

**A case study of two teachers' understanding of and
attitudes towards bilingualism and multiculturalism in a
South African primary school.**

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS (Full Thesis)

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

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January 2006

Abstract

At present, there is an emphasis in South African education on promoting multicultural classrooms in schools. This thesis examines the classroom culture of a South African English-medium school, where the majority of the learners are Second Language English learners. It first describes, in the form of a case-study, how two teachers have constructed the culture of their foundation phase classrooms. It then considers why the two teachers have constructed their classrooms in such ways by exploring their knowledge and understanding of, and attitudes towards, multiculturalism, second language acquisition and multilingualism. The study also briefly considers whether teacher training has sufficiently prepared these teachers for the challenges of a multicultural classroom. The data is discussed in terms of education and second language acquisition theory and South African education and language policies. The results of this study indicate that for the most part the classroom culture is distinctly Western and that the teachers have two fundamental assumptions that underpin their action and classroom construction. The first is that a lack of exposure to English is the primary cause of language problems for L2 learners and the second is that the L1 does not need to be maintained or promoted in the school environment because learners are sufficiently exposed to their L1 in the home. The thesis concludes that shortcomings in training and information encourages these two assumptions to take root and that more in-service training that focuses specifically on the nature of second language acquisition and multiculturalism is necessary.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Without Your incredible strength and abundant provision, this thesis would never have been possible. To You be all the glory.

Thank you to my supervisor, Vivian de Klerk. Your patience, expertise and great ideas have been indispensable. Thank you for guiding me along the process and for always being willing to read yet another draft.

Thank you to the school, the principal and the teachers that so willingly participated in this research. I have developed enormous respect for your ability, passion and love for teaching and sincerely appreciate all the time and effort you afforded me during this process.

Thank you to my ever-faithful friends and family, especially to my parents. Your continual support, love and unshakable belief in my ability has always inspired and motivated me to keep going. To my friends, thank you for putting up with me over the years and for always encouraging and loving me.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

LiEP	Language in Education Policy
DoE	Department of Education
NLPF	National Language Policy Framework
PANSALB	Pan South African Language Board
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
Gr.	Grade
ELL	English Language Learner
ESL	English Second Language
DoAC	Department of Arts and Culture
MT	Mother Tongue
MTE	Mother Tongue Education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching

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Chapter 1: Introduction:

1.1) Overview

This thesis reports on a case study of two Grade 2 teachers and their classrooms in an English-medium, former white school. It essentially explores how bilingual and multicultural education should be, could be and is practiced in two South African classrooms. The research focuses particularly on the impact of the teacher and the influence the teacher has on SLA processes and bilingualism. I reflect on how they might help or hinder a learner in their acquisition of English and show that successful bilingualism, whereby a learner can function in two languages, is affected by whether a school and its teachers are practicing additive or subtractive bilingualism. I also consider the teacher's role in implementing multicultural education and how a classroom environment may or may not validate, explore and accept multiple cultures.

Throughout this thesis I often refer to the research process in terms of painting or constructing a picture of the classrooms being investigated. In this chapter I will give a broad description of the basic picture. Firstly, I begin with the reasons why I think it is a worthwhile endeavour. Secondly, I consider the broader context in which the picture was painted or constructed. Thirdly, I provide a brief description of the theoretical framework that holds the picture together and helps the reader to make sense of it. Fourthly, I list my research goals, which are essentially the issues that make up the actual picture. Fifthly, there is brief discussion of my methodology and research design in an effort to explain how I went about the 'painting' process. And lastly there is an outline of the succeeding chapters.

1.2) Motivation for the study

The original idea and hypothesis for this study developed from certain findings in my Honours dissertation, which acts as a pilot study for this research. That study was conducted in five schools and investigated the resources available to Foundation Phase teachers for the handling of

language disorders in their classrooms. In response to a question on how to determine whether a child has a disorder or not, a number of teachers appeared to pathologise learners' second language status. They equated second language (L2) learners' language with language disorders, even where there were no disorders (Sutton 2003). For example, three teachers gave the following examples of 'language disorders' in their classrooms: a girl who is hard of hearing, a stutterer, a young African boy who pronounces 'tortoise' incorrectly, and an Afrikaans child who struggles with the 'th-' sound in English (Sutton 2003). They also mentioned that their training in this area had not adequately prepared them for the challenges they face (Sutton 2003).

This pilot study is relevant in that the practice of pathologising a learner's second language status possibly reveals a misunderstanding of the nature and processes of second language acquisition (SLA) and its associated behaviours, it is this issue that I wanted to explore in more detail. I am also particularly interested in whether the in-service training that is offered to teachers is appropriate to the areas of SLA and bilingualism.

Furthermore, a society's language attitudes and the South African education system (Agnihotri 1995) on the whole, may also contribute to the teachers misinterpreting learners' second language status. The surrounding community and society profoundly influences teachers and schools and often the attitudes that a society have are reflected in the school environment. For example, one of the dominant language attitudes of South African society is the high regard for the English language and the high status that it is given. This is reflected in multilingual schools where English is often the chosen medium of instruction, even when the majority of learners and even teachers do not speak English as a first language. In this thesis I want briefly to explore to what extent classrooms reflect and mirror society.

Lastly, whilst doing preliminary reading for this research, I noted that the role of the teacher and his/her attitudes towards, and understanding of, SLA is an issue that has often been undervalued in SLA research and literature. A substantial proportion of SLA and bilingual research focuses on educational theory, the school environment, parental influences and individual learners. For example, a good deal of research has looked at the processes

particular learners go through in acquiring a second language, how specific learners become bilingual, what bilingual education is and should be and so forth. This type of research is undeniably necessary, but bilingualism is not entirely dependant on the individual, there are many contributing factors, one of which is the type of language education they receive and that, to a large extent, depends on the individual teachers. Few studies actually take the teacher's vital role into account. A number of studies do take the teacher's opinions on the learners into consideration but they do not study the teacher as the primary participant or as having a unique and critical role. I feel that this is a gap in the body of knowledge and ultimately, I want my research to respond to that gap.

Thus, my research intends to explore teachers' understanding of SLA across the curriculum as well as their attitudes towards L2 learners within the South African context, and the impact these have on their behaviour towards L2 learners in their classrooms. Although I initially focused on SLA, my research shifted to include bilingualism and multiculturalism early on in the process. In this particular case, unlike my pilot study, the teachers did not in fact pathologise L2 learning but the central issue of whether they have adequate knowledge and understanding of SLA and bilingualism still applies.

1.3) The research context

This research is predominantly located within the field of Applied Linguistics because it looks at issues that have an impact on how language is acquired and taught in an educational setting. It is important to note that I did not specifically study a class where English is taught as a subject as such but rather considered how language is taught across the curriculum in a Foundation Phase class and observed all teaching activities in that class, with a particular focus on the language activities. Within Applied Linguistics, this research also contributes to the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Bilingual and Multicultural Education.

Within SLA the study focuses predominantly on the impact of a teacher, in an English medium classroom, on second language (L2) learners'

acquisition of English. Within bilingualism and multiculturalism, it considers the effect a teacher's knowledge and understanding of, and attitude towards, these two areas has on whether they are promoted and practiced in the classroom environment.

The broader social context that frames this dissertation deserves consideration when attempting to answer the 'why' questions. South African society forms the backdrop to this research and is a very multilingual and multicultural society with language being a sensitive and volatile issue which is hotly debated in numerous spheres of influence such as politics, education, and society. All of these areas have an impact on a school, but more importantly, they also influence teachers and researchers. Thus it is vital to acknowledge that this research, the participants, the issues investigated and the researcher herself, are all inextricably influenced by a broader social context which is explored briefly within the thesis.

1.4) The theoretical framework for the thesis

There are two basic theoretical areas that are explored in this thesis: multilingualism with the related area of second language acquisition and education, all of my reading relates to these two areas. The core assumption that is interwoven throughout this research is that multilingual education is advantageous and is something that should be developed and pursued by a country's people. In my opinion, it should be viewed as an asset and a right, not a weakness or disadvantage and is definitely not a problem that needs to be overcome.

Therefore, the first primary framework for this research is bilingualism and multilingualism and SLA. It should be noted that the primary difference between the terms 'bilingual' and 'multilingual' is that bilingualism generally refers to the acquisition of two languages while multilingualism usually refers to more than two languages. For the purpose of this thesis the two terms will be used interchangeably so as to avoid confusion and will generally refer to the acquisition of two or more languages. Bilingualism is considered on an individual and societal level and is, as I stated above assumed to be advantageous, since current research (Baker 1995, Hoffmann

1991, Myers-Scotton 2005) takes this viewpoint. A related theoretical area that also frames this research is Second Language Acquisition, particularly SLA processes and the process of acculturation and assimilation whereby the learners' home languages and cultures are replaced by a more dominant culture and language. Collier (1995, 1997 and 2001) is one of the major theorists who has influenced this research and her work on bilingual education programmes in America, which is referred to extensively, has played a vital role in focusing my initial ideas regarding how a second language is acquired successfully. Following from SLA processes is multicultural education, which is once again viewed as something positive that needs to be implemented effectively in the South African education system.

The second primary framework that underpins this research is work on the impact language in society has on education with specific reference to South African society. I propose, in line with some theorists (Luckett 1995, Webb 2002), that the language situation in South Africa is diglossic in nature and so diglossia is reviewed in some detail, particularly its impact on education (section 2.4.3). Furthermore, a crucial element that helps one understand the role of language within a society are the language policies of that society and so another issue that is discussed are the various language policies in South Africa, and once again their impact on education is taken into account.

Ultimately, this dissertation is concerned with bilingual and multicultural education in South Africa and so it follows that the primary frameworks that support the research revolve around bilingualism, education and how both relate to South Africa.

1.5) Research goals

This research investigates classroom culture and the treatment of L2 learners. The following are the research goals:

- ◆ To paint a clear picture of the learning environment that the teachers construct, and to reveal how they go about constructing it.

- ◆ To gain an understanding of how they identify and handle bilingualism and multiculturalism in their classrooms.
- ◆ To ascertain the reasons why teachers describe and identify bilingualism and multiculturalism in the way that they do.
- ◆ To attempt to understand what influences and motivates them to construct the learning environment and classroom cultures in the way they do.
- ◆ To determine whether the teachers have received appropriate training and if the training has sufficiently prepared them for the challenges L2 learners and a multicultural classroom present.
- ◆ To propose possible strategies that may improve the situation, especially with regard to the available training, should there prove to be problems.

1.6) Research design and methodology

The research follows a qualitative mode of inquiry since it is concerned with teachers' attitudes and behaviours. It has primarily interpretive purposes because it attempts to document and interpret the cultural practices of a classroom and has a case study design with a partial ethnographic orientation (Johnson 1992).

The design is a single descriptive and explanatory case study (Yin 1994). It is single because it focuses on a single case, namely the school, it is descriptive because it describes the classroom context in detail and it is explanatory because it does attempt to answer some 'how' and 'why' questions with regard to the context. It has a partial ethnographic orientation because of its cultural focus and its interest, primarily, in the socio-cultural interactions between learners and the teachers.

The participants are two Grade 2 teachers and their respective classrooms in an English medium school in the Eastern Cape. Both teachers are well educated and each has a Diploma in Education for Junior Primary. Both are very experienced and each has been teaching for approximately 20 years, mostly in the foundation phase. Anonymity is maintained throughout

this research and at no point are the names of the school, the teachers or any of the learners divulged.

The data collection occurred over a period of three months, during which I observed eleven full school days. During these observation periods I made extensive field notes relating to each teacher's behaviour and I described the layout of the classrooms in detail. I also conducted four in-depth interviews, two with each of the teachers and conversed informally with the principal on numerous occasions. The four interviews, eleven observation sessions and the various physical artefacts collected and observed in the classroom make up the bulk of my research findings. The learners were not studied in detail due to time constraints and my particular interest in the teachers. This is one of the major limitations of this research and is discussed further in chapter 5.

1.7) Chapter outlines

This section, chapter 1, of the thesis, provides the reader with a broad introduction to the research as a whole and highlights some of the main threads that run through it.

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework for the study and examines the theory and practice of bilingual and multicultural education. As a background, the chapter begins by describing the linguistic complexity of South Africa and the necessity for conscious language maintenance. Bilingualism is then discussed in detail, followed by SLA and specific models of bilingual and multicultural education. The impact of broader South African society on bilingual and multicultural education is then considered along with South African language policies. Lastly, the future of language education in South Africa is considered.

Chapter 3 describes the research design and methodology used in this research. Multiple methods of data collection are discussed and finally, the strengths and weaknesses of the research design are mentioned along with various ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 paints a picture of the classrooms under study. The classrooms are considered from a cultural perspective with the main

emphasis being on how various elements of the classroom environment contribute to the overall classroom culture. Then the interview data with the teachers is reported on in detail and the underlying motives and attitudes that influence the classroom practices are described.

Chapter 5 considers the findings in terms of the research goals and theoretical framework. It also draws some conclusions and outlines areas for further study.

Chapter 2: Literature review:

2.1) Introduction

The primary intention of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework that supports this thesis. This research is concerned with bilingual and multicultural education in South Africa and whether or not it is in fact being achieved with any success. Consequently, this chapter initially discusses arguments in favour of bilingual and multicultural education and then considers various issues which impact on education, with a particular focus on the South African situation.

2.1.1) A brief linguistic demography of South Africa

According to the 2001 census (www.statssa.gov.za/census01) South Africa has a population of 44 819 778 people within four main population groups:

Indian or Asian People	Black African People	Coloured People	White People
1 115 467	35 416 166	3 994 505	4 293 640
2.5%	79%	8.9%	9.6%

South Africa is home to a large number of languages, eleven of which are official: Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda and Xitsongo. (Census 2001). In addition to the official languages, it is suggested that approximately seventy additional languages are used in the country, including Khoe and San languages, other Bantu languages, European languages, Eurasian languages and Sign languages (Webb 2002). However, the speakers of the eleven official languages do account for 99% of South Africa's total population (Webb 2002:67-68). According to the 2001 census, speaker statistics by home language for the eleven official languages are as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1) IsiZulu = 23.8% | 2) IsiXhosa = 17.6% |
| 3) Afrikaans = 13.3% | 4) Sepedi = 9.4% |
| 5) English = 8.2% | 6) Setswana = 8.2% |
| 7) Sesotho = 7.9% | 8) Xitsongo = 4.4% |
| 9) Siswati = 2.7% | 10) Tshivenda = 2.3% |
| 11) IsiNdebele = 1.6% | |

With regard to the Eastern Cape, the province in which this research was conducted, the situation is somewhat simpler, with three official languages being prominent, namely, Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. Xhosa accounts for more than 70% of the population of the Eastern Cape and Afrikaans and English account for approximately 20%. It is clear from the above statistics that South Africa is linguistically a very complex country and it is this complexity that acts as a backdrop to my literature review.

2.1.2) The necessity for language maintenance

Languages do not exist if there are no people to speak them. If one considers that there are approximately 6000 living languages in the world and that in the long term it is possible that 90% of those languages will become extinct (Krauss, 1995 cited in Baker 2001:50), this means that as few as 600 languages are likely to survive in the future. It is therefore vital that all the South African official languages be maintained if we want them to be counted among the 600 living languages and not the 5400 dead languages. South African history is riddled with issues of power, prejudice, discrimination, marginalization and subordination, which are all causes of language decline and death (Baker 2001) and while South Africa, undoubtedly, has an extremely enlightened and forward-looking language policy, which recognizes eleven languages as official and equal, recent research since the policy was announced in 1994 strongly suggests that linguistic equity has not yet been achieved (Bowerman 2000; de Klerk and Barkhuizen 2000 and 2001). It is these issues that need to be considered if we are to ensure the survival of all the South African official languages.

Furthermore, it is vital that we maintain and promote linguistic diversity in our country because of the following reasons suggested by Crystal (2000:32-66): Firstly, uniformity can endanger a species by providing inflexibility and lack of adaptability; survival lies in our ability to adapt and that ability is born out of diversity. Secondly, language expresses identity and is always present in identity formation and identity display. Thirdly, languages are the repositories of history, which provide links to the past. Fourthly, languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge and when a language dies, its vision of the world dies with it. This means that when a language dies, so does the culture, identity and knowledge that were passed down through that language. And finally, languages should not be allowed to die as they are interesting in themselves and worthy of study.

Linguistic diversity in a country is achieved through a thorough understanding of how bilingualism and multilingualism function in that country and how they are achieved through language planning and policies, particularly in the education system. The next sections will therefore focus on bilingualism and language planning within South Africa, with a particular emphasis on education.

2.2) Bilingualism and multilingualism

2.2.1) Definition

There are numerous definitions of bilingualism, as it is a multi-faceted phenomenon and there is no accepted formula for exactly what is necessary for a person to claim to be bilingual (Myers-Scotton 2006). According to Hoffmann (1991) bilingualism should consequently be viewed as a continuum with no clear cut-off points. On one end of the continuum are the earlier definitions, which tend to restrict 'bilingualism' to the equal, native-like mastery of two languages; on the other end are the later definitions, which allow for greater variation in competence and are often too broad in what they consider to be 'bilingual' (Baker 2001, Edwards 1994). Myers-Scotton (2006) adds that being bilingual does not imply the complete mastery of two languages because speakers are rarely equally fluent in two languages.

However, “being able to read an L2 with a dictionary by your side” or “just being able to produce some formulaic phrases (for example, greetings and the equivalent of ‘please’ and ‘thank you’)” is not enough to label a person as being bilingual either (Myers-Scotton 2006:3). Thus bilingualism as a concept is open-ended and Beardsmore (cited in Hoffmann 1991:18) points out that “ultimately, all definitions are arbitrary to a greater or lesser extent” and that since there are so many, “the researcher is able to choose the one that best suits her or his purpose”. Accordingly, I shall now provide a definition of bilingualism that best suits my purpose.

There are a number of criteria in terms of which a description of bilingualism can be centred (Hoffmann 1991:18-27), namely:

- i. Age of the bilingual: here one can distinguish between early and late bilingualism.
- ii. Context: is bilingualism being achieved naturally or through a school?
- iii. The mental organization of bilinguals with specific reference to interference between the languages.
- iv. The order and consequence of bilingualism: are both languages acquired simultaneously or subsequently and is it additive or subtractive bilingualism?
- v. Competence: how proficient does a person need to be in both languages in order to be called bilingual?
- vi. The uses or the functions that each language fulfills in a bilingual’s life.
- vii. Attitude: does the bilingual identify with his/her languages and do others accept them as belonging to two linguistic communities?

The areas that are central to my research are context, consequence, competence and function. Therefore, for the purposes of this review, ‘bilingualism’ or ‘multilingualism’ will be defined as:

The acquisition of one or more languages subsequent to the L1 through structured instruction (at school) resulting in additive bilingualism with reasonable competence in

both languages, with the ability to function in similar spheres in both.

With regard to the above definition, additive bilingualism implies that the addition of a second or third language to a person's first language results in enriched social, cognitive and linguistic abilities, as opposed to subtractive bilingualism, whereby the L2 is learnt at the expense of the L1 (Hoffmann 1991:21). Also, this definition requires that a multilingual person have more than conversational fluency in their L2 and should achieve a certain degree of academic language competence whereby they are able to cope in an L2 curriculum (Baker 2001). I have now outlined a working definition of ideal bilingualism and multilingualism. However, it is important to note that although many forces motivate speakers to add other languages to their repertoires, the primary reason is almost always that the language will be useful to them in their community or society, or in another community that they want to join (Myers-Scotton 2006). It therefore, becomes important at this point to discuss the relationship between societal multilingualism and individual bilingualism.

2.2.2) Societal and individual bilingualism

It is virtually impossible to make a neat separation between bilingualism as a societal and an individual phenomenon (Romaine 1995). This is due to the fact that often the reason why certain learners become bilingual is because the more powerful groups in any society are usually able to force their language upon the less powerful (Romaine 1995). Having said this, however, it is important to clarify what is meant when I refer to a multilingual society as opposed to a multilingual person.

While it is true that a country full of multilingual people is itself multilingual in an obvious sense, it may nevertheless recognize only one or two varieties and thus, in another sense, be something less than multilingual. Conversely, a country may be officially bilingual or multilingual and yet most of its citizens may have only a single-language competence.

(Edwards 1994:55)

The labels 'bilingual' or 'multilingual' often simply reflect official policies towards some, or all, of the country's minority languages. Frequently, these policies actually say nothing about the extent of bilingualism among the inhabitants of these areas. Often the main concern of societal multilingualism is the guaranteed maintenance and use of two or more languages in the same nation, rather than the promotion of bilingualism among its citizens (Hoffmann 1991). It is only when language planning policies find their way into a nation's education system with the explicit aim of fostering bilingualism, that bilingualism can be said to be the norm in that country, socially and individually (Hoffmann 1991). Bilingualism, therefore, includes both individual and social manifestations, but the emphases of each are quite different. Individual bilingualism focuses primarily on the linguistic and psycholinguistic dimensions of people, whereas societal bilingualism focuses primarily on the historical, educational and political dimensions of a society (Edwards 1994).

South Africa's education policies definitely fulfill Hoffmann's (1991) requirements as stated above. They are explicit in their aims of fostering bilingualism. The policy "...assumes that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in our society" and states that the underlying principle of education is "...to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and effective acquisition of additional language(s)" (LiEP 1997). On the whole, therefore, South Africa can be said to be a multilingual country, both socially and individually. This review will, however, focus on the societal dimensions because it is concerned with nature of multicultural and bilingual education and not with the particular processes individual learners go through.

2.2.3) The advantages of bilingualism:

According to Webb (2002) there are definite advantages to having multilingual people in a society. Firstly, knowledge of more than two languages gives one access to the extensive knowledge and skills available among the millions of speakers of those languages. Secondly, multilingual people possess a more developed capacity for managing cross-cultural

contact. Thirdly, they have a more empathetic attitude towards speakers of languages other than their own.

Furthermore, extensive research has been conducted concerning the personal advantages that bilingual people may have. Research indicates that bilingual children show more highly developed metalinguistic skills, in that they become aware of the objective and arbitrary nature of language sooner than their monolingual peers do (Diaz and Klingler 1991). "Research has shown positive effects of bilingualism on the following metalinguistic abilities: early word-referent distinction; sensitivity to language structure and detail; detection of ambiguities; and syntactic orientation in sentence processing" (Diaz and Klingler 1991:173). In a similar vein, Peal and Lambert (cited in Romaine 1995) conducted research on bilingual children in 1962 in Canada and found that bilingual children performed better than monolingual children on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence. They also found that bilinguals were particularly good with mental manipulation and reorganization of visual patterns. This seemed to indicate more mental flexibility and superior concept formation. This conclusion was further supported by Ianco-Warrall's (1972) research on English-Afrikaans bilinguals in South Africa.

Furthermore, investigators have reported numerous bilingual cognitive advantages including concept formation, creativity, visual-spatial abilities and analogical reasoning (Diaz and Klingler 1991). Diaz and Klingler (1991:183) also found that "cognitive and metalinguistic advantages appear in bilingual situations that involve systematic use of the two languages, such as simultaneous acquisition or bilingual education". However, in order to become bilingual through formal instruction, children need to go through a process of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and this will now be discussed.

2.2.4) SLA processes

"Second language acquisition is the preferred term for referring to the field within the applied linguistics of language teaching, and studies the development of communicative competence in second language learners" (Richards 1985:68). Collier (1995) developed a helpful conceptual model for SLA, based on some of her research. This model explains the processes that

students go through when acquiring a second language (L2) during the school years. The model consists of four components, namely sociocultural processes, linguistic processes, academic development and cognitive development.

2.2.4.1) Sociocultural processes

These processes include individual or personal variables such as motivation, attitude, and personality (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991); classroom interaction and environment and programme structure; and sociolinguistic factors such as the local community or regional social patterns of prejudice and discrimination, subordinate status and forces of acculturation or assimilation (Collier 1995).

Motivation can be divided into two types, namely, integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. Learners are integratively motivated when they are learning a language so that they can identify with another ethnolinguistic group. With instrumental motivation, the learner learns an L2 for utilitarian purposes, such as for employment, improving social status or meeting an educational requirement (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991).

Attitudes tend to influence a learner's acquisition of an L2 indirectly. They are however important and can be far-reaching in their influence. There are various sources of, and targets for, attitudes which become important when people are engaged in SLA: the language learner's views of the target language group, which can be reflective of the parents' attitudes, is one of the most important, and the attitudes of peers can also have an impact on the learner (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991). The learners' attitude towards the learning situation can further affect success, as well as the teachers' attitudes towards the learners, which can affect the quality and quantity of the learning. In fact, the teachers' attitudes can sometimes be even more important than parental or community-wide attitudes (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991). Lastly, a learner's ethnic group membership can also determine attitudes and behaviour toward members of other groups, which may in turn affect SLA (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991).

The personality of the language learner can affect their success in acquiring the L2. Traits that are deemed important are self-esteem; level of

extroversion; ability to handle and control anxiety; willingness to take risks; sensitivity to rejection; empathic capacity; level of inhibition; and tolerance of ambiguity (Ellis 1994).

The classroom environment and programme structure refers to the view that schools have of the multiple languages and cultures within their classrooms. Are the multiple languages and cultures viewed simply as challenges that need to be overcome or do educators acknowledge, affirm and respond to the importance of a learner's L1 and culture? Much research (Agnihotri 1995; Collier and Thomas 2001; Heugh 2002; Le Roux 1997) has shown that the successful acquisition of an L2 is to a large extent dependant on the maintenance of the learner's L1. This means that the physical classroom environment should reflect the diversity of cultures in the classroom through authentic toys, children's literature and posters (Soto, Smrekar and Nekkovei 1999). Also, with regard to classroom interaction, the research indicates that children should not be discouraged from speaking their L1 at home and should not be singled out or punished for using their L1 in the classroom, as this is a violation of their linguistic human rights. According to Soto et al (1999), educators should view learners as members of diverse family and community systems bringing multiple gifts including language, culture and wisdom and should implement a curriculum that reflects their unique community of languages and cultures.

'Sociolinguistic settings for SLA' refers to the effects of particular factors such as "the relative size, status, and power of the L1 and L2 groups" (Siegel 2003: 184). These factors in turn impact on forces of acculturation and assimilation, which can strongly influence the learner's response to the L2. Acculturation refers to "the process by which an individual [or group] adapts to a new culture" (Baker 1995: 230). With regard to SLA, this process implies that the degree of L2 proficiency is proportional to the degree of the learner's willingness to adapt to the culture of the L2 group. Therefore, the acquisition of a second language is not solely dependant on language learning but is also related to the modification of attitudes, knowledge and behaviour in the L2 learner (Siegel 2003). Assimilation is 'the process whereby an individual or group lose their heritage language and culture which

are replaced by the language and culture of the dominant group” (Baker 1995: 230). According to Cook (2001) an L2 learner assimilates to the L2 culture when there is no or minimal value placed on maintaining their own cultural identity and characteristics and when there is a strong desire to maintain relationships with the target language group. She further adds that assimilation results in the eventual dying out of the first language.

2.2.4.2) Linguistic processes

Here one needs to consider the characteristics of the learners’ L1 and L2 and this includes the phonology, morphology, vocabulary, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, paralinguistics, and discourse conventions of each language. This category also includes the four main functions of language, namely, reading, writing, speaking and listening (Collier 1995). These linguistic processes have generally been described in terms of errors, acquisition orders, variability and pragmatic features (Ellis 1994).

Error analysis of learner errors was one of the first ways in which researchers investigated learning processes. On the whole, they realized that although many errors were caused by transferring L1 ‘habits’, many were also caused by learners contributing creatively to the process of learning (Ellis 1994). Errors were divided into intralingual and interlingual errors (Richards 1985). Interlingual errors were attributed to language transfer between the L1 and L2. Intralingual errors involved the target language and were categorized as overgeneralizations; simplifications; developmental errors; communication-based errors; induced errors; avoidance; and overproduction (Richards 1985). Error analysis also indicated that learners appeared to go through distinct stages in the acquisition process (Ellis 1994).

The learners’ language also provides evidence that they pass through clearly identifiable stages in the acquisition of the grammar and phonology of the target language (Ellis 1994; Richards 1985). Researchers also found that learners with different mother tongues passed through similar developmental stages especially with regard to particular English syntactic structures like negatives and interrogatives (Ellis 1994; Richards 1985). The fact that there are particular developmental sequences in acquiring a second

language is considered to be one of the most important findings in SLA research (Ellis 1994).

On the other hand, it appears that learner language is inherently variable, in that learners will frequently use one structure on one occasion and a different structure on another. It was found that learners vary their use of linguistic forms according to the linguistic context and the situational context (Ellis 1994). Closely related to variability is the issue of pragmatic features. Pragmatics – how language is used in communication – has been found to have an impact on learner language, and is especially focused on appropriateness, with regard to what is said in a particular context and how it is said (Ellis 1994). Researchers need to be able to adequately describe a learner's language in order to understand the actual acquisition process (Ellis 1994).

This area is important in education and pedagogy because it may prove helpful if teachers have a basic understanding of some of the linguistic processes involved in SLA. It may assist in their teaching if they are able to understand possible reasons why L2 learners make the errors they do and what impact the L1 might have on the L2.

2.2.4.3) Academic development

Academic development in all school subjects such as language activities, maths, sciences, and social sciences, is very important because academic work dramatically expands the vocabulary, sociolinguistic and discourse dimensions of a language and takes it to higher cognitive levels (Collier 1995). Furthermore, academic knowledge and conceptual development transfer from the L1 to the L2, which means that one can effectively teach the L2 through meaningful academic content (Collier 1995), whereas in previous years, the L2 has often been taught as a subject in and of itself, with no real academic content being taught in the language. This often means that learners lack vocabulary in the L2 and that it is not developed to a high cognitive level thus limiting the L2 learner's ability to communicate and function in the L2.

2.2.4.4) Cognitive development

A number of cognitive theories have been developed that account for the mental processes that enable learners to work on input, and for the knowledge systems that they construct and manifest in output (Ellis 1994). The most popular cognitive theory is perhaps the Interlanguage theory. The term 'interlanguage' was coined by Selinker and refers to the interim grammars constructed by second-language learners on their way to the target language (McLaughlin 1987). The original theory states that the interlanguage is distinct from both the learner's first language and from the target language and that it is the product of language transfer, transfer of training, L2 learning strategies, L2 communication strategies, and overgeneralization (McLaughlin 1987). Interlanguage has had a fairly minor impact on teaching (McLaughlin 1987) but is still valuable in explaining some of the mental processes that may be involved in acquiring a L2. The relevance of this SLA process lies in the fact that "to ensure cognitive and academic success in a second language, a student's first language system, oral and written, must be developed to a high cognitive level, at least through the elementary school years" (Collier 1995: 2).

All four of these components are interdependent, which implies that you cannot develop one to the neglect of another, because this would be detrimental to the student's overall growth and future success (Collier 1995). My research, (and consequently this literature review) is going to focus predominantly on the sociocultural processes at work in South Africa, while not negating the value of the other three vital components. The research will focus specifically on the processes of acculturation and assimilation within the classroom environment, because it is necessary to consider the impact that the broader society has on education, in order to understand it fully.

With this in mind, Edelsky (1996) considered the effect of broader society on the classroom environment in her study of children who should have acquired Spanish as an L2 but did not. She proposes that the main reason for this involved the socio-political environment of the surrounding community, which gave English a higher status than Spanish. In addition, teachers may view L2 learners, or certain L2 learners, as problematic or as

deviating from the norm. This attitude may then have a negative impact on the learner, in that if a child's production of English deviates from what society has set up as standard English, or if he/she appears not to acquire it in the 'accepted' way, that child may be viewed as a problem that needs a solution. Edelsky (1996) claims that schools and what goes on in them are mirrors and reproducers of society and consequently, a teacher's attitude and understanding is to some degree developed by surrounding social structures and then reproduced in their classrooms. Nevertheless, schools can also serve as "agents of change and be places where teachers, students and staff of many varied backgrounds join together to transform tensions between groups that currently exist in the broader society" (Collier 1995: 6). Therefore, with regard to this research the sociocultural processes at play in the classrooms may to a certain extent be the result of reproducing the socio-political environment of South Africa. Consequently, education and language in society become important considerations

2.3) Bilingual and multicultural education

In my definition of bilingualism above (section 2.2.1), I stated that successful bilingualism is the acquisition of one or more language(s) subsequent to the L1, through structured instruction (at school), resulting in additive bilingualism. In this section I review the various types of 'structured instruction' and report on what successful bilingual education might involve. Bilingual education involves more than the acquisition of two languages, because the most important factor in achieving full bilingualism is to make language enjoyable. Children need to value their two languages and two cultures and be aware of the advantages of being bilingual and bicultural (Baker 1995). This can only be achieved if education is both bilingual and multicultural.

2.3.1) Types of bilingual education

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) a good educational programme accomplishes the following goals from a language and identity point of view: high levels of multilingualism, a fair chance of achieving

academically at school, strong, positive multilingual and multicultural identity and positive attitudes towards self and others. Models of education can be evaluated according to their attainment of these three goals. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) there are generally two types of models: weak models and strong models. Weak models do not achieve the goals or only achieve some of them weakly. Strong models, on the other hand, achieve the goals on a large scale.

2.3.1.1) Weak models

Weak models include: Submersion Education, Submersion with Withdrawal classes, Transitional Bilingual Education and Mainstream Education with Second Language Teaching. The outcomes of these models include monolingualism in the majority language and assimilation into mainstream culture, values and attitudes (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999).

a) Submersion Education in the classroom environment is best described using a swimming pool metaphor. A student is thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons. The language of the pool will be the majority language (e.g. English in America) and not the home language of the child, who will typically be in the minority (e.g. Spanish in America). The language minority student will be taught all day in the majority language, typically alongside fluent speakers of the majority language. Both teachers and students will be expected to use only the majority language in the classroom, not the home language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). There are many problems with this type of education: firstly, considerable variations in student language ability in a classroom may often create problems in teaching and classroom management for the teacher. Secondly, there is no reason to assume that children will quickly and effortlessly acquire the majority language skills necessary to cope with the curriculum material. Thirdly, there may also be problems of social and emotional adjustment. Fourthly, the identity of the child, the parents, the home, community and culture appear to be disapproved of, disparaged and discounted. Such a model often denies or denounces their language, their relationships and often their race. Fifthly, there can be enormous stress: listening to a new language demands high

concentration, and is tiring, with constant pressure to think about the form of the language and less time to think about curriculum content, because the child has to take in information from different curriculum areas and learn a language at the same time (Baker 2001). Submersion education may occur with the addition of withdrawal classes to teach the majority language but still appears ineffective in producing bilingual children.

b) Transitional Bilingual Education differs from submersion education in that language minority students are initially instructed through their mother tongue until they are thought to be proficient enough in the majority language to cope in mainstream education (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). Thus, transitional education is a brief, temporary swim in one small pool until the child is perceived as capable of moving to the mainstream pool. Transitional programmes are also marked by the fact that the learner's mother tongue is seen as having no intrinsic value in the society, only an instrumental value. Teaching through the medium of the mother tongue is not seen as a right to which the child is entitled. The mother tongue is seen as useful only in so far as its auxiliary use enhances the knowledge of the dominant language. Transitional bilingual education is a more subtle form of assimilation, but it also does encourage dominance and often monolingualism in the majority language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999).

c) Mainstream Education with Second Language Teaching occurs where the majority language (e.g. English in America) is the medium of instruction and the minority language (e.g. Spanish in America) is taught as a curriculum subject (Baker 2001). This is distinct from teaching through the medium of a second language, where curriculum content is the focus rather than language learning. The problem with this approach is that relatively few second-language students blossom. Where children receive a half-hour second-language lesson per day for between five and twelve years, few students become functionally fluent in the second language (Baker 2001).

The main problem with each of these programmes is that they are "based on seeing the minority child as deficient and education as trying to compensate for the deficiencies" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 47).

2.3.1.2) Strong models

Strong models include: Immersion Schools, Heritage Language Schools and Dual-language Schools. In these schools the promotion of two or more languages is attempted and the aim is to enrich the child, particularly linguistically (Baker 1995). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 51-53), the main principles that make these models effective at accomplishing multilingualism, fair academic achievement and positive multilingual and multicultural identity and attitudes through bilingual education are:

- ◆ They offer support by using as the main medium of education, at least during the first eight years, that language which is least likely to develop to a high formal level. For all minority children, this is their own mother tongue. For majority children, it should be a minority language.
- ◆ All children, not only minority children, are to become high-level bilinguals. This is especially important where minority children and majority children are in the same class.
- ◆ There must be equality in every area including the status of mother tongues and the roles that the languages are accorded in class schedules.
- ◆ Teachers must be bi- or multilingual. Every child in a school must be able to talk to an adult who speaks the same first language.
- ◆ Both languages have to be used as medium of instruction in some phase of the children's education.

Discussion of some research conducted in America (see below) will shed some more light on what a successful model of bilingual education looks like.

2.3.2) Successful or effective bilingual education

Collier and Thomas (2001) conducted a longitudinal study that spanned almost twenty years (1981-2001). The research focused on the great variety of education services provided for language minority students in the U.S. public schools. The research was divided into two separate studies. The first investigated the fate of language minority students in five large

school systems during the years 1982-1996. The second looked at another five urban and rural sites across the U.S. over a five-year period (1996-2001). The motivation for doing the research was the realization that language minority students (mostly Spanish) are becoming the largest minority group in America. They are projected to be 40% of the school-going population by 2030. Most U.S. schools are dramatically under-educating this student population and consequently are at a risk of under-preparing a large segment of the workforce for the 21st century, which means that a substantial proportion of the potentially employable population will be unemployable (Collier and Thomas 2001).

The study is useful to my research because it focuses on the English language learner's (L2 learner in terms of this review) long-term academic achievement in grades K to 12 (K refers to Kindergarten and is the same as South African R level). The purpose of the study was to design, implement and reform the education of language minority students. Collier and Thomas (2001) used the language minority (LM) students' achievement scores on American standardized tests compared to monolingual achievement scores on the same tests as a measure of the success and effectiveness of eight programmes that were specially designed to bring LM students to the same level as monolingual students. They concentrated on the following programmes:

- ◆ 90-10 and 50-50 two-way bilingual immersion: 90-10 means that for grades K-2 (R-2), 90% of instruction is in the minority language and 10% in English and gradually English instruction is increased to 50%; 50-50 means that from the start (grade R) 50% instruction is in English and 50% is in a minority language.
- ◆ 90-10 and 50-50 one-way developmental bilingual education.
- ◆ 90-10 and 50-50 transitional bilingual education
- ◆ English as a second language (ESL) taught through academic content: this involves ESL content classes being provided for 2-3 years, followed by immersion into the English mainstream.

- ♦ English Mainstream: this means that English Language Learners (L2 learners) are immersed in the English mainstream from the very beginning.

It is worth noting that when the writers refer to 10% instruction, this does not refer to English taught as a subject but rather to English as a medium of instruction for 10% of the day.

Collier and Thomas (1997 and 2001) also take into account the potential influence that certain student background variables might have on student achievement. They considered socio-economic background and found that achievement levels varied by between 3-12% depending on student background. Consequently, according to their research, they claim that language had a greater influence on achievement levels than socio-economic background. They also determined that a well-implemented dual-language programme could in fact 'reverse' the negative effects of one's socio-economic status (2001: 331). On the whole, Collier and Thomas (1996) found that formal schooling is the true predictor. Neither the particular L1 that the student spoke nor parental levels of proficiency in English, in their view, were important predictors of a student's achievement in English:

Of all the student background variables, the most powerful predictor of academic success in L2 is formal schooling in L1...the deeper a student's level of L1 cognitive and academic development (which includes L1 proficiency development), the faster students will progress in L2

(Collier and Thomas 1996: 38-39)

This research has had a number of implications for American policies: English Language Learners (ELL) immersed in the English mainstream showed large decreases in reading and maths achievement by grade 5 when compared to the students who received bilingual /ESL services. The largest number of high school dropouts came from this group (Collier and Thomas 2001: 326). The 90-10 and 50-50 two-way and one-way bilingual immersion and transition programmes were the most effective at producing

bilingual students who could compete at an equal level with monolingual students. The ELL students who were taught ESL through academic content or who entered English mainstream from the beginning were not able to close the gap in English mainstream and were below monolingual students throughout their schooling.

It becomes clear from this study that students with no proficiency in English should not be placed in short-term programmes of only 1-3 years. The minimum time it takes for a non-English speaking learner to reach grade-level performance in English is four years and then only if they have had four years of schooling in their L1. As a group, students with no L1 schooling are not able to reach grade level performance in the L2. They found that the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling: the more grade level L1 schooling, the higher L2 achievement. They also concluded that bilingually schooled children outperform comparable monolingually schooled children in academic achievement in all subjects after 4-7 years of dual-language schooling. In conclusion, they say “when ELL’s exit into mainstream English, initially, those schooled all in English outperform those schooled bilingually, when tested in English, however, bilingually schooled students reach the same levels of achievement in middle school (intermediate phase) years, and in high school, they outperform monolingually schooled students” (Collier and Thomas 2001: 333-335).

Thus it is evident from the above discussion that complete submersion in the L2 from the very beginning in school is unsuccessful in producing bilingual learners, yet this appears to be the situation in a number of South African schools. In fact, research indicates that dual-medium instruction is more successful and should be implemented in the education system in countries that aim to produce bilingual learners which as is shown in section 2.5 below, is an overt aim of South African government. However, bilingual education can only be truly successful and effective if it is combined with multicultural education.

2.3.3) Multicultural education

According to Baker (1995) development of proficiency in two languages within a bilingual programme should not be a crusade, a source of conflict or a competition against monolinguals. This may lead to a child who is able to speak, read and even write fluently in two languages but who has also developed a negative attitude towards the target language and bilingualism itself. The child has learned that bilingualism is associated with pressure, anxiety and constant correction. It is important that children's positive attitude towards their two languages is encouraged continuously.

In developing a bilingual child, the school has the important role of maintaining the child's first language, identity and culture, while allowing that child entry into the second language and culture. "...Historically, education's primary task in all societies has been to conserve and protect an inherited culture and transmit it intact to each generation" (Coombs 1985 cited in Le Roux 1997: 16). This means that in a multicultural society such as South Africa, in order to preserve and affirm culture, the school has to reflect the multicultural nature of South African society, which means that the school should be transmitting multiple cultures (Le Roux 1997). It is important to note that "multicultural" indicates a multitude of cultures that are addressed in subject matter, and is not necessarily represented by a multitude of cultural groups attending a particular school. Therefore multicultural education can be described as a particular approach to education that enhances cultural awareness and sensitivity and acknowledges and accepts cultural diversity. It implies that the entire school ecology needs to address the need of learners from diverse cultural, language and socio-economic groups (Le Roux 1997).

A school which sees its main task as the socialization of learners into the dominant culture and gives very little attention to racial or ethnic-cultural differences is not multicultural. Socializing learners to be "colour-blind" is in fact assimilatory (a process whereby a minority group gives up their culture and language to become completely assimilated or absorbed by the more dominant cultural or language group) (Le Roux 1997). And it is at this point that the role of the teacher becomes important because "the extent

to which multicultural education succeeds in the classroom relies heavily on the knowledge, attitude, view and behaviour of the teacher. Teachers are to a great extent responsible for what and how children learn" (Le Roux 1997: 58), therefore, for a school to be truly multicultural and bilingual, the teachers need to be trained in multiculturalism and bilingual education and need to understand the nature of multilingualism in society; this is especially true of South African society.

2.4) Language in society

According to Baker (2001: 43) "Bilingual individuals do not exist as separated islands. Rather, people who speak two or more languages usually exist in networks, communities and sometimes in regions." Consequently, there is no language without a language community and bilingual and multicultural education can only be properly understood by examining the circumstances of language communities in which such education is placed. As stated above in section 2.2.4, the nature and roles of various languages in a society has a major impact on the education system in that society. The socio-political environment of the surrounding community is often mirrored in the classroom and influences the parents', teachers' and school's decisions and actions. Since my research is largely concerned with bilingual and multicultural education and the impact of South African society on the classroom environment, it becomes necessary to consider language in society. One sociolinguistic situation that often exists in bilingual countries is diglossia.

2.4.1) Diglossia

Classic diglossia as used by Ferguson (1959) refers to a situation where two or more varieties of the same language have two different but definite roles to play in society. Ferguson (1959) states that the most important feature of diglossia is the specialization of function for each variety. In one situation, only the majority, prestigious or 'high' (H) variety is appropriate and in another, only the minority, less prestigious or 'low' (L) variety is appropriate. Generally, the minority (L) language variety is more

likely to be used in informal, personal situations and the majority (H) in more formal or official communication (Ferguson 1959). This means that speakers tend to regard H as superior to L for a number of reasons. Firstly, H is often believed to be more logical and better able to express important thoughts. Interestingly, speakers who have a limited command of H also believe this. Secondly, there tends to be a considerable body of written literature in H that is held in high esteem by the speech community. Thirdly, for many speech communities, the actual learning of H is accomplished through formal education, while L is acquired naturally, from childhood. Fourthly, there tends to be a strong tradition of grammatical study in H. There are grammars and dictionaries and established norms for pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (Ferguson 1959).

Fishman (1967) extended Ferguson's (1959) notion of diglossia by proposing that the H and L varieties could be completely different languages as opposed to different varieties of the same language. This means that entirely different languages can fill the H functions and the L functions described above. This extension is known as extended diglossia and can apply to any bilingual community (Myers-Scotton 2006). Fishman (1967) also distinguished between four types of language situations.

- ◆ "Diglossia with bilingualism" exists in speech communities where speakers engage in a number of different roles; where access to several roles is encouraged or facilitated by powerful social institutions and processes, and wherever the roles are clearly differentiated. This implies that almost everyone is able to use both the majority (H) and the minority (L) language but each is used for different functions (Fishman 1967).
- ◆ "Diglossia without bilingualism" is common in countries that are economically underdeveloped and immobilized, combining groups that are on opposite extremes of the social spectrum and who operate in very restricted and discontinuous linguistic repertoires. This tends to lead to the ruling power group speaking the majority (H) language, while the larger, less powerful group speaks the

minority (L) language. The colonial situation in many countries was a good example of this type (Fishman 1967).

- ♦ “Bilingualism without diglossia” means that most people are bilingual and do not restrict one language to a specific set of purposes.
- ♦ Lastly, a society can be neither bilingual nor diglossic, that is, “monolingual”, although this is rare (Fishman 1967).

It should be noted that these four models are problematic, in that language groups cannot easily be allocated to the four ‘cells’ because the boundaries that separate one language from another are never permanent (Baker 2001). However, these models are still useful when discussing the shape of a particular society, such as South Africa.

2.4.2) The diglossic nature of languages in South African society

The language situation in South Africa is interesting because “English is not a major language of South Africa in statistical or geographical terms; the Bantu languages are. However, socio-politically, the situation is reversed” (Webb 2002: 83). Lockett (1995) suggests that it is a common belief that African languages are not suitable for functions such as further education, science, technology, business, law and government. Webb (2002) takes this idea even further by claiming that English is in fact swiftly becoming the only language of official use at all levels of government and in all state and semi-state departments (see research by de Klerk and Barkhuizen 2000 and 2001). Ultimately, “English remains the truly dominant language of South Africa; it is the language of education and economic power; the language of parliament and international popular culture” (Bowerman 2000: 30).

Moreover, Webb (2002) shows that the major class division that exists in South Africa filters into the language situation, in terms of which the linguistic world of the middle to upper class is mainly English, with the Bantu languages being mainly the languages of the working class. So it would appear that although many South Africans are multilingual, a diglossic

situation pertains, in that the African languages are used only in certain contexts, such as the home, the street, religion, sport and local culture, whereas English is used in writing, print and higher education, media, government administration and parliament (Luckett 1995 and Webb 2002). Moreover, “in terms of status, English is by far the dominant language of the country” (Webb 2002: 75).

In research de Klerk (2000 and 2002) conducted on parental attitudes in the Eastern Cape during 1998, a number of her participants confirmed the view that indigenous languages, in this case Xhosa, are only suitable for use in the home and the local culture: “It will be a language people speak in their homes...It is good for home use but is not that good for being used elsewhere. It’s more like a home appliance...Xhosa is right for the sake of culture, but wrong for the sake of communication” (de Klerk 2000: 103). These participants also confirmed the high status of English and viewed English as an international language and believed that English would open the door to more job opportunities and equip their children with a competitive edge, since it is the language most used in the workplace and is the language of science and technology. Also the participants saw English as vital to educational success generally and viewed it as the most important language in the schools (de Klerk 2002: 6). This study reveals that at ground-level, English has more status and is seen as more valuable and useful than the indigenous languages. This further reveals that South Africa has a diglossic situation, whereby the indigenous languages, although spoken by the majority population are in fact minority languages due to their lower status, and English, which is spoken by fewer people, is actually a majority language because of its higher status.

This situation seems to mix ‘diglossia without bilingualism’ with ‘diglossia with bilingualism’. It would appear that if one is a speaker of an African language and upper class or lives in an urban area where speakers engage in a number of different roles, where access to several roles is encouraged by powerful social institutions, and where the roles are clearly differentiated, then one is in a situation of diglossia with bilingualism. However, if one speaks an African language and is of a lower class or lives in

a rural area where economic under development and immobilization is commonplace, then one is in a situation of diglossia without bilingualism. The existence of these two systems in South Africa adds to the complex nature of South Africa's multilingual society and each of the different situations has a significant impact on education in South Africa.

2.4.3) The impact of diglossia on education

The impact of diglossia on education can be felt by the fact that for many speech communities, the majority language (H) is learned as a second language through formal education, while for others it may be their first language, acquired naturally (Baugh 1997). This can be problematic because "most schools advocate the dominant literate and linguistic norms of a given society and some students will not acquire the most influential linguistic standards" (Baugh 1997: 33). This means that if English, for example, is the dominant language, as it is in South Africa, then most schools will use it as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT). Those learners from a minority language background will, therefore, be at a serious disadvantage when compared to children who are born into well-educated families where the dominant language is the first language (Baugh 1997). Schools that choose to use both the majority and the minority languages, that is, attempt multilingual education, have a number of difficult questions to consider (Baker 2001), such as:

- i. At which stage of schooling is the high (majority) or low (minority) language going to be used and in which curriculum areas?
- ii. Is the low language just used for oral communication or is biliteracy a goal of the school's curriculum?
- iii. Are science, technology and computing taught in the high or low language?
- iv. Is the low language going to be allowed for a year or two in primary school with the higher language taking over thereafter?
- v. Does the school deliberately exclude the low language as a medium of instruction?

Answering these questions is necessary because “the purpose and functions of each language in a diglossic situation are both symbolized and enacted in the school situation” (Baker 2001: 48) and can lead to serious language shift in that particular community.

2.4.4) Language shift

Hoffmann (1991) simply defines language shift as the process whereby a community does not maintain its language, but gradually adopts another one. de Klerk (2000: 88) takes this further and explains that “language shift occurs when linguistic communities find themselves in contact with a language that offers greater practical and economic rewards or carries higher prestige.” To study language shift, one has to examine how two or more languages are used within a community.

When considering language shift, it is necessary to acknowledge that there is always a combination of factors at work and that maintenance and shift within a bilingual community fall on a continuum (Myers-Scotton 2006). Baker (2001) outlines three categories of factors that influence language shift:

- ◆ Political, social and demographic factors: these can include issues like the number and dispersal of speakers; migration, whereby members of language groups leave the areas where their language is spoken by the majority of the population and in moving, they adopt the language of the new area; and occupational shifts often triggered by industrialization and urbanization.
- ◆ Cultural factors: these include issues relating to a lack of mother-tongue institutions; ethnic identity being defined by factors other than language; and emphasis being placed on education in the L2.
- ◆ Linguistic factors: these include whether the mother tongue is standard or non-standard; the international importance of the mother tongue; the importance of literacy in the mother tongue; and the amount of borrowing that allowed across languages.

However, when talking about the factors that play a role in language shift, it is important to realize that “who speaks a language, is more important than how many speak it” (Romaine 1995: 40). Understanding language shift also lies in the ‘who’ question (Romaine 1995). Consequently other factors that play a role in determining linguistic behaviour are prestige and use as a school language (Hoffmann 1991). With reference to prestige:

In many bilingual communities personal wealth, professional standing and general technological advance are seen as attributes of the high-status group, so that if members of the minority language group wish for upward mobility, improved living standards and/or a share of power, they relate these feelings to the need to change one’s language.

(Hoffmann 1991: 191).

Furthermore, language use in the schools is one of the most powerful causes of language shift. Where the LOLT is that of the high-status group and no provision is made for the children of the low-status group to learn to read and write their L1, language shift is accelerated and is almost sure to take place (Hoffmann 1991). It is vital to realize that once a language is no longer spoken at home, its long-term existence is seriously threatened (Hoffmann 1991 and Romaine 1995).

With particular reference to language shift and the role of schools in South Africa, de Klerk (2000 and 2002) conducted a study (referred to previously in section 2.4.2) in 1998 that considered parental attitudes and language shift in Grahamstown. She studied shift within a small group of middle to upper class Xhosa-speaking parents who were sending their children to English-medium schools. In her research she conducted a survey that included questionnaire responses from 194 parents and personal interviews with 26 of those parents. She found that “among the children of these parents, shift to English is well under-way, and is almost irrevocable” (de Klerk 2000: 105). There were two sets of factors that appeared to play a role in the linguistic decisions of the participants, namely economic and

functional factors and sociocultural factors. The first set started the ball rolling and “economic and educational factors, all tied in to the relative statuses of the languages concerned, featured prominently in their decision-making, as did prospects for future employment for their children” (de Klerk 2000: 105). The second set (the sociocultural factors) determined how ‘successful’ the shift would be. The crucial element within the sociocultural factors was the educational context in which the child was placed. All of the children were placed in formerly whites-only English schools and these schools generally aim at assimilation and integration and believe that educational success is only possible through the mastery of English. A context such as this accelerates the pace of language shift and ensures that it is ‘successful’.

Hence it is clear that education can play a major role in language shift and maintenance. If a multilingual society such as South Africa wants to maintain their multiple languages as opposed to shifting to a single prominent language such as English, then additive bilingualism in the education system is very necessary and needs to be successfully implemented. One of the primary methods of combating language shift is language planning and we shall now turn to this important issue.

2.4.5) Language planning

The study of language planning focuses on the decision-making that goes into establishing appropriate language use in particular linguistic communities. It looks at how language can be organized successfully within a linguistic community, and considers the choices available and the possible recommendations for a language policy that can be adopted by that community (Eastman 1983). Basically, “the language that all members of a nation state must speak, at least in certain out-group interactions, is based on policies that are laid down” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 378). Thus we can see that languages that are deemed suitable for use in education are the result of the conscious influence of various powerful groups and institutions that develop very real policies (Fettes 1997).

Language planning as a discipline originally aimed at producing a standard language and viewed language as an instrument that could be

wielded by the state to promote national unity and efficient communication within its borders (Fettes 1997). It was soon realized that to accomplish this, two different types of intervention were needed: Corpus planning, which aims at defining and developing a national standard, and status planning, which aims at encouraging its use in preference to other language varieties (Kloss 1969 cited in Fettes 1997). Later Cooper (1989 cited in Fettes 1997) added a third type: acquisition planning.

Corpus planning involves the development of writing systems for different languages ('graphization'), the definition of 'correct' language ('standardization'), and the introduction of new terms for new concepts ('modernization') (Fettes 1997, Myers-Scotton 2006). Status planning tends to be political by nature and attempts to gain more recognition and capacity for a language by making it an official language and a constitutional right (Fettes 1997). This type of planning has also been extended to refer to how languages are allocated to a variety of functions, such as medium of instruction and medium of mass communication (Myers-Scotton 2006). Cooper (1989 cited in Fettes 1997) added acquisition planning because he noticed that many countries including those with highly standardized national languages, still faced a number of challenges in cultivating an adequate knowledge of the standard among minority groups that used different languages among themselves. Acquisition planning, therefore, involves ensuring that there are sufficient means, such as through education, for people to acquire whatever language or languages the planners want them to acquire (Myers-Scotton 2006).

According to Ridge (2004), in order for language planning to be successful it needs to consider a number of issues. Firstly, language planning needs to take into account individual and national identity issues, along with the necessity of internal and international communication. Secondly, language planning has to consider the demands of transformation. Policies need to expand democratic participation and equip citizens and the nation for mobility. Thirdly, language planning needs to steer clear of false categorization and conscious or inadvertent stigmatization of any language. Fourthly, language planning has to understand and create space for the

actual multilingual practices used in various domains. Finally, language planning needs to recognize that a language can simultaneously be a problem, a right and an asset at different times and for different people.

With this theory in mind, I will now consider South Africa's attempts at language planning by discussing various policy documents in order to establish how South Africa intends maintaining its multiple languages and thereby resist the process of language shift and the replacement of the indigenous languages with English.

2.5) South African language policies

A discussion of various South African language policies is important to my research because as mentioned above the languages that members of a nation are expected to speak in certain out-group interactions (such as in government institutions) is based on the policies that are laid down by that nation's government (Myers-Scotton 2006). This means that theoretically these policies influence language choices on all levels, particularly within education and since the primary focus of this thesis is language education in South Africa, it becomes important to consider the policies that influence the available language choices in the South African education system.

2.5.1) The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF)

The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) "takes cognizance of the fact that the value of our languages is largely determined by their economic, social and political usage. When a language loses its value in these spheres the status of the language diminishes" (Department of Arts and Culture 2002: 3). It also emphasizes the need to increase efforts to develop the previously marginalized indigenous languages and to promote multilingualism in order to free South Africans from the excessive use of non-indigenous languages (like English) as the dominant, official languages of the state (Department of Arts and Culture 2002). However, there are a number of problems with the NLPF because according to Ridge (2004), it is informed by an inadequate understanding of language and linguistic behaviour. There is

little awareness of how contextually and historically embedded people's actual communication practices are and so language is incorrectly viewed as a stable, abstract system. According to Ridge (2004), this lack of understanding is explicitly expressed in a number of ways:

a) Equality of languages: The NLPF seeks equality of languages in a general sense and "lays the blame for the inequality of languages on the history of colonial domination, as if some prelapsarian equal state where there were no race and class differences existed before the arrival of the restless West" (Ridge 2004: 2). This kind of blame means that the real issues are never tackled because an unattainable equality of a kind that never has and never will exist becomes the goal and all resources are spent on pursuing this goal.

b) Definition of 'multilingualism': A study of multilingualism in individuals and local communities can help explain strategic language choices and attitudes. This knowledge could be used to inform curricular decisions in schools and could throw light on identity and nation-building issues. Instead, the NLPF loosely defines 'multilingualism' and simply assumes that "the learning of other official languages" will "promote national unity, and linguistic diversity" (Department of Arts and Culture 2002: 10). This assumption is made without considering the actual language and identity patterns that could direct the strategies for learning and developing languages.

c) Pluralist alternatives: The NLPF fails to consider pluralist alternatives and perceives multilingualism as an unproblematic notion that simply involves "the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group of speakers such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation." (Department of Arts and Culture 2002: 20). This simplistic understanding of multilingualism assumes that the languages will naturally tend towards equality. The NLPF unfortunately, fails to consider the diglossic nature of languages in South Africa and does not consider domains in which a particular language is used and valued, or which languages are deemed important for learners to acquire. These issues are important if South Africa intends to meet the demands of an increasingly complex world (Ridge 2004).

2.5.2) The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB)

PANSALB is charged in the constitution with the task of promoting the use of all the official languages and it is their job to implement the NLPF (section 2.5.1). Part of their mission is to enable South Africans to free themselves from all forms of linguistic discrimination, domination and division, and to enable them to exercise appropriate linguistic choices for their own well-being as well as for national development (PANSALB 1998). PANSALB views language in South Africa as a right and a resource as opposed to a problem. They also acknowledge that “the best way for language development to occur is for the language to be used...for a language to survive, it must be used for a wide range of functions otherwise it begins to wither and die. Thus, were we to have allowed higher status functions to be limited to English and Afrikaans only, the other languages of the country eventually would begin to wither and die” (PANSALB 1998: 2). It is interesting that the writers of this document say “were we to have allowed...” when for all intents and purposes, higher status functions are limited to English. This is evidenced in the economic and functional status of English, whereby the indigenous languages are still associated with poor socio-economic conditions; and in the sociocultural status of English in high domains such as business, government and education (Bowerman 2000). English is also used in high official domains in state structures like South African prisons (de Klerk and Barkhuizen 2001) and the South African National Defense Force, where English is the “language of general communication, instruction, command, control, and coordination” (de Klerk and Barkhuizen 2000: 97). This means that the other indigenous languages are still at risk of ‘withering and dying’ if something is not done soon. It should also be remembered that whether or not PANSALB “allows” the use of certain languages, real people make their own language choices, regardless of official decrees. The PANSALB document goes on to state that “it is unacceptable in South Africa for social, democratic and economic reasons to limit the use of any language” and that “the perception that people who are not proficient in English are somehow deficient must be dispelled...”

(PANSALB 1998: 5). Unfortunately they do not give any details about how they intend to go about realizing the goals that they suggest on paper.

On the PANSALB website (PANSALB 2004: www.pansalb.org.za) they discuss the “pivotal” role of language in education in realizing the broader aim of extending the use and increasing the status of the indigenous languages. PANSALB strongly supports home language instruction as part of the multilingual approach to education. This implies that, while the mother tongue should receive priority as the LoLT, an additional second language could be developed in parallel, as either a subject only, or as a second language of learning and teaching. This leads us to considering the 1997 Language in Education Policy (DoE 1997) and Curriculum 2005 (DoE 2002) as a means in which to realize these educational goals.

2.5.3) The 1997 Language in Education Policy (LiEP)

This policy was developed and produced because it was conceived as an integral and necessary aspect of the government’s strategy of building a non-racial nation in South Africa (Department of Education 1997). It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, and recognizes cultural diversity as a valuable national asset. It thus aims to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages and respect for all languages used in the country. The policy also states that “being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African” and that the “learning of two or more languages should be general practice” (LiEP 1997). This implies that the whole nation, not just language minority students, is required to become multilingual. The policy also promotes additive bilingualism in that it aims to maintain the home languages while providing access to the effective acquisition of additional languages. The policy has decentralized implementation by declaring that “the governing body of the school must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects, and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes, or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education

department” (LiEP 1997). Curriculum 2005 was also released in 1997 with the aim of having it implemented in all grades by 2005. During 2000 and 2001 the curriculum underwent extensive review and a new version was released in 2002. However, its fundamental values and strategies remain the same and the curriculum continues to serve as a guide for education in South Africa (DoE 2002).

2.5.4) Curriculum 2005

The curriculum states that “it is important that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages and that they are able to communicate in other languages” (DoE 2002: 4). The curriculum follows an additive approach to multilingualism (cf. section 2.2.1) by advocating that all learners learn their home language and at least one additional official language. This would mean that learners would become competent in their additional language, while their home language was being maintained and developed. It is also recommended that the learner’s home language should be used for learning and teaching wherever possible. This is particularly important in the Foundation Phase where children learn to read and write (DoE 2002). The curriculum further states that “children have been raised with the culture, traditions and knowledge present in their home environment, and these are part of their language knowledge. The classroom should be a place that celebrates, respects, and builds on what learners know” (DoE 2002: 9).

Thus it becomes clear, through numerous policy documents, that on a policy level the South African government is very aware of the need to maintain and elevate the indigenous languages or risk losing them. The documents also reveal a clear understanding that one of the most effective ways of doing this is through additive bilingual education. What is not clear, however, is how schools and teachers are to achieve these aims, given decades of under-resourcing, a lack of appropriate curriculum in all official languages, and inappropriate teacher training.

2.6) South Africa and multilingual education

South Africa is currently facing a serious problem: even though language research and the language policies reflect an appreciation of the importance of multilingual competence, classroom practices have generally become more monolingual, not multilingual (Agnihotri 1995). Unfortunately, “diverse languages are seen as obstacles and sources of interference in the learning of the target language” and teachers seem to see the linguistic and cultural differences as deviations from the standard (Agnihotri 1995: 3).

Chick (2002) conducted a study in the Durban metropolitan area in which he investigated the extent to which six schools are promoting the multilingualism and multiculturalism advocated in the official language-in-education policy. He concentrated on six former white and Indian schools that have become more linguistically and culturally diverse since the demise of apartheid. Chick’s research (2002: 462) was particularly interested in “how discourses serve to construct, sustain and change institutional and societal structures” and he observed three pervasive discourses in the schools, namely, the English-only discourse, the decline-of-standards discourse and the one-at-a-time discourse. With regard to my research, his discussion of the English-only discourse is most relevant. Chick (2002) assumed that multicultural discourses would be pervasive if not yet dominant within the classrooms and yet what he found was that overwhelmingly participants were having to negotiate their identities within an English-only discourse. He found that the principals of the schools were not in favour of using Zulu or any other language other than English in the classrooms and that they justified their position by arguing that the schools were English-medium schools and that the L2 learners need English for economic advancement. Generally he found that the dominant discourses in the schools

Marginalize students who do not speak English as a first language and who do not share middle-class values and middle-class ways of expressing them. They tend to construct an identity for them as language deficient and/or rebellious and/or unmannerly. As such, they reinforce the

view of South African national identity as hegemonic, exclusive and conflicted that was constructed by the discriminatory policies of the past.

(Chick 2002: 476)

Furthermore, according to Heugh (2002) the commonsense notion that earlier and greater exposure to English coupled with the simultaneous decrease in the use of the L1 will result in better proficiency in English does not hold up to scientific research. There is copious evidence of the failure of most children who have plunged too quickly into English without strong support in the school for their home language (de Klerk 2002). However, many parents still opt for a straight-for-English approach for their children and many heads of schools confirm their belief that the earlier the children enter the system, the better their chances of success. But the system is buckling under the pressure, since taking in non-English learners impacts heavily on English-medium schools, as educators are perforce required to work much harder to help these children succeed. Also, the balance between L1 and L2 English speakers is becoming problematic. In many English-medium schools, the L1 learners are out-numbered by the L2 learners and this is problematic since 'successful' immersion depends on the school consisting of more than 50% L1 English speakers (de Klerk 2002).

Language policies are not implemented in social and historical vacuums, so the language attitudes of South Africans also have to be taken into account when trying to implement policies. It is commonly believed that the best way to achieve proficiency in English is to be exposed to English as much as possible and the sooner the better. Furthermore, English is seen as a high status language, a necessity if you want to make it in this world (Luckett 1995). We need to recognize that it is these everyday attitudes that will govern the choices people make when they exercise their democratic right to determine what languages they will learn at school, and so additive bilingualism can only develop in social contexts where both languages (and their cultures) are valued and reinforced (Luckett 1995). The fact is that:

The current language policy does offer the best possible opportunity for those who do not have English as a first language, to learn it well enough to use it in institutions of higher education and for employment purposes in the mainstream economy. It most certainly does not prevent access to English, neither does it dilute or minimize learners' opportunity to gain meaningful access to English. Only those who do not understand how second languages are and can be learned with success will believe otherwise.

(Heugh 2002: 174)

Yet, the policy is not being implemented in schools. Why not? One reason that has been put forward is that the parents of the children want English straight away and English only. Heugh (2002) claims that this is a myth and that there is "no scientific evidence to support the myth that the majority of parents want straight for or only English" (Heugh 2002: 183). She goes on to say that while there are some parents who do choose to send their children to English schools, this is the minority, not the majority. To illustrate this, Heugh (2002: 183) cites a national sociolinguistic survey that was conducted in 1999 by PANSALB. This research showed that at least 88% of parents favour the maintenance and development of the home language or the maintenance and development of the home language alongside a second language like English.

However, de Klerk's study (2000 and 2002) (mentioned in section 2.4.4) showed that economically advantaged Xhosa-speaking parents generally have attempted to expose their children to English as early as possible, often by sending them to crèche or pre-school prior to the commencement of formal schooling. But her study does not contradict Heugh's (2002) claims that the majority of parents are not going for English only, since these parents were members of the middle and upper classes. de Klerk (2000), found that among the informants in the study, the majority of parents are in fact opting for English only. The most common reason (26%) for choosing an English school was the need for a better education and a

more stable learning environment. Basically, they felt that the English schools offered more and better facilities and did not have the same problems as the black schools. The next most popular reason for choosing English (19%) was because English was seen as an international language and they wanted to prepare their children for the modern world. The other reasons included wanting to give the child better opportunities than the parents had had, and a sense that English would open doors to more jobs (de Klerk 2000). It is interesting to note, however, that generally parents had to take extra measures to improve their children's linguistic competence, such as providing more reading material in English, extra lessons, speaking English more at home and so on.

In general, while the majority of those parents who were interviewed were happy with their choice, there were some that did have regrets. A number of parents mentioned that there had been social problems, such as a lack of integration at schools and ostracism from peers in the townships. Also, religion emerged as being problematic with the children resisting attempts to worship in Xhosa. A further interesting point is that a substantial number of the respondents (81% of the questionnaire respondents and 65% of the interviewees) reported that they believed that it was important to support and maintain the mother tongue (de Klerk 2002). "Their principled support for Xhosa comes through strongly, and suggests that, had tuition and facilities in Xhosa schools been better, they might have preferred to keep them there and let them learn through their MT" (de Klerk 2002: 9).

Besides parental attitudes and desires, Probyn et al (2002) suggest some other reasons regarding the failure of implementation of the Language in Education Policy:

- ♦ Schools do not have knowledge of the policy.
- ♦ Schools do not clearly understand the extent of their powers and responsibilities.
- ♦ They have a lack of experience and expertise in developing their own policies (and this probably includes a lack of knowledge and

understanding regarding the nature of bilingualism and second language acquisition).

- ♦ They do not know what support (if any) the Department of Education will provide.
- ♦ Education department district officials, who might advise schools, lack knowledge of the LiEP.
- ♦ Furthermore, the introduction of the LiEP was overshadowed by the concurrent introduction of Curriculum 2005, and district officials and teachers were often too preoccupied and focused on curriculum implementation to attend to the LiEP.

2.7) Where to now?

South African education has to a considerable extent failed on two main points: firstly, mother-tongue education (MTE), though theoretically desirable, appears to be irrevocably stigmatized because of its historical associations with an inferior curriculum and the institutionalized racism of apartheid (Pluddemann 2002), making it an unachievable ideal in South Africa. Secondly, African-language speakers have endured several decades of what has been at best, an English Second Language (ESL)-based educational system that has failed to produce successful matriculants (Pluddemann 2002).

This means that South Africa needs to find a new and successful form of schooling and “multilingual education” (Heugh 2002: 191) seems to be the answer. This means dual-medium instruction and entails the use of two mediums of instruction after an initial period of MTE. According to Heugh (2002), this would require careful planning and implementation programmes, which include updating and expanding terminology and in-service teacher education. The immediate educational goals would be proficiency in two languages and improved academic performance across the curriculum (Pluddemann 2002 and Heugh 2002) as evidenced by international research.

Ultimately, a dual-medium programme is about far more than establishing Xhosa as a viable LoLT alongside English. From a language planning perspective, it is about

raising the status of a dominated language in the prestigious domain of education, creating the conditions for its successful acquisition within an additive bilingual paradigm, and contributing to the development of its scientific corpus. From a nation-building perspective, it is about affirming the dignity of speakers of African languages as first-class citizens in their own country. From an economic point of view, dual-medium education may contribute significantly to higher pass rates, greater enrolment of African-language speakers in higher education, and a more literate and productive workforce.

(Pluddemann 2002: 60)

2.8) Summary

This chapter has described the theoretical framework supporting this research. As a background, it began by describing the linguistic complexity of South Africa and the necessity for conscious language maintenance. From this point onwards the chapter can be described as five concentric circles that get narrower and more focused as they get closer to the main point, namely, language education in South Africa. Firstly, the nature of bilingualism in general was described in detail, both socially and individually, and some of the advantages of bilingualism were noted. Secondly, Second Language Acquisition was discussed as a process of achieving bilingualism in individuals, and various aspects of this process were described. The chapter then became more specific and looked at education and formal second language acquisition by critically considering types of bilingual and multicultural education and reflecting on what effective models may look like. The fourth circle reflected on the impact that broader society has on education, and specific reference to diglossia in South Africa and its impact on education and language planning was made. I then moved on to describe particular South African language policies and the effect these policies have had on multilingual education in South Africa. Lastly, the future of language education in South Africa was contemplated briefly.

The next chapter outlines the methodological approaches and techniques used to collect the data for this research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1) Introduction

This research follows a qualitative mode of enquiry as the qualitative mode explores the individual behaviour and attitudes of teachers most effectively. Cumming (1994) describes a number of research orientations that currently exist in TESOL research, many of these orientations are complementary and overlap in their methodologies and conceptual foundations, with the purpose of the inquiry further illustrating a particular orientation. The various orientations tend to focus on varying degrees of descriptive, interpretive, and ideological purposes (Cumming 1994). This research has interpretive and slightly ideological purposes. It is interpretive because it attempts to document and interpret the cultural practices and experiences involved in second-language acquisition in a specific institutional setting (in this instance, a classroom) and it is ideological because it attempts to describe an existing ideological context (Cumming 1994). Having established that this particular research is interpretivist, a slightly ethnographic orientation combined with a case study design was deemed most appropriate. It is to some extent ethnographic in that it focuses on the culture of the classroom, yet it is a case study in that it is limited to two teachers in one school and is not longitudinal. This means that the research is not an ethnography *per se* but is rather a case study that makes use of a somewhat ethnographic approach.

3.2) An ethnographic approach to research

3.2.1) Ethnography: a definition for SLA research

Ethnography is useful in SLA research because it provides a way of relating language acquisition (which it views as language socialization) to acculturation (Johnson 1992). According to Watson-Gegeo (1988: 581), this implies that language is learned through social interaction:

When we learn a second language, we are learning more than a structure for communication; we are also learning (for example) social and cultural norms... The ethnographic study of language socialization therefore focuses the researcher's attention not only on the teaching and learning or acquiring of language skills, but also on the context of that learning and on what else (values, attitudes, frameworks for interpretation) is learned and taught at the same time as language structure.

Therefore, ethnography involves the study of people's behaviour in natural settings, with a particular focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour. The aim is to provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in particular settings; the outcome of their interactions; and the way in which they understand what they are doing (Watson-Gegeo 1988). Cumming (1994) adds that ethnography seeks to describe the set of understandings and specific knowledge shared among participants that guide their behaviour in that specific context, whether it is the culture of a community, classroom, event or programme. At its very core, an ethnographic approach attempts a comparison and contrast between what people say and what people do in a given context in order to more fully represent what is going on (Cumming 1994).

3.2.2) Principles of ethnographic research

Watson-Gegeo (1988) outlines a number of principles of ethnographic research. Firstly, ethnographic research focuses on people's behaviour in groups and on cultural patterns in that behaviour. This means that most ethnographic studies involve group rather than individual characteristics because cultural behaviour is, by definition, shared behaviour. When it does focus on the individual, that individual is usually treated as representative of a group (Watson-Gegeo 1988). Secondly, it is holistic in that any aspect of a culture or behaviour has to be described and explained in relation to the whole system of which it is a part.

Thirdly, an ethnographic theoretical framework directs the researcher's attention to certain aspects of situations and certain kinds of research questions. Theory is important because it helps the researcher decide what kinds of evidence are likely to be significant in answering research questions posed at the beginning of the study and developed while in the field (Watson-Gegeo 1988). However, ethnographic observation and interpretation are not determined by theory, but rather guided by it. Also, each situation investigated must be understood from the perspective of the participants in that situation (Watson-Gegeo 1988). This is often expressed as the emic-etic principle of analysis.

The etic framework refers to the researcher's particular ontological or interpretive framework, for example, the concepts and categories from the analytic language of social sciences (which is culturally determined), will impact on how the researcher interprets her experiences (Watson-Gegeo 1988). This means that an analysis built on an etic framework would focus predominantly on the researcher's views, impressions and interpretations. Whereas, "emic refers to culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behaviour" (Watson-Gegeo 1988: 580). An analysis built on emic concepts would, therefore, incorporate the participants' perspectives and interpretations of behaviour, events, and situations and does so in the language they themselves use. Ethnography tends to emphasize emic analysis because it is concerned with the understandings participants themselves have of the situations in which they are observed. Ethnographic analysis involves a careful emic analysis, which precedes and forms the basis for etic extensions (Watson-Gegeo 1988). In my research I base my analysis on both frameworks in that to a large extent I make use of my own interpretations and impressions of the classrooms under study (an etic framework) but at the same time I do elicit and take into consideration the participants' comments and interpretations of their classrooms (an emic framework) and attempt to present these as objectively as possible.

3.2.3) Ethnography as a research method

As mentioned above, ethnography falls within the interpretivist paradigm because it attempts a cultural interpretation of people's behaviour in naturally occurring, ongoing settings. While it is considered to be qualitative in nature, quantitative data such as demographic information can and is also used in order to describe the setting fully. As a method, it relies predominantly on observation and interview data but also includes various written and non-written resources such as documents, pictures, story books and reports. Ethnography never relies on only one source of data, as this would hinder the researcher's ability to triangulate the data, which is necessary to enhance the validity and reliability of the information by comparing and contrasting the data from the various sources to see where the similarities and differences lie (Watson-Gegeo 1988).

3.3) The case study design

3.3.1) The case study: a definition

The case study is founded on the basic philosophical assumption that human behaviour, thoughts and feelings are partly determined by their context and that how people behave, feel and think can only be understood if one gets to know their world and what they are trying to do in it (Gillham 2000a). A case study, therefore, can be described as an empirical enquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 1994: 13). In other words, a case study deliberately considers the contextual conditions (in this case the classroom culture and surrounding socio-political environment), because it believes they may be highly significant to the phenomenon under study (teachers' language attitudes and understanding of SLA). Yin (1994) distinguishes three main types of case studies: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. This research is predominantly a descriptive and explanatory case study in that it aims to describe the context and then answer the questions of 'how' do the teachers construct their classroom environments and 'why' do they do it in such ways?

3.3.2) Why the case study design?

An important element of case studies is that they rely on multiple sources of evidence, such as interviews, observations and physical artefacts (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight 1996; Gillham 2000a and Yin 1994). All of these sources are available in the school environment and all help construct the classroom culture and so need to be considered. Furthermore, case studies are most suitable when the researcher desires to understand complex social phenomena such as classroom interaction within a real-life context and is interested in answering 'how' and 'why' questions (Yin 1994). Also, one of the major advantages of the case study design with regard to this research in particular, is that it not only allows for, but actually endorses, a focus on just one or two examples (Blaxter et al. 1996), thus allowing me to conduct a deeper and more substantial study of the participants' behaviour. The design of this research was a "single case study" (Yin 1994: 38), as it considered a single grade (grade 2) in one school with two primary participants.

3.4) The fieldwork: participants and procedure

3.4.1) The participants

The research primarily focused on two Grade 2 teachers and their respective classrooms in an English medium school in the Eastern Cape. The principal was also involved, to gain a broader understanding of the school in general. The selected school was one of the five schools involved in my Honours dissertation, which acts as a pilot study for this research (Sutton 2003) (cf. section 1.2 in chapter 1). The study was conducted in five schools and investigated the resources available to Foundation Phase teachers for the handling of language problems in their classrooms. Five teachers were interviewed and their responses analysed. This particular school produced the most interesting data in that research and the school and teachers were most open to further study, were very articulate and genuinely interested in the research questions.

The school is a Government school managed by a Governing Body comprising parents, teachers and non-teaching staff. The school

teaches from grade 0 up to grade 3 and has approximately 220 learners, with 9 teaching staff and 3 teaching assistants (2 for grade 0 and 1 that assists wherever she is needed). The school takes pride in the fact that they were one of the first schools in the country to shift to 'multi-cultural education' in the 1990s whereby children of racial groups other than white were admitted. The school's policy statement clearly states that they aim to develop the child as a whole; that the medium of instruction is English, although they do teach both Afrikaans (from Gr. 2) and Xhosa (from Gr. 3); and that while all religious views are respected, they do teach primarily Christian ethics. Xhosa was first introduced as a third language for Gr.3 in 1995. Prior to that only English and Afrikaans were taught. Their code of conduct further states that the learners and staff will aim to show respect for the beliefs, customs, language, individuality and property of others. There is no formal language policy at the school, but the admissions policy does state that the Governing Body has chosen English as the LOLT and preference will be given to children who can communicate in English. The informal policy, as expressed in the interviews with the teachers and through my own observations, is that no other language besides English is encouraged in the school, except in Afrikaans and Xhosa classes, and learners are discouraged from speaking Afrikaans or Xhosa or any other language other than English in the classroom. This policy is also enforced on the playground through verbal discouragement from the teachers if learners are heard speaking other languages (cf. section 4.4.7 in chapter 4).

The two teachers are simply referred to as T1 and T2, and the principal is P, for the sake of anonymity. T1 has a Diploma in Education for Junior Primary and a further diploma in remedial education. She has been teaching for more than 20 years, predominantly in foundation phase, and has been at this particular school for more than 10 years. T2 also has a Diploma in Education for Junior Primary. She has also been teaching for approximately 20 years, predominantly in foundation phase and has been at this school for 8 years. P also has a Diploma in Education and has been teaching for 30 years, predominantly in Pre-primary but has experience up to grade 5. She has been at this school for 10 years, 3 as a teacher and 7 as the principal. All three have been on numerous training courses and

conferences, predominantly concerning Outcomes Based Education.

With regard to the classes themselves (cf. section 4.2.1. in chapter 4), there was a total of 27 learners in each class with slightly more boys (14) than girls (13). Each class was very culturally diverse and the majority of learners were English L2 speakers. In T1's class, there were 9 L1 Xhosa speakers and 8 L1 Afrikaans speakers making up 63% of the class. In T2's class, there were 10 L1 Xhosa speakers, 5 L1 Afrikaans speakers, 1 Austrian German and 1 Pakistani, also making up 63% of the class.

The learners came from a wide range of socio-economic and culturally diverse backgrounds, which was not explored in detail as the research is concerned more with the teachers than the individual learners *per se*. As explained in section 1.2 in chapter 1, my primary reason for focusing on the teachers is that in my view there is a gap in the body of knowledge with regard to the teacher's vital role in bilingual education. Furthermore, due to time constraints and limits that apply to a Master's thesis, I chose to focus on the teachers.

3.4.2) The procedure

The research took place over a period of three months in which I observed eleven full school days, five in T1's classroom and six in T2's. (Unfortunately, during this period, the school produced their big year-end production and this made observations difficult). During these observation periods I made extensive field notes relating to the teachers' behaviour in their classrooms and attempted to describe the classroom environment in as much detail as possible, including all pictures and posters, books and other supplementary material and I also obtained copies of a number of artefacts such as the learners' readers, phonics books and dictionary skills work books, in order to describe the classroom culture accurately. Initially, I expected the teachers to conform to The National Curriculum Statement for English-Home Language and English-First Additional Language and intended to support my observations with these statements, as they theoretically give an indication of the required classroom methodologies in schools marked by cultural and linguistic diversity. However, in reality, I found that this was not the case. Both

teachers had the curriculum and used it mainly in their assessment procedures, but otherwise used their own methods that they had tried and tested and found suitable over the years.

I conducted four interviews, two with each of the teachers. The first focused predominantly on the background of the teachers and considered their experiences of teaching and some of the difficulties they face. The second interview asked questions based on my prior observations and also obtained other important information related to their training, attitudes towards the learners and understanding and knowledge of various SLA concepts (see Appendix 1: Interview questions). I also informally conversed with the principal with regard to school policy and her understanding of multicultural and bilingual education. All the interviews were taped and transcribed. The four interviews and eleven observation periods, along with the various artefacts collected from the classrooms, were then critically analysed with reference to the research goals.

3.5) Field techniques–data collection

A major advantage of the ethnographic approach and the case study method is that both allow for and encourage multiple sources of evidence (Cumming 1994; Yin 1994). Consequently, detailed observations of the classrooms, physical artefacts (learners' workbooks and readers), and SLA literature will be used to build a picture of the teachers and their classroom constructions and the in-depth interviews with the two teachers and the literature on broader social context and language attitudes will be used to further enrich the description of the situation. The primary data collection techniques will now be discussed.

3.5.1) Observations

Observations simply involve “watching what people do; listening to what they say; and sometimes asking them clarifying questions” (Gillham 2000a: 45). In this case, I observed the ways in which the teachers developed the culture in their classrooms, through their interaction with the learners and the posters and pictures on their walls, the seating arrangements, the

available books and their choice of readers. Consequently, this was the major method used to describe the situation and to paint a cultural picture of the classrooms. Observation, in conjunction with the interview data, is important in this research because there is a common discrepancy between what people say about themselves and what they actually do (Gillham 2000a).

Blaxter et al. (1996: 158) state, "the observation may be structured in terms of a predetermined framework, or may be relatively open," and Yin (1994) comments that at its most formal, observational protocols can be developed, whereby incidences of certain types of behaviours during specific periods of time are measured and quantified. Furthermore, according to Gillham (2000a) the observer needs to be exact about the things they are observing and should use some kind of counting or measuring techniques. Less formal or more open observations on the other hand, "start with descriptive observations: the setting, the people, activities, events, apparent feelings. A general picture of what's on the surface" (Gillham 2000a: 53). Once the general picture is formed, then the observer begins to focus on and seek out the particular elements related to the research aims (Gillham 2000a). My observations were by and large more open and less formal and involved a general description of each classroom environment and culture in that I focused on describing the teachers and their activities and the various events that took place. I then steadily began to focus on particular elements, activities, interactions and behaviours.

Two major types of observation can be distinguished, namely, participant observation and non-participant observation (Lacey cited in Wisker 2001). In this research, I was a participant observer. However, observation techniques exist on a continuum and Wisker (2001) further distinguishes three types of participant observation. Firstly, there is complete immersion, whereby the observer is completely immersed in the activities of those being observed. Secondly, semi-immersion, whereby some of the group know one is an observer, and are therefore part of the 'secret' so to speak. And thirdly, the observer may simply be accepted by the group as an observer, and does not become part of the group *per se* but is tolerated (Wisker 2001). My observations fall within the third type, whereby the teachers and learners

were aware of and tolerated my presence in the classroom, but I did not participate in the lessons or in any other activities.

Johnson (1992) emphasizes the importance of accurately recording data on verbal interactions. She highlights three main methods, namely, note-taking, audio-recording and video-recording. Note-taking can be effective, but there is a major problem in that there is not enough time to record everything, so decisions must be made about what to record and what to exclude (Johnson 1992). A tape-recorder can provide some solutions to this problem, but has a few difficulties of its own. While it is true that a tape-recorder can record all verbal interactions, its presence may inhibit learners or teachers, or the learners may move out of range and even within range some speech may be inaudible (Johnson 1992). Video-recording is also a possibility for capturing observation data and is useful for capturing the many aspects of non-verbal communication, such as gestures and so on. Unfortunately, though, video-recording tends to make some people uncomfortable and like all machinery, it may fail (Johnson 1992). The observation data in this research was recorded predominantly through note-taking as it was deemed the most suitable and practical method because it allowed me to simply sit in a corner and watch the various interactions and activities thus reducing the impact of my presence on the situation. A tape-recorder was also used as a supplement to the notes but was, however, more difficult to use than the note-taking method. This was because the young learners were very aware of the tape-recorder and occasionally would 'perform' for the tape. Also, as is common in a Gr. 2 classroom, the children regularly moved around the classroom and many activities were carried out in different places within the classroom, which meant that I often had to follow the children in order to get close enough to use the tape-recorder and this meant that in those instances, they were far more aware of my presence as an observer, which may have impacted their behaviour during those activities. However the tape-recorder was helpful and often captured more detailed information, particularly during interviews. I did not have access to video-recording equipment and so could not make use of that method.

3.5.2) Interviews

In accordance with an ethnographic approach, this research sought to determine how the teachers themselves made sense of their experiences and environment. According to Wisker (2001) interviews are used if one is looking for information based on emotions, feelings and experiences, information on potentially sensitive issues, and information based on insider experience, privileged insights and experiences. Consequently, interviews became a primary method of data collection. Interviews do, however, exist on a continuum ranging from less formal and conversational interactions to tighter, more structured interviews (Wisker 2001).

The semi-structured interview was deemed most suitable for the purposes of this study as it produces “a qualitative understanding of the topic under study” (Allison et al. 1996: 117). It is also used to gain insight into the meanings, interpretations, values and experiences of the interviewee and their environment (Allison et al. 1996). It was thus well suited to explain the picture developed through the observations. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview was ideal because it addressed the need for comparable responses, as the same questions could be asked of each participant, yet a conversation could also develop because the questions were open-ended and allowed space for some divergence (Wisker 2001). The schedule of questions that was used for both teachers is provided in Appendix 1 and as one can see they are predominantly open-ended and encourage conversation. Another necessary element of this type of interview is that they are carried out in natural settings, familiar to the interviewee (Allison et al. 1996). My interviews were carried out in each respective teacher’s classroom.

Seidman (1991) believes that it is necessary to tape-record interviews. He goes on to say that the most reliable way to work with the data is to have the words of the participants transformed into a written text: “The primary method of creating text from interviews is to tape-record the interviews and to transcribe them” (Seidman 1991: 87). Seidman (1991) also mentions some other advantages to tape-recording interviews. Firstly, by

preserving the actual words of the participant, the researcher has the original data. This is helpful if there is a lack of clarity in the transcript or if the researcher's handling of the data is questioned, giving the researcher accountability. Secondly, the participants can feel assured that there is a record of what they have said and that they can access it. Thus, it is a more ethical approach. Each interview conducted for this research was tape-recorded and later transcribed.

3.5.3) Other techniques: physical artefacts.

In case studies, physical artefacts are useful because they help the researcher develop a broader perspective of the context under study, beyond that which could be directly observed in a short space of time (Yin 1994). The physical artefacts that I collected during my time in the classroom consisted of copies of various activities done in the learners' workbooks and copies of their readers. In addition, I took careful note of all the texts and pictures adorning the classrooms and the way the classrooms were furnished. These artefacts helped to develop a broader understanding of the classroom culture than that obtained by observation only. The specific artefacts that were collected were often collected on the basis of the activities that the learners engaged in during my observation sessions. I attempted to collect samples of the work and readers that I observed them using. I also collected other artefacts that I found particularly interesting or that I thought were relevant to my study.

3.6) Analysis and interpretation of data

According to Johnson (1992: 90) "the general approach to data analysis in a case study is to examine the data for meaningful themes, issues, or variables, to discover how these are patterned, and to attempt to explain the patterns." Thus, the primary aim of my data analysis was to reveal the underlying assumptions influencing the teachers' language and actions, and their construction of the culture of the classroom and to attempt to explain the patterns of behaviour that emerged. This aim played a major role in determining which methods of analysis were used. Miles and Huberman

(1994: 10) define analysis as “consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification”. Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data and is used to sharpen, sort and organize the data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified. Data display involves organizing and compressing the information into a form that permits conclusion drawing and action. Examples of displays include matrices, graphs, charts, extended texts and so on. Conclusion drawing and verification involve deciding what things mean by noting regularities, patterns, and explanations and so on and then testing their plausibility and validity (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Within this broad framework of the three concurrent flows of activity lie different analytical techniques and considerations. Firstly, this research has a minor ethnographic intent, and so the analysis process on the whole tended towards the descriptive, with a cultural focus, and attempted to bring all the multiple data sources together in a condensed form (Miles and Huberman 1994). Furthermore, the primary data sources each lent themselves to a particular process of analysis, whilst the physical artefacts supported and enriched the data. These processes also needed to be taken into account.

3.6.1) Analyzing observations

With regard to the analysis of the observation data, the essential element that needed to be considered was patterns. Ethnographic approaches emphasize patterns of thought and behaviour (Fetterman 1989). Analyzing the behaviour that is subsumed within the pattern, as well as the patterns themselves allows preliminary inferences to be made about the environment under study. Moreover, a deeper understanding and appreciation of a culture is acquired by observing and analyzing the patterns in that culture. The researcher also needs to focus on key events as they help one understand a social group and can be used to explain the culture to others. This is vital as “key events provide a lens through which to view a culture” (Fetterman 1989: 93). In my study, observing the classroom activities

over a period of three months allowed certain patterns to emerge and it was these patterns that helped me to understand the culture of these classrooms.

3.6.2) Analyzing interviews

Gillham (2000b) outlines the process of content analysis in great detail and this is the primary method that was used in analyzing the interview data. To summarize, the process involved producing a category-based and thematic summary of the interview data. This was done by, firstly, highlighting all the substantive statements (statements that really made a point) and doing away with repetitions, digressions and other clearly irrelevant material. Substantive statements were identified in terms of whether they actually made a point, answered a question or in some way added to the conversation and information gathered. The primary aim of this first step in the process was to reduce the spoken discourse of an explanatory nature to written text, and this involved the removal of the redundancy and repetition that is characteristic of spoken discourse (Gillham 2000b). Secondly, a set of categories for the responses to each question was derived from the highlighted statements. Each statement was then placed in a category. This was simply a method of classifying and ordering the kinds of statements the teachers made and was not conclusive in and of itself (Gillham 2000b) although patterns in the responses did begin to emerge. Once the interview transcripts had been classified and summarized, revealing the various patterns in the data, the research questions were then used to frame the discussion. The categories that emerged in my particular data are presented and discussed in section 4.4. in chapter 4.

3.6.3) Interpretation

“Interpretation is the process by which you put your own meaning on the data you have collected and analyzed, and compare that meaning with those advanced by others” (Blaxter et al. 1996: 197). It basically entails arriving at an assessment of what the results mean, and discussing how they relate to other relevant research and writing in the

subject area (Blaxter et al. 1996). My interpretation of the data is provided in chapter 5.

3.7) Strengths and limitations

The major limitation of interpretivist qualitative research as a whole is its complexity and subjectivity (Janse van Rensburg 2001, Miles and Huberman 1994). Due to the fact that qualitative data in linguistic studies is generally composed of words, one has to acknowledge that the “words we attach to fieldwork experiences are inevitably framed by our implicit concepts” (Miles and Huberman 1994: 9). Qualitative data is very open to being influenced by the researcher’s values and by the fact that actions always occur in specific situations within a social and historical context, which deeply influences how they are interpreted by both insiders and the researcher as outsider (Janse van Rensburg 2001, Miles and Huberman 1994).

However, qualitative data does have numerous strengths. Firstly, it gives one a “strong handle on what ‘real-life’ is like” because it focuses on naturally occurring events in natural settings (Miles and Huberman 1994: 10). Secondly, since the influence of the local context is taken into account, there is a stronger possibility of understanding latent, underlying or non-obvious issues. Thirdly, the data is rich and holistic and flexible, giving a sense of confidence that one has really understood what is going on (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Apart from the value of using qualitative data as a whole, there are also strengths and limitations involved in using a somewhat ethnographic approach. The value of an ethnographic approach lies in its goal of creating a picture of a cultural situation or event under study. It reveals the interrelatedness of all the component parts (Cumming 1994). In addition, the approach ensures comparison and contrast between what people say and what people do in a given context and across contexts, thus allowing a fuller representation of what is going on (Cumming 1994). The major limitation of an ethnographic approach on the other hand, is its insider/outsider dilemma. The dilemma lies in the fact that being too familiar with the culture being researched may distort interpretation towards one’s biases, whereas being

too distant may inhibit understanding altogether (Cumming 1994). With regard to this research, I was more of an outsider primarily because I have never taught foundation phase or in a school environment and this may have inhibited my understanding of the classroom environment to some extent.

The case study design also has certain weaknesses, which need to be taken into account. Yin (1994) mentions two major criticisms leveled against the case study method. Firstly, there can be a lack of rigour in case study research, as the researcher may allow equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and the conclusions. Secondly, there is very little basis for generalizations due to the limited examples. At best, case studies can be generalized to theoretical propositions but not to the population or to any other universals (Yin 1994). I am aware of these limitations and have endeavoured to take them into account.

3.8) Ethical considerations

Fetterman (1989: 129-136) outlines some underlying ethical principles that need consideration in ethnographic research: permission, honesty and trust, anonymity, reciprocity, and rigorous work. Firstly, both the teachers and the principal of the school granted me permission to conduct the research by signing a research contract (see Appendix 2). The research contract included a copy of the research questions and a summary of the purpose and design of the study. Secondly, honesty and trust is communicated verbally and nonverbally, especially through the researcher's actions (Fetterman 1989) and I attempted as far as possible to communicate openness and trust in my self-presentation and general demeanour.

In addition, the school's name is not mentioned and the two teachers are simply referred to as T1 and T2 and the principal is P. This was done in order to maintain anonymity, so that the participants felt more comfortable being researched. Also, I aim to achieve reciprocity through the research thesis itself, which will be given to the school upon completion. It is my hope that the participants will become more aware of their own attitudes and be able to implement some of the proposed solutions. And finally, every effort has been made to ensure rigour and quality in my research. The

primary means of achieving this involves the effective use of multiple sources of data (interviews, observations and physical artefacts). The methods of analyses and writing-up process will also increase the quality of the research (Fetterman 1989).

3.9) Summary

This research considered the classroom culture of two Grade 2 classrooms in an English medium school. The study revolved around two teachers and their interactions with second language learners. This chapter described the research design and methodology used in this research. The research was qualitative and had a single case study design within a broader ethnographic approach. It was a case study because of its limited focus (one school and two teachers) and was ethnographic because it focused on the culture of the classrooms. Multiple methods of data collection were utilized, namely, observations, interviews and the analysis of physical artefacts. Each of these methods was described in detail. The process of analysis for each method used was then discussed. The strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research from an ethnographic perspective were considered and various ethical issues were mentioned.

Having outlined the design and methodology, I now turn to the actual data that was produced through these methods. The next chapter documents the findings, which are a combination of the interviews, observations and the analysis of physical artefacts. The aim is to paint a detailed picture of the classroom culture and then to comment on it.

Chapter 4: Findings and analysis

4.1) Introduction

This chapter has two functions. Firstly, it will reveal how the two classroom cultures have been constructed by considering the observation data and physical artefacts. Secondly, it will consider why the two teachers have constructed their classrooms in such ways by looking at the interview data and its relation to the observations. Overall, this chapter has three main sections. Section A comprises a discussion of the classroom culture with descriptions of each classroom and a description of the physical artefacts collected from both, many of which are attached as appendices. Section B comprises a categorized and thematic summary of the interview data with each teacher, in an effort to describe the classroom cultures in more detail. Section C endeavours to draw conclusions regarding the teachers' understanding and attitudes towards bilingualism and multiculturalism within this school as evidenced by the data collected.

With regard to the coding conventions used in this chapter, extracts from my observation notes are frequently included, and will be referred to as, for example, T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04, indicating the teacher, observation number and date. Secondly, the teachers explain themselves through the interview data, which is thematically and categorically summarized, with occasional extracts from the interviews, referred to as, for example, T1: (i): 4. This code indicates that the particular extract relates to teacher 1, comes from the first interview (i) and from page 4 of the transcription notes. Thirdly, in order to ensure anonymity when discussing particular learners, each learner is allocated a code that includes their race (Black (B), Coloured (C), Indian (I) or White (W)), their mother-tongue (Afrikaans (A), English (E), Xhosa (X), Other (O)); and a number (the learners were numbered alphabetically according to a class list). For example, WE1 is a White, English learner who happened to be first on the list. These codes are used throughout this chapter.

Section A: Classroom cultures

4.2) Description of the classrooms

4.2.1) The demographics of the learners in the classrooms

Table A: The demographics of T1's classroom

Number of Learners:	Boys: 14	Girls: 13	Total: 27
White English (L1)	3	5	8
White Afrikaans (L1)	2	0	2
Black Xhosa (L1)	5	4	9
Coloured Afrikaans (L1)	4	2	6
Indian English (L1)	0	2	2

Table B: The demographics of T2's classroom

Number of Learners:	Boys: 14	Girls: 13	Total: 27
White English (L1):	4	5	9
White German (L1):		1	1
Black Xhosa (L1):	7	3	10
Coloured Afrikaans (L1):	3	2	5
Indian & Pakistan (L1)	0	2	2

As can be seen from Table A and B, there is a fairly equal distribution of girls and boys and each teacher has a very culturally diverse class, the majority of whom are English L2 speakers. In fact, there are surprisingly few L1 English speakers, 10 out of 27 (37%) in T1's classroom and 9 out of 27 (33%) in T2's classroom, which is interesting, considering that the school is an English medium, previously white school. Also, this demographic data highlights the fact that both T1 and T2 on the whole, interact more with L2 English speakers than L1 and so their understanding

and methods of handling L2 speakers becomes even more relevant. The learners come from a wide range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, which I did not explore in detail. As explained previously in chapter 1, section 1.2 and in chapter 3 section 3.4, I did not explore the learners' backgrounds myself because my research is interested in the teachers' perceptions and understanding of the L2 learners and not the acquisition process itself. Therefore, the teachers' perceptions of their backgrounds were considered and are discussed in the interview data (section B of this chapter).

4.2.2) Layout of the classrooms

The classrooms are represented in Figures 1 and 2: 'Map of the Classroom' (see pp 70-71). On these maps, the seating arrangements are shown by using each learner's code. Both teachers group teach, which means that at the beginning of the year they divide the learners into ability groups for reading and maths. Tables C and D (p 69) show the details of T1's groups and Tables E and F (p 69) show the details of T2's groups, and reveal the demographics of the various groups. For example, as can be seen in tables D and F, the top reading groups consist predominantly of white L1 English speakers, whilst the bottom groups consist mainly of black L1 Xhosa speakers. One of the learners in T2's class has a slightly different code: WO19, because this learner is a German from Austria and so is categorized as speaking an 'other' language. WE 25 and WE 26 in T2's class also require special mention as they are twins and both have a severe stutter and a number of learning problems, especially WE26. Consequently, T2 has placed them in a special reading group.

With reference to seating arrangements, the learners are generally seated according to their Maths groupings, although this did change over the time that I observed lessons. As a rule, in T1's classroom, the top group was seated at tables 1 and 4 on the map, the middle group was seated at tables 2 and 3 and the bottom group was seated at tables 5 and 6. In T2's classroom, the top group was seated at table 1, the middle group was seated at table 2 and the bottom group, at table 3. Group teaching as a method will

be explored more fully in section 4.4.3 with the discussion of the interview data.

Table C: T1's Maths groups

TOP	MIDDLE	BOTTOM
WA3	WE14	WA27
WE1	IE5	WE4
WE6	CA2	WE11
WE15	CA9	IE22
WE16	CA10	CA7
WE24	BX12	CA8
CA20	BX13	BX17
BX25	BX18	BX19
	BX23	BX21
		BX26

Table D: T1's Reading groups

TOP	MIDDLE	BOTTOM A	BOTTOM B
WE1	WA3	WA27	WE4
WE5	WE11	CA10	CA2
WE6	WE14	BX13	CA9
WE16	CA7	BX17	BX18
WE24	CA20	BX21	
IE5	BX19	BX25	
IE22	BX23	BX26	
CA8			
BX12			
WE1			

Table E: T2's Maths groups

TOP	MIDDLE	BOTTOM
WE 1	WE 3	WE 13
WE 7	WE 4	WE 26
WE 10	WE 25	IE 17
WE 24	CA15	CA 6
CA 8	BX 2	CA 9
BX 5	BX12	CA 14
BX 11	BX16	BX 27
BX 22	BX18	WO 19
	BX 21	PO 20
	BX 23	

Table F: T2's Reading groups

TOP	MIDDLE	BOTTOM	SPECIAL
WE 1	WE 3	WE 4	WE 25
WE 7	CA 8	WE 13	WE 26
WE 10	CA 9	CA 6	BX 12
WE 24	CA 14	CA 15	
IE 17	BX 18	BX 16	
BX 5	BX 22	BX 21	
BX 11	BX 27	BX 23	
		WO 19	
		PO 20	

Figure 1: Map of T1's classroom (not to scale)

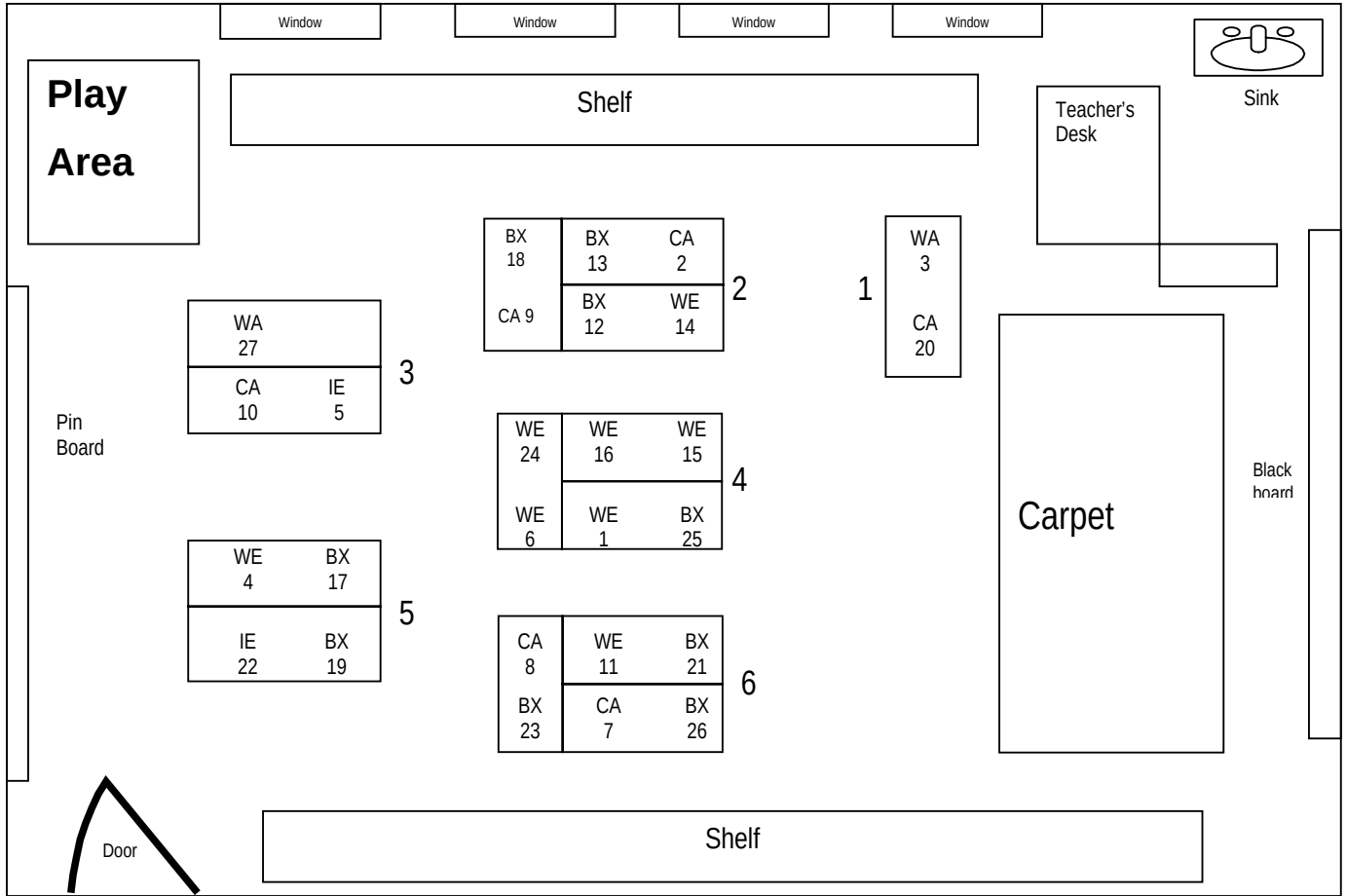
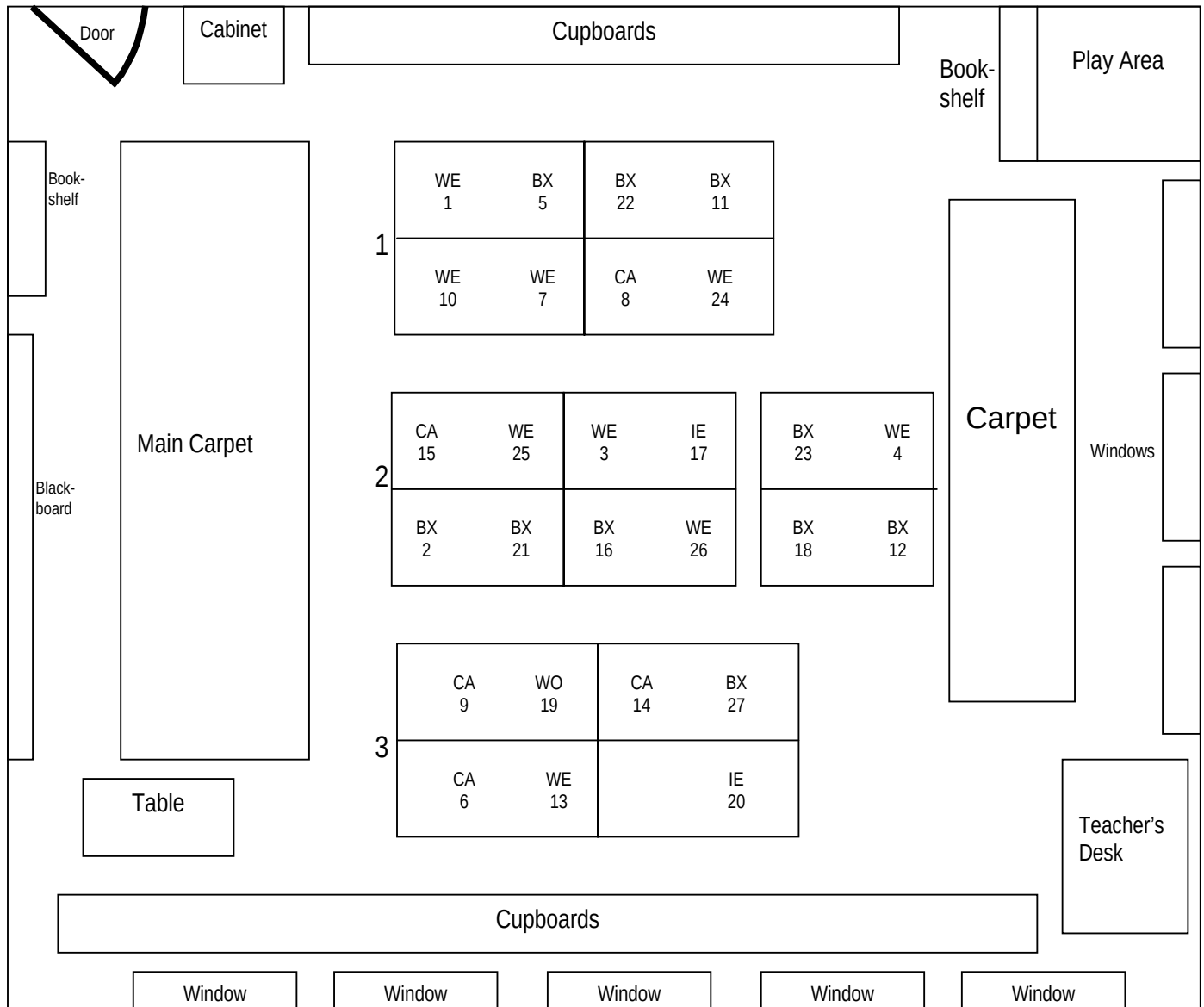


Figure 2: Map of T2's classroom (not to scale)



Both classrooms are on the second floor, and are very well lit, since at least one wall in each consists entirely of windows. Both are very colourful and busy, with posters along every wall, all around the black board and even between the windows. To give one a clearer picture of the classrooms, lists of all the posters around each classroom, starting at the door and moving right along the wall are provided in Appendices 3 and 4.

4.2.3) Posters around the classroom

With reference to the posters displayed in the classroom, one can see from the lists in Appendices 3 and 4, that most of the posters are related to language and mathematics. The language-linked posters include writing charts, the alphabet, vowel posters and posters with pictures and related vocabulary and definitions. Mathematical concepts were illustrated in various number charts and definitions of addition, subtraction, multiplication and so forth.

What is immediately noteworthy about these posters is their monolingualism and mono-culturalism. Ideally these posters should illustrate the demographic diversity of the classes, but most of the people shown in the posters are white and the culture that they depict through their dress and various activities appears to be Western. The vocabulary is overwhelmingly English, the only exception being a small display at the back of T1's classroom called "Ons Huis", which is in Afrikaans, no other language is evident in the classroom. Most of the posters are 'homemade' and those that are commercial are generally alphabet and writing charts, vowel posters and number charts and so need to be in English to serve their purpose.

This overwhelming presence of Western cultural images in the posters is possibly due to the majority of them being 'homemade', particularly the vocabulary displays, and since both T1 and T2 are English L1 speakers and are from a Western cultural background, it follows that they would make them in English, portraying their experience. However, this situation, although understandable, may be problematic as it suggests underlying ethnocentric assumptions. Ethnocentrism results when "one's own culture is applied as a norm from which to judge other cultures." This could result in these other cultures being "regarded as abnormal, below standard or wrong and therefore needing to be 'uplifted' or even corrected" (van der Walt 1997: 21). The probable impact of this is that because the learners are primarily exposed to a Western culture, they are exposed to the underlying ideology that a Western culture is the only suitable culture for someone who speaks English, which would be unfortunate and inaccurate. One of the primary dimensions of

multicultural education is content integration whereby “teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline” (Banks 1997: 21). This means that the various teaching materials like posters and story books that are used should portray a variety of cultures, particularly the cultures of the various learners present in the classrooms more especially since there is much concern regarding cultural sensitivity in South Africa at present. However, this concern does not appear to filter down into in-service teacher training and so this apparent lack of training may result in a lack of awareness with regard to representing multiple cultures within classroom displays.

4.2.4) Structure of weekly teaching activities

Below is a description of the various teaching activities that were observed during my sessions. The intention is to show how the three learning areas that are covered in grade 2, namely, Numeracy, Literacy and Life Skills are approached and taught on a daily basis in these classrooms. Section 4.3 then goes into more detail, with specific reference to the various language activities I observed.

The carpet is a very important part of the classroom, because, while the learners do their written work at their desks (maths cards, dictionary skills and so on), most of the explanation and teaching takes place when they are seated on the carpet. On average, a day would start off with revision of the previous day's work, either phonics or maths. For example, during my first observation session T1 did the sound 'ew stew' (T1: Obs 1: 11/8/04) and T2 revised the sound 'oy boy' (T2: Obs 1: 04/8/04). During my second session, T1 went over the letter 'y' explaining all the different sounds it makes, for example in: 'pretty', 'yoghurt' and so on and then explained that that day they were going to do the phonic sound 'y fly' (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04) and T2 went over the difference between the 'au launch' and 'aw shawl' sound (T2: Obs 2: 18/8/04). Both teachers' primary method of teaching a phonic sound is through stories like those provided below, which the learners first write out in their phonics books and then they learn the phonic sounds by heart. Later in

the week the teachers will give the learners a spelling test consisting predominantly of the words from the story:

ew stew

Stewart flew his crew to view a few new jewels. He was shrewd and he knew they were wet with dew because he threw them near to where the flowers grew as the wind blew. While he flew, he reviewed a map that the witch drew and he knew that she needed them to chew in order to brew with the sinew in her stew. His pot was skew so she put in a screw and afterwards fed the brew and skewers to the people in the pew.

y fly

Shy Mrs. Pry began to try and fry my dry fly on her Defy. I started to cry because I could spy my fly frying by the sly pig's sty under the blue sky. Oh why deny you did it? You must reply and not modify the story.

After revision on the carpet, T1 and T2 send the learners to their desks and set work for the whole class, normally maths cards (such as the examples in Appendix 5) or writing practice. While all the learners are working on their maths cards, the teachers select the different maths and reading groups and work with them separately on the carpet. Group teaching for maths consists of various mathematics games and flashcards that focus on developing mental arithmetic. Group teaching for reading generally involves letting each learner read a section of their reader aloud and then using flashcards with individual words, to develop word recognition skills. In T1's classroom the learners occasionally critique each other, according to whether they paused at commas, raised their intonation at exclamations and generally read with varying tone (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04). Both T1 and T2 sometimes take learners individually for reading at this point.

On the whole, maths is done before the 'lunch' break at ten o'clock and reading and language is after the break. The school day officially

ends for the grade 2s at 12:30. This is the general plan but the programme is interspersed with Afrikaans and Religious Instruction lessons, both of which take place in the teachers' classrooms, but with a different teacher, once a week. The learners also go to the library for basic computer literacy and to the art room for art. Also, in T2's classroom, Friday is considered a 'fun day' and so T2 occasionally organizes different activities that relate to the syllabus in some way. For example, during my third observation session, the class made a vegetable stew because of the 'ew stew' sound they were learning at the time. Each learner bought some vegetables and T2 cooked the stew on a stove that she had had moved into her classroom (T2: Obs 3: 20/8/04). On another Friday, a learner's father, who is a paramedic, gave a talk on First Aid to the class, because that week they had done a worksheet on First Aid (T2: Obs 4: 3/10/04).

4.2.5) Books in the classroom

With reference to books in the classroom, T1's classroom will be discussed first and then T2's. The shelf closest to T1's desk contains books that the learners may use, although I never saw a learner take one while I was observing the classroom. In front of the teacher's desk is a crate full of various books and I did see the learners take books from there if they completed their work before the other learners. The crate contains approximately one hundred books of various sorts, which are not organized in any way. It is literally a 'crate full of books', which the learners can simply dip into and pick a book to read. There is some non-fiction, but most of the books are fiction. None of the books are South African and most of them could be categorized as more traditional Western stories and fairy tales, for example, Ladybird fairy tales, "The Pied Piper", "Alice in Wonderland", stories by Enid Blyton and so on. The choice of these books may be due to a lack of availability of, and finances for, suitable South African alternatives.

With regard to other books available to the learners, there is a display of between ten and twenty books on a shelf just outside the classroom, near the door. This display changes according to the theme that is being covered at the time. For example, while I observed her classroom, the

theme was transport, so all the books were related in some way to transport. They were all in English, most published in England and written by English authors. The books for this display come from the school's own library. Again, whether there are in fact South African alternatives is an issue that needs to be taken into consideration.

In T2's classroom, the bookshelf closest to the door is full of books but these are mostly teaching resources and are not books for the learners to use. The books for the learners were on the bookshelf by the play area and included a number of South African readers called JAWS (Junior African Writers Series) Starters. These readers are a part of the pan-African reading scheme and are written by various authors from all over Africa and were published by Heinemann South Africa in 1997. However, I did not observe these books being used.

Once again the availability of books in both classrooms is very interesting. I assumed that there would be culturally diverse books for the learners to read since they are primarily there for personal enrichment, so the prominence of Western books in the T1's classroom and the fact that the South African books that are in T2's classroom do not appear to be used was surprising. A major reason for this could be a lack of available finances, which is a problem most South African schools face at present. Added to this could also be a lack of available and suitable South African alternatives. However, this is unfortunate because the prominence of Western books may reinforce the idea that the only English books worth reading are those that are published in England or involve Western fairytales. This also means that the contributions made by cultures other than the Western culture to the English language are not directly acknowledged or promoted in the classrooms.

4.3) Documents and physical artefacts

In this aspect of the research, texts and physical artefacts were collected and observed in order to gain a broader perspective and understanding of the classroom environment beyond what could be observed in a short space of time. The artefacts collected and displayed on the walls are noted because they serve to further illustrate how T1 and T2 construct the

classroom cultures through the work that the learners carry out and the pictures that they come into contact with (cf. Appendices 3 and 4). The artefacts are predominantly examples of language and reading-related work. The language syllabus consists of Phonics, Dictionary Skills, Grammar based worksheets, Writing and Reading, which are also reflected in the posters that line the walls of the classrooms. Each of these areas will now be discussed.

4.3.1) Phonics

Both teachers follow a phonics approach, which is based on the sounds in English, to teach reading and spelling. A list of all the sounds the learners learn during the year is provided in Appendix 6. The learners practice how to break down and build up words based on these sounds, which they then learn off by heart. Both teachers introduce a new sound with a 'story' and use these stories to help the learners remember the sound and to learn to recognize and spell a number of words with that sound in them, as exemplified in section 4.2.4. A further example of a 'story' is:

ce fence

The mice with lice had to **throw an ace on the dice** to begin the race under the fence. They ate nice rice on a slice of cake, but were a disgrace for messing their **lace shirts** and had to wipe their faces with ice.

A sample of some of the other stories is also provided in Appendix 7. The 'story' method is used because, according to T1, it helps with sentence construction and gives the learners some practice with full stops, capital letters, punctuation and so on, while at the same time encouraging more creativity than just a list of words (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04). What is interesting about these 'stories' is that often they have very little meaning as stories, for example the 'ce fence' story (above). Also, they are often not really stories, but rather a group of sentences, for example, the 'aw shawl' story (Appendix 7). Some, however, do make sense as stories, for example, the 'ph elephant' (Appendix 7) and the 'oy boy' story below:

oy boy

The **royal boy** took his toys to enjoy on the voyage. He annoyed his **loyal servant** when he destroyed all his toys. He will have to take care not to annoy all the other **people in his employ**.

The other point worth noting is that often the vocabulary and style used in the stories is very non-South African. For example, the 'oy boy' story (above) has a British colonial style with 'royal boy', 'loyal servant' and 'people in his employ'; throwing an 'ace on the dice' is very particular to poker dice, something most children would be unfamiliar with; 'lace shirts' are no longer worn or very common and also have a colonial feel; 'jaunt', 'phlox', 'pheasants', 'foe' and 'woe' (Appendix 7) are also all words that are not commonly used in South Africa. Generally the 'stories' do not flow easily and often use words or portray concepts that most Gr.2 learners would not have encountered outside of the classroom in their local communities.

In my opinion, this could possibly be a reason why T1 finds that the L2 learners struggle with phonics (T1: (i): 15). The words through which the sounds are taught are perhaps far removed from anything these learners have experienced or are likely to experience. As they are invented, these stories present an ideal opportunity for multiculturalism to come through in the lesson content. They can still be written in English but involve more South African ideas and concepts, which may make them easier to understand and learn at this fundamental stage in the learners' development.

4.3.2) Dictionary skills

In T1's class, dictionary skills consist of three learning activities. Firstly, each learner has a small A5 notebook, their personal 'dictionary', with vocabulary lists, assembled by T1, which they can refer to when trying to spell certain words. Every time they ask T1 how to spell a word that is not in their lists, they take their 'dictionary' with them and T1 writes the word down for them. Secondly, each child has a seventeen-page activity book called

“Dictionary Skills”, which is published by R.I.C. Publications (a sample is in Appendix 8). The book consists of sections related to the alphabet, putting words in alphabetical order, finding words in the dictionary and the definitions of words and each section is made up of appropriate activities. Thirdly, T1 works with real dictionaries on the carpet: in my fourth observation session, T1 had the top reading group on the carpet, each learner had a “South African Dictionary for Junior Primary” and had to look up words that T1 called out, such as ‘interested’ and ‘century’ (T1: Obs 4: 13/10/04).

In T2’s classroom, the main dictionary skills activity that I observed involves the activity book called “Dictionary Skills”. T2 often relates the activities to a particular theme such as transport and the learners have to think of words related to transport that begin with various letters of the alphabet, for example, cargo ship, car, jet and so forth (T2: Obs 2: 18/8/04).

4.3.3) Grammar worksheets

In both classes most of these activities involve language cards, similar to the maths cards, and worksheets. Appendix 9 gives a typical example of the language cards that the learners complete. This sample is for verbs, but there are also cards for nouns and adjectives (T1: Obs 4: 13/10/04). The learners also have worksheets that involve filling in the missing capital letters and full stops (T1: Obs 5: 14/10/04). Also, T1 and T2 occasionally use stories: for example, during my second observation session T1 used a story titled “Safety with Moonbird”, which was about riding a bicycle safely (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04). She read the story aloud without any adjectives and then gave copies to the learners, who then had to fill in suitable adjectives for the nouns and the missing capital letters. During my fifth observation session in T2’s classroom, she used a story titled “Rocky Raccoon”. T2 also read the story aloud and then gave copies to the learners, who then had to add “-ed” and “-ing” to the words in the story (T2: Obs 5: 20/9/04).

4.3.4) Writing

In both classrooms, writing is not taught as such but rather practiced. All the learners can basically write and what I observed was practice. They are, however, learning the cursive style, but are not actually writing words or sentences in it yet. The learners are still at the letter stage and make patterns in their workbooks that look like the cursive letter. For example, T1 instructed the learners on a new writing pattern: the cursive 'c' and described it as 'waves that are not quite breaking' (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04). 'Writing' in this way, consists of the learners making a cursive pattern in their books and then practicing letters in the print style. So, for example, they would do a cursive pattern and then write 'Hh Ha Hh Ha and occasionally a sentence like "Harry hound hunts hares in Harrismith" across the line (T2: Obs 1: 4/8/04) or "Aimee Ant ate an apple" as practice (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04).

As can be seen, there are numerous language activities that the learners participate in and whilst a number of them appear to purely involve grammar or language structure, there are still opportunities for teachers to make use of diverse cultures to portray these concepts even though they need to concentrate on the English language.

4.3.5) Reading

Both T1 and T2 teach reading in groups and this means that each group has a different reader, based on their level of competence. In T1's classroom all the readers, but one, are part of "Reading 360: The Ginn Reading Programme" and are written by Theodore Clymer and published in 1978 by Ginn and Company Ltd, an English company based in London. There are various levels, each comprising 7 books, and T1 uses level 6 and level 7 readers. The only exception is a reader called "Careful Hans", (also published by Ginn and Company Ltd) which is part of "The Beacon Readers" programme and was written by James. H. Fassett and first published in 1922. T2 also uses "Reading 360: The Ginn Reading Programme" but all her readers are level 7 readers.

It is important to note at this point that when I first began my observations in August in T1's classroom, the top reading group (refer to Table D in section 4.2.2 for the various group lists) was using "Careful Hans", and the middle group was using level 6, book 7 ("Kim Ann and the Yellow Machine") (T1: Obs 2: 27/8/04). However, by October (T1: Obs 4: 13/10/04) this had changed, and the top group was using level 7, book 1 ("The dog next door") and the middle group was using "Careful Hans". On the other hand, the bottom A group used level 6 book 3 ("All round the city") throughout and the bottom B group did not use a reader, but rather worked with reading flashcards that had high-frequency words on them, for example: "every", "would", "gave", "first", "father", "why", "only" and so forth (T1: Obs 5: 14/10/04). Whereas in T2's classroom, all the readers remained unchanged throughout, the top reading group (refer to Table F in section 4.2.2 for the various group lists) used level 7, book 3 ("Stories everyone will like"), the middle group used level 7, book 2 ("Animals of other lands"), and the bottom and special group used level 7 book 1 ("The dog next door") (T2: Obs 6: 21/10/04). It is interesting to note that T1's top group was using the same reader ("The dog next door") as T2's bottom group.

Generally, the choice of readers was interesting since all the readers were clearly non-South African and all contained vocabulary that could be foreign to both L1 and L2 learners. Although one of the purposes of reading is to expose learners to new, interesting and exciting concepts in the wider world, in the early stages of schooling, it is also important to provide scaffolding for learners and this is most effectively achieved through familiar concepts and the depiction of day-to-day events in South Africa. Each of these books will now be briefly discussed in order to illustrate further how a culture can be transmitted and reinforced in readers.

With regard to "Careful Hans", the first thing that caught my attention is the fact that it is very dated, as it was first published 83 years ago in 1922. The reader consists of ten folk tales, mostly English and German, with one "Red Indian Myth" and one poem (the contents page can be found in Appendix 10). These are all traditional stories like 'Goldilocks and the Three

Bears' and 'Little Red Riding Hood' and are firmly rooted in a Western ideology.

However, in my view, the most interesting story culturally is "The story of Mr. Fox", because of the way it depicts, through labels, pictures and actions, the various women that Mr. Fox encounters. The first woman he encounters is the "black woman":

In the house was a little black woman sweeping the floor. "May I leave my bag here?" said Mr Fox. "Yes," said the little black woman. "All right," said Mr. Fox, "but do not untie the bag." As soon as the fox was out of sight the woman took just one little peep into the bag. Out flew the big black bumblebee. The old red rooster caught him and ate him up. After a while Mr. Fox came trot, trot, trotting back...He took up his bag and found the big black bumblebee was gone. He said to the little black woman, "Where is my bumblebee?" And the little black woman said, "I only untied the bag. The bumblebee flew out, and the old red rooster ate him up." "If that is so," said Mr. Fox, "I must take the old red rooster." So he caught the rooster and put him into his bag.



Exactly the same scenario then proceeds to play out with a "little yellow woman making some bread" who has a pig that Mr. Fox takes and "a little red woman feeding the chickens" who has a little boy that he takes. Mr. Fox then comes to "a little white woman" and here the story changes:



In the house was a little white woman making ginger cakes. On one side of the little white woman sat five little girls. On the other side sat a big black dog. "May I leave my bag here?" said Mr. Fox. "Yes," said the little white woman. "Yes," said the five little girls. "Yes," said the big black dog. "All right," said Mr. Fox, "but you must not untie the bag."...The little white woman placed the ginger cakes in the oven. Soon they began to smell, oh, so good, good, good! "Oh, Mother, Mother! May we have some ginger cakes?" cried all the little girls. "May I have some, too?" cried the little boy in the bag. Then the little white woman opened the bag and took out the little boy. She caught the big black dog and put him in the bag. Then she tied the string up tight, tight, tight! After a while the fox came trot, trot, trotting back... He took up his bag and saw that it was tied tight. He threw it over his back and went trot, trot, trotting off...Then he sat down and untied the bag. Out jumped the big black dog. He was very hungry, so he caught Mr. Fox and ate him all up...

Notice that the first three women are performing rural, farm-like activities, which the pictures reinforce, whilst the white woman seems to be in a more urban setting. Furthermore, the white woman is the only one out of the four that has the self-control not to look inside the bag: she is shrewd and saves the boy by putting the dog in the bag, thereby tricking and killing the fox. I think that this story could reinforce a Western colonial ideology, with the white woman being more urban, more self-controlled, and clever. She is the heroine, who saves the boy and kills the fox. Of course, the depiction of

women doing highly domestic activities and nothing else can also be said to reinforce sexist stereotypes.

Level 7, book 1 (“The dog next door”) was published in 1978, 27 years ago, and it is a story about William, a young boy and his relationship and interaction with the dog next door, Stanley. One of the most interesting things about this reader is the names of the characters: William and Lucy Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Bradley and Stanley (the dog). They are all very typical British names. Also, some of the concepts are very British:

The cat jumped down and climbed into an **oak tree**...Lucy Brown’s father was painting the **patio** at the side of the house...William parked his bicycle outside the **barber’s shop**...He went into the **hat shop** next door...

Furthermore, it implies certain things about a typical family. A family should consist of a father, who paints patios and takes his son fishing, a mother, who wears an apron, helps the children get ready for school and makes sure they have raincoats and umbrellas, a boy, who plays practical jokes and plays with a dog, and a girl, who wears pretty dresses, gets excited about a new umbrella and has a cat. All of these assumptions are strongly reinforced in the pictures that illustrate the text:



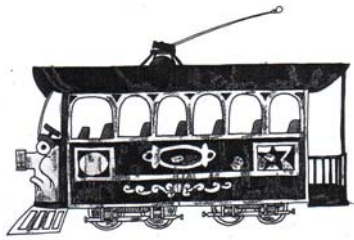
Level 6, book 3 (“All Round the City”) was also published 27 years ago in 1978 and consists of short stories and poems that all relate to a city in some way. This reader is interesting, because as T1 points out in her interview (discussed in section 4.4.5), one takes for granted that the children

understand and have experience of concepts like museums, harbours, airports, snow and so on, but often they do not. In this book, there is a short story about a young boy who travels by bus and sees the sights of the city and visits a museum, the Harbour and the Airport. Another story is about snow in the city and depicts children playing in the snow, something which most South African children have never experienced:



With regard to the readers T2 uses, Level 7, book 3 (“Stories everyone will like”) was published 27 years ago in 1978 and consists of four different stories: “The Raccoon and Mrs McGinnis”, “Johnny Appleseed”, “Crispan’s Crispian” and “Puddlejumper”. The most interesting thing about this reader is that the vocabulary and stories are very clearly non-South African and contain many concepts and ideas that most South African learners would not be familiar with. For example, the first story centres around a ‘raccoon’, and features ‘masked bandits,’ both of which are foreign to South Africa. The second story takes place in America, and refers to the ‘West’ and features ‘Indians’ (Native Americans), however, in South Africa, the terms ‘West’ and ‘Indians’ have very different connotations from those in this story. This story also mentions ‘coyotes’, which are not found in South Africa. And finally, the fourth story is about “Puddlejumper,” a ‘tram’, a form of public transport that is not relevant to South African children, and so could possibly be a difficult concept for South African learners to relate to. Furthermore, the pictures that illustrate this book, such as the pictures of the

tram and the raccoon (see below), do not make the concepts any easier to understand, if you have never encountered these objects:



Level 7, book 2 (“Animals of other lands”) consists of five stories about various animals that aim to give factual information and encourage learners to learn more about particular animals. Consequently, because it is “non-fiction”, the writing style in the reader is more objective than the other readers:

On the side of a hill a little pack rat is hunting for his food. The pack rat is hungry. And while he hunts, he is afraid – very afraid – for the pack rat has many enemies. Some of the pack rat’s enemies are these: the owl and the eagle, the fox and the bobcat, and the snake...

...Then he plays with the other otters in his herd. They jump up from the water, high into the air. They flip over and over. They jump again. All day long the otter plays and looks for food and then plays again. Now he dives deep and finds another clam...

The most interesting aspect of this reader is simply the animals that are described in it: black bears, chipmunks, pack rats, owls, eagles, foxes, bobcats, snakes, pronghorns, coyotes, beavers and sea otters. A number of these animals do not occur in Africa and most South African learners would not have any knowledge or experience of these animals, making the text difficult to relate to and to understand. As mentioned above,

Level 7 book 1 ("The dog next door") is also a reader that T1 used and so is analyzed above.

On the whole, all of the books are clearly non-South African and this is seen in the names of the characters, the concepts in the stories and some of the vocabulary. Also, the books are clearly based on Western concepts that come through and are emphasized in the pictures in the readers. "Careful Hans" portrays a colonial ideology through its choice of fairytales, which are all British and German and the formal style in which it has been written. "The dog next door," is also clearly British in its choice of names and some of the vocabulary, and also reveals strong assumptions on what a typical and happy family should look like and is almost stereotypical in the pictures it uses. "Round the City" makes strong assumptions about the learners' background knowledge and assumes that the average learner has experience of snow and various city landmarks. The books all have vocabulary and concepts that the majority of South African learners might struggle to understand, as they have no personal experience of them. At the same time it is important to acknowledge that obviously one of the purposes of reading is to introduce new vocabulary and teach learners about the wider world. However, in the initial developmental stages, for the sake of scaffolding and allowing learners to connect sounds to familiar concepts thus providing learners with a solid foundation from which to grow, ordinary day-to-day South African life should possibly be the foundation and the focus. The use of readers with such foreign concepts could make reading with understanding difficult for South African learners as they have nothing in their immediate experience to draw from or to refer to that would help them make sense of these texts. This may further hamper their reading development and could lead to L2learners reading without understanding and not fully acquiring the necessary reading skills.

There are a number of factors that contribute to the current situation. For example, there is a lack of suitable South African readers for grade 2 learners to actually use, also the process of replacing an entire batch of readers is a very time-consuming and expensive endeavour that involves

more than simply buying a set of books and lastly, difficult decisions have to be made regarding which readers are eventually chosen and how they are distributed. These factors must be taken into consideration and it is important to realize that these teachers are doing a sterling job under what must be difficult and challenging circumstances.

4.3.6) Evaluation reports

Having considered all the various learning activities that the learners participate in with a specific focus on the phonics activities and the reading activities, I will now turn to the evaluation reports that are issued at the end of term 2, 3 and 4 (see Appendix 11 for an example). I will specifically focus on the evaluation of Phonics and Reading as I observed the activities within these two learning areas the most and feel that they are the most interesting and relevant to my research.

In grade 2 learners are evaluated for their performance in three main learning areas:

- ◆ Literacy, which includes 'Oral', 'Phonics', 'Reading,' and 'Written,' in English and 'Modeling' in Afrikaans.
- ◆ Numeracy, which consists of 'Mental Maths,' 'Problem Solving,' And 'Written.'
- ◆ Life Skills, which is made up of 'Handwriting' and 'Social Development.'

The assessment structure of the reports uses five codes:

E=Exceeds the criteria, M=Meets the criteria, P=Progressing well, N=Needs assistance, H=Has difficulty.

Prior to the issuing of reports, marking sheets are used to evaluate the learners.

The assessment structure on these marking sheets consists of four numbers:

4=Has exceeded the requirements, 3=Has satisfied the requirements, 2=Has partially satisfied the requirements, 1=Has not satisfied the requirements.

For the purpose of this discussion I will combine the two assessment structures and present the data in terms of whether the learner has:

A= Exceeded the criteria or requirements.

B= Satisfied or met the criteria or requirements.

C= Partially satisfied the requirements but needs assistance.

D= Not met the requirements and has difficulty.

Tables G and H summarize the results of the individual learners in these two areas and present the data demographically in an attempt to clearly reveal the patterns (refer to section 4.1 for the coding system used to identify the learners).

Table G: T1's Evaluations

PHONICS	A	B	C	D	READING	A	B	C	D
		WA3	WA27				WA3	WA27	
	WE1 WE6 WE14 WE15 WE16 WE24		WE4 WE11			WE1 WE6 WE15 WE16	WE11 WE14 WE24		WE4
		IE5 IE22				IE5	IE22		
		CA7 CA8 CA20	CA2 CA9 CA10				CA7 CA8 CA20	CA2 CA10	CA9
	BX12	BX19 BX21 BX23 BX25	BX13 BX18 BX26	BX17		BX12	BX18 BX19 BX23	BX13 BX17 BX21 BX25 BX26	

Table H: T2's Evaluations

PHONICS	A	B	C	D	READING	A	B	C	D
	WE7	WE1 WE10 WE24	WE3 WE4 WE13 WE25	WE26			WE1 WE3 WE7 WE10 WE24	WE4 WE13 WE25	WE26
		IE17					IE17		
		CA8	CA6 CA9 CA14 CA15					CA6 CA8 CA9 CA14 CA15	
			WO19					WO19	
			PO20					PO20	
	BX5	BX11 BX22	BX2 BX12 BX16 BX18 BX21 BX23 BX27			BX5	BX11 BX22	BX2 BX12 BX16 BX18 BX21 BX23 BX27	

The specific details about how the teachers evaluated each individual learner were difficult to ascertain but on the whole the learners were evaluated according to OBE and Curriculum 2005 outcomes. What is most relevant and interesting however, are the general trends that the above data reveals. For example, proportionally, it is evident that the white English learners (L1 learners) are more academically successful than the L2 learners. This can be seen more clearly in T1's evaluations where more than half of the L1 learners, exceed or at least meet the requirements in both Phonics and Reading. With regard to T2's data, it needs to be remembered that both WE 25 and 26 have serious learning problems and stutter badly (cf. section 4.2.2

above). With this in mind, more than half of her L1 learners also meet the requirements although only one exceeds them in Phonics. In contrast, substantially less than half of the L2 learners even meet the requirements. The majority of L2 learners partially satisfy the criteria and generally need assistance.

Basically this data serves to simply underline the fact that overall the L2 learners in these two classrooms struggle academically and are behind the L1 learners in language activities. It also supports my suggestions that perhaps the phonics stories and the readers that are used are not ideal for South African multicultural learners because they portray a lifestyle and culture these learners are unfamiliar with and do not experience in their daily lives. As mentioned above in section 4.3.5, scaffolding in the initial stages of development is very important and is more easily achieved if South African day-to-day life is used in the content because learners are more familiar with those concepts.

Section B: The interviews

4.4) A thematic and “category-based” summary of the interview data

The interview data will now be presented in an effort to explain why the teachers have constructed their classroom cultures in the ways that they have. Each teacher was interviewed twice and the questions for both interviews are in Appendix 1. The interview transcripts were studied and particularly enlightening passages highlighted and eventually placed in various categories. The categories were then analyzed and summarized, in order to simplify the data and to reveal the prominent themes that arise out of the data.

4.4.1) Training

T1 has a three-year university degree in Junior Primary Education, which she received in 1976. She then completed a diploma in remedial education in 1983. She has also been on a number of short training courses that covered various topics such as computer usage for the classroom, audi-

blocks, syllabuses and brain-gym courses. She has also completed numerous OBE (Outcomes Based Education) courses, which focused on *“how to evaluate what’s next, it was not about teaching skills as such, it was more about what is expected and what you’ve got to cover. It was not about how to cover it, so that’s all our training from the government side. What you have to teach and how you set out your evaluation forms and what’s got to be evaluated in them but not actually a lesson and how you put it across”* (T1: (ii): 4). These courses did not cover second-language learning or multilingualism in any way, which is a concern, because T1 has to teach multilingual learners and the majority of her class are second-language learners.

The only training that T1 can remember doing on multilingual education and second language acquisition was a course run by INTEC College. INTEC College specializes in OBE courses and aims to bring current teachers up-to-date with the changes in South African education. This course did not look at methods of teaching at all but did consider issues like *“how they [Xhosa learners] use the ‘a’ and the ‘e’ and mixed the two up”* (T1 (ii): 3). When T1 first did her degree she only imagined teaching English L1 speakers and so has never formally been trained to teach a multilingual class.

T2 also has a three-year university degree in Education for Junior Primary, which she completed in 1983. While, she has no other formal qualifications she has also been on various OBE courses. When questioned about whether her training, specifically her degree, had covered anything about multilingual education, she commented that they had looked at ways to teach in *“both languages...English and Afrikaans”* (T2 (ii): 1) and that they were trained in the differences between a mother-tongue and a second language in the sense that Afrikaans is her second language. When she first started teaching she did expect to encounter different languages in her classroom because she has *“always had different nationalities to teach”* (T2: (ii): 1) and has *“always taught children that have come from overseas”* (T2: (ii): 2). T2 has, however, not had formal training on how to teach English as a second language and has focused on English as a first language and Afrikaans as a second language.

This indicates that both teachers have received little assistance and training from the education department with regard to the formidable challenges they face in teaching in a multilingual and multicultural environment and they have in fact been left to 'fend for themselves' so to speak which is both unfortunate and unfair.

4.4.2) Employment history

T1 started teaching in 1980 and has taught pre-primary, grade 2 and grade 3 in five different schools- three government and two private schools. Her involvement in remedial education, however, did include learners in senior school. Most of her teaching has been at the grade 2 level in this particular school, where she has been teaching for 12 years. T1 moved from teaching pre-primary to teaching grade 2 in 1993 when OBE was first being implemented in South African schools: *"...then the whole new OBE and new maths all came in with a lot of training and I thought it was the right time to move, because I felt that if I didn't move maybe I wouldn't get back into the system. So that was my only reason, I loved pre-primary and I wouldn't have made the move then, had it not been for the whole system changing and maths taking on a new thing...grade 2 just came up, there was a post that was available"* (T1: (i): 8-9).

T2 has been teaching for approximately 20 years and has taught grade 1 and grade 2, with some relief teaching in grade 3. She has taught at one other school, (a government school) and has been teaching at this particular school for 8 years.

4.4.3) Method: Group teaching

This section involves a brief discussion of group teaching as a means of elaborating on and supporting section 4.2.2 above. Group teaching involves dividing the class into ability groups for reading and maths (see section 4.2.2 above). Both T1 and T2 normally divide their classes into three groups, but this year T1 has four for reading: two bottom groups (bottom A and bottom B), a middle group and a top group. Each of these groups use a different reader, depending on their reading competency. For the first two

weeks or so, all the children read the same, simple book. The teachers then sort out the groups based on their reading skill with this book.

For maths there is a top, middle and bottom group. T1 and T2 work with these groups separately during the school day and play various mathematical games and use maths cards, which are targeted at each group's level. For maths, they initially revise grade 1 and then divide the children into their groups on the basis of their performance.

There is, however, much movement between groups, and a child can change his or her grouping many times in both classrooms. T1 explains what some of the reasons for these movements are:

- ◆ *Some children just take a long time to settle into a class and to grasp certain concepts, so they may be in the bottom group for the first six months, and then suddenly shoot to the top group when it all falls into place.*
- ◆ *Other children may have an emotional set back, and may be put into a lower group just to regain their confidence, and then be put back into their original group again.*
- ◆ *Also, a top group child may find a specific concept difficult to grasp, and may be put in a lower group just for that concept, and then once they've got it they move back into their own group.*

(T1 :(ii):16).

4.4.4) Challenges of teaching

T1 feels that the worst thing about teaching is the salary. She feels that it is unfair that she is expected to give of herself all day to other children and because of the low salaries she cannot afford to send her own children to university: *"...and for me the saddest thing is, or one of the saddest things is, we just give to other children the whole time, and then when it comes to salaries, basically you're not making enough to give to your own kids... on our salaries you actually couldn't even send your children to varsity"* (T1: (i): 12). She also finds teaching stressful, especially with regard to maintaining discipline, and feels disempowered when it comes to

disciplining the children, due to all the constraints that have been put in place: *“...then you have discipline problems where children aren’t disciplined at home... and we can’t really discipline them, before we had all sorts of forms of discipline, we could send them to the office, and now you know here they talk about children’s rights, but they don’t think about the rights of teachers or the rights of their peers, and you know a lot of parents expect you to just give give give”* (T1 (i): 11-12). T1 also finds it challenging to keep *“her cool”* all day and to stay calm the whole day and *“not to lose it”* (T1: (i): 12).

T2, on the other hand, finds the administration required by the transition into OBE particularly challenging: *“all these new extra things...we’ve been doing it all along except we hadn’t had to write it all out, and now they want us to write it all out...it’s a lot of paperwork”* (T2: (i): 3). She also finds that *“the children know so much now, you’ve got to keep on the ball all the time...and they question everything, so you’ve got to keep yourself one step ahead all the time now”* (T2: (i):4).

I found it surprising that neither of the teachers mentioned the challenges associated with multiracial and multilingual classes. Neither of them seemed to believe that the difficulties brought about by this change presented a significant challenge to teaching.

4.4.5) Racial integration and the classroom environment

T1 said that she did not find racial integration in the 1990s difficult ideologically because she had taught at a private Catholic convent before. This convent had promoted racial integration long before 1990 and so she felt that it was *“not a big thing at all”* (T1: (i): 14). When questioned further, however, she did admit that she finds multiracial integration difficult in her current classroom environment because she finds the Xhosa culture completely alien. She finds three main areas challenging: discourse conventions, linguistic effects of L1 transfer and cultural backgrounds and assumptions.

Firstly, the discourse convention that she finds difficult to adapt to and accept, is the trend that Xhosa people tend to speak more loudly than Western English people: *“They’re a loud culture and we’re used to teaching*

with quiet children, we're not used to shouting out". She also mentioned that "when you address someone, you expect them to look at you" (T1: (i): 14), which is polite and normal in her culture. However, in Xhosa culture, the norm is to avoid making eye contact with those in authority over you.

Secondly, the linguistic effects of L1 transfer are very evident in the Xhosa learners' production of English and T1 struggles to understand these learners and finds it difficult to evaluate and correct them: *"The Xhosa has a huge impact on reading, creative writing and encoding of words. And because they write like they speak, instead of saying 'bat,' it will be 'bet' like 'b-e-t' or a 'bed,' look at the 'bed,' meaning a 'bird,' so they have problems when it comes to phonics...when I mark a book, I can tell you what language that child speaks before I turn back to the front and see their name, because you just pick it up as how they speak...Also the 'she's'...everything is 'she,' no matter if it's a 'he' or a 'her' or anything else" (T1: (i): 15).*

Thirdly, cultural background and related assumptions present a problem because T1 is aware that she sometimes takes certain concepts for granted and assumes that all the learners have had experience of certain concepts and often the Xhosa learners have not: *"Also, it's concepts we take for granted that they understand...like if you speak about the harbour, you expect everyone to have been to the harbour, but it's not like that so you explain everything" (T1: (i): 16).*

T2 did not comment personally about the transition in the 1990s, but she did say that generally the learners did not have a problem and that it was *"alright and we only had a few...not too many at that time and it was fine...in this stage and in grade 1 level especially they don't really see colour, they just see a child" (T2: (i): 4)* She does find teaching many cultures more difficult, however, but was not specific about particular difficulties and simply commented that *"if you want to keep standards up, you have to work with that child [L2 learner] individually...so I do a lot of extra lessons" (T2: (i): 4).*

The above responses reveal that both teachers recognize and acknowledge the various challenges they face and are responding positively by dedicating more of their time and effort to ensure that their L2 learners are given every opportunity to succeed.

4.4.6) Language problems in the classroom

T1 considered the second-language speakers in her class as having various language problems but is unclear about defining these problems. She says that all the L2 learners need work on their pronunciation and need language enrichment. She goes on to clarify that all those who have lived in the township and have not been brought up in an English-speaking environment have language problems: *“...when I say all of them I mean...maybe there’s one or so that hasn’t lived in a township, that has just been brought up with English, but the others need. You know whenever I’m writing a report, it’s always that language hampers whatever I’m writing about”* (T1: (i): 19). This view was further elaborated on in the second interview: *“...some of them, although they are Xhosa they don’t live in the township, they live in the old white suburbs, or at Rhodes, or their parents are lecturers, so they’re mixing with different people and they’re hearing English. And when you hear their parents speak, their parents speak English, some of them as well as you and I do. So they grow up with a different surrounding and hear different languages. Then you’ll hear those ones that maybe come right from the townships, that only hear Xhosa all day, their parents battle. Those ones, they’re just in a different little category”* (T1: (ii): 13).

T2 also feels that the children who do not *“speak English all the time at home”* (T2: (i): 7) are worse off and expressed this sentiment in both interviews. In the second interview she mentions that *“when we first got Xhosa children in our school there were only a few so there was only English spoken, they couldn’t have groups, it was one here and one there, so they couldn’t discuss things, whereas now they have so many more so they don’t learn as quickly as they used to”* (T2: (ii): 6). And when asked why she thinks some learners do not acquire English as quickly as they should, she feels that *“there will always be weak (learners), but then you get English speakers who are weak but they are at a background disadvantage... and they are obviously not exposed to it as much and their parents don’t speak to them as much and their parents are not as involved as they should be”* (T2: (ii): 6).

Furthermore, when asked about the length of time needed for L2 acquisition, T1 responded, *“if they haven't grown up with English from when they were little, by the time they leave us, they still aren't proficient in English at the end of grade 3...unless, I mean, I'm talking about the average child, not the one that's gone into the varsity, or the one that's parents speak English. But by the time they leave us, sentence construction is weak, grammar is weak, pronunciation is weak. If you read a story you can quickly see which language that child is, if you pick up a story written by them, before you even turn to the front, just the way they spell and write and their grammar, you will know what language that child is, so they haven't acquired it by the time they leave grade 3”* (T1: (ii): 14). In line with this, T1 gives an example of a child that they are keeping back in grade 1 because his language needs more work and so they will focus on that until he is fluent enough to handle grade 2: *“...so we've decided we're not going to push the academics as such, but we're going to try and push as much language as we can, language in play. So our whole focus would be different for him...and we've actually written to the parents to say what we will be doing, and next year he will remain in grade 1 really to pick up as much language as he can before he comes to me in grade 2”* (T1: (ii): 5). She explains that it is important that language is well established prior to grade 2 because weak language skills not only hinders a learner's story writing but as they also do not have the vocabulary it hinders their grasp of mathematical concepts (T1: (ii): 5).

From these extracts it may be deduced that both T1 and T2 appear to have two basic assumptions. Firstly, they assume that a lack of exposure to English is the primary cause of language problems in L2 learners and the extracts also suggest that T1 may have expectations that L2 learners may fail sooner or later if they have not grown up with English from a young age. They also give the impression that this can be counteracted to some degree, if a learner is exposed only to English in the classroom, and is also exposed to English in the home environment. Their second assumption is that the L1 does not need to be maintained or promoted in the school environment as neither of the teachers mention maintaining the first languages of their L2 learners. The school also appears to make this assumption which is

illustrated by the fact that in grade 3, basic Xhosa lessons start but *“during a Xhosa lesson, because it’s basic Xhosa, the Xhosa children that need language go for extra English instead of going to their Xhosa lesson”* (T1: (i): 21). Furthermore, the learners are further discouraged from speaking any other languages besides English in the classroom and on the playground and the parents of L2 learners are also encouraged to expose their child to as much English as possible in the home environment (this issue is discussed further in section 4.4.7 below).

4.4.7) Formal and informal policies regarding language in the school and classroom

The interviews revealed that neither T1 nor T2 have been informed of the 1997 Language in Education Policy or of language policies in general and do not recall seeing a copy of the 1997 Language in Education Policy document. Consequently as they have not studied it or discussed the LiEP at the school, they have not attempted to implement any kind of formal language policy in their classrooms. As a result, the school has no formal policy in place regarding language use in the classroom.

However, there is an informal policy in terms of which, because the school is an English-medium school, children are only allowed to speak Xhosa in Xhosa lessons, which start in grade 3, and Afrikaans in Afrikaans lessons, which start formally in grade 2. In every other situation the learner must use English: *“...basically I see our school as an English-medium school, and they come here to try and get language, so in grade 3 when they have Xhosa as well, obviously they go to Xhosa, but what we find then is our Xhosa children actually go for extra English and our English children go to Xhosa, and there in those situations they speak Xhosa in a Xhosa classroom and English and the same when we do Afrikaans. Other than that, if we hear them speaking whatever, we say ‘you must use English’”* (T1: (ii): 11). On the playground this is also enforced because *“...we prefer them not to speak their mother-tongue so that they can learn..”* (T2: (ii):4) and *“it’s really through play in a playground that they pick up lots and lots of language, and I think our whole focus at the moment is to enrich their language, so we really*

discourage the other languages, whatever the language is, other than English” (T1: (ii): 11)

The parents of L2 learners are also strongly encouraged to read English stories to their children and to correct their child’s English because *“...often just the classroom situation is not enough for them, they actually need added stories at home” (T1: (ii): 11)*. The parents are also encouraged to speak English to their children as much as possible because *“...you always have their friends and their grannies and their grandpas and everybody else who’s speaking the mother-tongue, so it’s not like they’re being deprived of the mother-tongue, because there is so much around them, so if there is anyone in the house that can give them English, then it’s a big plus” (T1: (ii): 12)*. This extract is a good illustration of T1’s assumption that it is not necessary or important to encourage or maintain the L1 in the school environment, since she believes that the learners get sufficient exposure to their L1 in their home and community environment.

4.4.8) Other factors that contribute to L2 acquisition

Both T1 and T2 feel that certain children are simply *“bright” (T2: (ii):5)* and good at learning a language and T1 specifically believes that ability to focus and concentrate is vital when attempting to learn a language: *“I believe that some just have a good feel for language... Also focus, some children just focus better than others, and concentration, concentration level here, is a huge thing” (T1: (ii): 12)*. T2, however, maintains that exposure is most important.

According to both teachers, the home environment also plays a very important role. T1 specifically commented that a child who might be in a middle group can actually be closer to the top group if they get added help at home. In her view, homework is very important: *“...the home environment plays such an important role, it really really really does, especially with language acquisition. And homework, you know homework is huge, because I only have so many hours in my school day, and then I can only teach the concepts and a little bit about it, and then the rest, I mean they need to go and find out. And children that are battling need to go over and over and over*

and over it, you know, just like phonics, we use a key chart, so at home they go 'ai' 'train' 'ai' 'train' 'ow' 'cow' 'ou' 'house' and they know that so well, and there's no excuse why they shouldn't do those at home..." (T1: (ii): 21).

T1 also believes that generally the English-speaking child is at a definite advantage and sympathizes with an L2 learner *"because you're learning something new in something that you're comfortable with...Xhosa-speaking children are learning new concepts in a language that they're not comfortable with, so they're battling to take in a new concept in a language that's new to them. And for a lot of those, you must know they're doing three languages now, they come in and they're Xhosa-speaking, they're speaking English and they're having to do Afrikaans so it's huge, it really is huge"* (T1: (ii): 19) It is clear from this comment that T1 is aware of some of the challenges that L2 learners face and she is trying commendably to assist these learners with very little support from the education authorities in the form of training and resources.

4.4.9) Afrikaans in the school and classroom

T2 did not mention White Afrikaans learners at all since there are none in her class this year and T1 mentioned them only in passing since there are only two in her class (cf. tables A and B in section 4.2.1). Coloured Afrikaans learners were mentioned by both but not nearly as often as the Xhosa learners. This is possibly because Afrikaans L1 learners do not appear to struggle as much as their Xhosa counterparts. This is illustrated in T1's response to a question about whether she feels that the particular mother-tongue of a child makes a difference. She responded: *"even our Afrikaans children battle with grammar, but I think maybe the Afrikaans (learners) are sort of exposed more to English, because in general they go and watch videos. They are more exposed, (because) most of the time they do have a TV and a video machine, and most videos are in English, but Xhosa children, out in the townships, they don't have those luxuries. They go home and it's just Xhosa Xhosa from everything"* (T1: (ii): 14). In response to the same question, T2 simply shook her head and said: *"no, (mother-tongue does not make a difference), it depends on the child's abilities"* (T2: (ii): 7).

Furthermore, if an Afrikaans learner is struggling, there is a solution. On some occasions, if an Afrikaans-speaking child is really struggling with English, then the teachers do suggest to the parents that they send their child to the local Afrikaans school: *“...if a child is weak and he is Afrikaans-speaking and he comes to us, there is the option of (the local Afrikaans school) where they’re actually taught in Afrikaans and those children, we actually recommend that while they’re picking up those skills, if they’re battling with us than it’s better to go and learn in their mother-tongue and get a good grounding of those basic skills. And the same with the Xhosa child, if the child is really battling and not coping, then it’s better, if he can get it, but you see, not all the schools teach in Xhosa. So it happens mainly with the Afrikaans child, because I think at the moment the Xhosa schools are still initially (teaching) in English (T1: (ii): 10).*

The teachers are aware that initial instruction in a learner’s L1 is beneficial and give the impression that if Xhosa schools offered the same standard of education as this English-medium one, they would perhaps encourage those L2 learners who are really struggling to rather attend those schools to ensure a better foundation. Unfortunately, they feel that currently this is not an option, since the quality of education at Xhosa schools is not at a similar standard.

4.4.10) Ideal competence (by grade 3)

T1 believes that the level of English language competence of the learner when she/he leaves the school at the end of grade 3 depends largely on their competence when they came into the school. However, there are general goals: *“...I want the children to cope when they leave us, I want them to have the maths skills, the reading skills, the phonetic skills, so that they can go and cope in whatever school they go to... I mean the social side is important, all those sides are important but those you actually don’t teach, they pick up a lot from you, from the classroom, from what you expect of them” (T1: (ii): 5-6).* T2 emphasized the social side more and stated that they *“want to make them well-rounded, we want confident young men and young women, so we build them up and give them a sound basis to carry on” (T2:*

(ii): 3). Both teachers emphasize the importance of building strong foundations in their learners thus enabling them to succeed in the schools they attend once they leave this one. This means that both teachers are aware of the importance of scaffolding at this early stage of development.

4.4.11) Keeping track of learners after grade 3

After learners have left the school, keeping track of them happens on a very informal level. T1 explained that the teachers at the school all have had children of their own going to the various schools that are fed by this school, and so they tend to go to the various prize-givings and art evenings and so on. They then bring the lists of prize-winners back to the school and in this way see how the children they taught are doing in their respective schools. T1 also says that the learners visit fairly regularly and so in this way she does find out how they are doing (T1: (ii): 7). However, this does tend to mean that the teachers only follow the progress of the learners that excel in their next school and that the progress of the learners who do not win prizes or have art displayed at art evenings and so forth is not followed. Consequently, the teachers do not actually know if their learners do in fact have the necessary maths, reading and phonetic skills to cope in their various schools.

Section C: Conclusion and summary of findings

4.5) Conclusion

In my opinion both teachers are coping well with the many diverse challenges involved in teaching in a multilingual and multicultural classroom. Unfortunately, it appears that very little support in terms of appropriate in-service training has been offered and there are numerous factors such as financial shortages and a lack of suitable teaching resources that contribute to and intensify a difficult situation. However, both teachers have two basic assumptions that influence and motivate their behaviour, practices and attitudes. Firstly, they make the common sense assumption that in order for an L2 learner to successfully acquire English, they need to be exposed to it as much and for as long as possible, perhaps subconsciously associating

Western culture as being part and parcel of the English language which then implies that an L2 learner cannot acquire the English language without assimilating to the Western culture too. This, in turn, results in classrooms that reproduce Western culture to a large extent and create environments that are predominantly oriented towards exposing the learners to the English language in terms of Western cultural practices. This is further demonstrated in the learning activities as they are planned and carried out and in encouraging parents to expose their children to as much English as possible in the home. Overall this process unfortunately tends to lead to cultural assimilation as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3.1.

Their second assumption is that the various L1s other than English in their classrooms do not necessarily need to be consciously maintained or developed to any substantial cognitive level. Both these L1s and the various cultures within their classrooms appear to be minimally acknowledged and do not seem to be overtly valued, affirmed or encouraged. This assumption can also filter down into the home environment, because the parents are encouraged to speak in English to their children and to read English books in the home. However as the home environment of the learners is beyond the scope of this thesis, I am unable to comment on the effect of this encouragement.

It is interesting to note that Chick (2002) (discussed in section 2.6 in chapter 2) found very similar trends in his research conducted in Durban. He also found that on the whole L2 learners had to function in an English-only environment and that the schools did not use Zulu or any other language other than English in their classrooms.

Unfortunately, both these assumptions can feed off each other and on the whole produce an assimilatory environment whereby, in my opinion, the L2 learners may be in the process of replacing their first language and culture with English and Western culture.

4.6) Summary

This chapter has painted a picture of the classrooms under study. The first section looked at the classrooms in detail with a specific cultural

focus that emphasizes how various elements of the classroom environment impact on and reproduce the classroom culture. The demographics, layout and appearance of both classrooms were described in detail as a backdrop to the various practices. The structure of teaching activities and the various books in the classrooms were then mentioned to give a broad idea of what goes on in Gr. 2 classrooms. Then actual artefacts of the children's work were discussed in order to gain a deeper perspective of what is taught and how it is taught in these classrooms. Various language activities were considered, for example, Phonics, Dictionary Skills, Grammar, Writing and Reading. The readers in particular were discussed in detail, because a culture is very easily transmitted through stories.

The second section discussed the interview data in an effort to understand why the teachers have constructed their classrooms in these ways. The data was divided into a number of themes or categories and each of these categories was discussed in some detail. The themes that were considered included: the training the two teachers have received, their employment history, a particular method of teaching referred to as group teaching, the various challenges associated with teaching, the effect that racial integration had on the teachers and their classroom environments, various language problems within the classrooms, the formal and informal policies that influence the roles of various languages in the classrooms, other factors that the teachers felt contributed to L2 acquisition, the treatment of Afrikaans in the school, what the teachers view as ideal competence by Gr. 3 and finally how the teachers keep track of their learners after Gr. 3. These areas shed some light on the knowledge and attitudes of the teachers and help to illustrate the reasons for their actions.

The picture has now been painted and the next chapter briefly discusses the data within the frame of the original research questions, which form the core of this research. This discussion is also based on the theoretical framework that was described in chapter 2.

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusions:

5.1) Introduction

In previous chapters I describe the literature review as a framework that supports the research. The findings are described as a picture of the culture of the classrooms. The intention of this chapter is to determine whether the frame fits the picture or not.

Ultimately, this research is concerned with bilingual and multicultural education in South Africa and is interested in whether or not it is being achieved with any success in foundation phase classrooms. To explore these issues, a case study of two teachers and their classrooms in an English-medium school was carried out. On the whole, the results revealed that the teachers face many complex challenges when teaching in a multilingual classroom environment and that responded have responded positively and are doing their best amidst very difficult circumstances. More detailed results of the study will now be summarized in relation to the literature review and with specific reference to the original research goals that motivated the research. The research had the following goals (cf. section 1.5 in chapter 1):

- ◆ To paint a clear picture of the learning environment that the teachers construct and reveal how they go about constructing it.
- ◆ To gain an understanding of how they identify and handle bilingualism and multiculturalism in their classrooms.
- ◆ To ascertain some of the reasons why teachers describe and identify bilingualism and multiculturalism in the way that they do.
- ◆ To attempt to understand what influences and motivates them to construct the learning environment and classroom cultures in the way they do.
- ◆ To determine whether the teachers have received adequate training and if the training has sufficiently prepared them for the challenges L2 learners and a multicultural classroom present.

- ♦ To propose possible measures that may improve the situation, especially with regard to the available training, should there prove to be problems.

This chapter is divided into five main sections. The first three sections aim to explore each of the research goals respectively. In the first section I look at how the teachers have constructed the two classroom environments and what these constructions reveal about their attitudes towards, and knowledge of, bilingualism and multiculturalism. I also relate these findings to the literature in an effort to paint a richer, more detailed picture and to reveal some of the underlying assumptions at play in these classrooms. The second section explores some of the possible reasons for the teachers' behaviour by correlating some of the data with theory on language in society and South African policies. In the third section I review whether the teachers' training has equipped them sufficiently by summarizing some of the problems that appear to exist, I also suggest possible measures that might help resolve these problems. The fourth section will suggest possible areas for further study and finally the fifth section will summarize my research.

5.2) The construction of the two classroom cultures

There are a number of factors that I believe play important roles and deserve consideration in discussing the construction of the classroom cultures. Firstly, the demographics of the two classrooms, secondly, the teachers' attitudes towards, and knowledge of, bilingualism and multiculturalism as evidenced by their practices, thirdly, their belief that exposure to English is vital, and fourthly, the nature of bilingual and multicultural education in the classrooms.

5.2.1) The demographics of the two classrooms

Just as South Africa is a linguistically very complex country, the demographics of both classrooms reflect the same linguistic complexity, especially with regard to the Eastern Cape. This is because, as with the

Eastern Cape, English, Xhosa and Afrikaans are the primary languages represented in the classrooms. It should be noted, however, that demographic multilingualism in a classroom does not necessarily imply multilingualism or bilingualism in any one individual (cf. section 2.3.3 in chapter 2) and there are possibly many monolingual speakers in these classrooms. Ironically, it is because of this multilingual linguistic complexity (in terms of first languages) that problems emerge related to language learning and multiculturalism in these classrooms. (This is not to say that a monolingual class would be unproblematic but the problems would be very different in nature). Both classrooms have 27 learners with a variety of mother tongues. There are English, Xhosa and Afrikaans speakers as well as some Indian, Pakistani and German children within the two classrooms (see section 4.2.1. in chapter 4 for the demographics of the classrooms).

5.2.2) Attitudes towards bilingualism and multiculturalism

There are many varying factors that impact the current situation in this school. These factors include a lack of appropriate in-service training, financial constraints and parental pressures which seem to result in a situation whereby the school does not prioritize bilingual or multicultural education and consequently does not make a concerted effort to achieve or pursue it. This is illustrated by the fact that at no point did either of the teachers overtly state that developing bilingual or culturally aware learners is a goal in their teaching strategies. Both teachers plainly assert that their primary intention for the L2 learners in their classrooms is to help them acquire English as comprehensively and as quickly as possible. They both maintain that the school is an English-medium school and that it does not claim to be anything else. Also, the teachers are very aware that the main reason parents from non-English backgrounds send their children to the school, is because they believe that their children stand a better chance of acquiring competence in English in an English-medium school such as this one.

T1 does acknowledge cultural differences particularly the Xhosa culture, but perhaps views those differences as slightly problematic and as a

possible hindrance to the acquisition of English (cf. section 4.4.5 in chapter 4). There is also the impression that T1 believes that basic communicative skills are sufficient in Xhosa and that while formal cognitive development may be beneficial, it is not absolutely necessary to ensure the success of the learner (section 4.4.7 in chapter 4). On the other hand, T2 also acknowledges various cultures but seems to emphasize foreign cultures more (section 4.4.1 in chapter 4) and often mentioned the German and Pakistani learners in her class. With regard to the local cultures, T2 appears to simply see a learner and approves of being 'colour-blind' when it comes to racial or cultural issues (section 4.4.5 in chapter 4). The general trend tended to reveal a lack of appreciation for the Xhosa culture and what it has to offer and there was a sense that speaking Xhosa as an L1 may be a hindrance to acquiring English. Afrikaans, however, was viewed as the obvious second language choice and was generally not considered to be as big a hindrance as Xhosa (section 4.4.9. in chapter 4). This view could possibly be due to their initial training at university, where this was the case and also due to the fact that most teachers have received more training relating to Afrikaans than any other languages other than English.

These factors have a substantial impact on the school's practices with regard to L2 learners. One of the primary consequences is the Submersion model of bilingual education that has unintentionally arisen (cf. section 2.3.1.1 in chapter 2). This school appears to practice a Submersion model, whereby the majority language is English because of its status as the sole language of instruction in the school. The language minority learners, who are the L2 learners, because their languages are of a lower status, are taught all day in English. All the learners are strongly encouraged to speak only English in the classroom and the L2 learners are discouraged from using their home languages. The outcomes of such a model may include monolingualism in English and assimilation, whereby the L2 learners' cultures may be replaced with Western English culture, values and attitudes. This implies the practice of subtractive bilingualism in the classrooms by default, due to the minimal acknowledgement that the home language or L1 of the non-English children needs to be maintained. Also, the numerous SLA

processes (cf. section 2.2.4 in chapter 2) that play a role are not fully recognized, probably because neither of the teachers have been offered suitable formal training regarding the processes involved in acquiring English as a second language. For instance, the sociocultural processes (for example, personal motivation, classroom interaction, and forces of acculturation and assimilation), linguistic processes (for example, the differences between the learner's L1 and L2 that have an impact) and academic and cognitive developmental stages in the L1 are not addressed fully.

The need to develop a learner's L1 to a high cognitive level in order to ensure a learner's success in a second language (cf. Heugh 2002) is also not emphasized. Both teachers do, however, reveal a subconscious awareness of this need, in that they do suggest that if an L2 learner is really struggling with the English-speaking environment in the school, then perhaps they should consider attending a school where they are instructed initially in their L1 (cf. section 4.4.9. in chapter 4). However, one of the key factors that influence the way in which the teachers teach is the belief that exposure to English is vital.

5.2.3) Exposure to English

This study reveals that the various first languages of the learners in the classrooms are often viewed as challenges that need to be overcome. The primary method employed for overcoming these challenges is to expose the learners to as much English as possible as early as possible, in the classroom, on the playground and in the home even to the exclusion of the L1. This view appears to motivate and underpin most teaching practices. For example, the learners are strongly encouraged to speak only English in the classroom and in the playground (cf. section 4.4.7 in chapter 4), all of their school work is in English and reflects a typical Western culture (cf. section 4.2 in chapter 4), and parents of L2 learners are strongly encouraged to speak English and to read English stories to their children when outside the classroom environment (cf. section 4.4.7 in chapter 4).

This belief that exposure is the key, in my opinion, stems firstly, from a substantial lack of suitable in-service teacher training in this area and secondly, from observations that L2 learners who have grown up with their parents speaking English in the home or who have lived in a middle-class English-speaking community from a young age, cope much better than those who have grown up solely with Xhosa in the home and who live in a Xhosa-speaking environment such as the local township. However, the difficulty with this view arises in the fact that there are numerous reasons, other than exposure to the English language *per se*, why L2 learners who are raised in a middle-class English environment fare better than those who are not. The primary one, I believe, is exposure to Western literacy and cultural practices in general. Western literacy is the primary literacy in the school and so often dictates what is expected of the learners. Those learners who have interacted with the culture and literacy in the home are further along the assimilation process and so are more successful because they have a better understanding of what is expected of them and what they are required to do. This scenario is not purely a South African one and has been found to be true in many countries.

For instance, this view is supported by extensive ethnographic research that Shirley Brice Heath (1986 cited in Baker 2001) conducted in America. In her research, she shows how certain cultures or communities mirror more closely the type of language behaviour expected in traditional Western classrooms than others.

Thus a difference may occur between patterns of language and literacy in the home and that expected in schools. For particular cultural and ethnic groups, this may make school a relatively more challenging and strange experience. The transition from the language and literacy of home to school may be more difficult for some language communities than for others

(Baker 2001: 331).

For example, in Heath's research (1986 cited in Baker 2001) certain pre-school learners gained experience of books with their parents in a manner which paralleled that of interaction with teachers whilst other communities had different literacy practices, important in themselves, but which did not match school-oriented literacy practices. Thus, in South African terms, the L2 learners that have grown up in a Xhosa-only environment are not at a disadvantage simply because they lack exposure to the English language, but they are also at a disadvantage because they lack exposure to the Western culture and literacy practices, which dominate these classrooms.

Furthermore, exposure to English in the home environment is believed to be absolutely vital and having parents who speak English well is said to be crucial to the successful acquisition of English. However, Collier and Thomas (2001) (cf. section 2.3.2 in chapter 2) shed some interesting light on this issue of linguistic exposure and show, along with Heugh (2002) (cf. section 2.6 in chapter 2), that the notion that it is not only beneficial but necessary to expose L2 learners to English as much and as early as possible does not hold up to scrutiny. In fact, Collier and Thomas's (2001) research shows that while socio-economic factors, including the home environment, do play an important role, a school can counteract the impact they have by adjusting the education programme. Furthermore, they found that whilst parental levels of proficiency in English are important predictors of a student's achievement in English, the most powerful predictor of an L2 learner's academic success in acquiring English is actually determined by the amount of formal schooling they receive in their L1.

This over-emphasis on exposure to English is problematic because, even though it is very clear that the teachers and the school are motivated by a strong desire to help L2 learners, especially the Xhosa-speakers, to acquire English as successfully and as quickly as possible, unfortunately, when this desire is underpinned by misunderstanding and a lack of knowledge regarding multicultural and bilingual education, it can lead with the best of intentions, to practices such as exposing L2 learners to so much English that their L1 is actually undermined. This, in my opinion, is what is possibly happening in the classrooms described in this study, and it may

prove to be detrimental for L2 speakers in general and for Xhosa speakers in particular.

A very good example of this is the Afrikaans and Xhosa lessons that are provided in Gr. 2 and Gr. 3 respectively (cf. section 4.4.7 in chapter 4). These lessons could possibly offer the L1 speakers of Afrikaans and Xhosa at least one opportunity to excel and to have their culture accepted and affirmed as valuable and interesting. In terms of my observations, this does indeed happen for the Afrikaans L1 learners, who were more animated and excited and participated more during the Afrikaans lesson than at any other time. They were also able to 'show off' and were commended for their skill. This is also evidenced in their reports and evaluations, where the L1 Afrikaans speakers failed to meet the requirements and criteria for English (cf. section 4.3.6 in chapter 4), whilst in Afrikaans they generally exceeded or at least met the requirements.

However, during the Xhosa lessons, Xhosa learners are taken out for extra English lessons (section 4.4.7 in chapter 4). This is unfortunate because the Xhosa lessons could possibly provide these learners with an opportunity to excel, to 'show off' their ability and for that moment, to be stronger and at more of an advantage than the L1 English learners. But, because the Xhosa learners do not attend this lesson and are instead taken out for a special class, they are once again marked as being weaker and unable to cope alongside L1 English learners. In this school environment, where English is the language of instruction, most Xhosa learners appear to struggle, especially if they are not exposed to English at home as recommended by both T1 and T2 (cf. section 4.4.6 in chapter 4). They are, consequently, academically behind the L1 learners and the teachers acknowledge that they are at a serious disadvantage (cf. section 4.4.6 in chapter 4). However, taking them out of the one lesson where they are at an advantage is perhaps not the best solution to this dilemma.

This issue of exposure is particularly important because it has a far-reaching impact on the education that these L2 learners receive. Both teachers state that their primary objective is to teach these learners to cope in whatever school they go to and to produce well-rounded and confident young

people who have a sound basis from which to carry on (cf. section 4.4.10 in chapter 4). This is an excellent objective and must be commended, however, Heugh (2002) indicates that L2 learners who are exposed to English from Gr.1 or earlier and who thus receive no formal schooling in their first language are actually more likely to struggle throughout their school careers. Furthermore, since this school only teaches up to grade 3, and thereafter the teachers can only keep track of the learners informally through events like prize-giving and art evenings and so on (cf. section 4.4.11 in chapter 4), the teachers unfortunately, do not really see the long-term impact the school has had on the learners and whether they are in fact able to cope in the higher level schools they go to. Thus, it is possible that the teachers might be falling short of their primary objectives and are unaware of the problems faced by the learners.

5.2.4) Bilingual and multicultural education in the classrooms

There is a strong sense of pride that comes through when the teachers and principal talk about their L2 learners. The teachers (and indeed the school), are proud of the fact that they have many children from a multitude of cultures attending the school and give the impression that they do encourage multicultural education, although this is never explicitly stated. They have very positive views of the L2 learners and see them as a positive addition to their school even though dealing with many languages in a classroom environment is challenging. They are also very proud of the fact that they offer Afrikaans as a second language in grade 2 and Xhosa as a third language in grade 3, and offer this as proof that they do indeed promote multicultural and multilingual education as much as is possible at present.

However, because encouraging learners towards bilingualism is not actually an explicit goal or intention of the teachers, or of the school, the school does not fully acknowledge their powerful and important role in maintaining an L2 learner's first language, identity and culture. Consequently, these two classrooms do not completely reflect multicultural education because, although, they have a multitude of cultures present in their classrooms, they do not consciously endorse and affirm these cultures in

subject matter (cf. section 4.3 in chapter 4) and do not enhance cultural awareness and sensitivity, because they do not thoroughly acknowledge the value of cultural diversity. Although, successful multicultural education depends largely on the availability of suitable curriculum and teaching materials, and requires substantial financial investment, teachers are primarily responsible for what and how the learners learn. This means that teachers have a pivotal role to play in the success of multicultural education and consequently, for a classroom to be truly multicultural, teachers need to be trained in multicultural and bilingual education and need to understand the nature of multilingualism in society. It also needs to be consciously acknowledged that teachers that are members of the 'majority' culture in the school, can simply by virtue of their age, status, power and authority, make this culture appear hugely desirable to young, impressionable learners. T1 in fact acknowledges that the learners do pick up a substantial amount of social conditioning by simply watching her (cf. section 4.4.10 in chapter 4). This is unavoidable and can have a very positive effect if teachers endorse and affirm, through learning activities and subject matter, the value of the various cultures represented in their respective classrooms.

Unfortunately, the mix of cultures present in the classrooms are not well addressed by the subject matter and this can be seen in the learning activities of the learners (cf. section 4.2 and 4.3 in chapter 4). The posters that line the walls of both classrooms tend to be monolingual and monocultural and do not reflect the demographic diversity of the classes. Secondly, the books that are in the classrooms and that are used by the learners are generally not South African in content or origin and are most commonly Western fairytales and so forth. The prescribed readers that the learners use as part of their syllabus are all published in England, are clearly Western in their language, character names, plots and pictures and appear to be written for British learners. Thirdly, the phonics stories may be confusing to a South African learner as they often portray concepts that the average South African Gr. 2 learner might not experience in their local communities, thus making them difficult to understand and difficult to learn by heart. Fourthly, while the other language activities such as dictionary skills, grammar and

writing are not explicitly Western, they are not explicitly South African either. Essentially, the teachers tend to construct and affirm a Western culture through the work that the learners carry out and the pictures that they come into contact with; this situation is understandable as this is the culture the teachers are most familiar with. Unfortunately these practices tend not to be multicultural and do not lead to additive bilingualism, which is ultimately the goal. The lack of specific training opportunities for teachers in this area, in my view, is the primary reason why additive bilingual policies have not been more effectively implemented (this is discussed further in 5.3. below).

5.3) Possible reasons for the classroom constructions.

My research pointed to four primary reasons why the teachers have constructed their classroom cultures in the ways that they have. Firstly, there is an 'automatic' inheritance of past practice; the entrenched habits 'work well' so why change (for example the use of dated readers cf. section 4.3.5 in chapter 4). Secondly, new learning materials such as readers and posters and suitable training courses for teachers all cost money. This is a very serious problem in numerous South African government schools with no immediately available clear-cut solutions.

Thirdly, in line with Edelsky's (1996) claims (cf. section 2.2.4 in chapter 2), schools and teachers often mirror and reproduce society and so the complex inter-relationships of language in broader South African society may be impacting the teachers' constructions. The language situation in South Africa is particularly interesting because although English is not the major language demographically (only 8.2% of the population speak it as an L1- cf. section 2.1.1 in chapter 2), it is undeniably the most dominant and powerful language socio-politically. English is swiftly becoming the only language of official use at all levels of government and is viewed as the optimal language of further education, science, technology, business and law, whilst the African languages are seen as suitable only in contexts such as the home, the street, religion, sport and local culture (cf. 2.4.2 in chapter 2). Fourthly, a lack of knowledge and understanding of South African language policies and a lack of discussion regarding language policies at the school

level may further contribute to the monolingual and monocultural classroom environment.

5.3.1) The two classrooms as mirrors of South African society

As discussed in my literature review (cf. section 2.4.2), a diglossic situation exists in South Africa and since classrooms reflect society, it would follow that “the purpose and functions of each language in a diglossic situation are both symbolized and enacted in the school situation” (Baker 2001: 48). This is very true of these particular classrooms, both of which, on a micro-level, are diglossic in their treatment of the various languages within them. The indigenous or non-English languages have a low status and are viewed as unsuitable for the more high level or formal activities like reading, writing and arithmetic and for communication with those in authority. The non-English languages are, however, used in less formal contexts like peer-to-peer conversation and on the playground, although the school frowns upon this. This school is also characteristic of a diglossic situation in that the non-English communities are in fact demanding increased access to English by sending their children to this English-medium school. Furthermore, the majority of learners in the classroom actually speak non-English languages, but English, which fewer learners speak, is by far the majority language in terms of function.

The impact of diglossia on education as outlined in my literature review (cf. section 2.4.3), whereby those learners who are from a minority language background are at a serious disadvantage when compared to children who are born into families where the dominant language is the first language is perfectly exemplified in these classrooms. For instance, the learners are grouped according to their ability in maths and reading, for more effective teaching, and with a few exceptions, the top group consists predominantly of L1 English speakers and the bottom groups consists mainly of L2 English speakers (cf. section 4.2.2 in chapter 4). The demographics of the evaluation reports (cf. section 4.3.6 in chapter 4) reiterate this point. On one level, this shows that those learners from the low or minority language backgrounds are at a serious academic and social disadvantage when

compared to the learners from the high or majority language background. These classrooms are a good example of the principle that “who speaks a language, is more important than how many speak it” (Romaine 1995: 40)

5.3.3) The two classrooms and South African language policies

South African language policies, specifically the 1997 Language in Education policy and Curriculum 2005 offer suggestions for how schools should deal with the many cultures and languages in their classrooms (cf. sections 2.5.3 and 2.5.4 in chapter 2) and if teachers were informed of and applied these policies, their construction of their classroom cultures would probably look very different.

South African language policies and government documents view language as a right and a resource as opposed to a problem in South Africa. They all acknowledge in detail, that the value, status and development of a language is, to a large extent, determined by its usage for a wide range of functions, such as in economic, social and political spheres. The documents also admit that when a language loses its value in these areas, the status of the language diminishes and the language begins to wither and die.

In an attempt to prevent this from being the fate of the indigenous languages of South Africa, government policies clearly promote multilingualism and also recognize the pivotal role language plays in education in realizing these broader aims of increasing the use and status of the indigenous languages. Consequently, government education documents, which apply to all schools, show a keen desire to promote bilingual and multicultural education in South Africa. The 1997 Language in Education Policy goes so far as to state that “being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African” (LiEP 1997). In order to achieve this, the policy advocates additive bilingualism in education, whereby the home languages are maintained while providing access to the effective acquisition of additional languages like English. Curriculum 2005 agrees with this policy in advocating an additive approach to multilingualism and further promotes multicultural education by adding that learners should be encouraged to

“develop knowledge and understanding of the rich diversity of this country, including the cultural, religious and ethnic components of this diversity” (DoE 2002: 2). The teachers have received training with regard to the curriculum but not specifically in multilingualism; and neither of the teachers has read or had any training regarding the 1997 LiEP and so they are unaware of the educational principles promoted by the South African government, which act as a theoretical backdrop to the curriculum.

On the whole, my research and the situation in these classrooms confirms that even though language research and the language policies reflect an appreciation of the importance of multilingualism and multiculturalism, at this school classroom practices have generally become more monolingual and monocultural and diverse languages tend to be viewed as obstacles and sources of interference in the learning of English (cf. section 2.6 in chapter 2).

Basically, as has been found in some studies (Heugh 2002; Probyn et al. 2002), the language policy is simply not being implemented in schools. Probyn et al. (2002) (cf. section 2.6 in chapter 2) suggest a number of reasons for this, all of which ring true for this particular school. The first reason relates to parental attitudes and the understanding that parents want English straight away and English only (Heugh 2002) and according to the teachers in my research, this is definitely the attitude of a number of their L2 learners' parents. There is a very clear understanding that one of the reasons a number of parents send their children to this school is so that they can learn in English immediately. Part of the solution could involve awareness campaigns to educate parents about the value of the L1 in early education (Heugh 2002).

Secondly, the administrators of this particular school do not have knowledge of the policies and do not clearly understand the extent of their powers and responsibilities (Probyn et al. 2002) and there does not appear to be any governmental encouragement for schools to uphold the language policy. The school lacks experience and expertise in developing their own policies (Probyn et al. 2002) and this includes a lack of knowledge and understanding regarding the nature of bilingualism and SLA. Moreover, there

is a lack of curricula and syllabi that allow for L1 maintenance in a South African context and there may possibly be limited competence in Xhosa or Afrikaans on the teacher's part. Added to this are the current pressures of the job that weigh down on the teachers (cf. section 4.4.4 in chapter 4) and the consequence is a lack of desire to implement a policy that they are unsure of, have no knowledge about, and are not convinced is important or necessary. Furthermore, this school is unaware of what support (if any) the Department of Education provides (Probyn et al. 2002). I believe that this all points to a lack of communication and in-service training about the language policies and about multilingualism and multiculturalism in general.

5.4) Measures that could be taken

There were a number of problems identified in the two classrooms, which all fundamentally revolve around a basic short-fall in understanding and training. Neither of these teachers have been trained in theoretical aspects of bilingualism, multiculturalism or second language acquisition. They have not been informed about the 1997 Language in Education Policy and have not been trained in how to implement it. Most of the in-service training that they receive at present is focused on OBE in general and Curriculum 2005 in particular (cf. section 4.4.1 in chapter 4) and that training does not include bilingualism or multiculturalism. This imbalance of training has led to their misunderstanding of multiculturalism and the well-meaning conviction of the absolute need for exposure to English.

Consequently, the primary measure that could address this problem is an improvement in the in-service training for teachers and schools. Currently the majority of training carried out in schools is focused on OBE but this training should include an increased emphasis on bilingualism and multiculturalism. While the content of such a course is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will briefly mention some of the topics which, in line with my research, I believe could be usefully addressed:

- ◆ Bilingualism and its advantages (cf. section 2.2 in chapter 2).

- ♦ The distinction between additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism: what each is and why it is important (cf. section 2.2.1 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Models of bilingual education (cf. section 2.3 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Second Language Acquisition in general and particularly the processes an L2 learner goes through in acquiring English (cf. section 2.2.4 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Factors that contribute to the successful acquisition of a second language (cf. section 2.2.4 in chapter 2).
- ♦ The importance of L1 maintenance (cf. section 2.1.2 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Multicultural education: what it actually is, how to implement it and why it is important (cf. section 2.3.3 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Language in South African society and its impact on the school environment (cf. section 2.4 in chapter 2).
- ♦ Government language documents, specifically the 1997 Language in Education Policy and how it should be implemented (cf. section 2.5 in chapter 2).

Furthermore, the school does not have a comprehensive formal language policy regarding language use in the school and classrooms (cf. section 3.4.1 in chapter 3 and section 4.4.7 in chapter 4). Their entrance policy explicitly states that the governing body has chosen English as the medium of instruction and that they do offer Afrikaans and Xhosa as subjects in grade 2 and grade 3 respectively. However, there is an informal policy (cf. section 4.4.7 in chapter 4) in terms of which, because the school is an English-medium school, the learners are expected to speak English only. This is endorsed in the classrooms and on the playground. The L2 learners are not punished if they are caught speaking their L1, but it is verbally discouraged. I believe that a formal policy that focuses specifically on language use in the school should be developed and implemented and that the policy should explicitly state whether multicultural education is practiced and also how they

intend practicing additive bilingualism whereby the L1 is maintained while English is added.

Some other practical measures that I feel the school could take in order to improve their multicultural practices include: employing bilingual teachers or teachers with an L1 other than English; allowing L2 learners to attend lessons in their L1 if they are offered by the school; or else provide more opportunities for L2 learners to talk about their cultures; I also think the education department should provide and the school should purchase and implement new syllabi, learning materials and readers that accurately reflect the multicultural and multilingual nature of their classrooms; finally the school could increase parental awareness and inform parents of the importance of maintaining their home language and culture in the home and encourage them to develop their child's cognitive abilities in their L1 through events like parent's evenings and cultural evenings and so on.

5.5) Further study

There are three main areas that I feel need to be explored further, namely, teachers and their classrooms, in-service teacher training and a multilingual education system that could work in South Africa.

The scope of this research was limited to the perspectives and actions of two teachers and their classrooms in one school and as such was not a full ethnography. This means that richer, more textured ethnographic research is needed and should include more interactional data and should consider the perspectives of the learners, which I have not done. More extensive, longitudinal research on more teachers is also absolutely necessary in order to determine whether this school is a unique case or whether teachers all over South Africa face similar issues. More research following the progress and documenting the academic achievement of L2 learners in high-school would be very worthwhile in order to determine the long-term impact of not maintaining the L1 and going straight for English from the foundation phase. Related to this would be continued research into language loss and language shift as a consequence of such early education programmes. Also, more research into language attitudes, especially parental

attitudes, and how these can be changed would be useful and in line with this more research on the impact of language in the home environment and on the playground.

Further research into teacher training is also needed, particularly in-service training. Teachers in South Africa are not being adequately prepared to deal with the challenges of a multicultural and multilingual society and so this is an area which needs extensive research in order to address this problem. Added to this is a dire need for new South African reading and teaching resources and these urgently need to be devised and developed in order to assist teachers in practicing multicultural education within their classrooms.

Furthermore, research into the type of bilingual education that can realistically be implemented in the current South African context and which compares the effectiveness of the L1 as compared to the L2 as a medium of instruction is necessary (cf. section 2.7. in chapter 2).

5.6) Summary of research

As I stated above, particular research goals formed the core of this thesis and so understanding the answers to them is essential to understanding my research. The first two goals were concerned with how the teachers identified and handled bilingualism and multiculturalism in their classrooms. On the whole, they did not consciously identify or come to grips with bilingualism and multiculturalism at all. Neither issue was acknowledged as problematic, nor was there a desire on either teacher's part to actually foster or encourage bilingualism and multiculturalism in their classrooms. This lack of conscious acknowledgement meant that they subconsciously implement and enact a Submersive model of education whereby L2 learners are expected to assimilate to English Western culture, which is the dominant culture and the only culture that is explored and exposed in the classrooms.

The third and fourth goals sought to understand why the teachers described and identified bilingualism and multiculturalism in the way they did. I believe that they are reflecting South African society in their classrooms and are excellent practitioners, coping amazingly well in the complex and

demanding jobs they face on a daily basis, but they appear to be unaware of the various policies in place that are supposed to help them to better handle the challenges of a diglossic society. Both teachers are excellent practitioners but are unaware of the powerful and important role they play in the changing South African context in which their young learners will ultimately find their place.

The fifth and sixth goals were particularly concerned with the training available and with other possible measures that could be taken. I highlight the fact that improved in-service training would have a substantial impact on this situation. The teachers need training that would particularly focus on bilingual education, SLA processes, multicultural education and language policies. Other measures that would also assist include developing and implementing a more formal school language policy, employing more bilingual teachers, encouraging a multicultural environment through the availability of appropriate learning materials and readers and by encouraging L2 learners to communicate more freely and openly about their particular cultures, and finally increasing parental awareness of the importance of L1 maintenance.

5.7) Concluding remarks

When I embarked on this research journey, I expected it to take a very different path. I took my own training in Applied Linguistics for granted and to a certain extent assumed that others shared this understanding. However, I have since discovered that others do not and this has meant that the answers to my research questions were very surprising and unexpected and a number of my own assumptions about education have been challenged. It was particularly interesting to witness the impact that language in the broader society has on a classroom environment and to see the extent to which commonsense assumptions (such as 'exposure to English is the key' and 'the first language does not need to be maintained') influence the behaviour and practices of experienced teachers.

However, I think the main lesson that I have learnt on this journey is just how very important the teacher's role actually is. I feel that their

contribution is often underestimated and it is my hope that this thesis has, in some small way, revealed how much of an impact primary school teachers really have. I have enormous respect and admiration for teachers who rise to the challenges they face and hope to have gone some way to assist them by critically revealing some of the difficult issues in their classrooms and by proposing possible areas where more intervention would be of benefit.

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Appendix 1: Interview 1 and 2 questions

1. Where are you from?
2. How long have you lived in?
3. Training?
 - ◆ What official qualifications do you have?
 - ◆ When did you get them?
 - ◆ Where did you study?
 - ◆ Have you done any training courses since your initial qualification?
4. Why did you become a teacher?
5. How long have you been teaching for?
 - ◆ Always Gr.2?
 - ◆ Where? How many different schools?
 - ◆ How long at each school?
 - ◆ At (this school)?
6. Why are you teaching Gr.2?
7. What is the best thing about being a teacher?
8. What is the worst thing?
9. What do you find most challenging about teaching?
 - ◆ History of South Africa- 1994, integration of non-English speakers into English schools etc?
10. What do you know about the 1997 language in education policy?
 - ◆ Or about language policies in general?
11. Did any of your training cover anything about multilingual education? What?
 - ◆ Differences between mother-tongue and second language?
 - ◆ Did you imagine that you would be teaching only mother-tongue speakers?
12. Have you had any other formal training on how to teach English as a second language?
 - ◆ Did any of your in-service training in OBE mention L2 Learners?
13. What sort of learner does (this school) aim to produce after 3 years?
14. What sort of learner do you hope to produce?
15. What do you think are the best strategies and techniques for a non-English speaking learner to acquire English? Why?
16. What do you think about discouraging mother-tongue use?
 - ◆ Playground only?

◆ Home too?

17. What factors do you think contribute to some L2 learners acquiring English more quickly than others?

◆ Think of specific examples, why do they stick out?

18. All things being equal in the (school) environment, how long do you think it usually takes for a second language learner to become fluent in English? i.e. able to compete with first language English learners in the classroom?

19. Do you think the particular mother-tongue of the child has an influence on their acquisition of English, i.e. whether they are Xhosa, Coloured Afrikaans etc.

20. With regard to group teaching, how do you group the children in the beginning?

21. Do you ever change a child's grouping? Why?

22. I noticed that out of all the L2 learners, the following...are in the top or middle groups. Why do you think that is?

23. I also noticed that out of all the L1 speakers, the following... are in the lower groups. Why do you think that is?

Appendix 2: The research contract

Research through Rhodes University can only be carried out with the informed consent of those involved in it. For this reason, please read the declaration below, and sign it if you agree to its terms.

I have been familiarized with the research questions and understand that observations, conversations and interviews that take place in the school, both formally and informally, may be recorded and used in the research. I also understand that no part of the observations, conversations and interviews will be made public without my consent and that all names will be changed to ensure anonymity. I am aware that Candace Sutton will be present in my classroom once a week for three months and that I will be formally interviewed on at least two separate occasions as part of the research.

Signed

Date

Appendix 3: Posters around T1's Classroom

- ◆ Print-Capital letters
- ◆ Alphabet-"Letter Land" (Each letter is a person i.e. it has legs, arms and a head and the letter is its body, and has a character e.g. Annie Apple or Oscar Orange.)
- ◆ "My Body"- Scientific pictures of the ear and eye
- ◆ "Sports" – Various types of sports with some pictures: Cricket, Karate, American Football (all participants are white)
- ◆ "How do you feel?" – Old photos of people's faces and bodies showing emotions (all white people).
- ◆ "My Mother" – Adjectives describing mothers- photos from the 80s (all white women).
- ◆ "My Family" - Different family terms e.g. aunt, uncle, cousin etc. (all pictures are of white people).
- ◆ "My Family Tree" – Might be T1's actual family tree.
- ◆ "The Vowel Stealers" –Letter Land (depicts robbers 'stealing' a particular type of vowels etc).
- ◆ Numbers 1-100 (as in 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10-100)
- ◆ Numbers in multiples of 10 (as in 10, 20, 30 – 90).
- ◆ Some pictures of transport e.g. hot air balloon, car, ship etc with no people in them.
- ◆ Numbers and written definitions of division, subtraction, multiplication and addition.
- ◆ More pictures of transport.
- ◆ "Vowels out walking- ay; ai; oa; ee; ea" – Letter Land
- ◆ "The Vowels" – On the top line is an object for each vowel and on the bottom line is a person shaped like the vowel ('i' is a black person; rest are white)-Letter Land.
- ◆ "Silent Magic e"-Letter Land.
- ◆ "Happy Birthday" – picture of children making things for a party (all white) and a picture of children playing musical instruments (multi-racial) and related vocabulary stuck near pictures.
- ◆ Pictures of ducks, pigs, goats, sheep, geese, fowls... and related vocabulary.
- ◆ "Feelings"- two pictures of cartoon pigs and lots of vocabulary.
- ◆ "My Family" – big family photo from 1981 with vocabulary labels all around (white family).
- ◆ More transport vocabulary (no pictures).
- ◆ Big orange girl's body with labels e.g. "fingers, wrist etc".

- ◆ Cursive writing – small letters.
- ◆ Months of the year.
- ◆ Days of the week.
- ◆ Some of the learners' art.
- ◆ Pictures of penguins.
- ◆ “Ons Huis” – Vocabulary labels in Afrikaans.
- ◆ Pictures and descriptions of dolphins, sharks and whales.
- ◆ A scientifically labeled fish.

Appendix 4: Posters around T2's Classroom

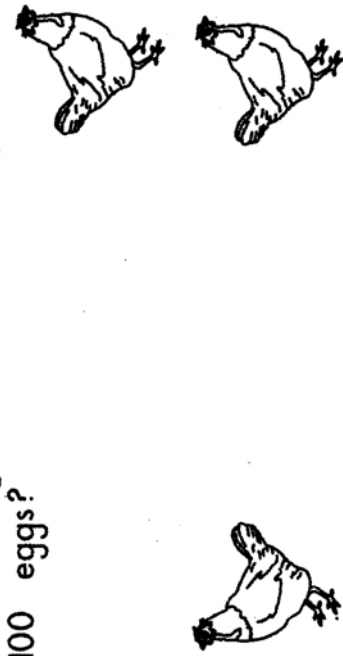
- ◆ Multiples of 5 up to 100 on flowers (as in 5, 10, 15, 20-100)
- ◆ Children's birthdays on cardboard Birds
- ◆ Letters of the alphabet: how they are written:
 - Same line - Hippo: w, v, m, l, n, r, u, c, a, o, s, e
 - Up 1 line - Giraffe: h, b, k, d, f, t
 - Down 1 line - Monkey: p, y, j, g, q
- ◆ First, Second, Third up to Tenth on Fish
- ◆ Days of the week on Suns
- ◆ Multiples of 10 on Crabs (as in 10, 20, 30, 40-90)
- ◆ Numbers 1-18 on Frogs
- ◆ "Sports" – 4 photos with various labels naming different sports (all pictures are of white people).
- ◆ A poster about "The Race to the Moon".
- ◆ The learners' art – pictures of their pets.
- ◆ "Shapes"- a poster depicting all the different shapes
- ◆ "Opposites" – as in tall / short, fat / thin (pictures of animals).
- ◆ "My Body"- photo of a white little girl with various labels naming various parts of her body
- ◆ A poster of the Phonics sounds covered
- ◆ "Alphabet" – Letter land series
- ◆ Big pictures of the vowels – a, e, i, o, u – Letter Land
- ◆ "My First World Map" – a picture of the map of the world
- ◆ Lots of pictures and labels of different types of transport.
- ◆ "My Family"- Labeled photos (mostly white except for 'daddy' which has a picture of 2 black construction workers and 'uncle' is a black man).
- ◆ "Numbers 1-100" (as in 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 –100)
- ◆ Months of the year

At the local zoo there are four pairs of monkeys. Every day the female monkeys get three bananas and the males get four bananas. How many bananas do they eat each day?

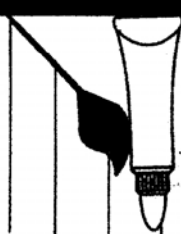


24

We have three hens at home. If each hen lays ten eggs a week, how long will it take to collect 100 eggs?



There is an artist from Zimbabwe at the Flea Market. He sells small paintings for R30 and large paintings for R70. He sold 7 small and 4 large paintings on Sunday. If his materials cost him R100, how much did he make?



Paper is sold in reams. (500 sheets)
If I need 5 reams of paper I can buy it at R24 per ream. A box (5 reams) costs R105. Is it cheaper or more expensive to buy a box of paper?

What is the difference in price?

37

Appendix 6: Phonics sounds covered through the year

Double Sounds		Double Sounds	
nk	ink	er	fern
sh	ship	ir	bird
th	moth	ur	church
ch	chick	ce	fence
tch	witch	ea	head
qu	queen	ge	bridge
ee	tree	le	table
ea	leaf	air	chair
oo	boot	are	hare
or	fork	wa	watch
all	ball		
ar	star		
ai	train	y	fly
ay	play	igh	light
ow	cow	ie	pie
ou	house	u	pull
ow	snow	ei	eight
oa	boat	ew	stew
ey	key	ph	elephant
y	puppy	ing	walking
aw	shawl	ck	duck
au	launch	nd	hand
oi	coin	nt	tent
oy	boy	ng	king

Appendix 7: Examples of phonics stories

au launch

The exhausted author with auburn hair sent his naughty daughter to the laundry to wash her gaudy jacket. He caught a cold because he taught her to make a sauce on a cold August morning. He took his automatic automobile on a **jaunt** to show Paul the haunted house.

ph elephant

Philip phoned the photographer to photograph his nephew's trophy amongst the **phlox and pheasants** for his geography pamphlet on the atmosphere. The pharmacist from the orphanage used the alphabet to spell words phonetically for the pamphlet.

oe toe

Joe, the doe, goes to hoe the potatoes for the heroes who hurt their toes catching the **foe** when they stole tomatoes. They are now full of **woe**.

aw show

The awful outaw

crawls over the awn

at dawn to catch the

hawk with the awn

in her caws. His awger

saw a frozen pawn

in some straw. He put

it in a drawer to thaw.

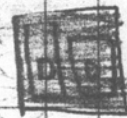
A mouse hides in a

show as the cat

awakes past with a

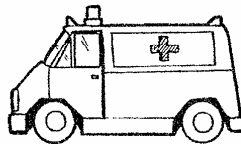
awn the cat licks his

paw.

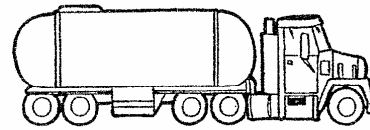


Alphabetical Order - 2

1. Put these vehicles into alphabetical order.



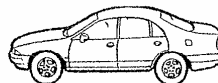
ambulance



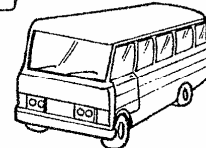
truck



van



car



bus

2. Write these words in alphabetical order.

(a) skip run hop

jump walk

(b) talk laugh whisper

shout giggle



3. Number these words in alphabetical order from 1 - 9.



ruler

pencil

book

hook

desk

glue

sharpener

chair

eraser

4. Write the missing letters in the spaces.

(a) ____ comes between e and g

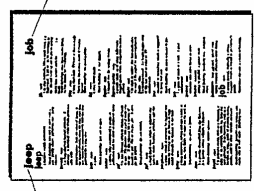
(b) ____ comes between o and q

(c) x comes after ____

(d) h comes before ____

How to Find Words - 2

Most dictionaries have **guide words** to help you find words. They show you the first and last words on a page.



First word on this page.

Other words come in between the guide words in alphabetical order.



- Look at the words below.
Put them into alphabetical order.
Circle the words you would find on the dictionary page above.

jetty jellyfish loud joke jet jigsaw jacket ink

To look for the words you didn't tick you would need to turn to pages with guide words before or after this page.

- Find these words in a dictionary. Write the page number and guide words for each.

Word	Page	Guide Words
wombat		
scream		
tadpole		
error		
balloon		
melt		

Word Meanings - 1

What do you think this word means?

jump

Look up the word in the dictionary. Write the meaning.



Add word builders to make new words.

What do you think this word means?

dishwasher

Look up the word in the dictionary. Write the meaning.



Find small words in the word.

Underline the doing words (verbs).

1. The dog scratches his tummy.
2. A lion eats a lot of meat.
3. Linda litters on the playground.
4. We pollute water with litter.
5. Children wash their faces at night.
6. We use umbrellas when it rains.
7. I learn hard for tests.
8. I practice my piano every day.

Underline the doing words(verbs).

1. My little sister screams at me.
2. She hits me on the arm.
3. My dog bites me on the leg.
4. We shout for our house at the Gala.
5. We sing very loudly in Church.
6. Helen grows a lot of vegetables.
7. I read mystery books.
8. Mom writes beautiful poems.

Appendix 10: "Careful Hans"-contents page

CONTENTS		Page
The Little Red Hen	<i>English Folk Tale</i>	9
Goldilocks and the Three Bears	<i>English Folk Tale</i>	17
Which Way does the Wind Blow ?	<i>by Lucy Aikin</i>	25
Little Red Riding Hood	<i>German Folk Tale</i>	27
Careful Hans	<i>German Folk Tale</i>	35
Ugly Boy and the Bear	<i>Red Indian Myth</i>	49
Mr. Rooster, Mrs. Hen and Mrs. Gray Duck	<i>German Folk Tale</i>	59
The Story of Mr. Fox	<i>English Folk Tale</i>	69
The Hobyahs	<i>English Folk Tale</i>	81
Of Course	<i>English Folk Tale</i>	93
The King of the Birds	<i>German Folk Tale</i>	
I		101
II		107
III		111
IV		115
The Cat and the Mouse	<i>German Folk Tale</i>	121

Appendix 11: Example of a report

NAME OF CHILD: _____ GRADE: _____

LITERACY					
ENGLISH	E	M	P	N	H
Oral:					
Correct language usage					
Vocabulary					
Relates stories and events					
Phonics:					
Recognition of sounds					
Correct spelling of words (application of knowledge)					
Reading:					
Word recognition					
Fluency and expression					
Comprehension / Understanding of content					
Written:					
Constructing sentences and Application of language skills					
Creative writing					

AFRIKAANS	E	M	P	N	H
Mondeling (Gr. 1, 2, 3)					
Lees (Gr. 3)					
Klanke (Gr. 3)					

COLOUR CODING PER TERM	
Term 2:	Green
Term 3:	Blue
Term 4:	Black

NUMERACY					
	E	M	P	N	H
Mental Maths:					
Problem Solving:					
Interprets					
Reasons					
Understands					
Written:					
Basic operations and computations					

LIFE SKILLS					
	E	M	P	N	H
Handwriting:					
Letter formations					
Presentation of work					
Social Development:					
Attention and Concentration					
Completion of Tasks					
Self-control					
Works effectively with others					
Communicates effectively					

ASSESSMENT STRUCTURE	
E	Exceeds the criteria
M	Meets the criteria
P	Progressing well
N	Needs assistance
H	Has difficulty