970 some 99 per cent of all educable Indian children between the ages of six and thirteen years of age were at school (Behr, 1978 : 248).

4.5.7 Pre-Primary Education

Nursery schools help children to adapt quickly when they are admitted to the junior primary school. It seems unlikely that state nursery schools will be introduced before 1985 as the platoon system has yet to be eliminated. In 1971 the then Director of Education, said that "one third of all children going to primary school for the first time are unable to cope with the education they receive there. This is largely because they are deprived of a kind of development stimulation at home. A child may come from a good home but unless he is stimulated by talking and doing things with his parents he may find when he comes to school he suffers from being deprived of these things ...". The

picture is worse of course when both parents are working. For children like this the nursery school would be particularly helpful (The Natal Mercury, 'Infant school Interests', cited by Behr, 1978 : 58). This was stated in respect of White children but applies to the children of all population groups. Bernstein (1970) and Chazan (1973) have also written of the need for nursery education, especially for 'deprived' pupils. Because of the lack of nursery schools the Indian child is definitely at a disadvantage and many of them cannot cope with the educational demands expected of them.

4.6 NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

There have been several new developments in Indian Education since the introduction of differentiated education for Whites in terms of Act No. 39 of 1967.

4.6.1 The Differentiated Education Programme

The four-phase system of differentiated education as laid down in the National Education Policy Act (No. 39 of 1967), for whites, was introduced in Indian Schools in January 1973. Each phase is of three years duration and is demarcated as follows:-

TABLE 12

PHASE	AGE IN YEARS	CLASS/STD.
1. Junior Primary	6 - 8 years	Class 1, 11 & STD 1
2. Senior Primary	9 - 11 years	STD. 2, 3 and 4
3. Junior Secondary	12 - 14 years	STD. 5,6, and 7
4. Senior Secondary	15 - 17 years	STD. 8,9 and 10

SOURCE: Pillay and Naguran (op. cit. : 20)

At the end of 1975 Indian students wrote the Senior Certificate examination of the Department of Indian Affairs for the first time. A total of 4000 candidates entered for the Senior Certificate and 85 per cent passed with 1010 (23, 34 per cent) obtaining Matriculation Exemption (Naidoo, op. cit. : 18).

TABLE 13
INDIAN MATRICULATION PASSES

	YEAR	EXEMPTION	SENIOR CERTIFICATE
1.	1954	173	141
2.	1961	326	391
3.	1966	467	841
4.	1973	600	1808
5.	1975	1010	2400

SOURCE: Malherbe, 1977 : 724, Appendix 25A

In 1980, 5279 candidates entered for the Senior Certificate Examination and 35, 14 per cent obtained Matriculation Exemption passes.

There is a large dropout rate among Indian pupils. For example, of the pupils who started school in 1963 only 22,3 per cent of Indian pupils completed 12 years of schooling against 28,4 per cent of White pupils.

4.6.2 The Practical Course

A practical course is offered from standard six to standard ten so that every child is given an opportunity "to realise his potential to the fullest in order to become a productive member of society" (Krog, op. cit. : 21). According to I.E. Circular No. 28 of 1972 a more practical and vocationally oriented course is offered for slow learning

pupils who are unable to derieve "any real benefit" from the normal educational programme. This course is intended for those pupils, "constituting approximately 20 per cent of the secondary school population, with an I.Q. ranging from eighty five to ninety five. These pupils leave school before the age of sixteen because they find difficulty in coping with the normal academic school programme. The practical course was devised to afford them the opportunity of developing their limited talents to the full and in this way, obtain full personality development" (Behr. 1978 : 246).

The practical course embraces a curriculum comprising six compulsory examination subjects, four compulsory non-examination subjects and specific vocationally orientated subjects.

4.7 PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION

Most of the early Indian settlers had not received western education. But these immigrants were anxious to provide their children with western education. To achieve this aim school committees were formed and the community provided sites and money for the erection of schools for Indian pupils. But parents had no say in making recommendations or suggestions about the kind of education that their children should receive. However, when the state took over Indian education in 1966, Section 32 of Act No. 61 of 1965 made provision for the establishment of education committees at every school to enable parents to participate more fully in the education of their children. These committees provide a link between home and school, and community and the Division of Education, and enable parents to ensure that the interests of their children are well catered for. Parents of children attending schools may elect a school committee of from five to nine members at a meeting convened by the principal for the purpose. The functions of these committees include: the

collection of funds for the benefit of the school; to investigate and report upon the non-attendance of pupils in terms of the compulsory education requirements; and to report to the Director on the state of buildings and equipment (Behr, 1978 : 249).

4.8 CONCLUSION

Tremendous progress has been made with regard to enrolment of pupils and the addition of school buildings. The department is focusing attention on the provision of specialised facilities such as audio-visual teaching aids and resource-centred learning. Further attention is also being given to teacher education, pre-school education, adult education, special education, community involvement and the status of the teaching profession (Krog, op. cit. : 21).

TABLE 14

INCREASE IN ENROLMENT OF PUPILS, SCHOOLS AND EXPENDITURE

YEAR	ENROLMENT	SCHOOLS	EXPENDITURE
1. 1909	3254	35	R 22 000
2. 1966	155951	343	R 1 188 000
3. 1967	160176	347	R11 247 450
4. 1976	188008	360	R47 512 500

SOURCE: Extracts from the Handbooks of Race Relations 1966 - 1978 and Behr, 1970 : 9.

Since control of education was removed from the Provinces, the per capita expenditure has increased more rapidly than in any other education department. Excluding capital expenditure, financing amounted to R11,2 million in 1966/7 and is estimated at R95 million in 1980/1. Control of Indian Education has now been transferred to the Department of Internal Affairs.

Although there has been an improvement on the amount spent on Indian Education and in the increase in the number of schools and pupils, the feeling still exists that Indian Education is inferior to that of Whites. It is probable that until there is one education department for all population groups and the provision of equal opportunities, the three non-White groups will be sceptical of their education systems. It is not enough to have the same curriculum as the Whites, the same core syllabuses and the use of the same text books. In 1980-1981 the Human Sciences Research Council investigated all aspects of education in South Africa with a view to suggesting how education of an equal quality for all population groups could be made available. The following are some of the principal recommendations according to a newspaper report (The Daily News, 9 October 1981):

- 4.8.1 That a single Ministry of Education be formed to effectively meet the need for a national education policy.
- 4.8.2 The provision of equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.
- 4.8.3 That the provision of formal education should be the responsibility of the State, provided that the individual parents and organised society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter.
- 4.8.4 That education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.
- 4.8.5 The private sector and the State shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education.
- 4.8.6 That the effective provision of education should be based on continual research.

At the time of writing, however, these and other recommendations made have not been fully accepted by the Government.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. A SURVEY OF SOME FACTORS IN THE HOME BACKGROUND WHICH PROBABLY AFFECT LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND USAGE AMONG A GROUP OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN PUPILS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The type of language acquired and competence in its use by the child, depends largely on the home and the social environment. Through the medium of language the child is socialised into patterns of living, learns to act as a member of society, and adopts its beliefs, values and culture. At home the child is not formally instructed in the use of language. The everyday uses of language with parents, siblings and others in the immediate environment serve to transmit to the child, the essential qualities of his society and culture. Language is, therefore, essential for personal growth and in learning.

Research by Bernstein (1971) and Lawton (1968) suggests that the difficulties experienced in school by children from poor socio-economic homes are directly related to their language structure and usage. Other writers, such as Bloom, Davis and Hess (1965), and Deutsch (1964) stress the 'environmental deprivation' of these children. 'Environmental deprivation' is reflected not only in the language used by the child, his family and immediate associates but also in the ways in which others, especially the mother, interact with the child, and the absence of books and cultural experiences in the home. This suggests that children from poor socio-economic homes enter school lacking a wide variety of

attitudes, skills and experiences which are necessary for success in school.

The present survey suggests that Indian pupils are hampered by environmental deprivation and that this affects their range of language development and usage.

5.2 AIMS, METHOD AND PROCEDURE IN THE PRESENT STUDY

The aim of this inquiry is to establish an indication of the effect of some aspects of the home environment on the use of English by a sample of fifteen year old South African Indian pupils. For this reason standard seven normal and practical course pupils were chosen. Under the present system of differentiated education standard seven forms the final year of junior secondary education. Since many pupils continue their education to the matriculation level or beyond, the present investigator decided to choose pupils in the last year of the junior secondary stage because it was felt that such a sample would serve a useful purpose in establishing the language problems encountered and in finding out what environmental factors had been associated with their differential ability in the use of language. These findings could possibly be of use in respect of planning for the senior secondary phase. It is important to note that no attempt was made to establish definite causative relationships, for the study was a descriptive rather than statistical one.

The researcher decided to use the questionnaire method to obtain data. Two sets of questionnaires were used. One set was used to obtain information from the pupils and their parents, and another set to obtain information regarding general methods of education and teaching from the teachers of the pupils concerned. The survey method was thought to be more suitable because it would not

have been feasible to interview each pupil and his parent/s and it is doubtful if interviews would really have produced more information than that obtained from the questionnaires.

5.3 SCHOOLS IN THE SURVEY

The writer decided to confine the study to schools in the Durban and surrounding areas. The subjects for the survey were boys and girls from the following secondary schools; Durban Girls' secondary Gandhi-Desai, Loram, Orient, Sastri, Burnwood and Chatsworth secondary. Five of these schools are in the immediate Durban area. Of the other two schools, one is in the large residential area of Chatsworth and the other in Sydenham. These schools were chosen to represent a broad section of the various urban, suburban, semi-rural and resettled Indian communities. The seven schools are representative of all the Indian language and religious groups. Four of the schools are co-educational; three are single-sex schools for boys, and the other for girls. Five are state schools, while the other two are state-aided.

5.4 SAMPLING

A total of four hundred questionnaires were distributed to pupils in the seven selected schools. Table 15 shows the breakdown of the secondary schools which provided the pupils whose responses were used for this study, according to type of school and the sex of the pupils.

In all 388 questionnaires were completed and returned. Of these twelve pupils had completed only a few items and one pupil was found to be over eighteen years of age. It was decided to exclude these thirteen pupils from the study. The absence of parents or guardians, indifference or objections to supplying information accounted for the non-return of 3 per cent of the questionnaires sent out. Nevertheless,

the response was satisfactory when one considers that participation in this investigation was on a voluntary basis.

The total of three hundred and seventy five pupils represents those members of the sample in the seven schools for whom full data were available. It will be seen from Table 15 that the number of boys and girls was also equal. The population represented a wide range of socio-economic levels.

TABLE 15
SCHOOL TYPES AND PUPILS INVOLVED

STATE SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1. Durban Girls' Secondary	0	63	63
2. Loram	61	12	73
3. Burnwood	19	44	63
4. Sastri	19	0	19
5. Chatsworth Secondary	35	28	63
<u>STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS</u>			
1. Orient Secondary	22	0	22
2. Gandhi-Desai	<u>41</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>72</u>
TOTAL	<u>197</u>	<u>178</u>	<u>375</u>

5.4.1 Pupils' Questionnaires

The study of the three hundred and seventy five subjects took two broad forms. The school guidance counsellor of each of the schools administered a questionnaire relating to the pupils' own perception of school and details of their home language, background, size of the family, and aspects of their school career (Refer to Appendix A for the questionnaire). Care was taken to ensure that the questionnaire did not present any difficulty to the respondents.

Most of the questions were of the closed type and merely required a cross in the appropriate space. Later an unstandardized English test comprising vocabulary usage, comprehension and close procedure was administered to the sample pupils (Refer to Appendix C).

5.4.2 Teachers' Questionnaires

Another set of questionnaires relating to aspects of English teaching, such as methodology, time spent on the different areas of English teaching, the text books used, and factors of the home environment of the pupils which might adversely affect their use of language, was supplied to the teachers of pupils involved. Most of the questions were of the rating type. An example is given below:-

Please indicate which of the following kinds of questions your pupils find most difficult (write "1" for "most difficult", etc.):-

_____	those asking factual recall	_____	those testing vocabulary
_____	those requiring reasoning	_____	those asking opinion
_____	tests of logic/inference	_____	tests of mood/tone

Teachers were asked to rate these questions according to the situation that prevailed in the classes that they taught. Some questions were of the closed type and others required the teachers' own opinions (Refer to Appendix B for the full questionnaire).

5.5 DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Personal visits were made by the researcher to the seven schools chosen for the purpose of this study. Prior to the visits, letters were sent to the principals, informing them of the intended visit and explaining the purpose of the study. During these visits the nature and purpose of the study and the importance of the study for teachers of the English language were explained.

The procedure for administering the questionnaires was fully explained. Sufficient time was given to each school to complete the questionnaires and to ensure that pupils who were absent were given the opportunity to complete the questionnaires. The same procedure was followed for the completion of the teachers' questionnaires.

After receipt of the questionnaires, they were sorted into school groups and personally analysed by the researcher.

5.6 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

From the replies to the questionnaires the writer was concerned to find answers to the following questions:-

1. Does the use of the vernacular have an effect on the pupils' use of English at school?
2. Are there any features of the home environment which notably enhance or inhibit performance, especially in English, at schools?
3. Are there any factors in family socialization patterns which affect the pupils' development of language?
4. How does the size of the family affect language acquisition and usage?

To obtain answers to these questions the pupils' and teachers' questionnaires were analysed in the context of literature on social factors which affect educational attainment. The results of the analysis are described under the following headings:-

1. Religious factors
2. Home language
3. Types of Houses
4. Number of Persons using the Amenities
5. Facilities for Homework

6. Level of education of the parents
7. Reading material available at home
8. Radio and television programmes preferred
9. Extra-curricular activities
10. Places visited and holidays
11. Parents' contact with the school
12. Assistance given with homework
13. Parents' ambitions for their children
14. Absenteeism

5.6.1 Religious Factors

The Indian community in South Africa is made up largely of Hindus, Moslems and Christians.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WRITER'S SAMPLE ACCORDING TO RELIGION

RELIGIONS	PERCENTAGE
1. Christianity	12
2. Hindu	67
3. Islam	<u>21</u>
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

The sample in the present study consisted of Christians, Hindus and Moslems. From Table 16 it will be noticed that Hindus make up the largest number. Another observation is that the sample is remarkably close to the general pattern found in the Indian community in South Africa. According to the 1980/81 official year book of the Republic of South Africa 68,3 per cent of Indian South Africans are Hindus, 20,0 per cent are Moslems and 8,5 per cent are Christians. The sample of the present study reveals a slightly higher percentage of

Christians than that of the national population. This could be accounted for by the fact that in Chatsworth a number of Hindus have converted to the Christian faith. It was found that 33,4 per cent of the total number of Christians in the sample were from Chatsworth Secondary. Another noticeable feature was that only 2 per cent of the sample of pupils from Orient and Gandhi-Desai were Christians.

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE ACCORDING TO HOME LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE	PERCENTAGE
1. Vernacular only	0
2. Vernacular and English	48
3. Only English	<u>52</u>
	<u>100</u>

The survey revealed that 52 per cent of the secondary school pupils of the sample used only English in communication amongst themselves, with fathers, mothers and other members of the family. It was also found that 48 per cent used both English and the vernacular. It can be assumed that most of these pupils used the vernacular in communication with the older members of the family, most notably the grandparents. Bughwan (1970 : 67) in her sample of secondary school pupils, found that 52 per cent of the pupils used only English in communication with fathers and mothers and 24 per cent used only English with grandparents. The present investigation suggests that 52 per cent of the pupils used English to communicate with all members of the family, including grandparents. This indicates an increase in the use of English. It is interesting to note that of the 48 per cent of the sample who used both the vernacular and English as home languages, the majority of the pupils

were from the Gujarati and Moslem communities. This could be explained by the fact that more pupils of these groups attend vernacular classes out of school hours.

Other studies (Maasdorp, 1968 : 43; Naguran, 1978 : 223; and Naicker, 1979 : 184) also found that in most Indian homes at the present time English is more commonly spoken than the vernacular languages. Several reasons can be advanced to explain this trend. Most Indian families read English language newspapers, magazines and books, listen to English programmes on the radio, or watch English films and programmes on Television. A large number of Indians now attend popular live shows and the theatre. Further, English is the medium of instruction in Indian schools.

The increased use of English as suggested does not mean that the vernacular is no longer spoken by Indian children. Bughwan (op. cit.: 24) found that a large percentage of her sample of high school pupils heard both English and the vernacular languages in their homes and that most pupils had to communicate with older members of the family in a mixture of English and the vernacular language as the latter by itself was inadequate. She (op. cit. : 59) suggests "that even where the home language is spoken by children to parents and/or grandparents, it is usually in a debased form with a liberal admixture of English vocabulary and phrases."

5.6.2 Home Language

Table 18 indicates the Indian Vernacular Language groups to which the pupils of the sample belonged.

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE ACCORDING TO VERNACULAR LANGUAGE GROUP

LANGUAGE	PERCENTAGE
1. Gujarati	15,6
2. Hindi	28,0
3. Tamil	32,0
4. Telegu	4,4
5. Urdu	12,0
6. Others	<u>8,0</u>
	<u>100,0</u>

Table 18 shows that the Tamil speaking group was the largest in the sample, followed closely by the Hindi speaking group. The table shows that the Gujarati, Telegu and Urdu are very much minority linguistic groups. The use of the vernacular language at home is closely related to attendance at vernacular classes by pupils. A total of 50,2 per cent of the sample of pupils attended vernacular classes. The majority of these who indicated that they had attended vernacular classes were from Gujarati and Moslem communities. Even at the present time these communities generally insist that their children attend vernacular classes.

At Orient Secondary school religious instruction in the vernacular forms part of the ordinary English school curriculum, and Arabic is now offered as an examination subject at the matriculation level. It must, however, be pointed out that the study of Urdu and Arabic is closely related to religious study. The male Moslem student attends mosque every Friday during midday, although this cuts across his English school time-table.

The Gujarati child also attends vernacular classes regularly. But the study of the vernacular does not form part of the English school curriculum. The parents of the other vernacular groups seem to attach greater importance to the learning of English and do not insist on vernacular proficiency.

Even in the extra-curricula vernacular classes English is now increasingly being used as a medium by both pupils and their teachers. Further, Arabic, Gujarati, Hindi, and the other vernacular languages are offered at the University of Durban-Westville. One would have expected that with increased facilities for the study of vernacular languages, there would have been an increase in their use. But English is vital to the Indian for communication and trade purposes.

There is little doubt that the difficulties that pupils from low-income Indian homes have in school are directly related to the their language structure and usage. Since many (according to this study 48 per cent) Indian children speak at least one of the Indian languages at home we cannot ignore its influence. In this regard Bughwan (op. cit. : 24-5) wrote : "The question arises of adapting to the required medium of communication, and the interference of pronunciation and other speech habits of the Indian languages is often very evident in the pupils' use of English ... Indian language habits are, however, firmly entrenched and affect the quality of the English used by Indians who ironically are not really conversant with the Indian languages."

The home background is a good indicator of potential educational success. The Schools Council Working Paper No. 27 (1970 : 13) mentions the following aspects of the home as being significant: its physical resources, the beauty or the squalor of its setting, its emotional climate, the stimulus and facilities which it affords for intellectual, social, and emotional learning, and the degree of awareness of educational

and occupational opportunities which it displays. The Newsom (1963) and Plowden (1967) Reports emphasised the importance of the home and the necessity of close collaboration between home and school.

Mays (1902 : 184-188) in his study of the Crown Street Schools found that ... "some severe limitations ... were placed on education by the nature of the social background." He suggests that lack of parental enthusiasm for academic success, lack of facilities for study in the home, and the inability of parents of limited ability and experience to give their children all the support necessary for success in more advanced types of schooling as factors affecting educational attainment. He concluded: "There is little doubt that the major disability arose from the shortcomings of the social background and the cultural disadvantages of home and family life."

A good indication of the home background is given by an examination of the types of homes in which pupils live, amenities and facilities in the home, the number of persons using the amenities, and the provision of facilities for homework.

5.6.3 Types of Houses

The present survey showed that the majority of the pupils lived in complete houses. This was so because a large part of the sample of pupils dwell in a sub-economic housing scheme in Chatsworth, while others live in Kenville, Sea Cow Lake, Overport and Sydenham.

It is important to note that the size, quality and type of council houses in Britain, the United States of America, and Western European countries differ greatly from those provided for Indians in Chatsworth and Asherville.

In Britain the Council Estates generally provide modern amenities such

as an own kitchen, separate bathroom and toilet, running cold and hot water and gardens. The general finish of the houses in Chatsworth is "Spartan with unplastered walls, exposed electric conduits, no hot water ... the material used is mainly concrete block walls on a concrete floor slab with corrugated asbestos roofing and steel frame windows (Corbett, 1980 : 7).

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY SAMPLE ACCORDING TO TYPES
OF HOUSES OCCUPIED

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
1. Complete house	48,5
2. Sub-Let house	28,5
3. Flat	10,4
4. Outbuilding	9,6
5. Others (eg. garage)	<u>3,0</u>
TOTAL	<u>100,0</u>

Because of the great shortage of quality housing and the very high prices of land in Indian areas many families from middle and even upper-income groups live in economic and sub-economic homes. Therefore, it is suggested that differentiation is determined not by the type of house in which pupils live, but in the provision of amenities.

A surprising finding of the present study was that only 10,4 per cent of the sample of pupils lived in flats. This is probably due to the fact that the Grey Street complex has been zoned a business district. This has led to a number of families moving out from the flats there. Most of these people were business owners and, therefore, were able to build their own houses in the suburbs of the city. What is particularly striking about the above table is that approximately 41

per cent of the sample lived in sub-let houses, outbuildings or in garages which do not have facilities such as an indoor bathroom or toilet, and hot and cold running water.

Table 20 indicates the amenities and facilities found in the homes of the present sample of pupils.

TABLE 20
AMENITIES IN THE HOME

AMENITIES	PERCENTAGE
1. Electricity	88
2. Cold water	99
3. Hot water	52
4. Television	62
5. Radio	93
6. Indoor toilet	61
7. Indoor bathroom	64

According to the respondents, the majority of the families had most of the above amenities. But it was also found that 12 per cent of the homes did not have electricity, 48 per cent did not have hot water, 39 per cent did not have indoor toilets, and 36 per cent did not have indoor bathrooms. It is most likely that these pupils lived in either garages or outbuildings. The council houses in Chatsworth and Asherville do not have separate indoor toilets and bathrooms. Further, the sub-economic houses do not have baths; they are provided with showers. Most of the garages and small outbuildings do not have electricity or running water. There is usually an outside tap from where the families obtain water. The lack of these facilities places a severe burden on families and pupils.

Although several studies (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1958 : 157-158; Douglas 1964 : 62-65; Jackson and Marsden, 1967 : 59-65) have shown the importance of amenities and facilities in the home, they did not provide evidence to show that this factor operated independently. Working-class homes without all of the above amenities have also produced children who have been very successful at school. Therefore, it seems that other factors, such as the attitude of the pupils and the parents, are related to the provision of 'amenities'.

5.6.4 Number of Persons Using the Amenities

This factor is more commonly referred to as overcrowding, and is closely related to the provision of amenities in the home.

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN THE HOUSES OF RESPONDENTS

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
1. Bedrooms (2 and more)	45
2. Kitchen	94
3. Dining room	57
4. Lounge	70
5. Study	3
6. Others (eg. prayer room)	1

The study found that most of the pupils lived in crowded homes.

As many as 57 per cent lived in one-bedroom houses, 6 per cent of the houses did not have a separate kitchen, 43 per cent did not have dining rooms and 30 per cent did not have a lounge. Most of the people who live in garages do not possess a separate kitchen, diningroom or lounge.

Only 35,7 per cent of the respondents had their own bedrooms and 60 per cent indicated that they shared their bedrooms with up to three persons. Another 10 per cent indicated that they shared a room with more than three persons. This, together with an absence of a lounge or dining room, is clear evidence of overcrowding.

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	One child	1,0
2.	Two	28,0
3.	Three	26,0
4.	Four	21,0
5.	Five	20,0
6.	Six and more	<u>4,0</u>
		<u>100,0</u>

From the above we notice that 45 per cent of the households had more than three children. But what is most striking is that 24 per cent of the families had more than four children. In the present study the average number of children per family is a little above four. More than 40 per cent of the respondents indicated that grandparents and other relatives lived with the family. In overcrowded homes the pupils may be deprived of quiet and privacy, and because of noise be unable to concentrate on their school work. Children who live in poverty and in over crowded homes do not always progress at the same rate as pupils from more advantaged homes. Overcrowding and the large number of children is certain to allow pupils fewer opportunities for verbal interaction.

5.6.5 Facilities for Homework

The survey revealed that only 3 per cent of the pupils had a study for completion of homework. This means that 97 per cent had to do their homework in either the bedroom, lounge, diningroom or the kitchen.

Pupils who study in the lounge, diningroom, bedroom or the kitchen can only do their homework at certain hours because other members of the family also use these facilities. This means that pupils cannot do homework for as long as they may like. If they did continue it is most likely that they would be distracted by the sound of the radio or the television and by other members of the family. Another handicap in some of the homes was the absence of electricity. This meant that the pupil would have to complete most of his homework before the onset of darkness. If not, he would have to work in a poorly lighted room. This would also mean that the pupil would not have sufficient time to socialize with friends and engage in out-of-school activities.

Lack of facilities at home can have a disrupting effect on a child's progress at school. Although the lack of facilities for homework is determined by the limited accommodation facilities of Indian families and the socio-economic status of the family, the attitudes of the parents towards homework cannot be discounted. This factor was discussed in chapters two and three.

The atmosphere in the home and the life style of the family are factors which are likely to affect the attitudes of parents and children towards education and the use of language. These attitudes will be affected, inter alia, by the level of education of the parents, the reading material available at home, the radio and television programmes preferred by children, the children's sporting interests

and hobbies, the places that they have visited, their parents' contact with the school, assistance given with homework, the parents' ambition for their children and absence from school.

5.6.6 Level of Education of the Parents

The survey revealed that only 4,5 per cent of the fathers and 12,5 per cent of the mothers had not had any formal education. Of the remainder 70 per cent of the fathers and 69 per cent of the mothers had attended a secondary school.

TABLE 23

FATHERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	No education	4,5
2.	Class 1 to Std. 1	13,2
3.	Std. 2 to Std. 4	12,0
4.	Std. 5 to Std. 7	47,9
5.	Std. 8 and above	<u>22,4</u>
TOTAL		<u>100,0</u>

TABLE 24

MOTHERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	No Education	12,5
2.	Class 1 to Std. 1	5,2
3.	Std. 2 to Std. 4	12,9
4.	Std. 5 to Std. 7	47,0
5.	Std. 8 and above	<u>22,4</u>
TOTAL		<u>100,0</u>

The figures suggest that there has been a rise in the formal educational level of Indian parents and children. The increase in the number of Indian mothers who have had some secondary education can be ascribed to the availability of extra accommodation in the schools and in a changed attitude towards the education of Indian girls. This has important implications for pupil attitude and success in education.

Several studies (John, 1963, 1971; Deutsch, 1964; Hess and Shipman, 1965) have shown that for the most part, it is the adults in the home who help to stimulate the child's early intellectual development. For this reason, the level of education of the parents is very important. The attitudes of parents towards education and the way in which they socialize children at home affects the nature of the interaction between parent and child and the development of the child's language and cognition.

Bughwan (op. cit. : 360) suggests that exposure to 'good' language in the social environment is an important factor in the language development of children. This view will be developed further in a later section.

5.6.7 Reading Material Available at Home

This factor is closely related to the parents' level of education. The type of newspapers, magazines and books available at home gives an indication of the value that the family places on reading and education in general and their "approach to position and values in society" (Jackson and Marsden, op. cit. : 198).

The present investigation showed that 74 per cent of the homes received Daily newspapers and 43 per cent received the Sunday newspapers. The most popular newspaper is clearly the Daily News.

Only 22 per cent of the respondents indicated that their homes received The Mercury. The most popular Sunday newspapers found in most homes were the Sunday Tribune and the Sunday Times. Other newspapers, but less popular, are the Graphic, Leader and Post. It seems that these newspapers are not received in many homes because they are not as freely available as the other papers. The Graphic, Leader and Post are usually sold in certain Indian shops and as most of the Indians work in the city they find it convenient to purchase the Daily News from street vendors. The absence of newspapers in many homes may be due to the fact that parents work until quite late in the evenings and have to travel long distances to reach home. When they reach home, they are tired and do not have time to read. Another reason is the availability of the radio and television. Some families follow the news on the radio and television and therefore feel they do not have need for newspapers.

The present survey found that there were very few magazines and periodicals in the homes.

The most popular magazine is Family Radio and T.V. (14,8 per cent). Other magazines available at home included the Reader's Digest (2,6 per cent) and Scope (6,8 per cent).

Information was also obtained from the sample of pupils about library membership and the reading of books. All pupils automatically become members of their school library and may borrow books from the library as often as they wish. Further, a period on the time-table is set aside each week for library work. It, therefore, seems that membership of a library does not indicate clearly the reading habits of the pupils. A more comprehensive picture is obtained by an analysis of the frequency with which pupils borrow books.

TABLE 25

THE USE OF THE LIBRARY FOR BORROWING BOOKS

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	Once a week	16,0
2.	Once a month	12,0
3.	Sometimes	22,7
4.	Never	<u>49,3</u>
TOTAL		<u>100,0</u>

It seems that very few pupils read regularly. In all, 49 per cent indicated that they do not borrow any books from the library. This could be due to the absence of municipal libraries in many Indian areas. There is no council library in Sea Cow Lake, Kenville, Reservoir Hills or in Sydenham. It seems likely that if there were public libraries in the suburbs of the city, the students would be motivated to visit them to do research work on educational projects and even borrow books for leisure reading. It must also be remembered that the school library does not cater for all needs and tastes.

Very few pupils read magazines, periodicals or library books. The present investigation suggests that the daily and week-end newspapers were the most popular reading material available in some homes. There is little doubt that reading and especially private reading, can make an important contribution to the child's linguistic and experiential development.

5.6.8 Radio and Television Programmes Preferred

Having considered the influence of reading materials in the home, it is necessary to consider the influence of the other mass media

of communication, namely the radio and television.

The majority of the homes (93 per cent) possess radios. The possession of a radio does not give any indication of the influence it may have on children. It is essential to study the amount of time that children spend in listening to the radio and the types of programmes which they prefer.

Although a few respondents indicated that they did not own a radio, they nevertheless indicated that they listened to the radio. It can be assumed that they have neighbours, friends and relatives, who allow them to follow certain programmes. The responses showed that the majority of the pupils listen to the radio for about two hours each day.

Because of the large number of different programmes indicated by the respondents it was decided to categorise the programmes into Adult educational, for example, the world news, My Word, and My Music; Pupil educational e.g. Talking of science, Consider your English, and drama and theatre productions; and Light entertainment, which included popular and hitparade music, request programmes and a few serials. These categories, however, are obviously crude. It was found that the majority of the pupils preferred light entertainment.

Television was originally thought of as a luxury for those of high income, but has now become a feature of all income groups. To gauge the sort of influence that television has on pupils it is necessary to examine the amount of time spent on watching television and the programmes preferred.

Only seven per cent of the respondents indicated that they did not watch television at all. As no reason was given it may be assumed that their homes did not possess television sets. Some 20 per cent

of the sample indicated that they watched television for at least one hour per day, another 66 per cent watched television for approximately two hours per day, and a smaller percentage watched television for more than two hours. When pupils indicated their favourite programmes, it was found that very few Afrikaans programmes were popular. The responses suggest that children spent about the same amount of time watching television as listening to the radio.

Just as in the case of the radio, some of the respondents who did not possess television sets, nevertheless, indicated their favourite television programmes. Once again it must be assumed that they watched television at the homes of friends, relatives, or their neighbours. The television programmes were categorised into: Adult educational, Light entertainment and Sport.

Not a single pupil indicated a preference for Adult educational programmes, such as the News, Spectrum or Portfolio. The majority of the respondents preferred Light entertainment and Sport. The programmes which pupils enjoyed most were Dallas, Pop Shop, the Film of the Week on Saturday nights, W.K.R.P. in Cincinnati and Video Two.

The survey thus indicates that a majority of the respondents preferred light entertainment to educational programmes on the radio and television and it seems that though these media exert very little specific influence on children they do contribute to a western style of socialization.

Television and radio can make a considerable contribution to language development in children and can be put to good use in schools. Unfortunately television is not used as a teaching aid in South African Indian schools and programmes on S.A.B.C. television are mainly for entertainment.

5.6.9 Extra-Curricular Activities

These include sporting activities and hobbies. The sporting activities that the pupils engage in and their hobbies provide a valuable guide for teachers and parents about the pupils' attitudes and preferences. Table 26 indicates the sporting activities participated in by the pupils.

TABLE 26
PUPILS' MAIN SPORTING ACTIVITIES

SPORT	PERCENTAGE
1. Soccer	52
2. Netball	25
3. Cricket	16
4. Volleyball	19
5. Athletics	23
6. Tennis	9

The above table indicates that the boys played mainly soccer and a little cricket. The most popular girls' game is netball. A few pupils of both sexes engaged in athletics, volleyball and tennis. The table also indicates that more team games are played. It is also noticeable that fewer girls than boys participated in sport. Lack of facilities and playing fields may account for this deficiency. The few girls who participate in sports and games do so during school hours. There are more facilities for boys to engage in outdoor sport. Very few Indian pupils join guide groups or clubs which go on hikes or camping.

The majority (57 per cent) of the pupils do not seem to have hobbies.

Those who did name hobbies usually mentioned gardening, reading and sport. Despite their involvement in games and hobbies, either at school or outside, most of the pupils' spare time appeared to be spent at home.

Participation in team games and identifying with school clubs and scout or guide groups does not necessarily result in a drop or increase in academic performance, especially in English, at school but it does give the students opportunities to mix with their peer groups and become formal leaders of the school community.

5.6.10 Places Visited and Holidays

The findings of the survey so far have suggested that the home and the immediate environment do not provide pupils with the sort of stimulation that would enhance language development. Very few homes provide for the child's imaginative intellectual and perceptual development. In order to gain a clearer picture of the habits and interests of the pupils, they were asked to indicate the places that they had visited and the number of times that they had been on holiday.

TABLE 27

PLACES VISITED BY THE RESPONDENTS

PLACE	PERCENTAGE
1. Aquarium	72
2. Circus	78
3. Snake Park	60
4. Zoo	24
5. Harbour	87
6. Museum	80

From the table it can be seen that the majority of the pupils had visited the aquarium, snake park, circus, harbour and museum. A very small number had been to a zoo. This may be because there is no zoo in Durban, and most of those who did indicate positively may have visited the local Lion Park. But what is very disturbing is that quite a few respondents had not been on a visit to the local places of interest. Several factors could account for this. It is probable that some of the students are not interested in snake parks or museums, they may not have been given an opportunity to visit these places, or they may have been prevented because of economic reasons. Further, the attitudes of the pupils and their parents cannot be discounted.

Only 17 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had not gone on holiday and 44 per cent indicated that they had been on holiday more than twice. But it must be emphasised that many of them had gone to relatives' homes which were in the townships and the suburbs of the city.

Visiting places such as a museum and going on holiday do not by themselves result in an increase in academic performance at school. But they do surely help to widen the child's horizons and experience. In some homes, pupils work during the week-ends and during the vacations and do not get an opportunity to go on visits and holidays. This limits their experiences.

5.6.11 Parents' Contact with the School

The child's progress in school is to a great extent determined by the interest that his parents show in his education. There are many ways in which parents can involve themselves in the education of their children. They can see that their children complete all homework that is set by the teachers, they can assist the child with

his homework, and they can visit the school to find out about their child's progress.

The replies indicate that only 36,3 per cent of the parents of the pupils visited schools. A very large number (63,7 per cent) of parents did not ever visit the school principal or the teacher. But this does not indicate that the parents are not at all interested in their children's educational welfare and progress.

Parents usually visit schools to attend sports meetings, open days, parents' committee meetings and to admit or transfer pupils. But it is not generally common for Indian parents to visit schools. This could be because both parents of many of the pupils work during the day, and many parents still feel that education of their children should be left to the authorities and that they should not interfere.

5.6.12 Assistance Given with Homework

One of the ways in which the attitudes of parents towards education may be estimated, is in the assistance that they give their children with homework. In assisting the child with his homework and providing facilities, the parent acknowledge that homework is very important and this presumably encourages and motivates the child.

TABLE 28

ASSISTANCE PROVIDED IN DOING HOMEWORK

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
1. Mother	12,1
2. Father	16,1
3. Brother	33,0
4. Sister	29,9
5. Other (eg. aunt)	5,7
6. Nobody	<u>3,2</u>
	<u>100,0</u>

A little more than 96 per cent of the pupils receive some assistance with their homework. But a striking feature is that only 23,2 per cent of the pupils receive help from their parents. The majority of 62,9 per cent were assisted by their siblings. There are a number of reasons for this. Today students are studying a number of 'new' subjects such as physical science, salesmanship and technical drawing. Parents are not familiar with the contents of these subjects and the new methods of teaching in mathematics and general science. It is easier to get assistance from older brothers and sisters because they may have studied or are still studying such subjects. Further, the elder siblings may have more time than working mothers and fathers to give assistance. Another point not to be overlooked is that teenagers may feel more at ease with others of their own age than with parents. Siblings and friends may understand their problems better than their parents.

Though parents may not be able to give direct assistance with homework, they, nevertheless, can make a contribution by seeing that their children complete all homework that is given.

Fifteen year old pupils are set an average of two hours homework each day. The survey indicated that 43,1 per cent of the respondents do about one hour of homework each day. This may mean that the pupils do not complete all the homework that is set, though it is likely that some of the pupils are fast workers and, therefore, able to complete the homework in a shorter time. It seems that the pupils do only the homework that is set by the teachers. Only one student indicated that he did more than two hours of homework each day.

In conclusion, it seems that the direct assistance given by the parents does not in itself necessarily improve the pupils'

educational performance at school, but it does motivate the child and assures him that his parents are concerned about his education and are aware of the progress that he is making at school.

5.6.13 Parents' Ambitions for their Children

The attitudes of parents can be partly gauged by the educational and career aspirations that they have for their children. From the replies received the researcher found that the majority of the parents had very high aspirations for their children. This does not necessarily reflect their attitudes towards the education of their children. But the great emphasis that the Indian in South Africa has placed on education is reflected in the large sums of money spent in previous years on the provision of school sites, buildings and equipment. Many of the parents want their children to succeed in life because they themselves did not have the opportunity of free and compulsory education. Because of the large number of different job aspirations that were mentioned, it was decided to group them into categories according to the University of Natal's (1979) guide to the coding of occupations in South Africa.

TABLE 29

PARENTS' AMBITIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
1. Professional (e.g. doctor)	53
2. Semi-professional (e.g. book-keeper)	39
3. Skilled (e.g. farmer)	3
4. Unskilled (e.g. factory labourer)	2
5. Nil - no response	<u>3</u>
	<u>100</u>

The most popular careers mentioned by parents included medicine (13 per cent), law (9 per cent), teaching (11 per cent), engineering (8 per cent), accounting (1,9 per cent) and nursing (2,5 per cent). It is clear that the ambitions of the parents for their children's future is far in advance of what they are likely to achieve in school. The Indian parent, no doubt, believes that educational success is the panacea for all his ills, and hopes to give his child the chance that he himself did not have. Unrealistic aspirations may reflect ineffective school guidance, and a lack of knowledge (on the part of the parents) about quite what is entailed in various careers.

The response as shown in this survey supports the view that Indian parents appreciate the social advantages of education and are always striving to improve their material and social standing in society through career mobility. Through education they hope to overcome social, economic and political barriers. Ironically, however, the status accorded education is not supported by the home experience.

The pupils were also asked to indicate their own career aspirations. Their response was in many respects similar to that of their parents. The most popular professions were medicine (9 per cent), law (5 per cent), teaching (5,2 per cent), engineering (14 per cent), accounting (2,8 per cent) and nursing (7,9 per cent). Other popular jobs mentioned were priests, airhostesses and modelling. This response indicated that the pupils had high job aspirations, but it seems that most are not aware of the educational requirements for the jobs. For instance, professions such as medicine, law and accounting require university training, and many of the pupils who indicated a preference for these careers were in the practical classes with no hope of university entrance. Perhaps some students felt that they would be able to

obtain a good pass at the end of the year and so get promoted to the ordinary grade and ultimately achieve their ambition. This unrealistic response indicates that pupils are in need of counselling. Nevertheless, their job aspirations indicate a positive attitude towards education and the school, and suggest that they hope to succeed in the future.

5.6.14 Absenteeism

Absenteeism is a major problem especially when pupils have to travel long distances by bus, train or on foot to attend school.

Replies to the questionnaires indicate that only about one-fifth of the sample of pupils was present on every school day during 1979.

TABLE 30

NUMBER OF DAYS PUPILS WERE ABSENT FROM SCHOOL

CATEGORY	Percentage
1. Nil	20,5
2. 1 to 4 days	39,1
3. 5 to 9 days	23,1
4. More than 10 days	17,3
	<u>100,0</u>

A very large number of pupils (40,4 per cent) were absent from school for more than five days. There is little doubt that absence from school for long periods is likely to affect school performance adversely.

Pupils who miss certain sections of the work find it difficult to make up especially if they have been absent for many consecutive days. One of the reasons for pupils' absence from school may be the distance of the schools from the homes and the necessity of having to travel by public transport. A majority (98 per cent) of the pupils who attended Loram Secondary School indicated that they travelled by bus to school. The survey found that 46 per cent of the entire sample of pupils travel either by bus or train to school. Many of these pupils find it convenient to continue their journeys into the city if they have not completed a particular piece of homework or just because they are bored. In 1980 several hundred Indian pupils boycotted classes because they were dissatisfied with the present system of education for Indians, the quality of the school buildings, the absence of sports fields and equipment and the Government's 'separate' education policy.

In all 41 per cent of the respondents had failed at least once and another 3 per cent had failed more than once in previous standards and classes.

The present survey suggests that many parents have a positive attitude towards education and they appreciate the aims of the school. This is shown by the high ambitions that they have for their children and the previous contributions that they made in the provision of money and school sites. Neither the home background, the educational support or the size of the family have conclusively been found to be factors affecting educational attainment. The question asked then is: What factor or factors are responsible for the poor educational

attainment, especially in English, of many South African Indian pupils?

The type of language that the child uses is closely connected with the home, the family, and the child's development, and is related to the school and the curriculum. There is a close relationship between social class and language usage and development. It was established in chapter three that much of school education, especially at the secondary stage, depends on the use of context-free language and that a majority of children from socially disadvantaged homes are unlikely to be familiar with this. Bernstein (op.cit.) showed that as a result of the complex interaction between language, social structure and socialization, certain children are 'particularistic' rather than 'universalistic' in their orientation. Children of such experience are not necessarily deprived but they are not familiar with the subtle shades of meaning and the complex and flexible structure of universalistic language, because in their homes there is little opportunity for them to verbally discuss the reasons for and the likely results of certain decisions, possibilities and alternatives.

The relevant Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports also frequently stress the incorrect use of language and style. The 1979 Report mentions the following problems: inability to interpret the topics set in essays, a meagre vocabulary which limits the pupils' attempts to explore ideas, the use of clichés and difficulties experienced in the development of logical thought.

This survey has suggested that an alarmingly large number of pupils do not read books other than their prescribed books. It, therefore, seems that the pupils' use of language is the most important factor which affects their educational attainment. There is an undoubted

link between thinking and language. Pupils who are inhibited in the use of language have problems with communication, conversation and understanding and this affects their learning. The factors which seemed to be the causes of poor language development were the following:

1. Poor speech and language models at home and in the immediate environment.
2. A limited background of experiences.
3. Poor socio-economic status and a marked absence of suitable reading materials in the home.

5.7 ANALYSIS OF THE TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRES

An analysis of the pupils' questionnaires suggests that the attitudes of parents are very important in their children's education. But educational attainment also depends upon school conditions, and the attitudes of the teachers cannot be discounted. Jackson and Marsden (op.cit.) in 'Education and the Working Class' suggested that schools are organised and controlled by teachers who come from the middle-classes and that, therefore, the schools promote middle-class values and discriminate against working-class children and their parents. But Wiseman (1964 : 169) is of the opinion that the attitudes of teachers towards children as individuals; towards education; and towards learning as a progressive activity involving the child's interests, skills and aptitudes are more important in the educative process than the 'social class' view. "What seems to matter far more is the personality of the teacher, and his ability to initiate warm and friendly relations with other people." More recent literature, too, has laid stress on a cultural-difference (rather than a cultural-deficit) approach and drawn attention to the important role of teachers as motivators.

Therefore, it was thought necessary to establish the opinions of, and methods used by, a range of teachers of English to pupils in the age group fourteen to fifteen years to obtain a composite assessment of the factors that seem to inhibit the Indian pupils' educational progress.

5.7.1 Analysis of the Completed Questionnaires

After receipt of the replies, the questionnaires were sorted and analysed. Some of the questionnaires were not fully completed, but the views expressed were taken into account in the final analysis.

Teachers were asked for their opinions on general teaching methods, and the teaching of reading and comprehension. Responses will now be described and set in the context of relevant literature.

1. Do you use the 'intergrated thematic approach' to the teaching of English to pupils in the fourteen to fifteen year age-group?

There has been a rapid growth in the use of this approach to the teaching of English in Indian Secondary Schools over the past five years. This method has gained popularity because most of the classes in schools are of mixed ability, and the method allows pupils of different capabilities to work alongside one another productively. Teachers select themes to suit the particular interests of their pupils. "Thematic work has provided the pupil with a common purpose, and its very nature encouraged an organic treatment of talk, reading, writing, and dramatisation" (A Language for Life, 1975 : 132). According to Du Plessis et.al. (1980 : 1) ... "the greatest value of thematic work lies in the open, democratic approach to language study and the additional contributions to the lessons by both the teacher and the taught." A total of 90 per cent of respondents

indicated that they used the integrated thematic approach in the teaching of English. The majority emphasised that this method was used to teach pupils in practical classes only.

2. From your experience, mention some advantages and/or disadvantages of this method of teaching.

From the replies received it seems that the thematic approach is very popular and among the advantages mentioned were the following:

1. "It does not fragment the subject into different aspects such as composition, comprehension, grammar, literature and vocabulary.
2. Pupils develop a better command of spoken and written English, because it extends their competence in handling the language.
3. It allows flexibility and offers a progressive exploration of a topic.
4. As practical grade pupils do not have a wide range of vocabulary, their participation in the discussion of various aspects in theme teaching extends their vocabulary and enables them to concentrate on expression.
5. It elicits and sustains pupils' interests and allows for more personal involvement, which in turn makes learning meaningful.
6. The pupils gain an overall (gestalt) picture of a particular topic because all facets of the theme are dealt with."

The disadvantages of this approach, according to the replies received, included the following:

1. The difficulty of finding comprehension passages which are suitable for pupils of different grades.
2. Only a limited number of themes can be covered each year.

The thematic approach allows the teacher to use his imagination and to show initiative. It also makes it possible for him to extend the range of reading experiences of his pupils. But to achieve this he

has to have a good knowledge of books that are available on particular topics. In this regard he can sometimes get valuable assistance from the teacher-librarian. But as was pointed out earlier, many schools for Indians do not have well equipped libraries and qualified personnel to give guidance to other teachers.

3. Please indicate the approximate time in minutes per week which you specifically devote to reading and comprehension exercises with fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils.

Comprehension exercises occupy a central place in English and all language courses. According to Terry (1963 : 149) comprehension should be the aim of all class work and this 'complex activity' could be brought to its real fruition in concise written answers to carefully graded questions on a well-chosen passage of prose. Terry suggests that written answers are more useful than oral ones if the teacher wishes to see that the sequence of the thought has been grasped and the meaning of the whole passage understood.

According to the replies, the time spent in comprehension ranges from 35 minutes per week to a maximum of 90 minutes. Reading and comprehension exercises form the basis for the acquisition of all knowledge, and it seems that not enough time is being devoted to these aspects of English teaching. Jenkinson (1978 : 196) suggests that the posing of provocative questions by the teacher about reading extent is one of the most effective ways of stimulating children to think about what they read.

4. Kindly comment on any method/s you have found to be successful in stimulating or encouraging pupils to read more widely than can be done in normal class lessons.

The following are some of the methods that teachers had found successful

in stimulating pupils to read:

1. "Reading of relevant sections from a play or novel to highlight the main themes. This method can be profitably used in the study of set work but there is no incentive for the pupil to read other books.
2. Supplying the title of other books written by authors that pupils are studying could stimulate them into reading those books so as to make comparisons of style and character study.
3. Direct the pupils' attention to newspaper and magazine articles of topical and current interest. This can be followed by short talks, discussions and lecturettes.
4. Provide pupils with lists of modern fiction and other books of interest that are available in the school and local municipal library. These books must be suitable for the age and grade of the pupil. The school librarian can provide useful information for the pupils and the teachers in this venture.
5. At the beginning of an English lesson a paragraph or two from an interesting or popular book can be read to the class, and a synopsis of the book given to whet the appetites of the pupils.
6. Teachers and pupils could review films based on novels."

It has not been possible to gauge the extent to which teachers do engage in these activities or even the extent to which they put into practice their own ideas as expressed in the questionnaires. Certainly, the shortage of books in many schools and the general lack of orientation towards literacy in many of the homes, militate against the successful extension of reading experience.

5. Do you find it necessary to teach reading skills to fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils in your charge, or is it necessary merely to encourage their reading and evaluate it? Please elaborate.

Reading skills help a student gain information from the printed page (Brunner and Cambell 1978 : 52). A majority (85 per cent) of the respondents indicated that it was necessary to teach reading skills to pupils in this age group. This is so because the students have not mastered the basic reading skills by this stage.

The Bullock Report (op. cit.) emphasises that learning to read is a developmental process which continues over the years. The Report uses I.A. Richard's maxim: "We are all of us learning to read all the time", as its theme. Marland (1971 : 21-22) continues: "If 'we are all of us learning to read all the time', and if we accept that pupils in the secondary school, of all abilities and of all ages, have a range of reading difficulties, then those of us working in secondary schools must 'all of us be teaching reading all the time' also." This suggests that teachers of all the subjects in the curriculum should teach reading to their pupils. Only then will pupils appreciate and distinguish between the finer shades of meaning of words and appreciate reading and other forms of literature.

6. Do you divide your pupils (in this age group) into groups for reading? If 'Yes', please say how you came to place pupils in different groups

The need to form reading groups depends on conditions in a particular school. Factors which need to be considered include the size of class, the skill of the teachers and the availability of a range of

reading materials and equipment. At least of 45 per cent of the teachers indicated that they divide pupils in their classes into groups for reading.

The following procedures are used to place pupils in different groups:

1. According to reading ability. A group leader is appointed to guide the other pupils.
2. According to the particular difficulties experienced by the pupils.
3. At random. The 'weaker' pupils are said to learn from the 'better' readers.
4. Pupils form interest groups on their own.

Moyle (1968 : 137-139) suggests that pupils can be grouped in one of two ways. "Sometimes groups are formed entirely of children who have approximately the same reading attainment, or alternatively each group is given a leader whose reading attainment is superior to that of the group."

Aukerman (1972 : 4) suggests that pupils with wide ranges of abilities can be grouped either homogeneously or heterogeneously in secondary school classrooms.

Placing of pupils into different groups gives the teacher an opportunity to listen to the views of all the groups. Further, small groups are very useful for interest and project work, and the discussion of poetry, plays and drama. Moyle (op. cit. : 139) suggests that when opportunities are given for pupils to discuss their reading and written work there may be considerable growth in the understanding of the ground which has been covered. The pupils will then begin to read with questions in mind, with

anticipation, and they will be more thoughtful and critical of the information before them.

However, large classes in Indian schools make it imperative to divide the pupils into small and manageable groups because the teacher would not otherwise be able to make frequent contact with individual pupils.

7. Do you read aloud to Pupils? If you do, please indicate what sort of material, and how often?

All the respondent teachers indicated that they read aloud to their pupils. The frequency with which teachers read aloud to their pupils varied from once to three times a week.

TABLE 31
READING ALOUD TO PUPILS

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	Once a week	24
2.	Twice a week	20
3.	Thrice a week	56
4.	More than thrice a week	<u>0</u>
TOTAL		<u>100</u>

The teachers indicated that they read poems, extracts from novels, newspaper articles, comprehension passages (for listening comprehension), and outstanding compositions and creative/free writing efforts to pupils in their class. Mc Cormick (cited by Smith and Robinson, 1980) wrote: "Research now provides evidence of the direct relationship between reading aloud to children and reading performance, language development, and the development of reading interests. The evidence indicated that

reading to children is an activity that should be scheduled regularly."

Downing (1976 : 39) suggests that by reading aloud the teacher demonstrates the meaningful purpose of books to the class. He suggests that this should not be confined to primary school children but extended into the secondary school. He is of the opinion that reluctant secondary school students can be encouraged to read books by giving them a taste of their contents.

Reading aloud by the teacher seems very important. When the teacher reads aloud he introduces pupils to the language of literature, strengthens their desire to read and makes them aware of how important to the meaning of a passage are the variations in volume and pitch of voice. Pupils are in a position to gauge the tone of a passage and realise the importance of punctuation and run-on lines. All pupils are not familiar with the language of Shakespeare. Reading aloud of the play by the teacher assists the pupil in understanding meaning in context and encourages them to read in the same way. However, the amount of oral reading by the teacher will decrease as children pass through the junior secondary phase because our goal is to develop permanent interests in pupils so that they will seek enjoyment and satisfaction through their own reading.

8. What criteria do you employ in rating the ability/standard of your pupils' reading (a) aloud; (b) silently?

Before discussing the criteria employed in rating of pupils' reading ability it is necessary to consider goals of evaluation. Walcutt et al (1974 : 196-206) suggest the following four purposes of evaluation:

1. "To assess the effectiveness of the instructional program.
2. To report pupil progress to parents.
3. To determine where the pupil should be placed in an

instructional sequence.

4. To help the teacher and child set attainable goals."

Robinson (1965 : 224) suggests the use of standardized tests, informal tests, rating scales, interviews, interest inventories, records of books read, and self-evaluation procedures to determine reading competence.

Standardised reading tests are not used in Indian Schools to assess the ability of pupils' reading. Teachers, therefore, use other criteria.

- 8.1 In reading aloud teachers considered: pronunciation, audibility, expression, tone, fluency, phrasing, clarity, posture, level of understanding, and pauses. Others mentioned audience contact and the pupil's, understanding of the author's intention.
- 8.2 In silent reading factors that were taken into consideration included: comprehension of what was read, response to questions, number of words read, participation in general discussion and the use of clues and strategies.

Hittleman (1978 : 132) suggests that a pupil's silent reading performance can be assessed through the oral retelling of a story read, and a cloze procedure silent reading test.

Teachers in schools for Indians use a five point scale to assess their pupils' reading ability: 1. Very Good; 2. Good; 3. Satisfactory; 4. Fair; 5. Weak. The criteria mentioned above are used to place pupils into one of the categories (From Orientation Course: The Teaching of Practical Level English, Dept. of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, April/May 1978). Until tests become freely available the above method seems to be most suitable.

Walcutt et al (op. cit. : 213) conclude: "Evaluation must be ongoing, purposeful, and suitable to a given school population and a given school setting."

9. How often do your ablest, average and poor readers read to you or to be class during the week?

While some indicated that all pupils were given an opportunity to read as often as as possible, others indicated that the weakest pupils read more often than the others.

TABLE 32

READING BY ABLEST, AVERAGE AND POOREST READERS(%)

CATEGORY	ABLEST	AVERAGE	POOREST
1. Once a week	24	12	20
2. Twice a week	56	68	36
3. Thrice a week	18	8	28
4. Four times a week	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The poorest readers read more often because they need most of the teachers' attention.

10. What teaching aids (including audio visual equipment) do you use in the teaching of English?

Many teachers and educators recognise that audio-visual materials are essential to good teaching. The following were some of the aids used by teachers in teaching of English: records; tape recorders for free/creative writing and literature; charts with listening comprehension questions and grammar exercises; pictures; transparencies; magazines for free/creative writing; slide projector; puzzles; newspaper

articles; gramophone records; and concrete objects relevant to the lesson.

Teachers are familiar with most of the teaching aids that are available, so no attempt will be made here to single out any aid that can be most profitably used and the method of using any of the aids. There is no doubt that effective use of the aids mentioned above are having a positive effect on the language growth of children.

The Bullock Report (op. cit. : 314) has two reservations on this issue. "The first is that there is no question of the machine taking over the job of the teacher. The second is that we cannot look to any machine to provide of itself some kind of breakthrough in the teaching of reading The equipment is not in itself significant; what is important is the quality of the materials and the use to which they are put. In themselves these are no more prone to poor use than any other teaching materials; but neither do they have any special qualities which will make them succeed independently of the teacher who is using them." The use of audio-visual aids requires thorough planning by the teacher.

Audio-visual aids can play a very important part in stimulating interest in books. Erickson and Curl (1972 : 15-38) suggest that audio-visual technology may play seven basic roles in helping teachers to arrange more effective environments for learning, as follows:

1. Enlarging external human experience.
2. Providing meaningful information.
3. Stimulating interest.
4. Guiding student response.
5. Overcoming physical limitations.

6. Stimulating problem solving.
7. Providing diagnostic and remedial tools.

The writers emphasize that help from technology is not automatic.

"This help accrues to those teachers who are competent and creative, and who have at their disposal reasonably effective local measures and services."

11. How often do you set Comprehension Exercises requiring written answers?

Written comprehension exercises are set to improve particular skills and to test the pupils' understanding of what he has read. Teachers replied to the question as follows:

TABLE 33

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH WRITTEN COMPREHENSION EXERCISES
ARE SET

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
1. Once a week	28
2. Once a fortnight	62
3. Once in three weeks	<u>10</u>
	<u>100</u>

Many of the respondents pointed out that they spent more time on oral comprehension because it was less time consuming and enabled them to teach rather than test comprehension. It seems essential for students to be taught the various comprehension skills. Although some pupils develop the skills to a high level without guidance, other pupils need to be taught them. The teacher has to provide cues to help the pupils understand what they are reading, guide discussions, ask pointed,

penetrating or directional questions, and allow independent practice activities.

12. Indicate briefly how you teach comprehension to your fourteen to fifteen year old pupils?

Reference has already been made to the need for the teaching of the various comprehension skills. A brief summary of the method generally used by the respondent teachers is given below. Although the teachers used various methods, all had a single aim, namely, teaching of the relevant skills.

1. Discuss the topic sentence. This aids understanding.
2. A general discussion of the entire passage follows.
3. Group discussions of the passage.
4. The passage is read aloud by either the teacher or a pupil or pupils.
5. Teacher helps to expand and clarify the meaning of certain words and phrases. Use is made of contextual cues.
6. An interpretation and understanding of the questions follows.
7. Pupils read the passage more than once and look for key ideas.
8. The teacher then asks leading questions. Pupils can be asked to give a precis of the passage.

Downing (op. cit. : 71-76) suggests that teachers should choose passages which the student can read with understanding. A passage which the student cannot understand even with the teacher's intervention should be avoided because it creates negative attitudes. The teacher must consider the interest level and age of the pupils. It is essential for the pupils to have an adequate experiential background in order to understand and to use what he reads.

It would seem that teachers play a central role in teaching rather than simply arranging for pupils to practice comprehension tasks. The teacher needs to choose questions judiciously, make use of technological aids, where possible, react flexibly and encourage pupils to make individual responses.

13. Please indicate the kinds of questions your pupils find more difficult?

A study of the Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports has shown that pupils still experience difficulties in the appreciative and evaluative skills, the vocabulary of comprehension and understanding of questions.

TABLE 34

QUESTIONS PUPILS FIND MOST DIFFICULT

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	Factual recall	0,30
2.	Reasoning	9,25
3.	Logic/inference	18,50
4.	Testing vocabulary	12,00
5.	Asking opinion	32,05
6.	Tests of mood/tone	<u>27,90</u>
TOTAL		<u>100,00</u>

From the replies received it can be seen that the higher level comprehension skills pose problems for many pupils.

14. From what sources do you tend to select comprehension passages?
Comment on the suitability for use with your fourteen to
fifteen year old pupils, of the passages for comprehension in
the text books you use with your pupils?

Recommended text books form the basis for the selection of comprehension exercise passages. Some teachers mentioned, in addition, newspapers, novels and magazines. Most of the respondents indicated that the prescribed texts were suitable for use in their classes. Some felt that the text books are not suitable for practical grade classes, that the passages are not graded, that some passages are out of the range of South African Indian pupils, and that there was a need for passages to have local settings. Of the passages contained in the textbooks for standards 7,8, 9 and 10 (The Art of English (1970) by Short and Comprehensive English Practise (1969) by Rumboll) only about 25 per cent of the themes deal with contemporary issues and very little attention is paid to South African or Indian background and culture.

15. Name the textbook/s you use with your fourteen to fifteen year old pupils?

The following are some of the textbooks used in the teaching of comprehension to secondary school pupils: The Art of English (1970), Two Ears, Two Eyes and a Tongue (1976), Comprehensive English Practice (1969), Touchstones (1969), Pictorial and Practical English (1963), Laughter and Fear (1969), Brighter English (1965) and Double Up (1971). The Head of Department (English), in consultation with the different teachers, chooses the books that the pupils are to use. He has to choose books that have been recommended by the Department of Internal Affairs.

16. Do you set your pupils listening comprehension exercises?

If so. how? Please elaborate?

In listening comprehension exercises the pupil has to listen for the main facts or ideas and ignore irrelevant distractions. A majority (96 per cent) of the respondents indicated that they set listening comprehension exercises. The following method seems typical:

1. A passage of about one hundred and fifty words is read, or tape recorded and played to the pupils. The pupils write responses to questions. The emphasis is on recall, author's intention, writer's attitude to the subject, his style, and the listener's response.
2. In some cases the questions are written on the chalkboard. The passage is then read and the pupils answer the questions.

Some teachers mentioned that this type of comprehension was done once in three weeks, some did this exercise in the practical grade classes only, and others mentioned that the questions were orally answered. Sometimes multiple choice questions were set.

17. Please suggest some aspects of the home environment of your pupils which you feel may adversely affect reading and comprehension skills?

The following are some of the factors mentioned by teachers which affect reading and comprehension skills:

1. No proper study room.
2. Indigence. Pupils have to do household duties. They, therefore, have very little or no time for reading.
3. Uneducated parents. There is no active and real support from the home.
4. Scarcity of newspapers and other reading material.

5. Pupils spend too much time in viewing television and, therefore, inadequate time is devoted to reading.
6. The parents do not read newspapers and books and, therefore, the child is not provided with stimulation. There is nobody to encourage him by example.
7. Some pupils work after school and do not have time to do private reading.
8. Noisy, crowded living conditions.
9. Poor socio-economic background. This is aggravated by broken homes, emotional stress and lack of stimulating material and motivation from the home.

The absence of books and inability of most parents to stimulate their children to read, ask questions or discuss some of their problems stand out as factors which affect the pupils' reading and comprehension. It is also important to note that a house in which poor English is spoken may be detrimental to language development.

18. Rank the following in order of importance (write '1' for 'most important', '6' for 'least important') as causes for lowered attainment in English (generally) among your fourteen to fifteen year old pupils?

TABLE 35

CAUSES FOR LOWERED ATTAINMENT IN ENGLISH

CATEGORY		PERCENTAGE
1.	Lack of reading matter	58,2
2.	Lack of facilities for homework	30,5
3.	Illiterate parents	1,3
4.	Lack of library	4,9
5.	Absenteeism	2,4
6.	Lack of parental encouragement	2,7
TOTAL		<u>100,0</u>

It will be seen from the above table that a lack of reading material, and facilities or supervision for homework are the most important factors considered by teachers as being responsible for lowered attainment in English. Pearson and Johnson (1974 : 18-19) suggest that factors in the home and school environment affect reading. Among the home environment factors mentioned were income and socio-economic status. The language and concepts that the child brings to school determine his success and/or failure in academic attainment and parents who help their children understand and interact with the world prepare them to become good readers when they get to schools. Strang et. al. (1967 : 24) suggest that parent - child relationships and parental attitudes towards reading have a strong influence on the child's self-concept and attitudes toward reading. Other factors which are important in building reading interest include the provision of time to read and access to suitable reading materials.

Although the home has the greatest influence on the child's language development and competence in its use, the role of the school cannot be overlooked. Lack of reading material, parental encouragement and motivation, and inadequate facilities for homework stand out as factors in the home environment which cause lowered attainment in English.

There are many ways of stimulating pupils' reading and every teacher has his own methods. Therefore, this section is limited to a review of American and British literature on ways which have been used to encourage reading.

Potts (1976 : 49-55) suggests that the classroom environment should be stimulating. There should be a variety of well-produced books attractively displayed in the classroom and the library. These

displays can be centred upon topics of interest, a television series, and the like. The aim of the classroom and library displays should be to encourage the children to explore books. For the less academic student, Potts strongly recommends the use of television programmes and films as a stimulus to reading. Novels or parts of novels related to topics being studied in school could be read either by the whole class or by a group of students and discussed critically in the light of other reading of a more factual nature.

Walcutt et al (op. cit. : 284) suggest the following criteria for choosing reading material and aiding comprehension:-

1. The reading matter should stimulate the child's interest and not stifle it.
2. Reading matter should stimulate the child's imagination by providing an opportunity to anticipate. In this regard books involving suspense are very useful.
3. Reading material should stimulate the mind by giving the reader an opportunity to think things through. "The reading material he is offered in school should have the potential for permanence in his life; giving him the chance to compare the world he know, to be provoked by it, and to take from it some new view of the world."

Lind (1936 : 464-465) suggests that reading cannot be made interesting, but must be recognised by the person as important for himself. "What is necessary is to understand the child and his needs, to find other outlets for his activities, to change his scheme of values, to give new direction to his interests, and to direct his reading in accord with these."

Thomson (1979 : 213-220) has offered a ten-point programme to encourage reading:-

1. Always consider the child's point of view when recommending books.
2. Make positive use of television.
3. Children's television viewing time should be rationed.
4. A certain amount of time should be set aside for reading, both at home and at school.
5. Books and other reading material must be made familiar and attractive.
6. Make a place as well as a time for reading.
7. Show children how to get information from books.
8. Allow pupils to read comics.
9. Present books attractively.
10. Teach children how to use a library and a bookshop.

Although Thomson's recommendations were directed at primary school pupils, they are also applicable to junior secondary pupils.

Strang et al (op. cit. : 283, 63) suggest that to make pupils read books, a teacher may use many devices other than the formal book report. He may keep a class file for individualized reading. Pupils may be allowed to read extensively on any subject or theme. They may illustrate the book, write the diary of a character or change its ending in any way that seems appropriate. The pupils may be allowed to have panel discussions in which several groups discuss books that deal with similar themes or provision could be made for informal 'book chats.' Teachers may also dramatize a story to introduce books to a class. The writers also suggest that one period a week be devoted to a wide variety of recreational material. During this time pupils choose

anything that they want to read except comics and prescribed text books. The teacher guides pupils and informally checks comprehension through individual discussions. The writers are of the opinion that it is not lack of time but failure to select appealing books that limit pupils reading.

Morris (1965 : 87-91) suggests that growth towards reading maturity requires the pupil to read as objectively as possible. To achieve this aim Morris has proposed the following strategies:

1. He suggests the use of a 'quiz technique' which relies on the use of graded exercises in training pupils to answer questions on various aspects of their reading. This forces them to attend more closely to the text and thus improves their power of comprehension.
2. He calls the second strategy 'readability-control'. Here the pupil is trained on a graded series of texts so that what he reads at successive stages of advance along a gradient of difficulty is limited by his level of intelligence, and not by his lack of technical accomplishment in respect of vocabulary load and knowledge of more intricate forms of sentence-construction.
3. Finally, Morris suggests 'speed reading' which attempts to improve comprehension by insisting on a direct association between printed symbol and meaning, without the interposition of sound. He suggests that there should be continuous training in this type or silent reading at maximum possible speed.

The writers cited are in favour of pupils being exposed to a variety of interesting reading material in which the vocabulary and sentence-construction employed would be within the range of the reader's understanding and powers of recognition. By advancing steadily along a gradient the pupil will be helped to read as effectively as is possible at his grade level. Although Morris (op. cit.) suggests

that there should be continuous training in silent speed reading, there is no conclusive evidence to prove that it aids comprehension. "Though speed training can be expected to improve comprehension of easy reading materials, the gain in speed will not transfer to all kinds of reading" (Strang et. al., op. cit. : 271). It seems that improvement in comprehension leads to improvement in the rate of reading. Therefore, the mature and efficient reader needs to vary his speed to suit his purpose, the difficulty of the text and his familiarity with the type of material being studied. When the pupil reads for pleasure there is little demand for accuracy and comprehension at the higher levels. Such material lends itself to speed and literal comprehension. On the other hand when one reads a Shakespearean play or a scientific report, there is a need for accuracy and an understanding of the writer's intention. Here speed is of secondary importance.

De Boer and Whipple (1961 : 69-70) suggest that the teacher must demonstrate the manner in which the student should approach a passage or book that he is to study. The writers suggest the following procedure:

1. The reader should note the title and headings in order to see the author's topic or problem.
2. The reader should peruse the introduction so as to familiarise himself with purpose, and read the conclusion in which the author summarizes what he has presented.
3. He may skim through the passage or look for an overview.
4. The student should also be shown how to test himself for recall of the ideas.
5. He may then reread to clarify important points that were not clearly understood.

Aukerman (op. cit. : 20) suggests that the following factors affect

readability and eventually comprehension of what is read:

1. Length, type and complexity of sentences.
2. Complicated or unfamiliar, obsolete, colloquial, allusive and ambiguous vocabulary.
3. Abstract concepts.
4. Sophisticated syntax.

It is unlikely that all of the above factors will be concentrated in any one selected passage. But one or more of the factors is likely to present considerable difficulties for Indian pupils because many of the passages chosen for comprehension exercises are generally not taken from contemporary or South African writing.

Pearson and Johnson (op. cit.: 8-20) suggest that interest, linguistics competence, motivation, phonological knowledge, reading ability, semantic and syntactic knowledge, and the written message are factors influencing reading comprehension. Linguistic competence is an absolute pre-requisite for reading comprehension because language is the medium of comprehension. It, therefore, seems that a start has to be made with the teaching of language and vocabulary if the pupils' reading and comprehension is to improve.

In summary it can be stated that to encourage pupils to read, teachers should read aloud to their pupils, consider their interests and provide books on modern fiction, true life stories and suspense.

5.8 CONCLUSION

The majority of the respondents were of the opinion that slow learners tend to be weak in self criticism and, therefore, do not evaluate their own errors readily. It is, therefore, essential for teachers to guide and help these pupils. They could do this by drawing the attention of their pupils to books that might interest them, providing an atmosphere conducive to learning, positive attitudes and intensive motivation.

The task of the school is to facilitate the process of understanding by every means possible.

The emergence of social class as distinct from caste differences among Indians has led to this community adapting a western life style and this has led to an increase in the use of English among the present generation of pupils. But as was pointed out in the introductory chapter, many Indian pupils experience numerous problems in the use of English. An examination and discussion of some of the problems and approaches in the teaching of English to low achievers follows in the next chapter.

6. PUPILS WHO DO NOT EXPERIENCE SUCCESS IN ENGLISH:
A REVIEW OF SOME PROBLEMS AND APPROACHES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Children who do not experience success in school are variously referred to as 'underachievers', 'slow learners' or 'backward'. Such descriptive terms have been used interchangeably by parents, teachers and some educators when referring to persons with learning problems. To prevent confusion certain terms will now be clarified for the purposes of the present study.

Felton and Biggs (1977 : 5) define underachievement from an extrinsic point of view as "the observed difference between expected and actual performance" and in a non-academic context as "a discrepancy from community norms in a minimally productive direction." From the extrinsic point of view performance is measured by achievement tests and teacher evaluations. These methods provide some objective measures of capacity and performance, but there is no clearcut relationship between attainment test and intelligence test results. There are many unsolved problems associated with the latter, such as a definition of intelligence, cultural bias on the part of the tests, the possible effects of reading problems, motivation and anxiety.

According to Kirk (1962 : 85-86) the slow learner is not mentally retarded "because he is capable of achieving a moderate degree of academic success even though at a slower rate than the average child. He is educated in the regular classes without special provisions

except an adaptation of the regular class program to fit his slower learning ability."

Kephart (1960 : VII) suggests that slow learning children lack the basic readiness skills of the average child. They are not 'backward' as such, though.

Tansley and Gulliford (1960 : 4) suggest that 'backward' children fall "into the low-average group, both in mental ability and other characteristics", such as physical and emotional ones.

The Indian pupils with whom the writer has been concerned are not mentally deficient, but the problems that they experience in language may require active remediation. The present work is concerned with 'normal' pupils who experience grave difficulty in communication through English. These include pupils whose home language is not English; those who are in practical classes, that is approximately 20 per cent of the total Indian secondary school population; and in addition the broad range of those who experience frustration or failure in language usage.

Several authors (Johnson, 1963; Tansley and Gulliford, op. cit.; Bell, 1970; Felton and Biggs, op. cit.) suggest that the traditional school curriculum does not make adequate provision for children who do not fit into the 'average' or 'normal' part of the population and these writers suggest that the basic curriculum must be either adapted or modified so as to meet the educational needs of this group of children. It is also suggested that these children do not succeed because they are handicapped by poor language usage. Language is very important

in education. Everything that the child learns is dependent upon his knowledge and control of language. It is essential that the child should use language effectively because linguistic competence is surely a pre-requisite for the whole of the child's scholastic development. It is the primary means by which the individual co-operates with the rest of society. A child learns language primarily by using the four modes of talking, listening, writing and reading in close relationship with one another. "The success of the secondary school can be said to depend very considerably on the level of achievement in reading and language. Unless the pupil can read, write and talk competently he cannot benefit from the range of learning which the secondary school provides" (A Language for Life, 1975 : 237).

An examination of statistics related to occupational structure, income levels and educational qualifications suggested that the majority of Indian South Africans belong to the working-class and a relatively small percentage belong to the middle-class. Evidence also suggested that there is a trend in upward social mobility in terms of education and occupation.

It was also suggested that the social factors in the home background such as poverty, large families, poor socialization patterns, the relatively low level of education of many parents, social disorganisation, and unstimulating home environments lead in many cases to this being a depressed group.

The discussion in chapters three and four also suggested that certain general problems of education for Indians such as crowded schools, lack of libraries, inadequate funding, paucity of experiences and

general language inadequacy of many pupils are other factors which hamper and restrict educational mobility.

Against such a background it is now necessary to consider some of the problems encountered by pupils on entry into the secondary school. These problems centre around their lack of interest in books, difficulty in effecting transfer of training from one area of English to another, weaknesses in appreciating literature, low performance in English throughout their scholastic careers, poor comprehension, the inability of some pupils to control and use language in some areas, and listening and speaking a non-standard form of English outside school. Procter (1977 : 48) suggests that the following are some of the numerous factors which contribute to weaknesses in the teaching of English and consequently to falling standards: an acute shortage of qualified teachers of English; ever increasing numbers of pupils at schools which impose too heavy a load of correcting; too detailed a syllabus; and, on the part of the pupils too many outside interests and activities set against the pace and competition of contemporary life. Although direct parallels cannot be assumed, the problems as stated are also prevalent in schools for Indian pupils. It will be noticed that some of the problems can be overcome by efficient teaching, while others are beyond the immediate control of the school.

6.2 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY PUPILS ON ENTRY INTO THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

For convenience the problems will be considered under different headings.

6.2.1 Lack of Interest in Books

In response to the pupils' questionnaires administered by the writer it was found that 49 per cent of the respondent pupils did not borrow any books from the library. This suggests that these pupils lack

interest in books and are not aware of the functions of reading. Parents and teachers often assume that the purposes of reading are self evident to children. People read books and materials for a variety of purposes.

Lind (1936 : 456) studied adults' reports about their reading in childhood and found four main purposes: (1) for affording temporary diversion; (2) for self development; (3) for escape; (4) for objective interests and activities.

Waples (cited by Burmeister, 1964 : 56) gives five reasons why people choose to read: (1) For instrumental effect, that is to solve a problem, pass a test, give a speech, etc. (2) For prestige, that is to improve their own self image or enhance their own egos. (3) For reinforcement of an attitude, that is to reinforce their opinions or feelings about their political party, their religion, their styles, or even their superiority. (4) For vicarious aesthetic experiences, that is to feel or sense emotions and motives of writers such as Shakespeare, Cervantes, Chaucer, Keats and others so that they can see clearly what another age was like or what another country is like. (5) For respite, that is for temporary relief from pain or sorrow, or for escape.

Moyle (1968 : 204-207) suggests that people read to find information, for study purposes and for enjoyment.

Frase (1977 : 42-43) suggests that purpose can be communicated from teacher to student and that by modifying purpose and directing reading activities the teacher influence learning, and that purpose in reading may lead a reader either to stray from or move toward desirable learning outcomes.

Once pupils have established a purpose for reading they should, it seems, be taught to use books efficiently. A study of Senior Certificate Examiners' Report for Indian pupils shows that pupils experience difficulty in answering concisely, questions which involve selective or purposeful reading. The following are some of the comments made by the 1979 Examiners:

1. "Pupils did not come up to expectation with regard to answering technique.
2. Candidates answered essay questions by mere narration and often failed to direct their answers to the questions. There was a paucity of critical analysis and discussion and organisation was indifferent. Much irrelevant material was included as were pseudo-psychological expressions that were not understood.
3. Vague, irrelevant and unsubstantiated statements characterised the answers of many candidates... There was ample evidence of candidates' inability to gear their answers to the question."

The 1980 Senior Certificate Examiner's Report made the following observations:

1. "It is essential that answering techniques and understanding of terminology be taught to pupils during class tests and exercises.
2. The answer to the questions ... revealed a tendency towards long-winded narration with the resultant disregard for the requirements of the questions."

Some of the problems experienced by pupils arise from the fact that many pupils generally approach all reading material in the same way, that is, they do not realise that style of reading is dependent on purpose.

Herber (1970 : 33) suggests that two broad areas of purpose need to be established, namely the ideas to be discovered and the skills to be applied. The student must understand what he is reading, why he is reading and adapt instructions to that purpose so that his reading becomes effective.

Robinson (1946 : 105) suggests that skill in reading different types of material may vary according to the purpose of the reader, and differences in vocabulary and style of writing. He suggests that pupils need training in: rate of reading, comprehension accuracy, a wide and broad background of vocabulary, and special reading skills. These skills entail an ability to: follow narrative sequence; make references about characters and setting; recognise mood or tone; and reading for sensory imagery, figurative language and an ability to examine the writer's logic (Aukerman, 1972 : 40).

After surveying literature, Downing (1976 : 20) concludes that there are at least three possible improvements in reading education; (1) more attention in helping students or pupils to establish purposes in their reading; (2) deliberate teaching and practice in adjusting reading technique to reading purpose; (3) more concern for reading skill development by subject area teachers for all specific reading purposes in their particular disciplines. These words suggest that all subject teachers should not assume that pupils will themselves acquire the special skills of comprehension, skimming and scanning but that the teachers should actively guide children in their reading habits so that they will appreciate the value of books. Those children who use books regularly may develop such skills as a result of wide and varied experience, "but there are those, notably bright children from non-bookish homes, who may never do so unless they are taught how to read at different levels" (Potts, 1976 : 42).

Morris (1965 : 87) is of the opinion that: "Encounters with books that do not involve one in 'meeting' the author add nothing to one's growth as a person." Morris suggests that the mature reader should search for an exact and complete understanding of the mind of his author. This means that the reader needs to search for an objective understanding of the author's precise meaning.

Burmeister (op. cit. : 95) suggests that it is the duty of the teacher to encourage and provide for extended individual or group learnings, to clarify problems and to help students locate materials which warrant further perusal or study.

The above words suggest that pupils need to read as objectively as possible while making active and personal responses to their reading. Critical reading is motivated by the reader's purposes, his ability to grasp the writer's message, interpret it in terms of his own background of experience, and to separate irrelevant from relevant facts. Critical reading is surely required in every subject of the curriculum and is essential for success in learning.

Pupils need to be taught to read for specific purposes so that their learning becomes more meaningful. This cannot be achieved unless teachers help students to develop the habit of purposeful reading in the primary school. Buzzing (1963 : 217-220) suggests that children read for escapism, to obtain information, and to fill up time. Bell (op. cit. : 59) has suggested the following as worthy goals for children of limited ability: reading for protection, reading for information or instruction and reading for pleasure. It will be noticed that the above aims are generally considered essential for all meaningful and extensive reading.

6.2.2 Difficulties in Effecting Transfer of Training from One Area of English to Another

During 'transfer' the general learning resulting from one area of English are applied and used, in either a modified form of the old situation or a totally new one, in other comparable situations. Herber (op. cit. : 121) is of the opinion that: "Transfer makes possible a generalised use of knowledge and skills and creates greater economy of learning." Burmeister (op. cit. : 195-196) suggests that the transfer of learning arises at the application level when, without prompts, the student has to recognise a situation in which previously learned principles apply and then utilise the principles successfully. Transfer is very important in reading and comprehension because the skills learnt in the primary school are applied in other subjects throughout the primary and secondary levels. Teachers in secondary schools often assume that pupils automatically transfer these skills and abilities to other learning situations, but it seems that this applies in only a few instances.

A study of the relevant Senior Certificate Examiners' Report shows that Indian pupils find it difficult to make the transfer easily. With regard to the Comprehension questions in 1979 the Report states: "The kind of appreciation tested in literature was tested in this 'language' paper and revealed very little evidence of a transfer of ability." A similar comment regarding poetry was made in the 1980 report. "Techniques studied in prescribed poetry were not transferred to the unseen poem. Often interpretation was restricted to the literal level only." In a similar way, many pupils fail to transfer their knowledge of grammar to the other skills of language. Burmeister identified a number of situations where students achieve remarkable success but in a specific compartmentalised situation and without

the ability to generalise. Many students do well in specific 'grammar' questions, yet fail to use grammatical principles in other writing. In appreciating literature, pupils identify the theme, without pondering its relevance to life or to their own lives. Some students spell well in the English class, but poorly in all other subjects. The above situations suggest that many pupils do not reach the application level of development.

Slow learners experience greater difficulty in effecting transfer from one area of learning to another. Therefore, teaching for transfer seems essential. The pupils need assistance to transfer known abilities from one situation to another, rather than being expected to make generalisations spontaneously. The teacher can help students to recall prior uses of the skill and discuss its appropriateness to the new situation to ensure transfer. The teacher has to vary the amount of assistance he gives because "too many prompts lower the level of the activity - possibly to the literal level" while "too few prompts make the transfer impossible for some students" (Burmeister, op. cit. : 196). Every subject teacher in both the primary and secondary schools should, it seems, play his part in assisting and coaching pupils in the process of transfer by devising methods for its application.

6.2.3 Weaknesses Encountered by Pupils in Appreciating Literature

According to the Bullock Report (A Language for Life, op.cit. : 525) "Literature brings the child into an encounter with language in its most complex forms and is a valuable source of imaginative insight. It should be recognised as a powerful force in English teaching at all levels." Potts (op.cit. : 18) suggests that literature provides the widest and richest source of imaginative adventures and experiences. It helps in stimulating imaginative development.

Povey (1980 : 18) wrote: "Literature is a central heart of the educational process, the key through which students explore the world they are encountering." Jenkins (1965 : 145-146) suggests that literature traverses time and space; can enrich one's personal living and should give one insight into the whole range of man's experiences and ideals. The importance of the above statements can be gauged by the fact that most university courses in English at South African universities are literature orientated.

A study of the relevant Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports shows that many Indian pupils experience difficulty in appreciating literature. The following are some of the comments made about the answers to the literature paper in November 1979:

1. "The general performance of candidates revealed a decline compared to the standard achieved in 1978.
2. They (the pupils) failed to offer answers of quality.
3. Unseen poetry continues to offer difficulties to most candidates... Most answers ranged between worthless and satisfactory... Candidates do not yet understand what is required of them in questions aimed at poetic diction, technique and devices.
4. Candidates answered essay questions by mere narration and often failed to direct their answers to the question. There was a paucity of critical analysis and discussion and organisation was indifferent.
5. Terminology presented problems to many candidates.
6. Vague, irrelevant and unsubstantiated statements characterised the answers of many candidates... Answers lacked originality.
7. There is a tendency on the part of pupils to narrate the plot. They lacked critical insight. Answers revealed illogical reasoning and erratic thinking and contradictions."

Several reasons can be suggested to explain the candidates' poor performance in the literature examination including a limited background of experiences, and methods of teaching and preparations for the examinations. Each will be considered briefly.

i) A limited background of experience: is a result of cultural disadvantage and the lack of an intellectually stimulating background. In response to the pupils' questionnaires administered by the writer it was found that there was a lack of magazines, periodicals, newspapers and library books in many homes. Teachers in schools for Indians are faced with the problem of teaching literature which has unfamiliar idiom, allusions and foreign backgrounds and settings. South African Indian pupils could possibly respond more willingly and positively to literature rooted in a South African setting or a culture with which they are familiar. Here are a few examples from *Oliver Twist* - a prescribed setbook for the standard eight pupils - to point out some of the problems with which an Indian pupil may be faced:

"'Poor Bet! She went to see the Body, to speak to who it was,' replied Chitling, his countenance falling more and more, 'and went off mad, screaming and raving, and beating her head against the boards; so that they put a strait-weskut on her and took her to the hospital-and there she is.'

'Wot's come of young Bates?' demanded Kags.....

'There's nowhere else to go now, for the people at the Cripples are all in custody, and the bar of the ken-I went up there and see it with my own eyes-is filled with traps.'...

'The sessions are on,' said Kags: 'if they get the inquest over, and Bolter turns King's evidence: as of course he will, from what he's said already: they can prove Fagin an accessory before the fact, and get the trial on Friday, and

he'll swing in six days from this, by G-!

'You should have heard the people groan,' said Chitling;

'the officers fought like devils, or they'd have torn him away. He was down once....'

This and other such passages present considerable difficulties to South African Indian pupils because of a poverty of vocabulary and a lifestyle that is alien to what they read. In addition to the numerous vocabulary difficulties in the above extract, there are additional problems with regard to phrases, clauses and sentences. Phrases and clauses such as 'to speak to who it was', 'put a strait-weskut on her', 'The sessions are on' and 'turns King's evidence' pose problems and many pupils become confused and are unable to understand the author's meaning. Unless the pupils are tutored, or read very closely many would not know that: the 'Body' refers to Nancy's corpse; 'hospital' refers to asylum; 'turns King's evidence' refers to the giving of information to the police in the hope of receiving lenient treatment; and an 'accessory before the fact' refers to a contributor to the murder before it was committed. Such words, phrases and clauses would also pose problems for White pupils but not to the same degree as they would for pupils in schools for Indians in South Africa.

Smith and Robinson (1980 : 312) suggest that care must be taken in choosing literature so that it falls within the 'readability levels' of the pupils for whom it is provided. The writers are of the opinion that the frustrating experience of trying to read literature that is 'too hard' may discourage a child from making attempts to read at all.

Therefore, it seems necessary for teachers to consider their pupils' interests in terms of age, sex, intelligence, home influences and reading-achievement levels.

ii) Methods of teaching and preparation for the examinations: The study of literature in secondary schools is generally confined to a detailed study of prescribed novels, drama and poetry. Because of the demands of examinations teachers often outline character sketches, suggest themes, dictate plots, summaries, commentaries and explanations rather than allowing pupils to 'explore' literature. These aids can be helpful to reduce the students' difficulties but if used for the study of all literature, serve very little purpose. Williams (1976 : 43-51) suggests that such dictated explanations and summaries given to pupils to study for examination purposes are worse than futile because they defeat the whole object of training children to read literature with a mixture of sharp intelligence and emotional sympathy. The Bullock Report (op. cit. : 130) cites the opinions of Sampson, Aldous Huxley and Cecil Day Lewis in rejecting the view that literature should be studied to answer examination questions on the text. Sampson wrote: "If in any school something called literature is systematically taught, the efforts will usually be found to be directed towards literal history, or 'meanings', or the explanations of difficulties, or summaries of plays and stories, or description of characters all of which are evasions of the real work before the teacher responsible for literature." Huxley felt that examinations in literature encourage pupils to repeat "mechanically and without reflection other people's judgements." Lewis saw the process as a threat to a true and sincere response.

Adler (cited by Donelson, 1977 : 161) suggests that "A recent trend in the teaching of literature is an emphasis in the classroom upon exploring literature with students rather than teaching about literature." The aim of this response-centred approach is to encourage pupils to explore and respond openly and honestly, rather than to regurgitate what the teacher has said, but the approach demands a level of sophistication usually lacking in the pupils with which this study has been concerned.

Povey (op. cit. : 15-19) is of the opinion that literature demands that the reader exercises his imagination to the fullest. Teachers emphasise the understanding of character and analysis of plot but frequently neglect the significance of the theme, the writer's purposes and the skills which foster true appreciation. Povey suggests that there is a need to re-examine and redefine the purpose of teaching literature and this in turn would determine a more appropriate choice of text books. He suggests that South African literature should be taught at all levels of education and that South African works studied in schools should include those written by non-Europeans. At the present moment not a single work by a Black writer is formally studied by Indian pupils, despite the existence of several worthwhile text books.

Williams (op. cit. : 43) suggests that sound foundations for the study of literature should be laid in the early years of the primary school. "Without such foundations all attempts to teach literature will be fraught with very grave difficulties and frustrations for both teacher and pupil." The writer suggests that a very important factor in the early preparation for the study of English literature is the attitude of the teacher. A keen and competent teacher who enjoys literature will be able to motivate his pupils to 'experience' literature without any formal testing of such reading.

Lodge (1977 : 136) reviewed literature to find out under what circumstances the kind of response to literature involving aesthetic awareness along with personal involvement took place. The circumstances seemed to be these:

1. That the reading was of the reader's own choosing.
2. That literature had first been selected so that it was at a level that the child or adolescent reader could read as experience.
3. That such literature was taught so that the reader's intellectual and emotional responses were accepted, clarified, and used by teachers to help students respond to it fully as aesthetic and personal experience.

In short, Lodge suggests that reading must be thoughtful and reflective.

Purves and Rippere (cited by Brossell, 1977 : 60) identified four categories of response to literature: engagement-involvement, perception, interpretation, and evaluation. These responses can only be developed if a policy of reading across the curriculum is adopted by all schools.

Morris (op. cit. : 90) suggests that in the teaching of literature the teacher can undertake the twin tasks of developing an increasing understanding of what is read and an increasing awareness of what the reading of books can contribute to their understanding of life and the better ordering of their experience. The teaching techniques here would include discussions which would be intended to ensure that each pupil's individual interpretation of the text would be set in the wider context of the interpretations of other pupils and the teacher. The pupil is also to be made aware of the relevance of the book as a comment on life as they understand it.

The effectiveness of the programmes mentioned above would surely lead to pupils becoming more active as they would be called upon to

make individual and personal responses. As pupils gained experience their level of accomplishment in literature would improve and their attitude towards its study would broaden and so literature would make a more effective contribution to their education.

6.2.4 A History of Low Performance in English

Gopaulsing (1960 :117) and Naicker (1979 : 191-195) found that pupils from low-income homes performed poorly in English. Such pupils are handicapped because they do not read widely and many of them have parents who have had very little schooling and are unable to provide the stimulating environment which is so essential for the development of language. As these pupils progress through school their performance in English is likely to deteriorate. Because of this 'cumulative deficit' the pupils have difficulty in reading at the higher level; appreciating literature; and with comprehension skills involving evaluation, appreciation and reasoning (Refer to table 34).

Bughwan (1970 : 331) found categories of error with regard to structure, use of language, and style in the work of senior secondary students, post secondary school students, and those who were in the final year of English for the B.A. degree. Bughwan suggests that habits were firmly entrenched and that students did not 'improve' their written language.

Rose (1980 : 9-12) suggests that the following are some of the problems experienced by young people in the efficient and adequate use of language:

1. The child's attitude to English: Some pupils are under the misapprehension that English 'comes naturally' and therefore need not be studied.
2. Cultural deprivation: Rose defines this as "a lack of communication in the home" and suggests that affluent members of society

are deprived as well as manual labourers' families. The children from such homes show that their language abilities are scarcely above the purely basic.

3. Intellectual: Rose suggests that at about the age of fourteen some pupils develop an 'idea barrier' and they consciously or otherwise resolutely withdraw from any situation concerned with concepts, hypotheses, possibility and probability. These pupils cease to ask searching questions.

4. Some children do not listen attentively and they fail to distinguish differences in words having similar sounds. Rose attributes this problem of inattentive hearing to the types of modern popular and beat music which young people enjoy. This type of music is not conducive to careful, conscious and deliberate listening.

5. The literature that many pupils read is of the pictorial and picture-book type. Therefore, they do not have much practice in speculation, hypothesising and predicting possibilities.

Such pupils clearly have to be taught the basic skills of English. Several writers (Strang et. al., op. cit.; The Bullock Committee, op. cit.) suggest that pupils need the following skills in English:

i. Vocabulary: A large vocabulary of usable words helps in improving comprehension, reading at the independent level and making precise statements. To read at the independent level, pupils must be able to adjust their speed according to the purpose for reading and the difficulty of materials. It seems that pupils should be familiar with the skills of skimming and scanning because they are generally exposed to more material than they possibly can find time to assimilate in detail. When looking for specific information a pupil needs to scan a text by glancing through chapter headings and sub-titles. On other occasions he may be required to do more than

obtain a general impression of what a passage is about and then he may skim through it. Skimming is cursory reading and it is used when the reader wishes to locate a name, date, word, or if he wishes to obtain general information about the contents of a selection, chapter or story. Robinson (1946 : 18) suggests that scanning speeds up the rate at which the selection, chapter or story can be comprehended and permits a partial pre-comprehension of what is to come. Both these strategies are valuable in nearly every subject of the school curriculum and they need to be taught to the pupil because they do not come 'naturally' to him.

ii. Extension activities: The teacher needs to help pupils to clarify and extend interests, locate varied material, and provide class time for group or individual work, and provide opportunities for making full use of what is being learned or experienced.

To raise the level of such pupils, teachers need to motivate them and extend their reading.

6.2.5 Comprehension Involving High Level Skills

Comprehension involves the act of understanding and necessitates intensive reading. According to Hill (1968 : 27) the real purpose of comprehension is to get more out of reading. To do this the reader has carefully to consider the words that he reads, be aware of what these words directly assert, follow trains of reasoning and attend closely to the relationships between different parts of a passage. Mc Magh (1971 : 1) is of the opinion that if the individual understands what he is reading about then he will not only be able to do unimportant things like passing examinations, but will also find it easier to study and improve his own writing because he will see how other people do the job. Fletcher (page 219) sees comprehension as

"the art of understanding the essential facts conveyed" to the reader either orally or in writing. A comprehension exercise is usually set to test pupils' understanding of and response to the writer's meaning.

A study of the relevant Senior Certificate Examiners' Reports suggests that Indian pupils experience great difficulty in comprehension involving evaluation and appreciation. The following are some of the comments made in the November, 1979 Report:

1. "Pupils' responses indicated a rapid, careless reading which denied them the thorough knowledge of the passage that was required.
2. Candidates still have a tendency to give long-winded answers where a clear, precise response is called for.
3. A critical response on the emotional and intellectual levels of language is expected... It seems that the 'vocabulary' of comprehension needs stressing - words such as 'effect', 'image' and 'approach' are often misunderstood."

In terms of the teachers' questionnaires administered by the writer, it was found that the majority of the pupils experienced difficulty in questions asking for opinions, those testing mood/tone and those requiring reasoning (Refer to table 34).

Downing (op. cit. : 71-75) suggests that difficulties in reading comprehension may be related to four units of text:

- i. Individual words: Some pupils experience difficulty in reading because they have an inadequate knowledge of the meanings of words in a text and are confused by words having many meanings.
- ii. Sentence comprehension: This involves an understanding of the relationship between various parts of a sentence. Pupils experience

difficulty in sentence comprehension when they are unable to analyse a sentence into the phrases which indicate the 'why', 'how', 'who' or 'when' of the action; they are unable to group words into thought units; and they lack knowledge of the use of punctuation.

iii. Paragraph comprehension: Here pupils experience difficulty when they are unable to identify the sentence which contains the main theme. They then cannot perceive the other sentences which amplify or explain the key idea.

iv. Larger units: At this level pupils sometimes have difficulty in comprehension because they lack knowledge of the conventional ways of structuring a story, essay or chapter. In other instances the prescribed text book may be too difficult in content.

Bond and Tinker (cited by Downing, op. cit. : 75) list five specific comprehension limitations which often need correction:

1. Inability to locate and retain information read.
2. Inadequate sense of organisation of material.
3. Limited ability in evaluating what is read.
4. Immaturity in the ability to interpret content.
5. Lack of appreciation abilities.

Jenkinson (1978 : 192-200) suggests that exercises and activities designed to test comprehension rarely probe beyond the literal level of understanding of the passage. The accomplished reader is expected to read between the lines, and extend and assimilate the author's thought. To do this he has to interpret and evaluate what he has read. "To derive full comprehension, a reader must first become the co-author, suspending judgement until he has absorbed the concepts presented, and then scrutinising and assessing the ideas in the light of his own knowledge and experience." Jenkinson suggests that the following two factors may interfere with comprehension:

1. The failure or inability of pupils to identify with the thoughts of the writer.
2. The reader's purposes and interests may affect his level of comprehension.

Glaser (1977 : X) suggests that: "The new challenge for education is to teach competencies that enable individuals to use advanced comprehension skills - to read an unfamiliar text in order to gain new information, to draw inferential judgements from the text rather than accept directly stated information, and interpret complex text so that it can be related to knowledge already acquired."

Comprehension is often compartmentalised as a 'separate subject' on the school time-table, and much of the work done is in the form of text book exercises which have been designed particularly for that purpose. But these exercises are often inadequate for developing comprehension because there is very little opportunity for discussion. Harrison and Gardner (1977 : 86) found that in a period of thirty five minutes, a child working on a comprehension exercise spent only one and three-quarters of a minute in reading the passage. The typical pupil spent most of the lesson writing and re-writing her answers. This suggests that the comprehension exercise, as tackled in many classrooms, is more of a writing exercise than one concerned with the development of reading or comprehension skills. But this does not mean that written exercises should be stopped. In fact, when a child writes down the answers the teacher is able to infer his level of success. Marland (op. cit.) and The Bullock Report (op. cit.) recommend cloze - test passages. "The potential value of cloze tests in the classroom is all the greater because they enable a teacher to learn something about the reading process in the reader who tackles the passage, and this is certainly not a claim one would make for multiple choice comprehension tests" (Marland, op. cit. : 89).

The higher comprehension skills cannot be understood until the basic skills have been mastered. Therefore, it is often necessary for teachers to teach literal, reorganisational and inferential comprehension even at the secondary school level. Only then is it possible for teachers to devise systematic ways to approach evaluation and appreciation. The pupils may do comprehension orally and there should presumably be opportunity for discussion of all material read. These aspects should be seen as an integral feature in the development of reading in all subjects of the curriculum. All teachers, surely, need to ensure that their pupils read intensively, and criticise, evaluate and appreciate what they read.

6.2.6 The Inability of Some Pupils to Control and Use Language in Specific Areas

Many pupils from disadvantaged homes and depressed neighbourhoods do not have the ability to control and use language in some areas, for example, inability to cope with informative writing at high levels of generalisation; comprehension skills involving inference, appreciation and evaluation; the basic reading strategies; and grammatical principles. Such pupils have not grasped the basics of language. They experience difficulties in spelling, concord, expression and written compositions. Their vocabulary is limited because the words they have learned may not have the same meaning in the school situation. This may result in restricted speech and problems in reading. The school, therefore, presents them with unsurmountable problems.

6.2.7 The Effects of a Non-Standard Form of English Outside School

The development of language ability is essential for all learning and education. In schools for Indians great stress is laid on standard expression and variations from the norm are discouraged. But there are many pupils who speak and listen to a non-standard form of English

because this is the kind language spoken by their poorly educated parents at home and by others in their neighbourhood. Many of them live in crowded homes and have few modes of standard language usage available. When such pupils come to school they are expected immediately to switch over to a standard form.

In 'Language in Education', Hymes (1979 : 5-6) had the following to say about American Indian children: "What the Indian children speak and understand may not be an Indian language, but an Indian variety of English ... Many Indian children come to school speaking only English yet encounter difficulty... Children found 'shy' and non-talkative in class may be as talkative as any, if observed in situations where the rights and duties of speaking are those of the community from which they come. In such a case one needs to know; not a language, but a community way of speaking." Such children can communicate more effectively in their neighbourhoods if they use their own dialect or native language. What Hymes had to say about American Indians may also apply to the South African Indian.

Education in South Africa does not specifically provide for minority groups, particularly in the teaching of English. Although the teacher is not able to innovate much, it seems he should accept the language of the child and build on that foundation.

The discussion above may have given the impression that the problems encountered by pupils are individual and isolated. But it seems that this is not the case. For the sake of convenience the problems were discussed under different sub-headings. Many Indian pupils in school experience difficulties in the use of language. The teacher in the junior secondary phase often needs to emphasise and consolidate work done in the primary school, and give guided assistance to those who fail to make the necessary progress.

Having briefly discussed some of the problems encountered by pupils on entry into the secondary school, the writer will now outline the aims and content of the Department of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, English (Higher Grade) syllabus for standards eight, nine and ten and then consider some points of critical analysis relating to the syllabus.

6.3 ENGLISH: GENERAL AIMS

According to the syllabus the general aim of English teaching is: "To promote the pupil's intellectual, emotional and social development."

The specific aims are:

1. "To increase the pupil's capacity to observe, to discriminate, to see relationships, and to order his thoughts coherently.
2. To help the pupil to understand himself and his own emotional and moral responses, so that he may live more fully and consciously and responsibly.
3. To extend, through increasing his capacity to communicate with others, the pupil's mental and emotional world.
4. To extend the pupil's mental, emotional and cultural experience."

An outline of the aims of the course is given below. For the sake of convenience the syllabus is presented under three headings: spoken English, reading and literature, and written English. Each will be considered briefly.

6.3.1 Spoken English

The aim of this part of the course is to improve the pupil's fluency and ability to speak clearly, correctly, confidently and with ease. Oral activity includes conversation, discussions, demonstrations, explanations, the stimulation of the imagination, oral reading, speech, training in

critical and selective listening, dramatic activities, and discussions on prescribed books and books of interest. The syllabus stresses the need for group activities so that as many pupils as possible may be involved.

6.3.2 Reading and Literature

The syllabus makes provision for general reading and study of the prescribed books. The aims according to the syllabus are: "To develop in the pupils an enjoyment of reading by encouraging them to read at the highest level at which they can respond with enthusiasm and sincerity, and above all, with understanding" and to introduce the pupil to the profitable use of the library.

6.3.3 Written English

According to the syllabus the aims of writing should be: "To enable pupils to record and communicate their observations and thoughts in a clear and orderly manner" and to stimulate them to explore and elaborate their thoughts and experience, and develop their powers of thinking.

To achieve the above aims, the relevant syllabus notes that writing must be related to a wide range of the pupil's experiences and states explicitly that language study should not be undertaken or examined out of context.

6.4 SOME POINTS OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS RELATING TO THE SYLLABUS CONSIDERED

The English syllabus does not make provision for the social and cultural values of contemporary Indian life and society nor does it cater for the needs of pupils in the future. It offers very few opportunities for the extension of knowledge. Several justifications

can be advanced for this claim:

1. The education system in the country is controlled by the Whites. The syllabus of the Department of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, is an adaptation of the Core syllabus of the Joint Matriculation Board.
2. The syllabus promotes White culture. Since the Indians are a minority group they choose the 'mainstream' western culture because proficiency in English is linked with job opportunities. The English Syllabus does not make provision for aspects of Indian culture such as literature, drama and performing arts although the Indian performing arts and literature have a rich and historic past. Education for Indians is English-orientated and most Indian pupils are more familiar with the literary works of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Dickens than that of Kalidasa, Tagore, Naryan, Naipaul or Nanda. Indian pupils are often unfamiliar with English background and the prescribed reading and literature study has little bearing on the pupils' world of experience. For these reasons "the experience of English literature is often unavoidably a surface one, superficial and lacking in that depth of experience that literature is meant to transmit" (Bugwan, 1981 : 26).

There are many instances of vague and unclear wording in the syllabus. For instance, under the subtitle 'Spoken English' the following remarks concerning the social aspects of English usage are made: "Pupils should be made aware of the social aspects and functions of spoken English and should be led to see that some ways of speaking are more acceptable than others according to circumstances." It is not clear what this means and how the teacher is to go about achieving this end. There are no clear guidelines as to how the aims as enunciated by the syllabus are to be achieved.

The English syllabus is to a large extent based on the British model and there is an emphasis on British sources. Although inferences can be drawn from overseas studies, it is surely a false premise to assume that these findings may find direct equivalence in the Republic of South Africa. In fact they may have very little to offer South African Indian education because attitudes to education are different and the system of education in South Africa is unique. Because of the influence of overseas studies, English teaching in South Africa has for some time been concerned with the 'thematic approach', critical study of literature and 'creative writing' at the expense of more formal language study and imaginative experience. Pupils are said to encounter rules of syntax 'incidentally', and a direct result may be lack of basic competence.

The Higher and Standard Grade syllabuses in English do not provide for much formal teaching of language structure. According to the syllabus such teaching should "arise from the pupil's needs as revealed in his actual writing and speaking, and should not consist of detached exercises." This suggests an informal approach, as indicated above. The stance is apparently taken because several overseas studies such as Macauley (1947), Robinson (1960), Harris (1965) and Whitehead (1965) failed to find a correlation between the teaching of formal grammar and transfer in other aspects of English. But Mac Leish (cited by Blount, 1970 : 239) found that the teaching of structural and transformational grammars to eleventh and twelfth grade pupils seemed to make students more sensitive to their language structure and their own writing problems. The grammars provided teachers with explicit and unambiguous ways to help students eliminate errors. They seemed to motivate both students and teachers to further English language study. Venter (1976a : 29) and Young (1977 : 25) are also of the opinion that 'formal grammar' helps the

child to acquire a command of his language. Venter (1976b : 7) suggests that grammar should be taught for its own sake. In support of this view he cites Lewis, who wrote: "It (grammar) seeks nothing beyond itself and desires the actuality of knowing for that activity's own sake." According to Venter (1976b : 10) "past experimental evidence suggesting that there is no correlation between knowledge of grammar and language use is extremely questionable and flimsy." The teaching of formal grammar could well assist pupils both in oral and written English because it provides knowledge about sentence construction and usage and may give the weaker pupil confidence through provision of structure.

There is very little formal emphasis in the syllabus on comprehension and much reliance is clearly placed on teachers. Balkissoon (1980 : 40-45) found that "a major problem facing pupils is their inability to understand the precise demands of questions, especially those questions pertaining to the higher levels of comprehension." Similar remarks are made by recent Higher and Standard Grade Examiners' Reports as will be shown. In the report of the Senior Certificate Examination of November 1979 (English), the examiners make the following observations regarding comprehension:

1. "The biggest problem of candidates seemed to be an inability to read questions (or the comprehension passage) properly ... the question requiring response to emotive language was read too literally; instead of 'commenting' as asked, pupils 'explained'.
2. Once again it must be impressed upon candidates that the given passage must be read several times before the meaning can be grasped fully. Often, answers revealed a superficial understanding of the theme or merely a confused interpretation of the passage. There was also a marked tendency for candidates to look into their own personal experiences rather than to illustrate their answers from the

given text, as called for in the questions.

3. Most candidates failed to comprehend the passage and to appreciate the subtlety of the language."

With regard to the section on language the 1979 Examiner's Report states: "Performance here was very disappointing The following areas of language require attention:

Punctuation

Sequence of Tenses

Emotive use of language (in this section, candidates were out of their depth and were unable to interpret the question)."

Similar remarks are made in the 1980 Examiner's Report:

1. "There is a clear need for pupils to experience a wider range of language register, and to be taught language as a living entity ... the 'basics' must of course be known and this year tense usages and transition to indirect speech were particularly poor.
2. Certain areas of language such as summary/précis and emotive use of language still require urgent attention in the classroom."

These words suggest that more emphasis should be placed on the teaching of certain aspects of grammar and comprehension to these particular pupils. The English syllabus needs clearly to be adapted to cater for these and other aspects of English teaching which seem to be neglected. The English syllabus appears at present to place too little emphasis on the techniques of reading, comprehension and original and productive writing.

Just as important as the syllabus is the role of the teacher. The teacher is the most important single factor for the pupils' success in mastering the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The teacher's judgement and his ability to ensure that what is taught

meets his pupils' need at their various stages of language development, is of crucial importance. The teacher needs to build on the previous phase syllabus to ensure sound continuity. To achieve the aims as set in the syllabus the teacher needs to build on initial language development and in the case of some pupils to revise and even re-teach certain skills.

6.5 EXAMINATION DIFFICULTIES

The English syllabus does not generally cater for the individual needs of the learner and the content does not seem to ensure significant differentiation between Higher and Standard Grade syllabuses. In 1979, 3820 pupils wrote English on the Higher Grade and there was a 25.21 per cent conversion to Standard Grade. In 1980, 4306 pupils wrote English on the Higher Grade and there was a 21.57 per cent conversion to Standard Grade. This suggests a too high and indiscriminate entry of candidates on the Higher Grade. But now school principals are allowed to determine the grade in which a pupil can offer a subject and are aware of the problem of indiscriminate entry of candidates on the Higher Grade. Pupils who fail to receive a pass on the Higher Grade in standard nine will not be allowed to write English on the Higher Grade in Standard ten. Previously most pupils insisted on writing English on the Higher Grade because they wished to follow academic careers. With the new regulations in force the position is expected to improve.

The above discussion suggests that not only the secondary school syllabus but also the primary school syllabus, problems of methodology and evaluation need to be redesigned.

Having considered some problems with regard to language studies, the writer will now analyse a few studies dealing with approaches that have been proposed for the teaching of English to pupils who

are not experiencing success. A number of suggestions have already been made in the present section and they will not be repeated, but references will be made to them during the section that follows.

6.6 APPROACHES IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH TO LOW ACHIEVERS.

In this section the writer will analyse studies by Shehan (1970), Holbrook (1968), Cawley (1967), Bell (op. cit.), Adler (1979), Johnson (op. cit.), Kephart (op. cit.) and a Department of Indian Affairs handout: The Teaching of Practical Level English (1978). Although Shehan, Holbrook, Cawley, Bell, Johnson and Kephart were concerned specifically with 'slow' and 'backward' learners, some of the comments they make may be applicable to the kind of children that this chapter is concerned with.

Shehan (op. cit.) suggests that slow learners are restless and inattentive but that they can be easily motivated for short periods of time and they may be enthusiastic when they are presented with interesting tasks or problems. From this it follows that such pupils should be given tasks which appeal to them, are short and within their reach. These pupils need to be convinced that they are capable of producing work of a satisfactory standard and they often blossom under encouragement and praise. But since it takes so little to discourage them, the teacher's main task should, it seems, be one of continual motivation throughout the entire year. The teacher can motivate them by making positive remarks in the written work, he can set work that the pupils enjoy doing and use concrete and technological aids which make learning interesting. These pupils usually need individual help.

Shehan also makes suggestions on methods of teaching spelling, reading, writing and composition and is of the opinion that slow learners must be convinced of knowing how to study effectively and the advantages of speaking and writing standard English before

they are taught the fundamental language skills. It is not that Standard English is good and sub-standard English bad, but if pupils do not learn to speak Standard English when the occasion demands they may be penalized by being kept out of a club that they wish to join, or a better paid job.

Shehan has made very valuable comments and emphasised the basic principles of sound teaching, namely beginning with the simple and the concrete and then advancing to the general **and the abstract**.

A pupil who has not understood the basic linguistic principles will find it very difficult to write compositions, read at the independent level, and study effectively. Shehan has rightly placed emphasis on the teaching of the structure of grammar because most low achievers experience language problems and need to be taught fundamental grammar for oral and written communication.

Holbrook (op. cit.) is of the opinion that sympathetic respect for the learner and the imaginative-creative element in teaching are the most important and effective means of developing the child's capacities. Holbrook suggests that there should not be more than twenty five pupils in a class and that teachers need to have clear objectives, cultivate habits of encouragement and try out imaginative informal experiments until they achieve an acceptable method. He also makes a number of suggestions that teachers can try out in the classroom with low stream children.

Some of Holbrook's remarks on teaching slow learners are of relevance to the present study because he indicated that slow learners need to be understood by teachers and given all the assistance possible. Holbrook proved that with sympathy and understanding low achievers can reach the heights of other 'bright' pupils and emphasised the need for an integration approach. Too often, teachers tend to

compartmentalise different subject and different aspects of a single subject. For instance in English, teachers treat comprehension, reading and composition as separate entities, therefore, many pupils fail to transfer their knowledge of grammar and reading to other subjects in the curriculum.

Bell (op.cit.) is of the opinion that if slow learners are to receive special treatment, their appropriate needs must be diagnosed preferably by the teacher. The use of intelligence and attainment tests may help in this regard. Although few characteristics can be applied to all slow learners, some form of verbal inadequacy can be detected in the majority of such children.

Bell suggests the use of the project method because this stresses the need to provide experiences for less able pupils and emphasises the unity of learning whereby artificial subject divisions are broken down and work is seen to be related to everyday life. Basically the project method works as follows: The teacher chooses a topic which is appropriate to the age and interests of the children. The topic is then used in teaching spoken and written English, reading for information and pleasure, numberwork and writing. All aspects of work are correlated. This method purposefully involves pupils in activity.

Cawley (op.cit.) first discusses the neurophysiological and emotional theories of disability and then suggests diagnostic procedures. The following are some of the diagnostic procedures that he recommends:

1. Informal classroom procedures: This involves the comparison of the child with his classmates. Cawley suggests the use of an eight-point checklist which would reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the child. The checklist includes items on the pupil's ability to hear likenesses

and differences among specific sounds, to the ability to carry a sequence of ideas in his mind. Once the teacher knows the child's strengths and weaknesses, he needs to provide the child with a reading programme which he is able to deal with and to avoid situations which are 'failure orientated' and depressing.

2. Formal classroom procedures: These include group intelligence tests, reading tests and diagnostic tests administered by school psychologists. What is important is teacher observation of learning disabilities in children. The teacher should in the light of this be able to make appropriate lesson preparations.

3. Reading assessment: The teacher himself is not expected to do everything. A team approach is essential because no one individual is capable of diagnosing and treating all the deficiencies which may be exhibited by the child with a learning disability. Once the disability has been diagnosed the teacher can adapt methods to suit his particular needs.

What Cawley has suggested is that the teacher is in an ideal position to diagnose a pupil's reading problems and that he must adapt his methods to cater for the pupils' special needs.

According to Adler (op.cit. : 166) three principles underlie the language experience approach to reading:

1. Those responsible for reading instruction must recognise the fundamental relationship that exists between oral and written language and capitalise on the child's oral language abilities because reading is a language-based process. The child's own speech, written down by the teacher, is used as the instructional medium for his initial reading material. This eliminates the mismatch between the linguistically different child's spoken language and the language used

in conventional reading material.

2. By using the child's interests, and language rooted in his environment, reading will have more meaning for the child.

3. Reading should be taught as a natural development of skill in communication. Listening, speaking, reading and writing are interrelated processes and the language experience approach stresses that reading and writing are natural extensions of listening and speaking.

The language experience approach integrates the child's language and experiences into the process of learning to read. In discussion, conversations, exploration of ideas and expression of feelings, it stimulates oral language about things which are meaningful to children. As the child's skill in reading increases he progresses from his own stories to other reading material, such as basal readers and trade books. The advantage of the language experience approach lies in the fact that the teacher is not restricted in teaching sequential skill development. The skills evolve in a natural sequence based on individual needs. This suggests that the success of the language experience approach depends on the teacher. The teacher who is thoroughly prepared, accommodating and understanding can motivate his charges to greater heights and eventually independent reading. "At least part of the solution to teaching reading lies in understanding that children of all classes are competent users of the language they hear and use each day." Labov (1969), Leacock (1971) and Ginsburg (1972) also suggest that the schools need to recognise and accept the language of children from disadvantaged homes. The school has to build on the experiences of the child.

This approach emphasises the interests of the child and the need

for teachers to use the language of the child as a foundation for further teaching and learning.

Johnson (op. cit.) suggests that the basic characteristic of slow learners "is that they have some degree of intellectual retardation that prohibits them from acquiring basic academic knowledge and skills as rapidly as, or to the same extent as, the average or normal child." The teacher has to diagnose the cause and characteristics of each of the the slow learners to determine the nature of the problems and to formulate appropriate measures that must be taken to alleviate it. Such diagnosis can be obtained from the slow learner's cumulative record card, and from intelligence and attainment tests.

Johnson suggests that the pupils should be taught in homogeneous groups and provided with meaningful instruction at their own level of learning ability. The children can be grouped homogeneously in terms of age, skill or ability.

Johnson is of the opinion that the language arts and communication skills should form an important part of the programme for slow learners because they are among the most important and lasting tools that can be taught to children. The primary concern of teachers should not be on differences in methods but rather with differences in emphasis, and teachers should make use of the most appropriate ways to work with slow learners. This suggest that the syllabus for slow learners should make provision for extended readiness programmes and a wider spacing and introduction of successive skills than is the case for 'normal' children. Johnson suggests that writing and spelling should be introduced only after the slow learners have achieved sufficient intellectual development in oral communication, reading and background experiences. Since writing and spelling are important for communication purposes, they should be taught within that context.

Johnson also emphasises the need for diagnosis, readiness and the teaching of the basic skills. The teacher should not place emphasis on academic tasks but rather on language because it is a crucial tool "in any plan for education" (ibid. : 219).

Kephart (op. cit.) was concerned with the difficulties experienced by children in the first grade but the suggestions he made could be adapted to apply to all less able pupils. He suggests that slow learning children lack basic readiness skills and therefore they find a large number of school tasks very difficult to perform.

Kephart is of the opinion that it is easier to help the child in the primary classes because at this stage the problems are less complicated. He suggests that it serves very little purposes to drill academic activities for which the child is not ready. The aim of 'The Slow Learner in the Classroom' is to aid the teacher to help slow learners "to fall in with the rest of their fellows and continue learning through the customary activities of the group."

Kephart makes valuable suggestions for the teacher to teach the basic motor skills and develop perception and perceptual skills. Kephart bases his argument on sound educational principles and guides the teacher in a step by step fashion. This makes it possible for the teacher to help train the child to acquire skills and abilities in simple tasks, and continue to a training in the development of form perception.

With the introduction of differentiated education for Indians in January, 1973 "a more practical and vocationally orientated course" was offered for the slow learners. To assist and guide teachers of practical course pupils an orientation course on the 'Teaching of Practical Level English' was conducted by the Division of

Education of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The course listed the characteristics of practical grade pupils so that teachers could take cognizance of them in developing teaching strategies. Valuable practical suggestions for the class teacher were made, but it was made clear that there are no pat formulae for helping practical grade pupils. The course suggested that teachers need to adopt "good teaching methods" with an emphasis on "individualization of learning." This is similar to what Shehan, Bell and Holbrook recommend. The following were some of the recommendations made:

1. "Assignments must be simple, concise, short and specific.
2. A generous amount of repetition, practice, and learning by rote is essential.
3. Close supervision of individual work, followed by guidance, is necessary.
4. The teacher must be resourceful, patient, sympathetic, and encouraging.
5. Instruction must be of a concrete nature, with emphasis on learning by doing.
6. Extensive analysing and outlining should be avoided.
7. Assignments covering references must be detailed and specific.
8. The teacher should teach sparingly from rules and provide ample practice with applications of stated rules.
9. Execution rather than planning must be emphasised."

The following Qualifications are Required of the Teacher:

1. The teacher must be familiar with slow learners and their difficulties.
2. He must look upon his teaching not as a burden but as a privilege.
3. The teacher should treat the pupils as individuals and support and encourage them.
4. The teacher should avoid making disparaging and cynical comments.

5. The teacher must adapt methods to the peculiar needs of slow learners.

The course suggested the following teaching strategies:

i. The teacher should take cognizance of the particular difficulties facing pupils who are studying at the practical level and work within the limitations imposed by them. This means that teachers must be aware of the limited general knowledge, shorter attention span and limited vocabulary of the practical grade pupil.

ii. The skills of reading should be taught and not merely evaluated. The following skills need to be developed: the mechanics of reading, namely, clarity, fluency, audience contact, expression, skimming, scanning and detailed reading. This would necessitate the structuring of lessons to provide for analysis of particular skills, for pattern reading by the teacher and for individual and group practice.

iii. The teaching of reading should be remedially orientated and pupils should be grouped for reading.

iv. The lessons should be integrated and activities for each group should be prepared in detail and structured so that individuals/groups work within a given framework to satisfy pre-conceived aims.

Lessons should cater for silent reading, audience reading, vocabulary extension, comprehension of the written/spoken word, discussion, conversation, talk and written communication.

The orientation course handout proved to be invaluable because it emphasised the importance of language in education, the need to be aware of the characteristics and learning problems of practical grade pupils and made suggestions for the teacher to follow. A major weakness was that the handout prescribed everything that should be done and, therefore, did not allow the teacher much individual scope. In general, the course adopted an idealistic stance which seemed not to mention the particular problems raised by home background.

The discussion thus far has suggested that underachievers can be educated in the 'normal' classroom with a few adaptations. The teachers of such pupils clearly need to be aware of the following:

1. Most underachievers suffer from environmental deprivation and lack of adequate language stimulation in the home.
2. The teacher needs to diagnose the particular difficulties of each underachiever before beginning instruction.
3. The teacher needs to motivate intensively and prepare underachievers before developing teaching strategies.
4. Pupils should be instructed individually or in small homogeneous groups so that the instruction is at the child's level of understanding.
5. The teacher should proceed from the known to the unknown, and from the concrete to the abstract.
6. Skills should not be taught in isolation but in relation to other subjects in the curriculum so as to assist in transfer.
7. So as to ensure understanding of skills and principles it is essential for the teacher to be thoroughly prepared.
8. Teachers should accept underachievers as they are and encourage, rather than castigate them.

6.7. CONCLUSION

Numerous studies have found and identified a multiplicity of causes which are responsible for learning difficulties. The present writer concluded that the teacher should not regard the suggestions made as being the end of his search for suitable methods. Spontaneous reactions to situations can achieve much. The main factors responsible for pupil failure may be summarised as, social class, size of family, the presence of behaviour disorders, absence from school and the influence of the environment. It is appropriate to conclude with a quotation from Burt (1961 : 624) on the question of attitudes to children who have been labelled as 'failures' and 'backward'.

"Never be content with discovering merely where the child is weak and backward. Make the best of each one's strongest points and compensating aptitudes. The dull child will have failed so often that he will always be expecting to fail again. Give him something at which he can succeed, and keep him happily as well as usefully occupied. Avoid reproaches, and remove the ingrained sense of failure by giving him some special kind of work in which he can quickly achieve a conscious improvement and taste the triumph of a personal success. Never let the child lose heart: for once he has lost heart he has lost everything."

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has primarily been aimed at considering the influence of the home background of South African Indian pupils on their use of the English language. No attempt will be made to summarise the findings because this would be unnecessarily repetitious. At the same time, there are a number of features from which conclusions and recommendations may be drawn.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

7.1.1 SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The British and American researches cited in this study found that schools are based on an existing status system and that more money is spent on education in high and middle-income areas. This suggests that economic status, rather than ability, determines for the most part who will benefit most from education and gain positions with prestige and security. The studies have also stressed the importance of a supporting home background and environment for the satisfactory academic progress of children, particularly in terms of language.

Middle-class children generally perform better than working-class children and end up with better qualifications because their parents place more emphasis on language potential. Pupils from low-income areas generally live in small houses in poor neighbourhoods where

the attitude to education is not always favourable. Such pupils do their homework in crowded living rooms with little or no help from parents and leave school early because the family needs their earnings. The learning experience of a working-class child is very different from that of a middle-class child. There is a difference between unskilled working-class speech and middle-class speech. This is due to the difference in use of grammatical systems and vocabulary. The low-income mother does not spend sufficient time with one child and she has very little time or opportunity to shape her child's verbal utterances. In discipline situations she prefers non-verbal strategies and abrupt commands and when children ask questions to obtain information she either ignores them or attempts to control and contain them. The child from such a home is restricted in his range and use of language and is placed at a disadvantage in relation to the total culture of the school because it does not seem to be made for him. It has been suggested in this work that the majority of South African Indian pupils share these characteristics.

7.1.2 EDUCATION FOR INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A study of the history and life of Indians in South Africa showed the emergence of economic and social class differences as distinct from caste differences. An examination of the occupation structure and income levels showed that the majority of Indians are classified as workers with average and low skills and earn relatively low wages.

The curriculum in Indian schools aims at equipping pupils with the necessary academic and vocational skills so as to satisfy the

requirements and manpower needs of the country. Indian children pursue education only in the official languages of the country. There is no mother tongue education at the primary school level and religious education does not form a part of the curriculum. The western orientated curriculum does not contribute to awareness of 'Indian culture' and values.

It was also pointed out that members of the Indian community have always taken keen interest in their children's education, but that they are not involved in any meaningful home-school partnership and have little influence in the the decision making process.

7.1.3 THE WRITER'S SURVEY

The aim of the enquiry was to establish an indication of the likely effect of some aspects of the home environment on the use of English by a sample of fifteen year old South African Indian pupils.

Information about pupil's home backgrounds was obtained through survey questionnaires.

7.1.3.1 Home Language

The response to the questionnaires shows that there is a pronounced increase in the use of English by the present generation of Indians. The present investigation suggests that 52 per cent of the pupils use English to communicate with all members of the family, including grandparents. Of the 48 per cent of the sample who use both the vernacular and English as home languages, the majority of the pupils are from the Moslem and Gujarati communities and more pupils from

these groups attend vernacular classes.

7.1.3.2 The Home Background

The home background is a good indicator of potential educational success. The present survey showed that many of the pupils dwelt in crowded sub-economic housing schemes, sub-let houses, outbuildings or in garages which do not have amenities such as hot and cold running-water and indoor toilets and bathrooms. Overcrowding and the large number of children allow pupils fewer opportunities for verbal interaction with parents and other family members. Pupils from such homes do not always progress at the same rate as pupils from more advantaged homes.

7.1.3.3 Educational Support and Aspirations

The atmosphere in the home and the lifestyle of the family are factors that are likely to affect the attitudes of parents and children towards education in general. The present survey suggests that there has been a rise in the formal educational level of Indian parents. In all 70 per cent of the fathers and 69 per cent of the mothers had received some secondary school education. The increase in the number of Indian mothers who have had secondary school education can be ascribed to the availability of extra accommodation in schools and in a changed attitude towards the education of Indian girls.

An interesting finding was that very few pupils read magazines, newspapers, periodicals and library books. There is little doubt that reading and especially private reading, can make an important

contribution to the child's linguistic and experiential development. In respect of the other mass media of communication, namely the radio and television it was found that a majority of the respondents preferred light entertainment to educational programmes. It seems that though these media exert very little specific influence on children they do contribute to a western style of socialization.

The findings of the survey suggest that the socialization and cultural experiences at home and in the immediate environment do not provide the sort of stimulation that results in the development of the kind of language that is of particular importance for learning in the school situation.

Although a large number of parents did not visit the school principal or the class teacher to discuss their children's progress or assist with homework, they had very high aspirations for their children. The generally high aspirations support the view that Indian parents appreciate the social advantages of education and no doubt believe that educational success is the panacea for all their ills. Unrealistic aspirations may reflect ineffective school guidance, and a lack of knowledge of the educational requirements for these jobs. Most important, although parents have expectations of education, they seem unaware of how best to exploit the educational situation, or of how to provide necessary support.

7.1.4 OVERVIEW

The discussion in this study was concerned with certain individual features of the home background, educational support and aspirations,

and size of the family. It seems that variations in pupil performance cannot be attributed to a single factor, but a combination of several. Several research studies suggest that the attitudes of parents to education and their interest and support of the child in co-operation with the school is more important than the material home conditions, the neighbourhood, or the kind of school that the child attends. The present survey suggests that many parents have a positive attitude towards education and that South African Indian parents as a whole have a very high regard for education. It is ironic, therefore, that their children fail to come up to their parents' expectations.

In addition to the poor home background of many South African Indian pupils, the factors responsible for low educational attainment, especially in English, seem to be a combination of the following:

1. Lack of interest in books.
2. Difficulties in effecting transfer of training from one area of English to another.
3. Weaknesses in appreciating literature.
4. A history of low performance in English.
5. Poor comprehension involving high level skills.
6. Inability to control and use language in specific areas.
7. The effects of a non-standard form of English outside school.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has suggested three important issues which appear to be the crucial causative factors that seem to hamper Indian pupils in language development and eventually in educational performance.

First, the home environment of the child is not educative enough to provide the child with verbal stimulation. Secondly, many pupils lack interest in reading and do not use books effectively. Finally, the child's use of language is the most important factor which affects his educational attainment. On the basis of the conclusions of the previous section the following policy recommendations are suggested:

7.2.1 The Home Environment

The fact that many parents cannot provide the kind of environment that would enhance the use of language should not be taken as the result of negligence. In fact most Indian parents appreciate the value of education and wish to be of help to their children, but they are unable to do so because of their poor socio-economic status and their low standard of education. These factors handicap their children and contribute to low aspirational level. To improve the educational climate in less stimulating homes and to help parents to understand the process of language development in their children and to take part in it, there should be an extension of adult education programmes. These programmes need to incorporate specific study programmes for mothers who play a significant role in socialization and language development in the early years of childhood. This non-formal education should aim at cultural enrichment, and should be related to the needs of the individual. Information needs to be provided about child rearing practices, management of the household budget, child care, language socialization and development techniques, and readiness for learning. The extensive nature of the above programmes require the attention of

full time teachers and social workers and these should be provided by the Department of Internal (Indian) Affairs, Division of Education.

7.2.2 Improve Education of Parents

The present survey found that 4,5 per cent of the fathers and 12,5 per cent of the mothers had not had any formal schooling and 25,2 per cent of the fathers and 18,1 per cent of the mothers had attended school up to the primary level only. Since it is parents that help to stimulate intellectual development there is an urgent need for facilities to be provided for adult literacy programmes in certain depressed areas of Chatsworth, Sea Cow Lake and Sydenham. Such programmes should be aimed at increasing the level of education of parents who have not had any formal schooling and those who were forced to leave school at an early stage. Besides imparting the basic knowledge of the 3 R's the programmes need to incorporate in-service courses to improve the skills of workers, to raise their efficiency level, and provide opportunities for upward job mobility. Until now very little has been done to improve the formal education of adults. Many parents living in outlying areas of Chatsworth and Phoenix are unable to attend formal education classes because of the cost involved, the inappropriate timing of classes, the long distances to be travelled and concern about the availability of transport.

Watkinson (1981 : 5) estimated that only sixty members of the Indian Community were at present accommodated in literacy programmes that were available to the general public. Watkinson found that her sample of interviewees were eager and recommended that a concerted effort be made to provide facilities for their further education.

Special classes for groups of adults can be provided at schools in the various districts. The Department of Internal Affairs, Division of Education, should provide the teachers, textbooks and other facilities. The resources of the schools should be made available during the evenings, holidays and in the week-ends to increase the provision of adult literacy programmes.

7.2.3 Parental Involvement in the Educational Process

Evidence from research indicates that parents' attitudes to and interest in their children's education are closely associated with school performance (Fraser, 1959; Douglas, 1964; Pringle, Butler and Davie, 1966). The parent who has had little or no education or knowledge of the educational process will not be able to assist and motivate his child to cope with the skills required in school. Parents need to be given an opportunity to observe and if possible, to participate in the educational process. The responsibility for enlisting parental interest should be undertaken by the school. Instead of explanations and lectures better results might be achieved if parents met regularly with teachers and had group discussions on matters of common interest such as reducing the incidence of truancy, how to assist their children in the selection of reading material, and the procedure to be followed in helping pupils to improve their English. To make parents aware of the importance of reading suitable material, schools should invite booksellers to arrange exhibitions at schools. At these displays parents could have discussions with the school librarian and the English teachers. Teachers and pupils could also invite parents to join them in certain activities. Parents can help in the school library, production of plays, concerts, magazines and in the industrial arts workshops. In all these situations they are involved in the learning process.

The Educational Priority Area Projects in England (Midwinter, 1972) are good examples of how parents can be meaningfully involved in the educational process.

7.2.4 Nursery School Education

The influence of the environment is greatest on the child during the early years and some of the adverse forces have had an effect by the time the child reaches the secondary school. Therefore, it is recommended that the provision of 'compensatory' programmes should begin as early as possible. Provision of nursery education may do much to compensate for inadequacies in home backgrounds. In this regard television can play a meaningful role. Programmes such as the 'Muppets' and 'Sesame Street' have proved to be particularly effective in Great Britain and the United States of America. The present investigation has found that a large number of homes possess television sets. The Department of National Education should arrange and produce special television programmes to compensate for the poor home backgrounds of many South African children.

At the present moment there are no state nursery schools for pre-primary Indian children. But the Department of Internal Affairs, Division of Education, has announced plans for the introduction and expansion of nursery education during the next few years. This should make possible a real advance in language development in young children because at these centres there will be opportunities for the children to engage in talk and play. Such centres will also provide secure and stimulating environments and prepare the child for formal learning. Davie, Butler and Goldstein (1972 : 123) suggest that children who attend a nursery school might be more advanced educationally at the age of seven.

7.2.5 Teaching of the Basic Language Skills

Mastery of language is the major pre-requisite for academic achievement. For this reason primary and secondary school programmes should be developed to bridge the gap between the language brought by the child and the basic requirements of the school. Poor performance in English can be attributed to the modern trend and reaction against the formal teaching of punctuation, spelling, concord and language structure.

Indian pupils, at least as much as others, need to be taught the essential aspects of acceptable 'grammar' because the most suitable way to assist pupils reach a high level of proficiency in informative writing, reading for comprehension and learning is to help them acquire basic competence in language structure and usage.

It is generally recognised that the rules of formal grammar are essential in second language teaching. Although most of the Indians in South Africa regard English as their home language, the present investigation found that 48 per cent of the sample of pupils used both the vernacular and English at home. Such pupils are at a disadvantage at school because they are treated as English speakers. Therefore, there is a need for clear guidance to be given to the English teacher with regard to how and what he should teach his pupils in respect of 'formal' grammar, for example, concord, sequence of tenses, conjunctions and punctuation. Although statistical evidence is not available, many teachers would agree that the pupils' control of these aspects is actually better in Afrikaans than in English, possibly because more stress has been placed in Afrikaans on teaching aspects of grammar.

7.2.6 Extend Reading

One of the most important findings of this investigation is that very few pupils show an interest in and read newspapers, magazines, periodicals or library books for pleasure. To encourage pupils to read as widely as possible schools should arrange attractive book displays centred upon current topics of interest or a television series (refer to Chapter five). The aim of the display should be to encourage pupils to read and explore books. For such programmes there is a need in each primary and secondary school or group of schools for a well stocked library, presided over by a fully qualified librarian. The school librarian could advise pupils not only about what to read but also assist them in the selection and use of books and make pupils aware of the purposes of reading. Although the Department of Internal Affairs, Division of Education, has started a programme to train resource centre (library and audio-visual aids) teachers, there is an urgent need for many more such teachers in schools, especially in outlying areas.

Many primary and secondary schools have a disturbingly small number of library books for pupils. The library grant for 1981 in one of the schools studied was about R4000, for eight hundred pupils. This amount is inadequate. More liberal allowances should be made available to schools for the purchase of library and text books. This grant should be reviewed each year to take account of rising costs and the effects of inflation.

7.2.7 Language Across the Curriculum

Difficulties with language hamper understanding and growth in most areas of learning. To make all subject teachers aware of the linguistic processes by which their pupils acquire information and to

help students meet the reading demands of their own subjects the Department of Education and Science in England (Bullock Report, 1975) recommended that "every secondary school should develop a policy for language across the curriculum" and that the responsibility for this policy should be embodied in the organisational structure of the school. The aim of such a policy is to increase the quality of learning in all classes and in all subjects.

Schools for Indian pupils in South Africa have not as yet introduced a policy of language across the curriculum. Most primary and secondary schools in rural areas receive few newspapers and lack resource and library facilities. These schools follow a common syllabus and are therefore at a disadvantage. In such schools a well organised policy of language across the curriculum will surely help to raise the standard of English. In recommending a programme of language across the curriculum it is well worth recalling George Sampson's maxim: "Every teacher is a teacher of English."

There are various ways in which a programme of language across the curriculum can take effect but each school needs to formulate its own approach. The deputy principal in consultation with the heads of departments should take on the responsibility to form committees to study the problems of language and learning and provide guidelines for implementation.

A policy of language across the curriculum will give pupils more opportunity for practice in exposition, discussions, reading aloud, group work and participation in classroom lessons. It will also

give reading beyond the primary level higher priority, assist in correcting oral and written grammatical faults and foster an integrated approach to learning and teaching.

Such a programme will demand a great deal of effort and understanding by all teachers.

7.2.8 Literature

A list of prescribed books, including works by local and 'Indian' authors, should be available to the teacher, from which he may choose those which emphasise enjoyment and are relevant to his pupils' background, lives and interests.

7.2.9 Examinations

In view of the problems experienced by pupils, it is recommended that the question of examinations, standardization of attainment tests and the need for a 'year mark' should be reviewed continually by the planning section of the Department of Internal Affairs.

7.2.10 The Syllabus

It is recommended that the English syllabus should be revised so as to ensure significant differentiation between higher and standard grades. The revision of syllabuses should be a continuous process.

Some aims as enunciated in the English syllabus are ambiguous and vague. For example, the specific aim in regard to the teaching

of literature is: "To help the pupil to understand himself and his own emotional and moral responses, so that he may live more fully and consciously and responsibly." Therefore, clearly defined aims with regard to the teaching of English are essential.

7.2.11 Teacher Education

The implementation of such programmes requires intensive training and specialisation on the part of teachers. More attention needs to be given in teacher education institutions to the study of the social and cultural environment, methodology, the role of language in socialization and education, the nature of pupils' language development, its application to their particular subjects and their own role in the process.

In view of the disrupting effect of home background factors, it is suggested that teacher training should include studies on the effects of social environment on children. Teachers must be in a position to recognise cases of 'disadvantage' and 'deprivation' and provide the necessary 'compensatory' programmes.

There appears to be a need for 'specialist' English teachers. Selection, recruitment and training should be made with a knowledge of their most effective use, that is, students who have obtained 'good' passes in English in the Senior Certificate Examination and those interested in the subject should be trained specifically to teach English, rather than both official languages.

More productive use should be made of experienced and highly qualified

teachers, for example, by using them in the practical classes.

It is essential that all teachers in training should complete satisfactorily a course in language and the teaching of reading. It is suggested that colleges of education should establish reading centres to meet the requirements of students in training and of serving teachers.

7.2.12 In-Service Education

There is a need for in-service education for experienced and unqualified teachers already in the profession but who have not had extensive training. Such courses can be undertaken by teacher training institutions and expanded so that English teachers can be brought up to date with information on new developments, maintain a continuing dialogue on policy and share decisions.

In-service courses can also be conducted at regular intervals at all schools to consider professional matters such as the teaching of specific aspects of English. These in-service courses can also evaluate the progress of language across the curriculum and members of staff could ask for help to be given on aspects with which they are experiencing difficulties. These meetings could also invite teachers from feeder primary schools where discussions on planning a continuous policy on the teaching of English can be considered. The aim of in-school in-service training should be to share the knowledge and expertise of some teachers with others. Senior and experienced specialists can be asked to prepare brief expositions of their experience for the benefit of others.

There is an urgent need for in-service education for teachers of practical grade pupils because aims, approaches and methods of teaching are different from those of pupils in ordinary grade classes.

7.2.13 General

It is important that all English teachers on the staff of secondary schools should be specialists. Further, subject advisors in English need to be experts in their field. The advisors seem at times to impose uniformity and this may hamper innovations and creativeness on the part of the teachers. Advisors need to give guidance on the introduction of new methods, techniques and approaches.

More attention should be given to the systematic teaching of reading, comprehension and 'formal' grammar in the primary school.

To arouse greater interest in English studies, and reading in particular, there is a need for all schools or groups of schools to be provided with audio-visual and technological aids such as tape recorders, film projectors, overhead projectors and radios.

Indian secondary schools need to be equipped with television sets because: "Television is now a part of our culture and therefore a legitimate study for schools" (A Language for Life, 1975 : 548).

In the thematic approach the teacher can use television programmes, extracts and text books alongside other media dealing with the same topic. In literature study the teacher can use films, documentaries and drama which will provide vivid experiences for the pupils and help to extend and deepen their appreciation.

In respect of teaching load, it seems that the English teacher is overburdened and this may result in him not giving of his best in the classroom. It is suggested that English teachers be given stronger resource back-up and that they be relieved of extra-curricular duties.

Since separateness results in the problems being experienced in Indian education, and in English in particular, being perpetuated, it is suggested that closer links be forged with other education departments. A start could be made by developing contact with other schools in activities such as sports, debates, and speeches. This could be extended to include visiting teachers and speakers from other race groups, religions and cultures.

Since there is a shortage of English teachers in White, Coloured and Black education departments, teachers from Indian schools should be permitted to teach at their schools. This will help to develop cross-cultural ties.

Equal amounts of money should be spent on the education of all race groups. This would entail a major redistribution of resources. More money should be spent in 'deprived' areas. The Plowden Committee (1967) attached great importance to this aspect of financing and made specific proposals for action aimed improving the quality of education in Education Priority Areas.

Pupils at secondary schools should also be involved in some level of decision making. Every secondary school should have its own Pupils' Representative Council in which every class has an elected

representative. This council could have a sub-committee to publish a school newsletter or magazine to make known the pupils' views about real issues.

7.2.14 Future Research

Since research in the field of language socialization and associated problems is virtually non-existent in South Africa, it is essential that basic research should continue to be undertaken. Such studies should investigate the language models into which Indian children are socialised. Though the majority of Indian children speak English at home, many of them perform at a consistently low level in all aspects of English studies. The present dissertation indicates that future scientific research should make a close study of features in the home background which affect educational attainment with particular emphasis on the social contexts in which children learn language. The dialectal variations employed by South African Indians also need close and specific study.

There is an urgent need for the study and investigation of the reading habits of secondary school pupils. Such an investigation could consider the effects of television viewing on reading habits, the existence or otherwise of any correlation between the number of books in the home and the number of books read by secondary school pupils, the problems of the non-reader and socio-economic factors that affect reading and reading interests.

7.3 CONCLUSION

In spite of the limitations implicit, it is hoped that the present investigation has in some way highlighted the problems experienced by many Indian pupils, particularly from low-income homes, in the use of the English language.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE FILLED IN BY PUPILS

Dear Student

Please get the help of your teacher and parents in filling in this questionnaire. It is very important that what you write should be correct. The information you provide will be used in a research study on the influence of home background on the language skills of South African Indian pupils. I am particularly interested in reading and comprehension.

Please remember that all information you provide will be treated as strictly confidential. Most of the questions require a cross "X" in the appropriate space.

Thank you for your co-operation.

-
1. School
 2. Surname
 3. Christian Name/s
 4. Home Address in full
 5. Standard Division
 6. Age Years Months
 7. Sex
 8. Religion

Buddhist	—
Christian	—
Hindu	—
Islam	—
Jewish	—
Other (specify)	—

APPENDIX A CONTD.

9. What Indian language group do you belong to?

Gujarati
Hindi
Tamil
Telegu
Urdu
Bengali
Marathi
Other (specify)

10. At home you speak:

Only English
A little English and vernacular
Only the vernacular

Please Note:

The members at home include: brothers,
sisters, father, mother, grandfather,
grandmother, cousins, aunts, uncles, etc.

11. Did you attend a vernacular (home language)
school at any time?

Yes

No

12. Is your father living?

Yes

No

13. Is your mother living?

Yes

No

14. Have you a step-father? Yes ☐ No ☐
15. Have you a step-mother? Yes ☐ No ☐
16. Are you living with your parents? Yes ☐ No ☐
17. Father's Occupation. If he is unemployed or dead, state what work your father did last. Also state the name of his firm or employer.
.....
18. Mother's Occupation:
19. Did your father attend school? Yes ☐ No ☐
20. If yes, what standard did your father pass?
21. Did your mother attend school? Yes ☐ No ☐
22. If yes, what standard did your mother pass?
23. Have you failed in any class or standard? Yes ☐ No ☐
24. If yes, in which classes or standards did you fail?
25. Does your family receive a social welfare grant or any other grant? Yes ☐ No ☐
26. In what type of house do you live?
- a house completely for yourselves
- a sub-letted house
- a flat for yourselves
- an outbuilding
- other (specify)
- ☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
27. Do you have a separate room for yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐
28. If you share a room, state the number of persons who share it with you

29. Does your house have?

electricity
cold water
hot water
television
radio
indoor toilet
indoor bathroom

YES	NO

30. Number of the following rooms in your house:

bedrooms
kitchen
dining room
lounge
others (specify)

31. Where do you do your homework?

study
own bedroom
lounge
dining room
other (specify)

32. Who helps you with your homework or lessons at home?

mother
father
brother
sister
other (specify)

33. How many hours per day do you spend on homework?

34. In which subjects do you obtain the lowest marks?

35. What subjects do you like best?

36. How do you come to school? by bus
by train
by car
walking

37. Number of children in your family (including yourself)

38. Who else lives with your family?

grandfather
grandmother
uncle and aunt
cousins
others (specify)

39. Which newspapers do you read regularly?

Daily News
Mercury
Sunday Tribune
Sunday Times
Post
Leader
Others (specify)

40. Which magazines do you read regularly?

41. Are you a member of the library?

Yes

☐

No

☐

42. If yes, how often do you borrow books?

once a week
once a month
sometimes
never

43. In which of the following sports do you participate?

soccer
netball
cricket
volleyball
athletics
tennis
other (specify)

44. Do you have any hobbies? (specify)

45. Do you do any work after school to earn extra money? (specify)...

.....

46. How many hours per day do you watch television?

47. What are your favourite television programmes?

48. How many hours per day do you listen to the radio?

49. What are your favourite radio programmes?

50. Have you been to the

aquarium?

circus

snake park

zoo

harbour

museum

art gallery

YES	NO

51. How many times have you gone on holiday? State where:times

Place/s:

52. How many times has your mother/father/guardian been to see your school principal/class teacher this year?

Principal : times

Class Teacher: times

53. What occupation (job) do your parents have in mind for you?

.....

54. What (occupation) would you like to do or become?

.....

55. About how many days were you absent from school last year?.....

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE TO TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

This questionnaire seeks to establish the opinions of, and methods used by, a range of teachers of English to pupils in the age group fourteen to fifteen years.

The investigation forms part of a survey of some of the factors of the home environment which possibly affect the development of language skills (particularly with regard to reading and comprehension) among South African Indian pupils.

The project has the approval of the Director of Indian Education, and of the principal of your school.

Your co-operation in answering the questions will be highly appreciated. All information given will be regarded as confidential and you need not sign the form if you do not wish to do so.

GENERAL METHOD

1. Do you use the "integrated thematic approach" to the teaching of English to pupils in the fourteen to fifteen year age-group?

.....
.....

2. From your experience, mention some advantages and/or disadvantages of this method of teaching.

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

3. Please indicate below, the approximate time in minutes per week which you specifically devote to reading and comprehension exercises with fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils:

Class (eg. Form 7 'D') Reading mins; Comprehensionmins.

Please note: By "reading" is meant, e.g., reading aloud to pupils; pupils reading silently or aloud, individually or in groups, etc.

By "comprehension" is meant reading or listening with the knowledge that questions are to be asked afterwards.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. Kindly comment on any method/s you have found to be successful in stimulating or encouraging pupils to read more widely than can be done in normal classroom lessons.

.....

.....

.....

.....

READING

5. Do you find it necessary to teach reading skills to fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils in your charge, or is it necessary merely to encourage their reading and evaluate it? Please elaborate.

.....

.....

.....

6. Do you divide your pupils (in this age group) into groups for reading? (Yes/No) If "Yes", please say how you come to place pupils in different groups.

.....

.....

.....

7. Do you read aloud to your pupils? If you do, please indicate what sort of material, and how often.

.....

.....

.....

8. What criteria do you employ in rating the ability/standard of your pupils' reading (a) aloud; (b) silently?
- (a) aloud:
-
- (b) silently:
-
9. How often (approximately) do your ablest, average, and poorest readers read to you or to the class during the week?
- (a) ablest:
- (b) average:
- (c) poorest:
10. What teaching aids (including audio visual equipment) do you use in the teaching of English? Please comment.
-
-
-

COMPREHENSION

11. How often do you set comprehension exercises requiring written answers?
-
12. Indicate briefly how you teach comprehension to your fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils.
-
-
-
-
13. Please indicate which of the following kinds of questions your pupils find more difficult (put "1" for most difficult, etc.):
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| those asking factual recall | those testing vocabulary |
| those requiring reasoning | those asking opinion |
| tests of logic/inference | tests of mood/tone |

14. From what sources do you tend to select comprehension passages? Comment on the suitability for use with your fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils, of the passages for comprehension in the textbook/s you use with your pupils.

.....

15. Name the textbook/s you use with your fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils.

.....

16. Do you set your pupils listening comprehension exercises? If so, how? Please elaborate.

.....

GENERAL

17. Please suggest some aspects of the home environments of your pupils which you feel may adversely affect reading and comprehension skills.

.....

18. Rank the following in order of importance (put "1" for most important, "6" for least important, etc.) as causes for lowered attainment in English (generally) among your fourteen to fifteen year-old pupils:

..... lack of reading matter
 illiterate parents
 absenteeism
 lack of a library
 lack of facilities or supervision for homework
 lack of parental encouragement

CONCLUSION

19. It has been said that slow learners tend to be weak in self-criticism and, therefore, do not evaluate their own errors readily. Say whether you agree, and how you would help such a pupil with regard to improving reading and comprehension.

.....

20. Please add any other information or opinion on the topic of this questionnaire, here or on a separate sheet. Thank you for your help.

.....

21. Please indicate:

- (a) Number of years of experience in teaching English at secondary level
- (b) Proportion of time at school spent in the teaching of English (e.g., 100 per cent; 60 per cent; 25 per cent; etc.)

22. Name (optional)

23. Date

READING COMPREHENSION TEST

SURNAME: CHRISTIAN NAME:
STD. : DIVISION :
SCHOOL : DATE :

To the student

The time allowed for this test is one hour. This means that you must spend about fifteen minutes on Section A, twenty five minutes on Section B and about ten minutes on Section C. This will allow you at least ten minutes for reading through what you have written and making any alterations you may find necessary.

SECTION A

In this section you must choose the word or phrase which best completes each sentence. Give one answer only to each question. Write the answer in the blank space provided.

1. It was with rain, and we got wet through.
A showering; B trickling; C pouring; D falling
2. She rushed out of the room in a very bad temper,
the door behind her.
A slapping; B beating; C crashing; D slamming
3. Our letters are every morning at half past eleven.
A delivered; B restored; C allowed; D delayed
4. He pretended to be brave, but he was really a;
afraid of everything.
A timid; B quaker; C coward; D fear
5. The wedding was to have been in May, but now it has been
until September.
A cancelled; B delayed; C postponed; D changed
6. My wife was very when I laughed at her new hair-do.
A desperate; B anxious; C upset; D ashamed
7. I heard the clock ten, so I knew that I was not too late.
A ring; B sound; C strike; D say

8. I wish that noise would stop. It gets on my
A hair; B head; C brain; D nerves; E feelings
9. It is such a stupid film that it would be of time
and money to go and see it.
A a loss; B a drop; C a waste; D an expense
10. Put the lid back on the tin so that the biscuits crisp
and fresh.
A become; B make; C get; D keep; E bring
11. After shouting with such enthusiasm at the football match, Aslam
was so the next day that he could hardly speak.
A tired; B bad; C weak; D hoarse; E faint
12. My mother died when I was at school, and now my father has just
married again, and my is younger than I am.
A step-mother; B aunt; C foster-mother; D relative
13. I had to the invitation as I had a previous
engagement.
A forget; B abandon; C refuse; D deny; E leave
14. So far, the police have been able to find no of the
missing documents.
A trace; B account; C news; D result; E trace
15. The actors were pleased that there was such a large
for the first night of the new play.
A congregation; B assembly; C audience; D congress

SECTION B

In this section you will find a number of questions or unfinished statements about the passage, each with four suggested ways of finishing it. You must choose the one which you think fits best and underline that answer. Read the passage right through before choosing your answers

My great aunt Emma was rather a terrifying old lady. She had been the headmistress of quite an important girl's boarding-school - run, however, on her own inflexible and old-fashioned lines - and she had come, over the years to look upon everyone as backward and potentially naughty school girls. This applied particularly to members of her own family. My brother and I were never very happy when she came to visit

us and used to spend as much time out of the house as we possibly could. And if mother wanted us to go to Aunt Emma's for any reason (she lived in Castleton, which was about twenty five miles away) we would go to any lengths to find an excuse. Luckily for us, even though she had given up teaching many years before, she led a very full social life and had little time for family visits.

But I remember that on one occasion she came to our house for a long weekend during the summer. I think she had had flu, or something like that; at any rate. Mother had had an attack of conscience about not seeing the old thing for such a long time and thought that a few days by the sea would do her good. George and I were sent to the station to meet her, and this time we had'nt been able to find a reasonable excuse to get out of it.

There was no doubt about our being able to recognise her as she was always dressed in the same fashion, summer or winter, in a tweed suit, a felt hat that looked like a man's and stout walking shoes. It was not that she was short of clothes; in fact she had a vast selection, but they all looked exactly the same. Mother suggested that perhaps she bought them wholesale.

George and I wondered if she would know us, since we had not seen her for a year or two. She did, of course, and she greeted us in her usual fashion, "Well, George, you've certainly grown since I saw you last. Stand up straight, boy. Which class are you in now? The fourth form? Good. You shall show me your books later. And Peter, you've left school I hear. Why did'nt you stay on and try for the university? In a bank are'nt you? I'll ask you some questions about that later. Take my case boy. And this bag, too, please." Before we could attempt to reply to any of this, she had swept us out of the station and had started to shout 'taxi'! at the top of her voice, and to wave the heavy masculine-looking walking stick that she always carried. Aunt Emma's voice had great carrying power, and several taxi-drivers, standing by their cabs on the other side of the station forecourt, jumped guiltily. One got into his cab and started the engine.

"But, Aunt Emma", I said, at the same time making a gesture of refusal at the taxi-driver, who got out of the taxi looking bewildered and

rather annoyed. "We don't need a taxi. I've got a cab over there." "Car!" she sounded surprised. "Whose car?" "Who's driving it?" she demanded suspiciously. "My car, and I'm driving it," I replied. "I've had a licence for nearly two years." "All right then," she conceded, unwillingly, "but go very slowly. I shall sit in the front with you to make sure that you do. You go in the back, George, and don't talk. Peter must concentrate on the driving."

1. At the time of the story Aunt Emma was
 - A ill
 - B a headmistress
 - C a retired teacher
 - D a socialist
2. Aunt Emma used to
 - A think her relations were school children
 - B treat everyone like school girls
 - C consider her family unintelligent
 - D look backwards at everyone
3. Aunt Emma and the writer
 - A were not on good terms
 - B seldom saw each other
 - C visited each other reluctantly
 - D did not like each other very much
4. Why did the writer's mother invite Aunt Emma for the week end?
 - A She was ashamed that they had not seen each other recently.
 - B The old lady came for a week end every summer.
 - C Aunt Emma wanted to spend a week end by the sea.
 - D She was a conscientious woman.
5. How was Aunt Emma dressed when she arrived at the station?
 - A suitably for the occasion
 - B the same as always
 - C fashionably
 - D in a most unusual fashion
6. The writer's mother thought that Aunt Emma bought her clothes
 - A at sales
 - B in large quantities
 - C second hand
 - D frequently

7. From Aunt Emma's remarks, we learn that
 - A George and Peter were students.
 - B Peter was not clever at school.
 - C George was doing well at school.
 - D Peter was working
8. The taxi-drivers
 - A were lazy and did'nt want to work.
 - B thought that Aunt Emma was a police woman.
 - C were startled by Aunt Emma's voice.
 - D were all very busy.
9. The taxi-driver got out of his cab because
 - A Aunt Emma shouted at him.
 - B Aunt Emma and the two boys got into the car.
 - C he was a little angry.
 - D Peter waved at him.
10. Aunt Emma told George
 - A not to drive the car.
 - B not to sit in the front.
 - C to let Peter drive.
 - D not to disturb Peter.

SECTION C

In this passage every seventh word is omitted. In the blank space fill in a suitable word.

Once upon a time, in a small country town, at a considerable from Durban, there lived a little called Hassan Ebrahim, who was the clerk of the little town. His main was to update the town's accounts.

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