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**THE NEEDS OF BLACK FARM SCHOOL TEACHERS
IN RELATION TO USING ENGLISH AS THE MEDIUM OF
INSTRUCTION**

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Witwatersrand in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education.**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master in Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

L. Taitz

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17 day of February, 1992

ABSTRACT

The research, conducted as part of a project aimed at improving teachers' English skills, set out to answer the question: What are the needs of farm school teachers in relation to the use of English as the medium of instruction? Clarification of this question involved the examination of teachers' English proficiency, the teaching of English as a subject and the observation of the learning/teaching situation in the farm school classroom. The research raised questions concerning the underlying assumption that an English language intervention could bring about major change in the classroom. As a result, further enquiries into the socio-economic context of the schools were instituted. In addition, the learning/teaching situation was examined in the light of theories of cognition and change. A range of research methods involving both quantitative and qualitative approaches were utilized to penetrate this highly complex situation. The findings indicated a clear need on the part of the teachers for an English proficiency course. At the same time, the findings also indicated most strongly that a fundamental change is needed in the teachers' understanding of their role if they are to become agents of significant change.

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The teachers who allowed me to observe their lessons.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BED - Bantu Education Department
- BICS - Basic interpersonal communicative skills
- CALP - Cognitive/academic language proficiency
- DET - Department of Education and Training
- ELTIC - English Language Teaching Information Centre
- FLINT - Foreign Language Interaction System
- HSRC - Human Science Research Council
- IRE - Teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation
- L1 - Mother tongue or first language
- L2 - Second language
- SELP - Soweto English Language Project
- TALOS - Target Language Observation Scheme
- TPR - Teacher/pupil ration
- ZPD - Zone of proximal development

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CHAPTER 1

RURAL SCHOOLS AND LANGUAGE POLICY: A DOUBLE BIND?

...[T]he break within the configuration of contemporary sociology itself, in which theoretical reflection and empirical data collection frequently point in opposite directions ... are by no means to be reunited by such measures as so-called 'integration'. This break must neither be, nor must it be rendered absolute. It must continually be taken into account. Insofar as the illusion is not to be fostered, of a continuum extending from the specific findings to the highest-level statements about the system of society; while still, as far as possible, the treatment of the specific phenomena must be nourished by the conception of the interrelationship

(Horkheimer and Adorno, 1956:viii).

1.1 Overview

This study is located in South African farm schools, generally recognized to be the most needy and most neglected segment in South African education. The study started out as an attempt to ascertain the English proficiency and language teaching needs of farm school teachers in the Magaliesberg district in the Transvaal. The original aim of the research was to establish whether an intervention aimed at observing and improving English instruction could perhaps provide a key to drastic positive change in farm school classrooms. The ambiguities of the findings led to a reformulation of the inquiry and to an experimental intervention aimed at improving teachers English proficiency. This process exposed inadequacies in the original assumptions about the role of language in education and about education renewal and change. In its final form, therefore, the study reports on the investigation and the intervention, but moves well beyond these to reflect on the experience in the light of current theories of cognitive development and educational innovation.

The present chapter begins with an account of why the study was undertaken (1.2). Discussions of language policy (1.3) and language and classroom management (1.4) provide the background to the key issues in this study - the teaching and learning of language. At the end of paragraph 1.4, the first mention is made of an important recurring theme in this study - combined classes. A brief review of how the

research was conducted follows. The chapter ends with an account of the emergent aims and a more detailed guide to the study as a whole.

1.2 Farm schools

A third of all the pupils registered with the Department of Education and Training (hereafter the DET) are enrolled at 5 483 farm schools (Oosthuizen, 1988:28). Virtually all the formal education of these pupils is provided by these schools. With only a few exceptions, the schools are notorious for their material and instructional poverty, and for being extremely marginalized.

Often isolated from even small rural centres of population, their existence is only occasionally acknowledged. ... With most of them ill-equipped to offer much more than the bare architecture of a basic formal education, these schools form the lowliest and most historically neglected link in the chain of apartheid education (Nasson, 1984a:16).

The plight of farm schools was acknowledged in the 1983 White Paper on Education: 'there is an urgent need for an investigation into the situation as regards farm schools and for the development and upgrading of state aided farm schools' (White Paper 1983:19). Yet, very little was being done to ameliorate the situation.

In 1985, the English Language Teaching Information Centre (hereafter ELTIC) decided to examine the farm school situation with a view to addressing the question: What contribution could a small agency for educational change make to improve the situation?

The ELTIC researcher (who is also the writer of this study) was given the specific brief to research the learning/teaching situation in the farm schools focusing on the teaching of English as a subject and the use of English as the medium of instruction. Within this brief, the assumption was made that by improving the English language proficiency and English language teaching methodology of teachers, significant change would be promoted by:

- Enhancing the quality of teaching across the curriculum. At the time 99 % (Race Relations Survey 1979: 418) of the schools had recently opted for English as the medium of instruction and the English proficiency of most teachers was in question.
- Raising the academic qualifications and self-esteem of teachers. When the farm school intervention was mooted, the low qualifications and lack of proficiency of teachers were widely publicized. The Race Relations Report of 1983:436 stated that only 23 % of black teachers had the requisite qualifications for the posts they were holding.

- Tying the farm schools into a network of resources and skills from which they were almost entirely excluded.

1.3 Language policy - the language medium in schools

Like the other sectors of black education, farm schools have been deeply affected by language policy. In the section above it has been shown that the specific brief for the research involved the investigation into the use of English in the farm school classroom. In order to contextualize the English language issue in farm schools it is necessary at this point to give a brief account of the relevant points in the development of language policy in South Africa.

The most widely held view of language policy is that of Fishman (1972) who defines language policy as: 'conscious governmental efforts to affect the structure and function of language varieties' (quoted in Tollefson 1989:24). It has been demonstrated by researchers in this area (Kennedy 1989, Paulston 1986) that Fishman's notion of language policy can be extended to include planning carried out at all levels i.e., from politicians at the one end of the process to teachers at the other. Moreover, this process can be divided into two separate but related parts: **formulation of policy and implementation of policy** (Tollefson 1989:24). Formulation involves decisions of formally constituted bodies and their actions while implementation includes all the actions needed to carry out the policies.

In bilingual and multilingual countries such as South Africa,

Language policies for education are highly charged political issues and seldom, if ever, decided on educational grounds alone. When they are made, they are almost invariably subject to mistrust and misunderstanding by some sections of the community. It is virtually impossible to please everyone (Hawes 1979:76).

Language policies in education in South Africa are inextricably bound up with guarding power structures. With these structures in place the distribution of economic resources could be controlled and privilege safeguarded. These issues were at the centre of the struggle for political dominance between the two white groups. After the National Party was elected in 1948, the power struggle was clearly manifested in the language question as it was language - English or Afrikaans, the two official languages of South Africa - which was the distinguishing characteristic between these groups.

This struggle for supremacy between the two white groups affected not only white education but black as well. Moreover, those directly involved in and affected by

black education i.e., parents, teachers and students - had very little say in the education policies. The black community was not consulted about which language or languages were to be used in their schools. It was in particular the policies relating to language in education that had a major effect on black education.

Afrikaaner Nationalist thinking concerning black education was revealed in the following statement made by the FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge):

... any system of teaching and education of the natives must be based on these same principles (trusteeship, no equality and segregation), ... must be grounded in the life and worldview of the Whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the natives ... (Rose and Tunmer:1975:243).

These views were put into practice after the recommendations of the Eiselen commission (appointed by the new Nationalist government to investigate the situation in black education) were promulgated. The major recommendations of this commission which had investigated all aspects of black education, were adopted in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. According to this Act a new central state department was set up to control Black education: the Bantu Education Department (hereafter BED). This department wrested control of black education from the provinces and the missionaries and legislated for a rigid language policy.

According to this Act, mother tongue instruction was to be extended to beyond Standard 2 so that it became compulsory from Sub A to Standard 6. Although the Eiselen Commission recommended that one of the two official languages was to be introduced from the second year of schooling and the other from the fourth year, both English and Afrikaans were introduced as compulsory subjects from the first year. The inflexible attitude to language policy adopted by the authorities gave no cognisance to the educational interests of the pupils and of the wishes of the parents - all opposition was subjugated to the maintenance of white interests, in particular to the preservation of Afrikaaner Nationalist dominance in politics and education (Hartshorne 1987).

These aims led to the Act being constituted so that Afrikaans could become the dominant official language both in classrooms and in management, control and administration as well as in teacher training i.e., in all education institutions under the control of the Bantu Education Department (BED).

For the next twenty years (to 1976) the medium question was to be the dominating factor in opposition to the system of Bantu Education: African opinion never became reconciled to the

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extension of mother-tongue medium beyond Standard 2 nor to the dual medium policy in the secondary school (Hartshorne 1987:92).

The problems pertaining to the language issue reached a crisis in 1975 when for the first time the public primary school-leaving examination was to be written at the end of Standard 5 instead of at the end of Standard 6. In addition, entrance to secondary school was dependent on this examination which was to be taken in both English and Afrikaans for the first time. This dual medium policy placed a great burden on Standard 5 and 6 pupils. Despite the appeals from teachers, principals, school boards, urban councils etc. for more flexibility concerning the language issue, the BED remained obdurate. Strike action began in Soweto culminating in riots which spread country-wide in June 1976.

The immediate result of these wide-spread uprisings was that from 1977, English was allowed unconditionally as the medium of instruction from Standard 5. Afrikaans became a subject in the curriculum only. The problem of language in black education now shifted to a decision concerning at what point English should be introduced as the medium. In the final form of the Bill (Act No.90 of 1979) some flexibility was allowed. The relevant section reads as follows:

that the universally accepted principle of the use of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction be observed: Provided that this principle shall be applied at least up to and including Std.2: Provided further that the wishes of the parents shall be taken into consideration in the application of this principle after Std.2, and also in the choice of one of the official languages as the medium of instruction where the mother-tongue cannot be used ... after Std. 2 (quoted in HSRC Report 18:49).

This Act allowed a choice as to which official language would become the medium of instruction.

Although the focus of this study is not on formulation of language policy but on implementation, formulation and implementation are different aspects of the process of language planning and they are thus closely related. What happens at any level of the language planning process will have a bearing on the other levels and parts of this process.

The formulation of the 1979 Act resulted in 99 % of the Department of Education and Training (hereafter DET)¹ schools choosing English as the medium of instruction with immediate effect. The implications of the implementation of this policy were far-reaching.

In accordance with the Bantu Education Act, from 1953 to 1977, black teachers were trained to teach through the vernacular. The reversal of this policy in terms of the 1977 change left the majority of teachers unprepared to teach through a different language medium. In addition, because the previous policy gave priority to Afrikaans, the English proficiency levels of the majority of teachers did not meet the levels required by an English medium curriculum. Moreover, the teachers' knowledge and know-how of improved teaching methods and new theories of language learning had been neglected. These deficiencies seriously hampered the effective teaching of English and the use of English as the medium of instruction.

Soon a number of in-service projects were established by the informal education sector to aid the implementation of the new policy. By 1985 a number of these informal education interventions were well-established in urban areas all over the country e.g. Soweto English Language Research Project (Wits), Teacher's English Language Improvement Project (Wits), INSET (Rhodes), Anglo-Vaal Project (Durban), SENSE (Port Elizabeth) etc. None of these however, specifically addressed the problems and needs of the farm schools.

It could be argued that farm schools needed attention more than any other sectors. Firstly, farm school teachers were less prepared for the change in that fewer of them were qualified. Secondly, fewer of the teachers knew any English. In most rural areas in South Africa, Afrikaans is the predominating language. Most teachers were proficient in Afrikaans yet, English was chosen as the medium of instruction. This situation is close to that found in Namibia at present. Farm school teachers thus found themselves in a very difficult situation.

1.4 Language and management in the classroom

In relation to the research into the teaching/learning situation, it is essential at this point to background another important area for this study: classroom language and management. Whatever subject is being taught, it is subject to fundamental

¹ According to the Act of 1979 the BED was reconstituted as the Department of Education and Training (DET).

classroom pedagogy. Thus a consideration of the teaching and learning of any subject must be seen against what happens in the classroom.

The language policy and planning decisions pertaining to both formulation and implementation discussed above are explicit language issues. There are, however, other important aspects of language use which involve the non-deliberate choices of language use: these are the outcomes of explicit language policy decisions. This is the language of the classroom and it is an integral part of the teaching/learning process. Cazden (1988:4) describes this classroom discourse as: '... the result of non-deliberate, usually nonconscious choice at the moment of use.'

Research has shown (Cazden 1988, Wragg 1984) that from the earliest years of school right through to the most senior levels, the most common pattern of classroom discourse is that contained in the three-part sequence of: teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation (IRE). The classroom-speech event in which the IRE pattern is most obvious is the teacher dominated lesson where the teacher controls both the development of a topic (including what counts as relevant to it) and who gets a turn to talk and how much can be said. Usually, the IRE format involves a series of low-level questions which deal with facts only.

Cazden (1988:50) has cited research which indicates that the IRE lesson can positively aid the learning process. This occurs when the interactional format of the lesson fits factual knowledge. Its usefulness lies in the teaching of basic subjects in the primary classroom which have either a narrow skill-orientation or in work which is factual.

However, a great deal of well-founded criticism has been levelled against the inflexible use of the IRE lesson (Barnes 1976, Bruner 1966, Donaldson 1978). It is said of these lessons, that they are teacher-centered, they emphasize the lower mental processes and they are unstimulating. Further, this pattern of interaction has only a very limited usefulness.

Despite its limited applicability, this pattern is, however, the most common discourse pattern found in all classrooms on all levels and in most schools. This emphasis points to the curriculum being reduced for most pupils to the learning facts. In its extreme form the IRE format leads to rote-learning.

There are other kinds of knowledge but they require a different discourse structure. The move from an IRE lesson to a less teacher-centered and more discussion-oriented lesson involves a different conception of knowledge and teaching. A change of teacher intent would be insufficient to bring about this shift.

To be able to make these changes not only would the teacher need good language skills but also (s)he would need to be a skilled classroom manager. Thus, central to this shift would be a change in the role/s of the teacher. Frequently the only role attributed to the teacher in the classroom is that of the instructor. Littlewood (1981:92) writes:

The concept of the teacher as 'instructor' is (...) inadequate to describe his overall function. In a broad sense, he is a 'facilitator of learning' and may need to perform a variety of roles, ...separately and simultaneously.

In the IRE format the role of the teacher is solely that of an instructor. To facilitate the learning process so that knowledge, goals and tasks extend the learning process to take in discussion and exploration by the learner, the teacher's role would extend beyond that of an instructor to becoming a skillful classroom manager.

Bell (1984:109) has pointed out that the teacher in the role of manager, is required to balance the potentially conflicting demands of the task, the group and the individual. In order to perform these functions the teacher must be a skilled facilitator/guide; consultant/resource person; monitor; organizer, evaluator and counsellor. These skills can be called classroom management skills.

It is classroom management skills that the teacher must bring to bear to integrate the closely interwoven instructional and management roles if effective teaching and learning is to take place. Thus a consideration of classroom pedagogy would be incomplete without taking classroom language and management into account.

This is especially relevant to farm schools not only because of the multiple deprivations already mentioned but especially because of a feature specific to farm schools - the combined or multi-level class. Combined classes are difficult for teachers who are well-trained and who have many resources at their disposal but in the farm school circumstances of deprivation the teachers are not able to make the most of the classroom environment to provide optimal learning conditions. In addition to the different levels the teacher has to handle, there are vast age, size, health and intelligence differentials in these classes.

1.5 The initial aims of the study

This study set out to answer the question: What are the needs of farm school teachers in relation to the teaching of English as a subject and the use of English as the medium of instruction that could be met by an informal sector project

intervention? After preliminary investigations it became evident that the study had to be contextualized: the English teaching and learning process had to be seen against socio-economic background of the black farm school system.

As a result the research was divided into two parts: Phase 1 - the socio-economic background of black farm schools and Phase 2 - the language teaching and learning needs of farm school teachers.

The aim of Phase 1 was to provide a socio-economic background to the farm schools by examining those factors other than pedagogical which pertain to the functioning of these schools. The aspects researched were: the geographical and physical provision of the schools; the farmer/managers - their responsibilities, attitudes and relationships to the schools on their land; the teachers - numbers, qualifications, workload, living conditions and attitudes; the pupils - numbers, attendance, pass-rates, drop-out rates, their living conditions and parents.

One of the research set out to answer the question: What are the needs of black farm school teachers in relation to teaching English as a subject and to using English as the medium of instruction?

1.6 The emergent aims and the shape of the study

Against the background of the difficulties concerning the medium of instruction in black education and the IRE conception of classroom practices, the research into the needs of farm school teachers began.

After some initial difficulty in locating the schools and then in obtaining permission from the farmer-managers, the DET and in some instances from the principals, to enter the schools, the researcher made contact with 21 farm schools in the Skeerpoort, Hekpoort and Broederstroom areas of the Magaliesberg district between 50 to 80 kms North West of Johannesburg.

Preliminary research based on a questionnaire survey and a structured interview to assess teachers' English language needs, in terms of English having been chosen as the medium of instruction and classroom discourse and management procedures were instituted. It soon became evident that this small area of concern could not be understood in isolation from the broader issues and the history within which the farm schools were established and continued to exist. A more in-depth investigation was therefore started with research into the socio-economic background forming Phase 1 of the research. These findings are recounted in Chapter 3. The aspects concerning the original intent of investigating teachers' own language needs were

incorporated into the new design as Phase 2 research. The data relating to the teachers' language needs are described and discussed in Chapter 4.

The findings reported in Chapter 4 do indeed indicate a felt need on the part of the teachers for an improvement of their English proficiency and for methods for teaching English more effectively as well as for guidance concerning more effective classroom management. However, the significance of this need in terms of changing the quality of education seemed very small in the light of the experience and observation which followed the survey - so much so that the researcher was compelled to go beyond the presentation of the survey findings in order to put these in the context of broader themes of cognitive development and educational change. The study moved, therefore, from a rather narrow notion of deriving needs from questionnaire and interview research to a model of 'grounded research' in which the development of theory is constantly set against the textures and complexities of actual intervention.

As a result of the unusual circumstances outlined above and because of the researcher's commitment to coming to terms with the untidy process of intervention, the dissertation follows a rather unconventional pattern. In this approach, intervention was the first stage and theory therefore, emerges after the event, partly as a reaction to the inadequacy of the original theory to the pertaining situation, partly in order to come to terms with the complexity of the experience to which the original theory opened a door - without being able to explain what was on the other side.

Because the procedure of the study was unusual and hence the stages were not clear cut, the study begins with a discussion of the theory of research methods. The drawing together at the outset of the different approaches and methods that were utilized in the different phases of the research, has enabled the writer to reflect on the whole process so as to give order to the many different threads that make up this study. In Chapter 2, the research design is described and its effectiveness analysed.

CHAPTER 2

THE QUEST FOR APPROPRIATE APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING A LITTLE-RESEARCHED CONTEXT.

At root, what researchers do is extraordinarily simple: we look, ask and read
(Davies et al in Burgess 1985b:290).

2.1 Introduction

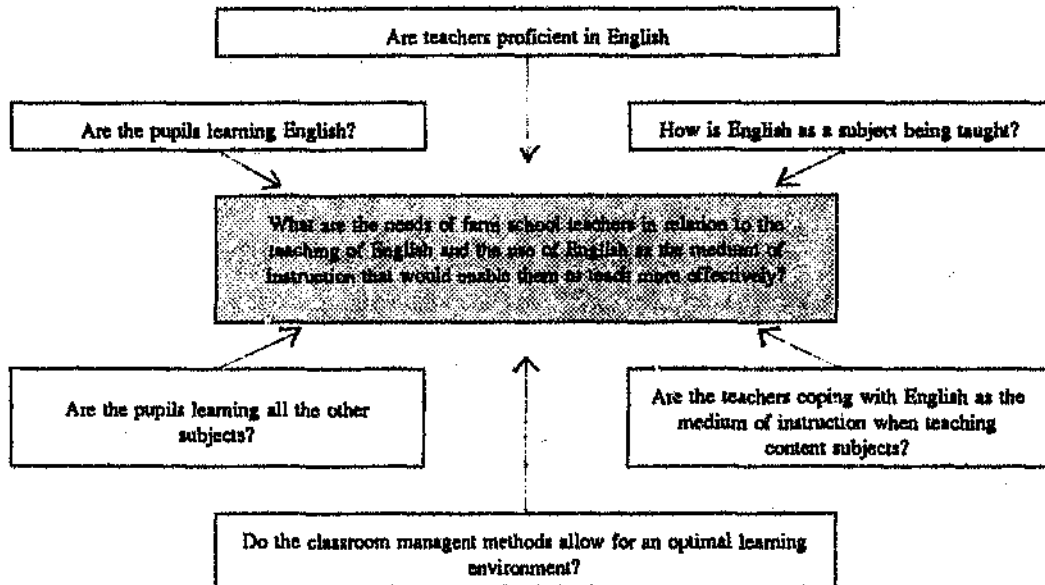
The first aim of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical basis for a needs assessment as it has been used in this study. This will be followed by the provision of the background of the two main streams of education research: positivism and ethnomethodology. An examination of the methods and the accompanying techniques emerging from each of these paradigms is followed by a discussion of the positive and negative aspects of these methods. Thereafter, a brief discussion of the main tenets of language classroom research follows. Finally, the application of these approaches, methods and techniques to practice are presented.

The initial aims of the study were outlined in Chapter 1. In section 1.6 it was stated that the study set out to establish whether or not an informal education intervention could meet the needs of the farm school teachers in relation to the use of English as the medium of instruction. The compilation of a needs assessment was thus a priority for determining the pedagogical needs of the teachers.

It was also indicated in Chapter 1 that before the teachers needs could be assessed, it was necessary to examine these micro-needs against the wider, socio-economic context of the farm schools. The rationale for dividing the research into two phases emerged from those aims. In brief the aim of Phase 1 was to provide the socio-economic background to the farm schools by examining those factors other than pedagogical which pertain to the functioning of these schools. On the basis of the Phase 1 findings, the Phase 2 research set out to answer the main question of the study: What are the needs of black farm school teachers in relation to teaching English as a subject and to using English as the medium of instruction?

The many-faceted nature of the language teaching/learning process and the complexities of teaching and learning *per se* necessitated a far more defined focus. Therefore the following set of questions were formulated in terms of the research

problem. These questions were schematized and they can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



2.2 Needs assessment

It was Knowles' (1970:82) contention that when educators base their intervention programmes on needs which they (the educators') determine, they should not be surprised when the learners are unenthusiastic about the programme. He (1970:82) further argued that:

... [I]n andragogy the starting point in program planning is always the adults' interests, even though the end objective may be to meet their (and an institution's and society's) 'real' needs. In fact, perhaps the highest expression of the art of the adult educator is skill in helping adults to discover and become interested in meeting their real needs. But in order for adult educators to have a chance to practice this art, they have first to reach their learners through their 'felt needs'.

Because the term need has been so widely used in relation to society, communities, institutions, groups and individuals, it is surrounded by a great deal of fuzziness (Monette, 1977:120). An attempt to clarify the term was made by Scissions (1982:20) when he summarized the various definitions of needs by grouping them into four categories: basic human needs, felt or perceived needs, normative needs and comparative needs. As the concern in this study is with establishing teachers' needs, the focus will be on assessing individual needs.

2.2.1 Needs in theory

In general, when the term is applied to individuals, it is used in two senses: perceived or felt need and real need. When need is used interchangeably with 'want' or 'desire' there is an implication of intention - this is a perceived need. Real need refers to some lack in the individual, a gap in knowledge, attitude or skill measured according to some objective criterion. The implication here is that there is an outside observer using some criterion outside of the individual (Monette, 1977:121).

The similarities and differences between the various views of educational needs have to do with who can best assess the needs of the learner and how they are determined. The answer to who can ascertain needs is not clear cut. The perspectives of both the learner (perceived needs) and the researcher (real needs) can help to identify the gap between these kinds of needs. Thus in compiling a needs assessment, both of these kinds of needs can be taken into account.

Thus needs may be specified by the learner or by some other person, in which case there is a tendency to call the former category of needs 'wants' and 'subjective' and the latter category 'deficit' and 'objective'.

The process of assessing needs, and indeed the philosophical choice to assess needs at all has ranged from the simple 'tell me all you want' approach to the more complex procedure where the present situation is described in minute detail and then compared to another set of circumstances in order to note any important discrepancies (Scissons, 1982:20)

Needs are not really identified, they are inferred on the basis of philosophical underpinnings, the variables found in the practical situation and the available information. 'In other words, the process of needs assessment is inferential, based on the analysis of data' (Ibid:21).

2.2.2 Needs in practice

'A needs assessment is a systematic process for comparing your desired goals with existing conditions and for determining if the existing conditions will satisfy your projected needs' (Pinola, 1984:40). The information which is derived from a needs assessment, determines what is to be done not how to do it.

A needs assessment has many, varied functions. Of those functions the ones relevant to this study are firstly, it provides an information base which enables instructional resources to be acquired, reorganized or utilized. Secondly, when a

task has several critical sub-tasks, these sub-tasks must be identified so that the instruction is focused and relevant.

A needs assessment involves listing goals, quantifying, measuring, and prioritizing needs, and using this information to determine what is to be done. In addition to these techniques a needs assessment includes the following four stages each necessitating different research tools and strategies (in brackets):

- a. Identifying desired goals and ranking them by priority (expressing desired goals then ranking and rating them).
- b. Determining existing conditions and degree of goal realization (questionnaire survey plus observation of the situation).
- c. Identifying and analyzing discrepancies between desired and existing goals (analyzing the data from a. and b.)
- d. Setting priorities for discrepancies (ranking the analyzed data).

Before the methodology which was used to collect the required data is discussed, some important issues relating to research will be presented in the context of the development of general education research.

2.3 Education research methodology

At the heart of this study is the concern with what farm school teachers do in their classrooms and, what happens in the classroom, is closely tied to teacher effectiveness. The issue of teacher effectiveness is of central importance to education. Questions such as: how can teacher effectiveness be measured? how can it be improved? what makes a teacher effective? - have frequently been the focus of education researchers. The approaches, methods and strategies employed to try to come to grips with such questions have been subject to much debate. Two main paradigms, namely, the positivistic-scientific and the anthropological have underpinned the approaches adopted by education researchers.

The positivistic approach is based on the objective, neutral and rational methods of science. For example, until the mid-60s in the USA, and the early 70s in the UK, teacher effectiveness was not examined in relation to classroom processes but rather in terms of mental testing, secondary school selection, curriculum development etc. This approach is quantitative or scientific and the aim is to test theory.

Medley and Mitzel (1963:247) quoted in Hamilton and Delamont (1974:157) describe the education researcher of the 60s as someone who: 'limits himself to the manipulation of studying of antecedents and consequences ... but never once looks into the classroom to see how the teacher actually teaches and the pupil actually

learns'. As researchers realized the unproductiveness of their efforts, the emphasis of education research shifted to the classroom where essentially the stream of classroom events was observed. Instructional analysis - a major tradition of classroom research emerged.

Alongside the interaction analysis tradition, another approach developed emanating from the anthropological paradigm: ethnographic classroom research. Although this approach was derived originally from anthropology, it was developed further for psychiatric and sociological observation before it began to be used for classroom observation. For some time it did not have the wide currency of the interaction analysts. In this paradigm a global view is sought and the aim is to discover theory rather than to test it. The method which developed from this approach, is participant observation, a qualitative method.

2.4 Instructional analysis

2.4.1 Methods

Initially, the aim of classroom based research was to record and observe 'the processes of learning and teaching which take place inside the classroom "black box"' (Hamilton and Delamont, 1974:157). The technique employed for this research was interaction analysis: a research style emanating from the traditional positivistic-scientific paradigm with a basis in behavioural psychology.

Despite the change of focus of researchers, the resulting proliferation of classroom observation investigations contributed relatively little to the understanding of key education issues. Gage (1971:3, discussed in Hamilton and Delamont Ibid,158) reviewed the research of the literature on teacher effectiveness produced at this time. He showed the patchiness of the results of the research on teaching methods, on teacher personality and characteristics, and on social interaction in the classroom. His analysis of these results indicated that classroom research techniques were not much better than those they were intended to replace.

2.4.2 Techniques

Interaction analysis is characterized by the use of the observation schedule. The schedule enables the complexity of classroom behaviour to be broken down into small units each of which can be analysed and dealt with separately. For example, the frequency and kinds of questions the teacher asks can be isolated and studied apart from the plethora of classroom interactions.

The 'objectivity' of this technique is maintained by ensuring a clear separation between the researcher and those who are being studied. 'Bias' is also avoided by focusing investigations on what the teacher does, not on what the teacher thinks about what (s)he is doing. Finally, the survey sample is large. This enables the investigators to produce statements based on quantification relevant to whole groups. This serves the interests of objectivity (Hamilton and Delamont, 1974: 159-161).

2.5 Participant observation

2.5.1 The development of participant observation for education

Anthropological ethnography works from the point of theory "grounded" in experience i.e., Anthropologists allow the issues and problems to emerge from extensive time on site (Gay, 1981:173). Educational research has modified the anthropological approach so that it is more structured. Typically, ethnographic research in education, uses a battery of researchers who go into the field to look for specific information. The researchers have formulated the research problems in advance, they thus know the precise problems to be observed and the analytic framework within which the study is to be conducted.

The essential difference between ethnography and traditional approaches is that 'the review of related literature, the study of previous research and theory, does not result in testable hypotheses, to be supported or not supported by the results of the study. Instead, the study of previous work results in tentative, working hypotheses and strategies only' (Ibid:173).

2.5.2 Method and techniques

In contrast to studies based on the positivistic approach, ethnographic studies are qualitative and naturalistic. 'The rationale behind the use of ethnography is the research-based belief that behaviour is significantly influenced by the environment in which it occurs' (Ibid:172). These investigations thus engage the researcher as a subjective participant in the social situation being researched.

The two most important characteristics of this research are: 1) the event is examined as it happens and 2) it involves collecting data in order to form new hypotheses. This research is thus particularly suited to exploratory and descriptive goals (Dane, 1990:147).

In this method, the researcher is involved in intensive data collection. Data on many variables occurring over an extended period of time and taking place in a

naturalistic setting are sought. The typical setting is a classroom or a few classrooms.

Following Dane (Ibid:159), the participant can be at the one extreme observer-as-participant (when (s)he is known to the participants as a researcher but does not take an active part in the events) or at the other extreme as an observer or participant-as-observer (where (s)he is known as a researcher but participates fully in the events). The researcher could be in a position at any point between these two extremes.

Although the basic methodology of ethnographic research is participant observation, non-participant observation may also be involved. In conjunction with observation, this approach involves a variety of data collection strategies such as, questionnaires, interviews, attitude scales, and other psychological instruments, recording devices and examination of written records.

2.6 The positive and negative aspects of these methods

2.6.1 Instructional analysis

The instructional analytical approach has been criticised by researchers and teachers on a number of the aspects which make up this approach. These difficulties are far too numerous to deal with here. The discussion will thus be limited to criticisms related to those aspects which are relevant to this study.

A key factor underpinning this approach is the claim to objectivity. A major difficulty which emerges from the efforts taken to preserve the objectivity of this approach, is that the context in which the study is conducted is not taken into consideration. For example in the farm school situation, the one-way interaction of teacher-pupil can be isolated, classified and analysed. However, the intense cold of the unheated room, the absence of windows and how these might affect the pupils' concentration and hence responses, are ignored.

Another difficulty generated by this approach is that the research focuses on observable behaviour. As a result the underlying intentions of this behaviour are assumed by the researcher. This point can be illustrated using the same example as that given in the paragraph above. The lack of pupil response could easily be explained by the generalisation that strict discipline is always enforced in black primary schools and hence the pupils responses are inhibited by fear of punishment. Yet in the farm schools, further investigation reveals that these children often come to school hungry and tired, having had to rise early and travel long distances. The

distance between the observer and the observed prevents the researcher from penetrating the situation meaningfully.

As this approach concentrates on what can be measured, teachers and pupils are objects. Critical incidents such as a pupils falling asleep because they have walked 10 km to school, will not be taken into account. Measurable events are necessarily small and the resulting focus of the research will be narrow.

By ignoring the context, not looking beyond the obvious and by taking only the measurable and small event into account, only a partial picture of the situation will be obtained. 'This narrow focus - a form of reductionism - is one reason why interaction analysis has not led to more significant discoveries about educational practice' (Hamilton and Delamont, 1974:159).

Another serious criticism has been levelled by Walker (1971:143 quoted in Hamilton and Delamont, 1974:163) when he writes: 'any description of classroom activities that cannot be related to the social structure and culture of the society is a conservative description'. Torbert (1981:142 quoted in Castle 1990) elaborates on this point when he comments on the fundamentally 'anti-educational' quality of positivistic research:

[T]he model of unilateral control may largely escape notice so long as the participants in situations share a culture (share substantive assumptions). But in a nation of many cultures ...in a world where different cultures must learn to live together as one planet, at a time when different cultural groups are increasingly refusing to subordinate their values, and at a time when change is occurring fast ... the model of unilateral control simply doesn't work." While for research purposes it might be possible to regard the classroom as a social unit in its own right, it is only with difficulty that it can be regarded as self-contained. An adequate study must acknowledge and account for both the internal and the external aspects of classroom life.

On the positive side, the sample obtained from positivistic research enables a standard to be generated which can be extrapolated to the wider community. In addition it, '...is not an all purpose method but, rather, one way of collecting survey-type data on the socio-psychological climate of the classroom' (Castle, 1990:161). Furthermore, the results of these observations are useful as teacher-training tools.

2.6.2 Participant observation

Because the ethnographic approach developed to meet the needs for anthropological research, it is not always readily adaptable to education research. For example, an

important characteristic of ethnographic research is the relationship which is established between the researcher and the researched. The success of the research depends on the reciprocal relationship which develops between the anthropologist and the key informants. Doubts have been raised about attaining the same results from participant observation. Hence, the validity of an adult researching children as a participant researcher has been questioned (Burgess 1985b: 11).

A further criticism of participant observation has revolved around the lack of generalizability. Because participant observation concentrates on one or a few classrooms only, the generalizability of the data has been questioned. It is counter-argued that despite the differences between classrooms, critical commonalities can be identified with this approach. However, the amount of data necessary for one study is enormous and to continue the investigation into other classrooms would be a very long term process. In addition, once this mass of data is assembled the results are difficult to analyze and these studies are difficult to replicate.

On the positive side, however, observational research stands in sharp contrast to the anti-educational quality of positivism. Castle (1990:97) writes:

[I]t presents an image of non-ideological activity. It suggests that practices can be changed by changing the ways in which they are understood; it recognises the importance of engaging the understandings of the people involved in activities as a precursor to change.

She points out, however, that a weakness also emerges here:

[T]he research itself cannot bring about the change as a major problem with interpretive research is that it offers a weak base for moving from understanding to transformation (Ibid:98).

Despite this difficulty, participant research has the potential for providing insights not possible with other methods. Moreover, it is claimed that hypotheses generated are often more valid than those based on theory alone (Gay, 1981:174).

2.6.3 Juxtaposition of methods

From the above it can be seen that both approaches have advantages and disadvantages and that therefore it is not really a question of which is superior but rather which method is the most appropriate for the study in question. Also, what appears to be appropriate at the outset may prove not to be so once the research is

underway and different approaches and techniques will have to be introduced. As Trow (1957:35 quoted in Burgess 1985a:3) says:

Let us be done with the arguments of 'participant observation' versus interviewing - as we have largely dispensed with the arguments for psychology versus sociology - and get on with the business of attacking our problems with the wide array of conceptual and methodological tools that we possess and they demand. This does not preclude discussion and debate. ...

Wax's (1971:10 quoted in Burgess, 1985a:4) warning that: 'Strict adherence to any method, techniques or doctrinaire position may, for the fieldworker, become like confinement in a cage' both supports Trow's appeal and brings it into the realm of practice.

Davies et al (1985b:291) argue against 'integrating' methodologies, where this would involve integrating 'theoretical perspectives'. They suggest rather that methodologies be juxtaposed so that the orientation toward research will be eclectic. Within this juxtaposition they ask that the position of each perspective be given due consideration.

2.7 Research in the Language Classroom

The research principles emanating from the positivistic and anthropological paradigms outlined in 2.3 and 2.4 above and which form the basis for education research, have also influenced classroom language research. As a result classroom language research has followed, although with a time lag, the same pattern of development as general education classroom research.

It has been demonstrated above that classroom-centered research is the inquiry into what happens inside the classroom when learners and teachers come together. Although in this research, *inputs* (the syllabus, the teaching materials) and *outputs* (learner achievement scores), or the quantitative aspects of classroom research are not central, they are also not ignored. What is central are the classroom processes or the qualitative aspects. Classroom processes involve more than teacher-learner interactions, they include the whole gamut of events and activities that are found in the classroom during the teaching-learning process. These activities include classroom organization, the use of group and pair work, the number of exchanges in an interaction etc. (Allwright:1983, Gaies,1983).

Initially, classroom language research attempted to determine what was 'good' language teaching and to train language teachers accordingly. The approach was prescriptive and narrow. This issue of 'what constitutes effective teaching proved

to be so complex in itself' (Allwright,1983:194) that the emphasis of research shifted from being prescriptive to being descriptive and the concern with techniques was replaced by classroom processes.

The move led researchers away from the prescriptive approach revolving around traditional pedagogy, to trying to find out what happens in classrooms. Two distinct but related viewpoints emerged from this change:

- 1) The language lesson is a socially constructed event. The emphasis is on the interactive aspect of the behaviour of all those present in the classroom.
- 2) The language lesson is a setting for classroom language acquisition and learning. The emphasis here is on the teacher's talk as input (Allwright, 1985: 197).

The methodology employed for classroom language research follows that used in general education. This is done either by observation or by eliciting responses from the target group. The change in emphasis from prescription to description was accompanied by a change in the tools used in the research. Observation schedules (essentially lists of categories) were modified from general education research to fit language teaching research. Nevertheless the observation still involves the utilization of schedules with predetermined categories. The researcher could, however, record the observations by means of field notes. The use of observation schedules and field notes could yield both quantitative and qualitative data and so aid validation.

The unstructured interview enables the interviewee to make personal responses. The use of interviews and questionnaires or the combination of the two to give the structured interview also provide techniques for eliciting respondent's views.

The understanding of what goes on in the classroom may require a combination of these methods. 'In practice the principle of triangulation can simply mean that it is wisest to opt for a combination of observation and introspection and, within each for a variety of observers and "introspectors" '(1985:193).

This fundamental change from prescription to description has brought classroom language researchers much closer to educational researchers and second language acquisition specialists. Many unresolved methodological issues such as validity, generalizability and data analysis etc. remain. However, each new aspect of the classroom process identified provides more insights. Each new insight in its turn brings other aspects to the fore for consideration.

2.8. The research in practice

2.8.1 Data required

The wide spread of data required to establish farm school teacher needs is evidenced by the research having to be divided into Phase 1 and 2. In addition, in each phase, multiple viewpoints were necessary to fill in the picture as much as possible as well as to try to establish validity and to generate hypotheses.

The kinds of data required for each phase is detailed below:

Phase 1 - In this phase four aspects had to be considered in deciding on the most effective means of data collection. These were:

- a) history of socio-economic background of farm schools
- b) DET policies and directives - the actual statements as well as how they are interpreted and implemented
- c) farmer/manager attitudes to their workers, the schools, the teachers, pupils and education
- d) the various roles of principals and teachers outside of the classroom.

The kind of information needed for each of these aspects is both qualitatively and quantitatively different.

Phase 2 - The purpose of the research in this phase was to establish the pedagogical needs of farm school teachers.

The focus of the research here was on what happened in the classroom. To this end, information was required concerning the following aspects:

- a) the teachers' proficiency in English (L2)
- b) the use of English (L2) as the medium of instruction
- c) classroom management techniques
- d) methodologies

2.8.2 Choice of approaches

Because only the learners themselves can, in the end decide to learn and to act upon their learnings, they should specify their perceived or felt needs. However, in some cases someone from the outside (a programme planner or an expert) can indicate objective standards by which the learners can compare themselves in order to determine the nature and magnitude of their need. Where such standards are absent or minimal, facilitators who are knowledgeable in a given area might supplement or even provide alternative reference points. Learners may also be helped to anticipate some learning needs that could arise in the future as a result of social trends or changes in the life-cycle (Monette, 1977:21).

In 2.6.1 above Torbert's criticism of the positivistic approach was discussed. He argued for an approach to research which would be able to encompass a situation which is experiencing fast change and of different cultures learning to live together rather than one which is anti-educational and undemocratic. In other words he is arguing for an approach which can take as many variables of the situation into consideration as is possible. This is the basis of the rationale for the choice of observation or field research for this study. In both phases, structured and participant observation, as well as structured and unstructured interviews were utilized.

The multiple view-points which accompany participant observation took into consideration the importance of using many viewpoints to try to establish validity as well as to generate hypotheses.

2.8.3 Methods of collecting data

It is impossible for an observer to observe and record everything that goes on during a session, especially in a natural setting such as a classroom. The researcher has thus to select what aspects to observe. The selection will be determined by the question which the researcher has set out to answer. Once the choice has been made there are essentially two ways in which the schedule can be organized: a general set of categories (teacher asks a question, silence etc.) and a check list of more specific behaviours (pupil initiation, teacher answers own question).

Long (1980: 19) stated that the instruments which have been developed for observation in content classrooms are not appropriate for second language classrooms. One reason for this is that categories which are relevant to content classrooms are not so for language lessons. For example, education schedules generally measure how much the teacher talks in a given time whereas in a language classroom, the information required is not on how much the teacher talks but on what (s)he is saying and how.

It has been claimed that for an observation scheme for second language teaching to be informative, it should be grounded in the relevant theoretical constructs (Ullman and Geva, 1984:115). It follows from this that the variables included in the scheme should therefore reflect the teaching approach/es which are being used in the classroom. Various schedules have been developed which take these factors into account and which focus on second language learners.

One of these observation instruments is the Target Language Observation Scheme (TALOS) developed by Ullman and Geva (1982). The purpose of TALOS is 'to

provide information about observable classroom process variables which occur during the implementation of second language programs in the school system' (Ibid:119).

The TALOS⁶ scheme consists of three sections: a specific low inference section (Appendix C [a]); a global high inference section (Appendix C [b]) and a general information section (Appendix C [c]). The high and low inference rating allow the same classroom events to be coded in two different ways. This enable validity to be checked.

The low inference section deals exclusively with second language teaching while the global high inference schedule includes dimensions not exclusive to L2 but important in the classroom teaching and learning situation e.g. negative affect on the part of the student. Both the low and high inference schedules include separate rating sections for the teacher and the student. This scheme was chosen from those available because it covers more dimensions than any of the others.

It has been shown above that classroom observation schemes are in the domain of general education. These were designed to assess content subject classrooms. The researcher was, however, unable to find any scheme which was suitable for observation of content subject teaching where the medium of instruction was not that of the teacher or the pupils. The FLINT scheme of Moskowitz was adapted by the researcher to include such categories as 'codeswitching', 'handling combined classes' etc. (See Appendix D).

The following methods and techniques for collecting information were used in this study:

Phase 1

- information concerning DET policies and directives - obtained from source and documentation
- information from managers and principals (initial meeting) - structured interviews (oral questionnaire + closed interviews)
- information from principals and teachers - structured interviews (written questionnaire + closed interviews.
- descriptions of the environment both the farms and the classrooms - field notes

Phase 2

The instruments which were used for collecting information in this phase included: structured interview (questionnaire and formal interview); unstructured, informal interview; structured observation (observation schedules); participant observation (field notes) and numerical data analysis. The different methods and their purposes are tabulated below.

<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Method</u>
To establish the teachers' felt needs	a) questionnaire survey b) structured interview c) unstructured interview
To assess teachers own English: structures and language skills	a) questionnaire survey b) structured interview c) unstructured interview d) Talos observation schedule e) field notes
To assess the use of English as the medium of instruction	a) adapted observation schedule b) field notes c) unstructured interview
To assess classroom management practices	a) adapted observation schedule b) field notes
To assess pupils' English and classroom interactions	a) TALOS observation schedule b) adapted observation schedule c) field notes
To ascertain numbers of classes, numbers of pupils, numbers of responses, the teacher/pupil ratios etc.	a) Numerical data analysis

Where teachers were agreeable and where the situation was conducive to being able to record, tape recordings were made of structured and unstructured interviews and lessons. Four interviews and three lessons were recorded. The quality is not good but where possible these were transcribed and some of the data has been included in the findings in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.8.4 Problems experienced with the research in practice

The Phase 1 research began with the researcher formally interviewing principals and farmer/managers. Despite a great deal of preparation on the part of the researcher concerning both the rural situation in general and the farm school situation in particular, the milieu was unfamiliar. In addition, despite the researcher's experience in working with teachers in black primary schools in urban areas such as Soweto, Thokoza and Mamelodi the preparation was still insufficient for some of the difficulties which emerged. As the researcher could only gain access to the schools with the permission of both the farmer/manager and the DET, she was regarded with suspicion. It took a great deal of time and effort to assure the principals and teachers that the researcher was neither an inspector nor a DET employee.

The most serious outcome of the suspicion was that the principals and under their influence the teachers, responded to the questionnaire and the structured interviews by telling the researcher what they thought she wanted to know or what they thought the acceptable response was. Moreover, numerical data was given in such a way that the school and the staff were shown in the best light. In some instances, the researcher had to return to the school to try to sort out contradictions and obvious exaggerations.

It would not be unreasonable to assume that the responses reported above were the result of the 'Halo Effect' (De Vries 1985:6) argues that 'this can be a major socio-psychological constraint acting upon the learner'. The respondent (learner) is grateful that someone is doing something to help his difficult situation and (s)he is afraid that a negative or critical response will cause the withdrawal of the support.

A difficulty of another nature emerged in trying to get the teachers to identify and state their needs. At least 50 % of the teachers said that they did not have needs. It was difficult to explain what was required of the teachers without asking leading questions or giving examples which were then simply replicated by the teachers in their answers. The only way of meeting this difficulty was for the researcher to write up on the chalkboard as many possible needs as she could think of in relation to the questions being asked. This procedure was repeated with all the teachers in all the schools. The teachers were also given the opportunity to discuss together what they understood by the items and how or why they may find them important.

Monette (1977:124) said that:

The so-called individual fulfillment procedures of the implementation of programmes on the basis of felt needs can easily

disguise subtle and perhaps unconscious manipulation on the part of the educator's personal preference becomes the sole criterion for the sponsorship of educational programmes.

He argues further that, those educators who adapt the felt needs of the learners and so limit the demands of the learners are still manipulating the situation. He adds, moreover that 'those who disregard the aspirations of the learners by stimulating more 'desirable' learning objectives which have not come to the learners' attention' are also manipulating the learners. If Monette's contention is correct, the needs assessment will be unable to get at the learners' felt needs.

The researcher found that the TALOS low inference schedule, was far too detailed and complex for the primary school classroom where most pupils hardly understood any English and where the teachers often used code-switching in the English class. Although this event was in itself revealing of what was happening in these classrooms, a simpler scheme would have saved time and probably produced the same insights. The development of a schedule suitable for analyzing English lessons in black primary schools could be of value to future research in this area.

Although the high inference TALOS highlighted, definite patterns in classroom interaction, this schedule yielded so much data that in the time available for this study, it could not all be processed.

2.9 Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the classroom events in the farm schools cannot be understood without taking cognisance of the wider community of the school and the farm. Although some of the data necessary to this study was quantitative, a positivistic approach with its narrow focus could not provide the base or scope which was required by the many, different aspects which this study entailed. Thus a juxtaposition of different methods which would allow a wide interpretation of the different and varied aspects contained in this study was chosen.

Despite the difficulties which came to the fore while the researcher was using the instruments, a picture of the macro as well as the micro situation of the farm schools emerged from the data as is evidenced in Chapters 3 and 4.

CHAPTER 3

FARM SCHOOLS OBSERVED (1): MATERIAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

*Shades of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing boy*

(Wordsworth)

3.1 Introduction

The initial research on which this study was based was carried out in 21 schools in the Magaliesberg/Skeerpoort/Hekpoort area from May to October 1985. Each of the 21 schools was visited at least twice. Thirteen schools were then selected from this group for further study. Reference to any of the thirteen schools is indicated by mention of Group A schools. In all other instances, when the phrase 'farm schools' is used, 21 schools are referred to. The Group A schools were selected for in-depth study as they are representative of the various sizes and differing circumstances of farm schools. The Group A schools were visited at least four times each.

In paragraph 3.2 and 3.3 a generalized picture of the physical conditions, administration and attendance rates is presented. In paragraph 3.4, the historical setting of these schools provides the background against which the socio-economic problems of the farm school system can be understood. The poverty and dependence of the farm labourer, itinerancy, transport, isolation and the power of the farmer manager and the DET will be focused on in this section. Thereafter it will be argued that the inadequacies of the farm school system which the research highlighted are rooted in the broader context of economic, legislative and social conditions.

This backgrounding opens the way into the school and into the classroom. All the aspects that make up the learning/teaching situation are reported in 3.5 and 3.6. The realities of what occurs in this system are discussed as they pertain to what the teachers and the pupils bring to the classroom and to what they find there. On the one hand the position of the teachers in relation to their appointment, qualifications and the situation they find in the classroom as regards teacher/pupil ratios, combined classes etc. are described. On the other hand, the situation of the pupils is described in relation to their home situation, attendance, lack of school readiness and what they find in the classroom.

3.2 The physical appearance of the school

3.2.1 The location of the schools

The first striking feature about farm schools is their physical isolation. Not only are the schools far from shops and business centres but they are also often far from roads which provide transport. In addition, they are isolated from one another and in some instances, the schools are situated some way away from the main farm. One one-room school which has been built across the road from the farm stands about 200m from the road surrounded by veld for as far as the eye can see on the other three sides. In another instance, the track to the school which is impassable by car in wet weather, is situated 3-4 km from the main part of the farm. The schools are always fenced off from the farm and the adjoining playgrounds are generally sandy and dusty.

3.2.2 The school buildings

Although it is the responsibility of the farmer/manager (see 3.4.3) to erect and maintain school buildings, the conditions of the buildings vary enormously. Frequently, the neat appearance of the schools belies structurally poor and uncared for buildings. Cracked walls, falling plaster, gaps between walls and roofs, ill-fitting window frames and broken window panes are common occurrences. Very few of the schools have ceilings, most have concrete floors which are uneven and often crumbling and there is a total absence of heating.

Electricity is a rarity (three of the 21 schools have electricity) and six schools do not have piped water. Where water is not available, the pupils come to school carrying plastic bottles with water. In the 21 schools researched, three have flushing toilets, 16 have pit latrines and 2 have no toilet facilities at all.

In some instances where school enrolment has expanded rapidly or where promised extended classroom provision has not materialized, makeshift classrooms have been established in disused farm buildings, corrugated iron huts and, in one case, the school verandah has been boarded up with pieces of tin and hardboard.

3.2.3 The classroom

The physical conditions within the classrooms are also subject to variation. In the classrooms of nine of the 21 schools there are sufficient desks for the pupils, and the desks fit into the space comfortably. In addition, the chalkboard is in good condition and the store cupboard, teacher's table and chair do not overcrowd the available space. This contrasts with the situation in the majority of classrooms visited i.e., in half of the classrooms in seven schools and in all the classrooms in

six schools. In those classrooms the desks are crammed against each other and it is difficult to move among them. Further, the condition of the chalkboard renders what is written on it illegible and more than the requisite number of pupils are sharing the desks.

In five of the schools researched, more than one teacher and their groups share the same space. In some instances an attempt to demarcate the space is made by using pin boards; in all instances the noise is disturbing. The problems with this kind of arrangement are exacerbated when each teacher is teaching a combined class. One school, which consists of three teachers and six classes (three combined classes), share one room. The room is divided by three freestanding pin-boards. Each teacher has her combined class in one of these divisions. The acoustic difficulty of this situation is just one problem militating against establishing an effective teaching and learning environment.

3.3 The working of the school

3.3.1 School administration

The ceiling figure for the total enrolment of each farm school is set by the DET. This figure is arrived at according to how much physical space is available in a school. The stipulated space requirement is 'one square metre per child per classroom' (Plaut 1976:6). Therefore, the number of pupils who can be enrolled for each grade, as well as the total enrolment, is controlled. Table 3.1 shows the resulting variations in individual class and school enrolments in the group A schools where the lowest enrolment figure is 13 and the highest is 315 pupils.

Schools	Enrolment of pupils by school grade (Year at school)							Total enrolment per school
	1 Sub A	2 Sub B	3 Std 1	4 Std 2	5 Std 3	6 Std 4	7 Std 5	
1.	23	20	18	12	12	4	-	89
2.	26	33	8	16	25	8	15	131
3.	23	25	26	24	15	14	23	150
4.	10	8	6	2	-	-	-	26
5.	30	27	37	35	24	28	30	211
6.	52	40	47	28	25	25	32	249
7.	48	31	32	20	25	25	19	200
8.	44	57	24	29	30	15	22	223
9.	37	28	25	25	10	11	-	146
10.	53	59	31	43	23	36	38	285
11.	66	46	49	47	40	40	27	315
12.	10	13	10	8	5	-	-	46
13.	4	3	5	1	-	-	-	13
Total enrolment by school grade	426	390	318	292	234	208	206	2074

Table 3.1 - Enrolment of pupils in the group A schools in the Magaliesberg Valley area

There are, in addition, other factors which influence the variations in total enrolments. In some instances, with departmental approval, schools have a greater enrolment than stipulated. The rules are waived when one school closes down and the pupils are transferred to the nearest functioning school. Moreover, when there are no other schools available for the pupils in a particular area, despite regulations, some schools accept as many pupils as can physically be fitted in. The names of the additional pupils do not appear on the role. There is thus sometimes a difference between 'actual' and 'real' enrolments.

Owing to the situations described above some schools are 'legally' and others 'illegally' overcrowded. In certain areas an overcrowded school can be found in close proximity to an under-utilized school. The research revealed that in one instance a school operating at full capacity reports that they have daily enquiries for places while the neighbouring school has small classes and an empty classroom. Five instances of under-used schools were found in the 21 schools researched.

Principals and teachers identified three main reasons for the lack of rationalization in these schools:

- farmer/managers who are unsympathetic regarding the payment of school funds and who demand that school uniforms be worn thus disqualifying potential pupils;
- the inaccessibility of some of these schools, which is exacerbated by transport problems - this includes both the lack of transport and the money to pay for it when it is available;
- finally, there are schools with a 'good' reputation: either they are known to have high pass-rates or the parents like the way in which the school is managed.

Because of the scattered nature of the rural areas and the lack of transport, most of the farm schools researched are isolated from what is happening in the urban areas and from one another.

Only one school has a telephone. The others have to rely on the postal service for communication. One principal spoke of how she and her staff had missed two courses owing to the advice concerning the courses arriving late. When the teachers need advice or have difficulties which concern the DET they have to go to their regional office. In all instances this means taking a day off from school.

One of the important functions of inspectors is to advise the principal on the administration of the school. Another is to inform the principal of new syllabuses and programmes of work and to guide him in interpreting them. Since 1979, the first official language has been introduced in Grade 2. However, in one school, the first official language is being introduced in Standard 1.

The inspectorate is short-staffed. Where the schools are not easily accessible, inspectors' visits are infrequent. One principal said that an inspector had not been to her school for two years.

3.3.2 Attendance rates

Good attendance is regarded by the principals as an average of 90 % per week and poor attendance as 70 % or less. According to this criterion, good attendance was found in those schools where the majority of pupils live on the farm on which the school is situated and in those schools where transport is provided.

Only four of the schools researched fall into the 'good' category. In the remaining 17 schools the principals complained of fluctuating attendance. They talked of attendance sometimes falling as low as 50%.

Many reasons were advanced for these variations in attendance. Heading the list were five points, two of them separate but also related - adverse weather conditions and the lack of adequate transport. The third reason related to farmers withdrawing children to work on their farms. Although this is illegal and principals are duty-bound to report such incidents to the department, they are often under threat of school closure and can do nothing about it. The fourth point concerns parental attitudes: at times children are sent on errands or shopping expeditions; on other occasions, children are needed at home to look after younger or sick siblings and to cook and clean so that the mother can go out to work. Lastly, prompted by the researcher constantly seeing children of school-going age walking and playing at the side of the road or at shops during school time, principals and teachers said that truancy was a problem but they were reluctant to discuss this issue further.

3.3.3 Drop-out rates - apparent

Table 3.2 which is based on the enrolment figures for the classes and schools shown in Table 3.1, indicates that the cumulative percentage drop-out rate at the end of primary school (year seven), is 52%. In Figure 3.1, this information is depicted graphically.

Enrolment by Years at school	1 Sub A	2 Sub B	3 Std 1	4 Std 2	5 Std 3	6 Std 4	7 Std 5	Total
	426	390	318	292	234	208	206	2074
No. of pupils dropping out	-	36	72	26	58	26	2	
Percentage drop-out	-	8	18	8	20	11	1	
Cumulative drop-out	-	36	108	134	192	218	220	
Cumulative percentage drop-out	-	8	25	31	45	51	52	

Table 3.2 - Pupil drop-outs in the group A schools by number of years at school

The highest drop-out rate of 20 % occurs at the end of Standard 2. This is significant as this marks the end of lower primary school and at this point pupils are expected to have attained a satisfactory standard in mother tongue, mathematics and English. The second highest drop-out rate occurred at the end of Sub B. Teachers have attributed this to a lack of school readiness. They claim that this inadequacy seriously hinders pupils from mastering the basics required by the end of the second year. At this stage if pupils are not promoted, many of them repeat the year. Although the drop-out rate in Standard 3 falls to 11 %, this percentage masks pupils who repeat at this point because of an insufficient grasp of English (see 3.3.4).

The 52 % cumulative drop-out rate has serious implications in relation to how many of these children leave school illiterate and how many of them are then drawn back to reproduce the poverty of the farm workers from which they have come (Nasson 1984a: 35).

3.3.4 Drop-out rates - real

There are strong indications that there are factors masking the drop-out rate and that the percentage is much higher than that reflected in Table 3.2.

In Table 3.2, it can be seen that the drop-out percentages at the end of Standard 1 and Standard 3 are 8 % and 11 % respectively. In comparison to the other drop-out rates these are relatively low. However, several principals have commented on the high failure rate at the end of Sub A, Standard 1 and Standard 3. There are no actual figures available but principals have estimated an average 40 % failure rate at the end of Standard 3. They also claim that most pupils who get to this stage repeat the year. The figures are therefore inflated by the number of pupils repeating Standard 3. This indicates that there are more drop-outs than are shown in the table.

In addition, the figures given in Table 3.2, do not, and cannot, reflect the turnover of pupils as a result of labour movement. In some schools there is a constant turnover of pupils. As soon as one leaves there is another to take the vacated place. Just where all the pupils go is not known, for it is reported by principals that a good number do not take their transfer cards. Even when pupils do take their transfer cards there is no guarantee that they enrol at another school.

Furthermore, as there is no legislation regarding compulsory schooling for black children, there is the issue of how many school-going children are actually at school. At one school situated in the middle of the farm compound, there were more children of school-going age playing in the yard than were attending the school. The principal said that some parents did not see the value of school when the children would have to go out to work as soon as possible. It has already been pointed out in 3.2.1 that along the roads and in and around country stores, children of school-going age are always in evidence.

More research will have to be done regarding the exact numbers of the school-going population in this area but nevertheless, if non-starters are taken into account, the drop-out percentage will be much higher than 52%.

Drop-out Rates

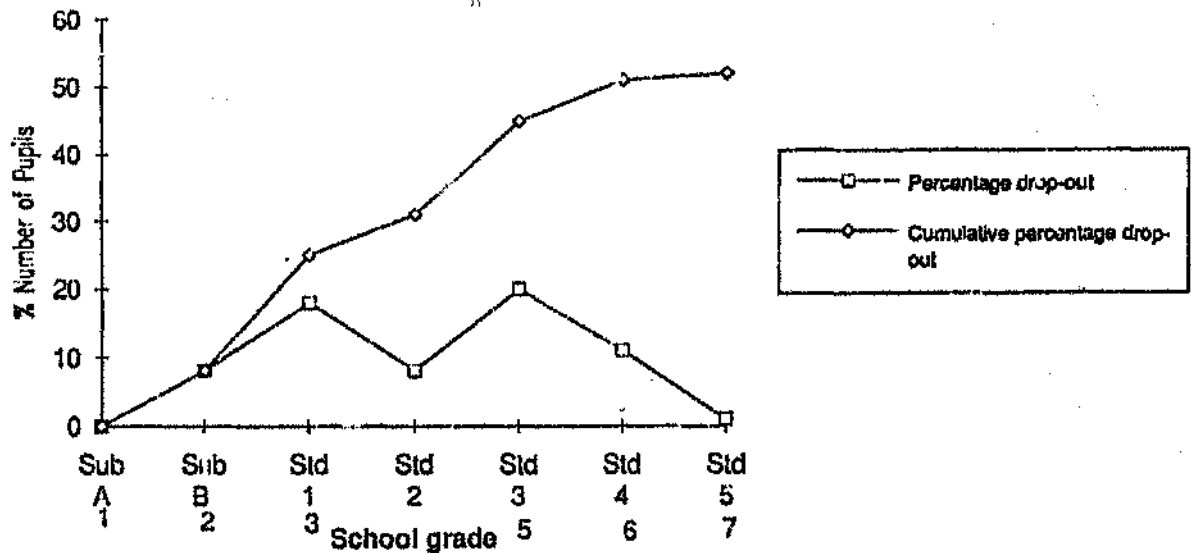


Figure 3.1 - Dropout rate of pupils in the group A farm schools in the Magaliesburg Valley area

3.4 The background to the farm school situation

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section the farm school system is contextualized in terms of the historical, economic and social background. On the one hand, this backgrounding will highlight the reasons for the poverty which underpins the physical situation of the farm schools described in paragraph 3.2 above. On the other hand, this additional information of the situation will be used to examine the more detailed aspects of the farm schools i.e., the learning/teaching situation.

3.4.2 Historical perspective

In the early days of black education in this country, farm schools were not differentiated from urban or community schools - all were treated alike as 'black schools'. Thus, in order to place the farm school system in an historical perspective, where it is pertinent black education in general is discussed.

Until the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold in the Transvaal, South Africa was essentially agriculturally oriented. Thus farm schools for both black and white children have been a part of the education system from the early days of the settlement in the Cape Colony (Molteno 1984, Gaganakis and Crewe 1987).

Prior to 1800 very little education was provided for black children. Those few who received formal education attended colonial schools. From 1800, the various missionary societies founded and administered black schools in each of the independent colonies (later provinces of South Africa). These schools were both urban and rural but mostly rural. In many instances, the missionaries bought a piece of land from a farmer and established a farm school on it (Gaganakis and Crewe 1987, de Clercq 1986).

In 1841, the provincial government of the Cape, recognizing the importance of black schools as a pacifying influence on border unrest, began making funds available to the mission schools. However, the missions remained in control of education. Further grants were made in 1854 but these were for the specific purpose of vocational training. The Education Act of 1865 gave aid to mission schools conditional on the enforcement of racial segregation (Molteno 1984:50).

Despite the fact that until 1900 the development of black education was slow, in all the provinces the interest of the administrations in black schooling and subsequent funding was accompanied by a demand for increased control. The governments of Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal began subsidizing mission schools in 1884, 1878 and 1903 respectively. Molteno (1984:58) points out that it is significant that in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, interest in black schooling 'coincided with the establishment of capitalist relations of production in agriculture and the mining industry'.

With the discovery of minerals, the building of railways and the upsurge of farming, came the growth of towns and cities and a subsequent demand for labour. In the 30s and 40s the unprecedented development of secondary industry further increased the need for labour. By 1946, one in four blacks throughout the country had settled in the urban areas (Christie and Collins 1984:169). These developments gave rise to an urban black working class.

De Clercq (1986:21-23) argues that the outcome of these changes in relation to black education was two-fold. On the one hand, employers began to see education as a means of insuring the supply of wage laborers and consumers in the capitalist system. The kind of education envisaged was essentially vocational in nature. On the other hand, there was white opposition, particularly from the white working class, to black urbanization on both political and economic grounds.

Although education at this time was still controlled jointly by provincial governments and the missionaries, provision of education for blacks was separate,

unequal and limited and directed to the expectations of the pupils' future occupations. The attitude of the whites towards black education are summed up by Pels (in Molteno, 1984:73) '... farmers, mine owners and industrialists view with alarm a process which, as present world experience shows, tends to stimulate the laborers to unreasonable wage demands and uncomfortable social and political aspirations'.

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, it began to refine, through total control, an education system already in operation. The Nationalists saw the growing black urban population as a threat. Thus while the Bantustan policy, enforced by the Group Areas Act and the pass laws, was designed to keep the blacks away from white areas of wealth and control as far as possible, education for blacks was planned to prepare them for their role as inferiors whether they lived in an urban area or not. It was made clear in Verwoerd's notorious words how the imposition of black education would underpin Nationalist policy to maintain white supremacy:

There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed (quoted in Molteno 1984:92).

In 1949, 13 % (1 119 schools) of all the schools for black pupils were situated on farms and the majority of these (83 %) were mission aided (Gordon 1987:3). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 gave the government direct and total control over black education. This Act wrested control from the churches and the provincial administrations.

After the passing of this Act the establishment of farm schools was given added impetus. The economic and social implications for farm schools were clearly spelled out by Dr Verwoerd in 1954:

The establishment of farm schools has in the past been somewhat neglected, resulting in the sending of children to town schools and the moving of parents into the towns. If 'fundamental' education can also be obtained on the farms the trek from the farms will be combatted, more especially if the training contributes towards more remunerative employment in farm work, owing to the greater skill and usefulness of laborers (Statement by H.F. Verwoerd in the Senate, 7 June, 1954; quoted in Gordon 1987:3).

From 1953 for the first time state provision was made for all black farm schools as, according to the Act, subsidies would be provided for all state-aided black schools. In other respects the farm schools were not accorded parity with other

black schools in the system. Once farm schools came under the direct control of the BED, they came to be regarded as a distinct category of schools by the Department and, in certain important respects, different conditions appertained to them.

In his 1954 policy statement Verwoerd said :

...women teachers would be recruited locally as far as possible for farm schools 'to combat the danger of unsuitable teaching in these schools'. The curricula would include the 'basic idea of teaching the child in order to fit him for farm work' (Verwoerd 1964:65).

Gordon (1987:3-4) cites a blue paper (Union of South Africa, 1951:61) which states that teacher's salaries on the farm schools could be lower than those of teachers in the towns with equivalent qualifications.

The 1953 Act effectively curtailed mission involvement in farm schools with the 'law' that a farm school must belong to a bona fide farmer (Plaut, 1976:5). While this Act disempowered the missionaries and relegated farm schools to an inferior position, it empowered those white farmers who provided schooling for the children of their workers. Thus, although from 1953 to the present, farm schools have come under the dual control of the BED and the white farmer who owns the land on which the school is situated, it is the white farm owner who is in such a powerful position that he is pivotal to the black farm school system. Therefore any consideration of black farm schools must take as its starting point the white farm owner (Gaganakis and Crewe, 1987:1).

3.4.3 The power and control of the farmer

Black farm schools are established on white-owned farm land for the children of the farmer's employees. Children of employees on surrounding farms may also attend with the mutual consent of the neighbouring farmer. Once a farmer has established a school on his land he becomes responsible for it: he is both the provider and the manager.

The farmer must erect and maintain school buildings. In return for making the school facilities available for 10 years, the farmer is entitled to a 50 % subsidy for construction costs and a 30 % subsidy for maintenance (DET Report 1986).

However, because he owns the land, it is the farmer's prerogative to open a new school, close an existing one or promote the continuation of an existing school. In addition, his power resides in the following: he can hire and fire teachers and the principal as and when he wishes. He can decide which and how many children can

or cannot attend his school. He can demand school funds and decide unilaterally how they are to be spent (if on the school at all) and he can insist that the pupils wear school uniform.

As the land-owner he also wields the power as to which adults can stay on his land - 'which leaves farm labourer and school alike at the mercy of the whim of the farmer' (Gaganakis and Crewe, 1987:11).

There is further evidence of how farmers' use their power as land-owners. They often interfere in the running of the school outside of their jurisdiction as manager in their use of children during school hours for farm labour. In some instances, a worker's continued stay on a farm can be purchased from the farmer by promising his children as future workers (de V Graaff, 1988:23). In other instances the continuance of the school can be dependent on the principal's willingness to allow the pupils to work on the farm during school hours.

Research in rural areas has shown that there are wide variations in the management and conditions pertaining to the farm schools as well as differing educational standards (de V Graaff and Lawrence 1986, Nasson 1984a). Thus, generalization is difficult but the few schools where 'better' conditions prevail show-up the others in sharp contrast.

3.4.4 The DET and the farm schools

The responsibility of the State lies in the following areas: the DET administers the education in the farm schools, i.e. it provides the syllabi, textbooks and equipment, lays down the hours of tuition, and the terms of teacher employment, oversees end-of-year examinations and appoints local inspectors. In these ways the administration of farm schools is no different from that of urban schools.

Although Verwoerdian policy allowed for the extension of the farm school education system, this extension was in terms of the establishment of the number of schools only and that at the expense of urban schools. In addition, these schools were almost all lower primary schools. This policy was underpinned by the stated aims of Bantu education that farm schools 'secure a literate and stable labour force and to combat migration to the cities ... Beyond that, the relevant department's attitude to farm schools was one of *laissez-faire*, approaching benign neglect' (de V Graaff, 1988:22).

The 1979 Education and Training Act declared a commitment to 'equal education for all population groups'. The recommendations of the de Lange Report (1981) were also underpinned by this dictum. The 1979 Act did not specifically mention

farm schools and the de Lange Report made only marginal recommendations which related to farm school but the 1983 White paper showed official policy to be sympathetic to the difficulties which have become endemic to farm schools. There are indications in this paper of a more positive attitude on the part of the government to bring about change in these schools so that the provision for the farm school system is equal to that given to all the other systems.

However, as Gordon (1987:6) points out 'the current official policy towards black education is contradicted by policies relating to farm schools in at least two important respects'. Firstly, as long as secondary schooling is not provided for farm school pupils, this system cannot be considered equal to that given to all other pupils in the Republic. Secondly, the quality of farm schooling will continue to suffer as long as the financial and administrative arrangements remain in the hands of the farmers. The farmers are expected to carry certain costs (see 3.4.3 above) and organization. This according to the DET Report (1976), has been an unfair burden to the farmers and has hampered the educational provision for black farm school pupils.

The latest report on farm schools was produced by the DET and it appeared on 27 July 1987. According to de V Graaff (1988:22): 'The present report is nailing its colours to the principle of parity, with special attention to secondary education'. The attitudes towards and interest in black farm schools has certainly shifted but any real change in the situation is still to be seen in changes being wrought to the controls, conditions and provisions of the black farm schools. Gordon (1987) encapsulates the views of other researchers (Nasson, 1984a and 1984b, Smith 1984, Lawrence 1991) concerning this point in the following statements:

Despite their urgency, strategies devised to upgrade school facilities and services and teaching techniques can only have a limited effect on pupil performance and motivation to stay at school because the controls regulating schooling provision stem from political, social and economic factors (91).

Security of tenure is fundamental to efforts aimed at mobilizing the black community to improve schooling (72).

The research conducted in the 21 schools in the Magaliesberg Valley isolated two specific problems arising from the political, social and economic factors which are major constraints affecting the functioning of farm schools. These are itinerant labour and transport. A discussion of these constraints will follow in sections 3.4.5 and 3.4.6.

3.4.5 Itinerant labour as an factor contributing to the poverty of farm schools

Since the mid 1970s there has been a change in employment practices among farmers. As a result of mechanization and other up-dated farming methods the number of permanent workers per hectare has halved; the number of seasonal workers has dropped by a third and there is a clear tendency to employ younger male workers and women.

The Surplus People Project (Survey of Race Relations in Southern Africa 1983:158) in a nation-wide investigation into the reduced number of 'permanent' farm workers, identified the following reasons for this tendency:

- abolition of the labour tenancy system from August 30, 1980 in terms of Government Gazette 6663 of 1979;
- concentration of farm ownership in fewer hands, leading to a stream-lining of the labour force;
- farmers' needs to extend the use of their land, thus limiting land for workers' own agricultural use, with workers being given notice or leaving voluntarily;
- change in farm ownership.

This situation has been further aggravated by the severe drought cycles experienced in South Africa over the last decade.

Of the 21 principals interviewed, ten spoke about the reduced black populations in their areas and of the implications of this trend for the schools and schooling. They pointed out the difficulties which teachers experience in trying to maintain standards for individual pupils and for each class as a whole when the pupils are frequently moved from school to school.

It was estimated by the interviewees that about 50 % of the local black population from the Magaliesberg area have resettled in Mabopane and Haartebeesfontein. These settlements are located north-east of Brits in Bophuthatswana. The children who have been resettled in these areas are too far away from the Magalies schools to continue their schooling there.

Of those labourers who have remained in the area, very few are permanent workers. This is evidenced by the low percentage of pupils enrolled in a school on a farm who actually live on that farm. On average, in the 21 schools researched approximately

12 % of the pupils enrolled live on the farm on which the school is situated.

The rest of the workers and their families move about looking for work and for accommodation. Some farmers rent out their accommodation to these families during their employment on a seasonal basis and, in some cases, when the labourers are working on other farms in the vicinity.

One principal who is accommodated in a compound where rooms are rented out to itinerant families said:

'There is always drinking and noise and trouble with the farmers and the parents take the children out of school and go to another place'.

Another said:

'The worst is they have no homes, they go from place to place'.

There is a considerable amount of squatting in the area but no one interviewed was prepared to comment on this directly. At the time that this research was underway, a new flower farm was established in the area and in less than a month a large squatter settlement had become established on the perimeter of the farm. The work on this farm is seasonal. Apparently this settlement will appear and disappear according to when work is available.

Some of these parents insist on their children attending school. While they are working in this particular area, places for the children will be sought in nearby farm schools. When they move to another area the children will generally be taken out of this school and placed in one nearer the parents' place of work. Those who leave their children in one school have to face the problem and expense of transport (see 3.4.6 below).

The poverty of the people in the area was frequently mentioned by the principals and teachers interviewed. As far as could be ascertained, the average wage for a 'permanent' labourer in the Group A schools area is R80 - R120 per month (1985 figures). This is not a guaranteed wage for the itinerant workers. In addition, there are also instances of labourers being paid partially in kind and there are other instances where labourers have money deducted from their salaries for accommodation.

The teachers talked continuously of their pupils coming to school hungry, underclothed and tired.

In order to keep a child at school, parents have to pay school funds (between R1.50 - R5.00 p.a.) and provide uniforms. The findings revealed that in a few instances farmer/managers allow school funds to be paid in small installments and do not insist upon uniforms. In most cases, though, a child's enrolment at a school is conditional on early payment of school funds and the wearing of a school uniform. Some farmer/managers insist that pupils leave by a certain date, usually at the end of March, if school funds are not paid. One farmer/manager will not allow children who do not have uniforms to be enrolled. In some instances this can mean that the pupils drop out of school all together. This occurs where very young children have been barred from the school that is the closest and the parent find the danger and cost of sending the children further away prohibitive. Naturally the schooling of pupils who are moved from school to school suffers. In one school which seems to have a large proportion of children of itinerant labourers, the principal talked of the difficulties of teaching a class where the pupils are never at equivalent levels.

Any child at school is a drain on the family finances. In some instances when a child fails a class, particularly in the early years of school, the parents remove the child from school altogether. If the child is very young, she would be kept at home to look after younger siblings and so relieve the mother or an older sibling to go out and find work. If the child is old enough, she would go out and find work. The words of one principal sums the claim of five principals and teachers and two farmer/managers 'the parents aren't interested in their children or in schooling'.

On the issue of school funds, one principal said: 'We make it easy for them, they have some money but they don't try'. Other principals and teachers interviewed blamed fluctuating attendance on the parents' negative attitude to schooling: 'they don't care' was a frequent response. Moreover it was claimed that parents aid and abet truancy; they impose no discipline and they live 'in the mists of the kraal'.

Principals and teachers were asked about the interest shown by parents in the children's progress at school. The majority said that they have open days on which the parents are invited to come to the school, talk to the teachers and find out what is going on in the school. These occasions are fairly well-attended but the parents the teachers most want to see do not come.

Twelve of the principals interviewed have attempted to set up parents' committees. This was an attempt to involve the community in the running of the school and in educational matters. In all these instances the attempt was a failure. The following reasons were advanced for this disappointing response: The distance the parents have to travel to the schools; meetings are held at night when parents are tired after

a very long day on the lands; some parents think any school involvement means producing money. There is, however, good support by parents for school sports matches held on Saturdays.

From the discussion with the teachers and principals on this matter, there is evidence that on the one hand they want parental support for the status quo but on the other hand they are nervous of the parents becoming too involved, asking questions and making demands for change. If some of the practices in the schools, for example the physical punishment meted out to the pupils and the inefficiency of some staff owing to drinking, are exposed the situation might become uncomfortable for teachers and principals.

The issues raised by these comments are all contributory to the problems endemic in the farm schools but they are micro issues springing from the all pervasive socio-cultural factors operating in the rural areas. As Nasson (1984a:15) writes:

As far as the overwhelming majority of parents are concerned, the developmental dilemmas of rural education represent a rather academic question: immediate economic necessity dictates that work and earnings take precedence.

Nasson (Ibid:12) also points out that it is a world-wide phenomenon that manual workers are 'unsympathetic to their children staying at school beyond the statutory leaving age'. As there is no statutory leaving age for black children, parents can and do remove their children from school at any age and at any time.

Once these children leave school, many are drawn back into, and hence perpetuate, the cycle of poverty. Principals and teachers have suggested that lack of interest in schooling leads to poor attendance on the part of the children. In addition, they say, the children are under-nourished and lack motivation: this results in educational failure and dropping out. The research indicates that in most cases the children drop out before they have attained functional literacy.

Disempowerment of farm labourers is the direct result of the political policies followed in South Africa up until the present. The lack of power forces the workers into a position of itinerancy where they have to take what work they can in order to survive. In most cases these labourers are poorly paid and in the struggle for survival is paramount, not the education of their children. In sum, it would seem, 'Educational disadvantage is thus reproduced generationally' (Nasson, 1984a:13).

3.4.6 Transport as a factor contributing to the poverty of farm schools

In the Group A schools, approximately 12 % of the pupils enrolled live on the farm on which the school is situated: 75 % of the pupils come from farms up to 6 kms away and 13 % come from between 7 - 15 km away.

It has been shown in paragraph 3.4.5 that a major factor contributing to the distance that children have to travel to school arises from itinerancy. There are, however, two other very important causes: parental preference for schools with a 'good reputation' (see paragraph 3.3.1) and the limited capacity of the nearest and/ or most convenient school.

Seven of the 13 schools in this area are not situated on a bus route. The alternative means of transport for the pupils of these schools are hitch-hiking and walking. Principals and teachers pointed out the danger of young children walking along main roads. During the time that this research was being conducted, a 6-year old child from one of these 13 schools was run-over and killed walking home from school. They talked also of pupils arriving at school late, tired and overheated in hot weather and cold and wet in inclement weather. The danger of hitch-hiking especially for young girls, was also mentioned. Hitch-hiking is also an unreliable mode of transport. Pupils thus generally end up walking or not coming to school at all.

The only one of these difficulties which can be eased by the teachers is lateness: a strict starting time is not enforced, particularly in the winter months. Even when a strict starting time is not enforced, latecomers usually miss the first lessons of the day. On eight out of every ten trips made by the researcher, pupils were found still walking to school at 10.00am.

One school of the 21 schools researched begins one hour later than the other schools and closes an hour later. Despite the fact that the staff at this school say that this arrangement works well, teachers at other schools claim that a late closure interferes with afternoon activities and makes homecoming for both pupils and teachers very late.

There are also problems for those children who have access to public transport. These difficulties are financial. The cost for a month for a journey of 12 km a day in 1985 was R3.50 (this must be measured against a monthly salary of R80 - R120 in 1985). In the areas researched it was found that there are no fare reductions for black scholars.

Principals say that many families cannot afford these fares, especially where more than one child from a family is attending school. It was reported by two principals that in some cases the children come to school by bus for as long as there is money for bus fares. Once the money runs out the pupils walk to school. In other instances, where there are three or more children who attend school simultaneously, the parents buy one or two monthly tickets and the children share them. This means that none of these children attends school for all five school days each week.

The difficulties experienced as a result of a lack of an adequate and cheap transport service spring from the political and economic situation pertaining to rural areas.

In brief what transpires is:

- schools are scattered and thus many pupils have to travel great distances to school
- most children walk to school
- where there is transport not all children can afford it and thus come to school when they can
- many children have not had anything to eat they are thus tired and hungry when they arrive at school and cannot concentrate
- children often arrive late and miss the first two or three periods of school
- weather conditions and family needs (acting as baby-sitters, cooks, cleaners, nurses, shoppers) seriously affect school attendance
- the phenomenon of itinerant labour where families move from farm to farm to find work. This means that children are either moved from school to school or they often find themselves at a very great distance from their school as the parents go further and further afield in search of work.

The problems attendant on all these means of getting to school affect attendance adversely. This in turn leads to pupils falling behind with work, failing and subsequently dropping out.

3.5 The reality of the school - the teachers

3.5.1 Factors relating to the appointment of teachers

One of the responsibilities which the farmer/manager undertakes is the appointment and supervision of teachers. He applies to the DET for the required number of teaching posts. The DET allocates teachers according to a uniform teacher/pupil ratio (hereafter TPR). At the time (1985) that this research was conducted the TPR was between 38 -45 pupils to one teacher (see 3.5.3 below). However, the number of classrooms also dictates the number of teaching posts available in any one school. For example, in one of the schools researched a combined Sub A and B

class had 85 pupils. This school qualified for another teacher but as there was no classroom, the pupils had to be taught by one teacher.

In another school, the number of pupils in a combined Standard 1, 2, 3 and 4 class was 46. In this school there was an unused classroom. If this class had been divided into two, each would consist of roughly 23 pupils. According to the DET this TPR was too low and the school did not qualify for another teacher despite the difficulties encountered by the teacher with four standards combined into one class.

After the DET has allocated a post, word is put out in the area by the principal and manager that a teacher is required. It was reported by the principals that it is they who generally find the teacher and, as it is often difficult to acquire staff in rural areas, they take who they can get. Once the manager has given his approval, the teacher is then registered with the DET. The teacher is paid by the department in accordance with their scales. As in all other education departments, if a qualified teacher becomes available where an unqualified teacher is employed, the unqualified teacher has to give way. On the whole, the farmer/manager is guided by the principal in matters relating to the employment of teachers.

Requirements since 1982 regulations				Requirements prior to 1982 regulations		
Number of teachers	Minimum acceptable qualification for a teacher - 12 years of schooling (Std 10) plus a three year certificate.	12 years of schooling (Std 10)	Currently studying for degree at University	Previously acceptable qualification for a teacher - 10 years of schooling (Std 8) plus two or three years teaching certificate.	10 years of schooling (Std 8)	Currently studying to obtain 12 years of schooling (Std 10)
Magaliesberg Valley schools N = 51	6 (12%)	11 (22%)	4	25 (49%)	7 (14%)	24
	17 (33%)			34 (67%)		
All schools for Blacks N = 83 742 ¹	10 770 (13%)	3 773 (5%)		40 592 (48%)	11 336 (14%)	
	14 543 (17%)			51 928 (62%) ¹		

Table 3.3 - Qualifications of the teachers in the Group A Magaliesberg Valley schools compared with all teachers in schools for Blacks

¹ Race Relations Survey 1983 (1984)

² The percentages do not add up to 100 as there were also teachers with other qualifications.

3.5.2 Teacher qualifications and upgrading

Although the minimum qualification for a primary school teacher is Standard 10 and a teaching diploma, these requirements have only been in force since 1982. Previously, a Standard 8 pass and a teaching certificate were required.

There were 51 teachers in the 13 group A schools researched. The majority of these teachers were trained before the new regulations came into operation. Table 3.3 shows that six of the 51 teachers are qualified according to the 1982 regulations; 25 have a Standard 8 pass and a teaching certificate and 20 have no teaching qualifications at all. Of these 18, 10 have a Standard 10 pass and 8 have a Standard 8 pass. This means that 88 % of the teachers are under-qualified in terms of the DET requirements.

When the research was conducted, 24 out of 26 teachers with a Standard 8 and a teaching certificate, were studying privately to obtain Standard 10. Fourteen of these teachers had obtained four of the required six subjects for Standard 10. A few months later, two of the 24 teachers gained exemption in six subjects increasing the number of matriculated teachers from 10 to 12.

As latterly teachers' salaries increase significantly once they have obtained the Standard 10 pass, there is a concerted drive on the part of the teachers to upgrade their qualifications. However, private study is difficult even in far better conditions than those available to farm school teachers. The net result is that teachers choose those subjects for Standard 10 which are the easiest to pass. Although the 'easy option' subjects such as Criminology, Private Law and Business Economics give the teacher a broader general knowledge, they unfortunately do not have direct relevance to the primary school curriculum. While the previous qualifications were inadequate, conforming to the new requirements does not promise to advance materially the adequacy of the teaching in primary schools.

A requirement for Standard 10 is that candidates must offer one of the official languages for examination. This language can be studied on one of two levels: the first level has the status of a first language and the second, a second language. As regards choice of the two official languages, the majority of black teachers choose English above Afrikaans. In addition, the majority choose to offer English on the level of a second language.

This means that the majority of teachers who teach through the medium of English, have thus passed English as a second language at Standard 10. Furthermore, the Standard 10 requirements are heavily weighted to literature and composition. These

aspects hardly prepare the teacher for teaching English as a subject or for using English as the medium of instruction.

It must also be taken into account that most rural teachers live and work in areas where Afrikaans rather than English is the language of commerce and general communication (see 1.3). Their exposure to English is thus limited. Moreover, the isolation of the teachers severely limits their participation in regular main stream activities such as in-service courses.

It appears that new teachers are no better off than their older counterparts. 'All the hardships that teachers and pupils have experienced in the past, and still experience in black school today, (overcrowded classrooms, underqualified teachers, inferior materials or a complete absence of study materials, inadequate facilities, lack of consultation - the list is endless) must affect the performance of students at college level' (Higgs 1990:2). The syllabuses which the students meet at college assume that they have a background which they do not. In addition, insufficient time is allotted to teaching language and the language models in other subjects are inadequate.

	Teachers	No. of combined classes	Pupils	Teacher/Pupil ratios
1	2	2	89	45
2	4	3	131	33
3	4	3	150	38
4	1	1	25	25
5	5	2	211	42
6	6	1	249	42
7	5	2	200	40
8	5	2	223	45
9	3	3	136	45
10	7	0	283	41
11	6	1	311	53
12	2	2	45	23
13	1	1	13	13
	51	23	2073	41

Table 3.4 - Teacher/pupil ratios (TPR) in the group A schools in the Magaliesberg Valley area

3.5.3 Teacher load and teacher/pupil ratios (TPR)

The national average for the TPR in black schools as calculated by the Department for Statistics is 38 pupils to one teacher (38:1). However, depending on the circumstances of the situation, the allowable TPR ranges from 1:38 - 1:45 (Shindler SAIRR 1985, personal communication). From Table 3.4 it can be seen that the average TPR in the schools researched is 41:1.

A combined class is one where two or more classes of different levels are taught in the same classroom simultaneously. Table 3.5 shows that 19 of the 21 schools have at least one combined class. In school 12, three levels or standards (1 + 2 + 3) being taught together in one classroom and in schools 1, 4 and 20, four standards have been combined. In the schools where three or more grades are taught together the enrollments are low but the logistics of the situation are very difficult indeed. The combined or multi-level class will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 3.5.4 below.

3.5.4. The combined/multi-level class - structural aspects

The phenomenon of the combined class is not specific to black farm schools in South Africa. They are found in white farm schools in South Africa and in schools in rural areas in most countries of the world. However, except for farm schools for black pupils in South Africa, the number of these schools has declined dramatically. The most important reason for this drop in numbers is population shift from rural to urban areas.

Multi-level classes are also a feature of the teaching of specific subjects such as foreign languages in urban schools in other countries. Outside of South Africa, these classes are known as multi-level classes. Because the phrase 'combined class' is used and known in the South Africa, this term will be used in this study.

School	Total Enrolment	No. of teachers	No. of combined classes	Standards combined	Total no. standards combined
14	353	8	0	-	4
11	315	6	1	3 + 4	
15	297	8	1	3 + 4	
10	285	7	0	-	
19	260	7	1	3 + 4	4
6	260	6	1	3 + 4	
8	233	5	2	1 + 2 : 3 + 4	22
5	211	5	2	A + B : 1 + 2	
7	198	5	2	1 + 2 : 3 + 4	
18	196	5	2	1 + 2 : 3 + 4	
17	195	5	2	1 + 2 : 3 + 4	
16	180	7	1	1 + 2	
3	150	4	3	A + B : 1 + 2 : 3 + 4	25
9	136	3	3	A + B : 1 + 2 : 3 + 4	
2	131	4	3	A + B : 1 + 2 : 3 + 4	
21	103	3	3	A + B : 1 + 2 : 3 + 4 + 5	
1	89	2	2	A + B : 1 + 2 + 3 + 4	22
12	46	2	2	A + B : 1 + 2 + 3	
20	29	1	1	A + B + 1 + 2	
4	26	1	1	A + B + 1 + 2	
13	12	1	1	A + B + 1	

Table 3.5 - Pupil enrolment by number of combined classes

The structural aspects of combined classes will be discussed below in relation to the distribution of combined classes and the reasons for combining classes in the farm schools.

a. Distribution of combined classes

Combined classes are a characteristic feature of farm schools. Of the 21 schools researched, 19 (90,4 %) schools have at least one combined class. In these schools the distribution is as follows:

- 8 schools have one combined class each
- 7 schools have two combined classes each
- 4 schools have three combined classes each

In the schools investigated, the total number of combined classes encountered was 77. As the majority of these combined classes are found in the lower standards of

the school, this means that most black farm school pupils have been taught in a combined class at one time or another.

b. Reasons for combining classes

There are two major reasons for combining classes. These are:

- 1) low pupil enrolment
and
- 2) insufficient classrooms.

1) Low enrolment

The factors which give rise to low pupil numbers - namely, the scattered nature of the farming community (3.2.1); inadequate transport (3.4.6); the problems of itinerant labour (3.4.5); the poverty of black farm labourers (3.4.5) and the attitudes of farmer/managers (3.4.3) have been dealt with in the sections indicated in brackets.

The result of the low enrolment is that the TPR is below that set by the DET i.e., 1:38. If the number in a class falls well below 38 pupils, two classes are combined. In those classes where the numbers are very low (i.e., 5 - 6 pupils per grade) two, three or four consecutive classes are combined.

It is noteworthy that the general trend shown by Table 3.5 suggests that as enrolment decreases, so the number of combined classes increases. This is the case with schools which have an enrolment figure of above 100 pupils. In schools which have an enrolment of under 100, the number of combined classes decreases, but the number of standards or levels combined together increases Table 3.6 shows that three schools have a combined class of three standards and two have a combined class of four standards.

No of standards combined	Standards combined	No of times standards combined	Average TPR
1. Two standards	A + B	7	1 : 48
2. Two standards	1 + 2	9	1 : 51
3. Two standards	3 + 4	11	1 : 43
4. Three standards	A + B + 1	1	1 : 12
5. Three standards	1 + 2 + 3	1	1 : 23
6. Three standards	3 + 4 + 5	1	1 : 30
7. Four standards	A + B + 1 + 2	2	1 : 28
8. Four standards	1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5	1	1 : 43

Table 3.6 - Standards combined

2. Insufficient Classrooms

According to the set TPR i.e., 1:38, a school with an enrolment of 280 pupils or more, qualifies for one teacher per class. Where schools with this number of pupils have combined classes, the problem is that there is a shortage of classrooms.

Table 3.5 shows that schools 11 and 15 have more than 280 pupils but each has one combined class. If more classrooms are built at these schools, more teachers will be allocated and the combined classes will fall away altogether.

The problem of insufficient classrooms applies also to schools 8 and 5 (see Table 3.5) as according to enrolment figures both of these schools qualify for an additional teacher. When more classrooms are built, there will simply be a reduction in the number of combined classes that exist at present i.e., one combined class instead of two.

All the aspects considered above have the same end point - the users of the system, the pupils. In the next section the problems which the pupils bring to and find in the farm school classroom will be considered.

3.6 The reality of the school - the pupils

What the pupils bring to the classroom and what they find in the classroom reflect all the problems and difficulties described above.

3.6.1 The problems which the pupils bring to school

The problems which the pupils bring to the classroom and which have a direct bearing on their schooling are: irregular school attendance, beginning school when they are not ready and dropping out of school before they are literate.

a. Irregular attendance

In paragraph 3.4.6 it was shown that one of the main reasons for pupils not attending school regularly and for arriving late for lessons is a lack of adequate and regular transport. Family needs and truancy were discussed in paragraph 3.4.5 as another reason for poor attendance and lateness. In paragraphs 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, irregular school attendance and lateness were shown to affect negatively both the pass and drop-out rates.

The majority of the pupils who do come to school, albeit late, have had to get up very early to do their chores. They then have to find transport or walk to school. Most pupils begin the day's schooling tired, hungry and late.

b. Lack of school readiness

The demands on the farm labourer's time and energy which in turn impact on the children's time and energy are not conducive to allowing the kind of interactions which aid the development of school readiness. Talk about situations outside of the here and now, handling books, organized play and exposure to the media are too limited to help the children when they come to school for the first time. In addition, the physical living conditions of both permanent and itinerant workers (see 3.4.5) do not provide an environment which is helpful for building school readiness. Important work concerning these issues has been carried out by researchers such as Heath (1987), Donaldson (1978) and Gee (1989). Their findings and their theories will be discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

In addition, a great deal of what the children have learnt at home revolves around a rural situation but the topics in the school subjects and the curriculum in general are oriented to the urban situation. For example, the science textbooks when dealing with conservation, present this topic in relation to how urban dwellers treat the environment not rural dwellers. Thus, pupils are unable to utilize their experience and knowledge.

Moreover, this situation is exacerbated by the fact that the children do not always go to a school where their mother tongue is that of the medium of instruction of the school. In section 1.3, the difference in the provision in terms of mother tongue instruction between urban and rural schools was discussed. Further difficulties relating to linguistic mismatch will be dealt with below in paragraph 3.6.2.

3.6.2 Problems which the pupils find in the classroom

a. Large classes

Once in school, the children usually find themselves in very large classes in the first years - it is not usual to find a Sub A class with 50 pupils. The teachers who are given the responsibility of teaching the lower classes are usually those with the least qualifications if they have any qualifications at all. The idea that early learners do not need to know a great deal of content appears to give rise to the misguided idea that they do not need qualified teachers. In a number of instances, these classes are doubled when the first two years i.e., Sub A and Sub B are combined.

The combined classes are usually very large (50 - 120). The teacher not only has the difficult task of trying to keep one half of the class occupied, but also (s)he must teach the other half. If (s)he is teaching one group e.g. Sub B, what does (s)he do with the Sub As? Little children in the best of circumstances do not work easily

on their own. Young children who are able to do so, have large spaces, plenty of equipment and teachers qualified to handle these kinds of situations.

b. Unqualified and underqualified teachers

Qualified black teachers often do not have the know-how and if they do, they do not have the space and equipment. For the unqualified teacher, the difficulties of the situation are compounded. Both qualified and unqualified teachers appear to have found that the way to handle this situation is to conduct very controlled, teacher-centered classes where generally both classes are taught together i.e., no differentiation is made between Sub A and B. It is a common sight to see pupils in these standards sitting quietly and doing nothing.

c. Under-utilization of the learning environment

A characteristic of these classes is the teacher sitting at her table with a long line of pupils waiting to have their books corrected. Those who have completed their work join the group who sit quietly and wait. It is rare to see a teacher walking around the classroom correcting, checking and explaining. The line is long and the teacher does not have the time to deal with pupils who are experiencing difficulties - the lack of feedback (either positive or negative) from the teachers is glaringly evident in these classrooms both while they are teaching and correcting. Thus problems and difficulties being experienced by the pupils are, on the whole, left to accumulate until they are irremediable. The net result is failure and drop-out.

The pupils may come to school unready for the situation which they find in the classroom but they do not come to school with no knowledge at all. For example, all children 'are sent' - they go to the farm shop for their parents or they accompany an older sibling. They therefore know something about quantities and money. Paulo Freire (1972) claims that the experience of the children and what they bring to the classroom constitutes relevant knowledge. Unfortunately, the kind of training which the teachers receive and the difficulties of ill-equipped and large classes does not enable them to make the best possible use of the knowledge and experience of the children.

d. Lack of functional literacy

Although there is world wide debate as to what it means to be literate, UNESCO'S criterion is generally followed at present. 'A person who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life' is said to be literate (quoted in Bullock, 1976:11). When a person can maintain this minimal level he is considered to be functionally literate. This implies that he has had sufficient schooling to internalize these skills so that unlearning or extinction does

not take place. The Bullock Report (Ibid:16) maintains that seven years schooling is sufficient.

Table 3.2 shows the cumulative drop out rate at the end of year six of the primary school is 51%. The application of the Bullock Report criteria for literacy means that 51 % of the pupils in the area researched leave school before they are functionally literate. The implications of this for the future of these pupils are far reaching.

e. Farm school managers

In a number of instances, farm school managers add further to the constraints of the situation:

- they threaten closure of schools if the pupils do not work on the farms when they want them to
- they do not allow the children to attend the school on the farm if the children do not pay school funds
- in one instance the manager did not allow the pupils to attend school if the pupils did not have a school uniform.

f. Linguistic Mismatch

In the review of Language Policy (see 1.3), it was shown that the medium of instruction for black pupils for the first four years of their schooling is in the vernacular. Pupils are required to attend a school where the language being taught is that spoken by the parents.

In the large urban townships there are schools for each language group, but in the rural areas this kind of provision cannot be made. In these areas, the language of the school is that spoken by the majority of the people in the area and not all language groups can be catered for.

Although the language offered in a school is that of the majority not all children are taught in their mother tongue. Moreover, the movement of the pupils from school to school can mean that the language in which they are being taught keeps changing. For example, some of the schools offer Tswana as the vernacular, some offer Northern Sotho and others offer Zulu. If a pupil were to change from a Tswana speaking school to a Zulu speaking school, not only would (s)he have to learn a different language, but also, (s)he would be change to a different group of languages (from Sotho to Nguni). It would be difficult in this case for the pupil to gain mastery of any language and consequently such a change would have a detrimental effect on the pupil's literacy. The implications of this situation will be examined in Chapter 5.

Before leaving this topic, it is important at this juncture to say more about a separate but related issue: the number of languages which the pupils are required to learn.

It has been pointed out above that for the first four years of schooling the medium of instruction is the vernacular. It has also been shown the vernacular is not always the mother tongue of the pupils. A number of pupils thus begin their school experience with their mother tongue and the vernacular of the school. In year two, the pupils are introduced to the first official language and in year three to the second official language.

In the fifth year, the medium of instruction changes to one of the official languages while the vernacular becomes a subject in the syllabus. At this point of changeover of the medium of instruction, it is assumed that the pupils are literate in the vernacular. In both the vernacular and in the official language, the emphasis moves from oral to written, and from listening and speaking to reading and writing. The outcomes of this burden of languages will also be examined in Chapter 5.

3.7 Summary

The problems which the pupils bring from home are a combination of the constraints rooted in rural poverty. The problems which the pupils meet in the classrooms spring from the poverty of the education system. The results are a high failure and drop-out rate which sends pupils back into difficult situation from which they have come.

The teachers, on the other hand, bring to the classroom, the results of an inadequate education system, and they find in the classroom, children from deprived backgrounds.

At the time that the research was carried out, the political situation did not permit direct intervention by informal education groups in the schools. However, help directed to the teachers was welcomed by the teachers. The department also condoned this kind of intervention as long as it did not interfere with official policy on any level. With this accessibility the logical focus for the intervention was the teachers. Hence it was their needs that were addressed. In the next chapter the perceived teachers' needs and how they were used to establish a teacher intervention programme will be examined.

CHAPTER 4

FARM SCHOOLS OBSERVED (2): TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN ACTION AND INACTION.

'The classroom is the crucible.'

Stephen Gaies (quoted in Allwright, 1983:202)

4.1 Introduction

Based on an awareness of the difficulties urban black primary teachers (see paragraph 1.2) were having in using and teaching English as a second language, ELTIC launched an investigation into the situation for black primary farm school teachers. The purpose of the research which is to be reported in this chapter was to identify the English teaching and learning needs of the farm school teachers with a view to establishing a course to help these teachers to improve their own English, the teaching of English and the use of English as the medium of instruction.

In Chapter 3 an account of a 'typical' farm school was given: what the school looks like and how it operates were described. This description demonstrated that in terms of physical provision, administration and management, farm school education is deprived. An examination of the political, social and economic context showed that these macro issues underpin the difficult situation in which farm schools find themselves. On the basis of these issues, a discussion followed of what the teachers and pupils bring to the classroom and what they find there.

There are, however, other issues which are more closely related to the educational aspects which also have an effect on the farm school situation. These relate to the learning/teaching situation or in other words what happens in the classroom. In this chapter the data obtained from the questionnaire survey, the formal and informal interviews, and from classroom observation as it pertains to the learning/teaching situation in the farm schools is examined. It is then demonstrated that although these findings go some way to explaining what goes on in the classrooms, the picture is not complete.

In the description and the analysis of the farm school situation, in the previous chapter, pedagogical matters were touched on only where they were relevant to the wider issues being examined. Based on the findings of the research, these issues will now be looked at in more detail.

Three of the problem areas identified in Chapter 3 - combined classes, the lack of suitably qualified teachers and the choice of the language as the medium of instruction - constitute the underlying themes of this chapter. The first part of this chapter reports on the perceived needs of teachers in relation to their own English, the teaching of English as a subject and the use of English to teach content subjects. The data was collected from 95 teachers from 21 schools.

The second section documents the observations by the researcher of lessons given by teachers from this same group. This provides an account of the researcher's perspective of the teachers' needs - the real needs (see 2.2.1). The report on the observation is in two parts: general findings and specific findings. The general findings are those which the researcher found to be typical of both urban and rural black primary schools. The specific findings are those which relate to farm schools only. The second part contains an account of the organization and the rationale for the occurrence of combined classes as they pertain to the 21 schools researched. The problem of isolation is also dealt with.

In the last section of the chapter, the first year of the pilot intervention is reported briefly. The organization of the intervention, the rationale for the course content and the outcome are documented.

Finally it is argued that on the basis of the research findings and the results of the intervention, neither the macro considerations examined in Chapter 3 nor the needs and research findings reported in this chapter are sufficient to explain the difficulties identified in the learning/teaching situation in the farm schools.

4.2 Perceived needs of teachers

Perceived or spontaneous needs are those emanating directly from the interviewees themselves concerning their own feelings and views about the subject under investigation. Perceived needs can be contrasted with real needs which are those pointed to by the interviewer (in this case) (see 2.2.1).

In all 21 schools researched, the principals are not solely administrators, they are also full-time teachers. Thus, when numbers of teachers are referred to, principals are included.

At the first meeting of the researcher with the staff, the teachers were required to respond in writing to questions concerning their perceived language teaching needs. This questionnaire (see Appendix A) was used with teachers as soon as possible after meeting them to obviate the possibility of the researcher influencing the

teachers' responses. At the same meeting, data was also obtained from formal oral interview questions (see Appendix B). Finally, at the end of the meeting, information was volunteered in informal discussion.

The total number of teachers in the 21 schools is 95. Ninety-four of these teachers were available to be interviewed formally and to complete the questionnaire. Sixty-five teachers were involved in informal discussion with the researcher: in almost all instances this was on a one-to-one basis with the researcher.

The responses to the questionnaire are discussed below under the following headings:

- Teachers' own English (Question 5)
- The teaching of English as a subject (Question 6)
- The content subjects (Question 7)

4.2.1 The teachers' need to improve their own English

Question 5: *Do you think you need help with your own English?*

93 teachers responded 'yes'; one 'no'

If your answer is 'yes', say what kind of help you would like?

81 wanted 'everything', 'all skills', 'all English', i.e., a general upgrading course.

6 asked for a specific course in reading comprehension

5 wanted a course which would concentrate on oral fluency skills

2 requested English to enable them to pass English in the matriculation examination.

It is of note here that although the researcher read out each question on the questionnaire and explained it before the teachers wrote their replies, in most instances further explanation and simplification was necessary. Even after the explanation, 26 % of the teachers answered the question: What kind of help do you think you need? (concerning content subjects) with 'Language problems', 'many difficulties' etc. This indicated that the listening and reading skills of the respondents required attention. In addition, the written responses showed basic language errors. For example in response to the question: What kind of help do you think you need? - 'Any help as long as it can improve myself'; 'Lessons and method to deliver the facts home'; 'where I need help is reading ...'

4.2.2 The teachers' need for help in the teaching of English as a subject

Question 6: *Do you need help to teach English as a Subject?*

All 94 teachers replied affirmatively to this question.

Question 7: *In which areas do you need help?*

The responses of the teachers were as follows:

- 53 - all areas
- 31 - teaching oral fluency
- 21 - teaching reading and comprehension
- 7 - teaching composition writing
- 4 - remedial work in particular language and reading

Note: there are more responses than there are participating teachers because a number of teachers identified more than one area in which they need help.

In the interview, the teachers talked about the lack of oral fluency of the Standard 3 pupils. They said they need to be able to help their pupils to better oral fluency. Some of the teachers thought that oral fluency meant pronunciation. It is in Standard 3 that the pupils make the change from mother tongue as the medium of instruction to one of the two official languages as the medium of instruction. Many of the teachers said that they are forced to use the vernacular of the school because of the pupils' lack of proficiency in English (see paragraphs 4.3.1, 4.3.6 and 4.3.7).

The higher primary teachers (Standards 3 - 5) expressed the need to know how to improve their pupils' reading ability. They spoke out strongly about how large classes and combined classes militate against their being able to give individual attention to pupils' reading difficulties (see paragraphs 4.2.4 and 4.4.4).

4.2.3 The teachers' need for help in teaching the content subjects

Question 8: *Do you think you need help to teach the content subjects?*

All 94 teachers replied positively to this question.

Before the teachers answered Question 9, the researcher asked them whether any of them were experiencing difficulties teaching any specific subject(s). The response was as follows:

- 40 - all subjects
- 21 - Mathematics

- 18 - General Science
- 10 - Geography
- 1 → 5 - all other subjects

Question 9: *What kind of help do you need with content subjects?*

Nine teachers completed this question with irrelevant answers. Of the remaining 85, 79 said that they needed to improve their teaching methodology. Approximately 30 of the 77 felt they needed help with the content of the subjects as well as with the methodology. Three teachers said they need help with content only and four wanted guidance in note-making.

During the interview, the teachers talked about the difficulty they experienced in getting concepts across to pupils. They felt the problem lay in the pupils' inadequate knowledge of English. A number of teachers said they were constrained to use the vernacular to explain concepts (see paragraphs 4.3.1 and 4.3.7).

4.2.4 The teachers' other perceived needs

The following general points concerning teachers' needs emerged from the findings:

a. Remedial work

The teachers expressed concern about slow pupils. The classes are large and there is pressure on the teachers to complete the syllabus requirements. Therefore, teachers are unable to give the weaker pupils the time they require. The net result is that these pupils fall further and further behind. Teachers expressed a need for training and time to engage in remedial work.

b. Combined classes

The teachers asked for help to handle combined classes: many Standard 5 teachers expressed dissatisfaction that pupils reached this class without firm grounding in English and Mathematics. They talked of the impossibility of teaching the required basics as well as covering the syllabuses in these subjects. The teachers largely attributed the pupils' inadequacies in English and Mathematics to the combined classes lower down in the school. In these classes the teachers are attempting to cover more than one syllabus at a time (see paragraph 4.4.4) and time is short. Quality is often sacrificed for quantity.

c. Teacher preparation time

Many teachers of combined classes complained about the amount of preparation which they have to do. They talked about having to prepare two or more lessons for each subject. The number of lessons they have to prepare for each subject

depends on the number of grades combined into one class. In addition to the preparation, they have to mark all these different exercises.

It was interesting to note that some of these teachers have + 25 pupils in their combined classes which is far below the set TPR of 1:38. When this was pointed out to the teachers they discounted the relatively small number of pupils by saying that they still have the same amount of work. They all claimed that an additional teacher would solve their problems. This issue will be discussed further below (see 4.4.4).

d. The need for teaching aids

Virtually every teacher expressed the need for teaching aids, i.e., maps, globes, wall charts, pictures, diagrams, and Science kits. A number of teachers said they made their own aids but these were not really satisfactory. In addition, those teachers who made aids had to bear the cost themselves. Facilities for duplicating are almost entirely absent. Even typewriters are not available.

4.3 Findings - general

From the data collected from the observation of 57 lessons in the 21 farm schools (see Table 4.1), it was evident that some of the findings are typical to both urban and rural schools whereas others are typical only to farm schools. In this section those findings relevant to both are reported. This section has been organized so that each part occurs in the same order as in the questionnaire i.e., teachers' English, the teaching of English as a subject and the teaching of the content subjects. In addition, a further aspect, classroom management has been appended. The data in this section was collected from the observation of 36 English lessons and from informal discussion with the teachers after their lessons. The TALOS observation schedule was used (see Appendix C and paragraph 2.8.3).

4.3.1 The teachers' own English proficiency

a. Oral fluency

The majority of teachers can be said to be fluent in their use of English. The observer found they can speak easily on general topics with which they are familiar. While there are errors in their language and the variety of grammatical structures is limited, communication is not hindered. The teachers' knowledge of vocabulary is adequate for general purposes. In brief, the teachers can converse more than adequately in an informal situation. On the adapted Carroll rating (see Appendix E) the average symbol attained would be "C".

However, in the classroom, where more specific language is required, the teachers are not always fluent. Many teachers were unable to explain a specific topic such as the functions of a leaf or how to use the index of an atlas simply and coherently. One Science lesson was introduced with 'We will deal about the heart' and another with 'Look at how a cell look like'.

Moreover, the teachers appeared to have difficulties using vocabulary accurately to present logical arguments and in understanding and conveying cause and effect relationships. This gave rise to difficulties in getting concepts across to the pupils. For example, at the end of a combined Standard 3 and 4 lesson on the reasons for Van Riebeeck coming to the Cape, the pupils were not clear as to what a refreshment station is and the connection between the coming of the D.E.L.C. and the refreshment station. Some other examples of similar difficulties in different subjects which were observed with other teachers in a range of schools are: 'borrowing', 'addends', 'quotient', in Mathematics; relief maps and natural regions in Geography; lymphatic and circulatory systems in Science etc.

Some teachers experience difficulties with certain areas of pronunciation this affects the pupils' grasp of meaning, spelling and pronunciation. For example when 'it' sounds like 'eat' and when 'heat' sounds like 'head'.

School observed	No. of teachers observed	No. of lessons observed	No. of subjects observed
1	2	7	English (4), Science (2), Maths (1)
2	4	4	English (4)
3	3	3	English (3)
4	5	9	English (5), Maths (2), Geography (2)
5	2	3	English (2), Geography (1)
6	2	3	English (2), Maths (1)
7	1	2	English (2)
8	2	2	English (1), Maths (1)
9	2	3	English (2), Afrikaans (1)
10	3	3	Maths (1), Science (1), History (1)
11	2	2	English (2)
12	2	4	English (1), History (1), Geography (1), Science (1)
14	3	5	English (3), Maths (2)
15	1	1	English (1)
17	1	2	English (1), Maths (1)
18	4	4	English (2), Science (2)
21	1	1	English (1)
Total 17	40	58	English (36) Maths (9) Science (6) Geography (4) History (2) Afrikaans (1)

Table 4.1 - Number of lessons observed in farm schools

b. Listening

Most teachers were able to understand the researcher's mother tongue English with ease in informal discussion. But during the interviews when the language register became more formal, there were considerable problems. The researcher had frequently to repeat and rephrase questions and statements (see paragraph 4.2.1).

c. Reading

The only opportunity which the researcher had to assess the teachers' reading skills directly, was when the teachers completed the questionnaire. Many teachers needed help in interpreting the questions (see paragraph 4.2.1). Indirectly, in the classroom, from the questions which the teachers asked their pupils and from some of the interpretation which teachers placed on comprehension texts there appeared to be

difficulties in reading. In a number of instances when teachers read the texts aloud to the class poor phrasing seemed to indicate a lack of comprehension. In an English lesson in a Standard 2 class, the teacher read a story in which he paused in the middle of most sentences and not at the full stops.

d. Writing

Many basic errors in grammar and sentence construction were noted in the teachers' writing on the chalkboard. A few examples of these errors are: The boy teachd his sister reading; The girl walk to school; Mary, he is standing on the window; My father does not works very hard. In the response to the questionnaires, spelling mistakes and grammatical errors were frequent (see 4.2.1).

4.2.2 Teaching English as a subject

It is important to note that the teachers prepared specific lessons for the researcher. They were asked beforehand to choose whatever lesson they wished to teach as long as it was in English. It can be assumed that the teachers chose both content and method with which they felt comfortable and familiar.

Thirty-six English lessons were observed. With three exceptions, the lessons observed focused on the teaching of either a grammatical structure or listening comprehension or reading comprehension. The three part sequence of: teacher initiation, student response and teacher evaluation (IRE) (see 1.4) characterized all but two of the 36 English lessons observed.

4.3.2 The syllabus and the approach

The English syllabus provided by the DET has a strong bias towards the Structuralist approach. Although the 1982 DET Primary School Syllabus and Work Programme shows an attempt at integrating the language skills, i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing, the focus of each unit to be taught is a grammatical structure or form.

The Structuralist Approach is based on the assumption that learning a language is a mechanical process of habit formation. Language habits are formed by learning to manipulate grammatical structures not by understanding and acquiring knowledge or by being creative (Richards and Rogers, 1988:50-52). The learning process takes place by induction. In the classroom the procedures which the structuralists say bring about the required language behaviours are;

- teaching one grammatical item at a time
- mimicry, memorization and pattern drills
- no explanations and no rules are given

- concentration on listening and speaking skills
- all learners work at the same step-by-step pace
- successful responses are reinforced and errors stamped out by constant repetition of the correct form.

The demands and requirements of Structuralism lend themselves to the IRE approach. This will be exemplified below in 4.3.4 and the problems which emerge from this approach will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 4.3.7.

4.3.4 Teaching language structures

The above procedures were evident in all the lessons observed where structures were taught. A typical lesson, for example, proceeded as follows: the teacher writes a sentence on the board which exemplifies a specific structure, such as the past tense. The teacher then reads the sentence aloud. In chorus the pupils repeat three or four times what the teacher has said. Another sentence is written on the board and the process is repeated.

Up to six examples in one lesson can be treated in this way. Memorization, or rote-learning, and mimicry predominate in this mode of teaching.

Sometimes this sort of procedure is followed up by the teacher erasing the particular structure in the sentence and the pupils have then to supply the structure first individually and then in chorus. Here memorization and the correct response are being reinforced. At other times, the teacher changes the sentence into a question and the pupils must respond with the statement as it appears on the board. In this technique a pattern drill which should lead to generalization of the rule is in operation.

Throughout all these procedures the pupils are made to proceed at the same pace. No individual needs are taken into account. When the individual pupils are called upon, incorrect responses are just passed over: correct responses are reinforced either by the teacher repeating the answer or the class being asked to repeat it in chorus at least twice but generally up to five times. The teacher gives no feedback by way of explanation for incorrect answers nor a 'good' for a correct answer. Most pupils appeared to be mouthing what the others were saying.

Two lessons differed noticeably from the others. These lessons were significant in that the teachers gave the pupils an opportunity to use the grammatical structure being taught in sentences of their own.

4.3.5 Teaching the language skills

The IRE procedure described above is not only typical of grammar lessons but also of lessons focusing on language skills.

In the lessons observed reading means class reading. Two approaches towards class reading are adopted. In the first, the teacher reads a sentence or two and the pupils chorus in repetition until their response is to the teacher's satisfaction. In the second, the pupils read a few sentences each in turn, around the class. Here it was noted that the majority of pupils struggle to read a few sentences on their own. The teacher prompts and the pupils mimic what she says until they get it right.

Where the pupils do seem able to read, there is evidence to suggest that they know the passages by rote. They do not read the words on the page. In one lesson, the researcher was invited to go around the class and ask the pupils to read selected parts of her choice. When the researcher covered words and asked the pupil to read, (s)he continued to read what was covered up. The pupil was unable to read from the middle of a sentence or the middle of a paragraph. This occurred with four out of the five pupils who were tested in this way.

In another instance, a class of 42 pupils was reading a very short text. It took about eight pupils each reading one or two sentences to get through the text. The teacher insisted that as it was a reading lesson, each pupil should read aloud. It took five readings to get round the class. The pat responses of the pupils to the teacher's checking questions at the end indicated that the pupils had memorized the text.

The pupils do not write very much. Most of the writing that is done follows thorough drilling. The written work which the researcher examined revealed difficulties with punctuation, spelling, vocabulary and sentence construction. Moreover, structures which had been drilled were often incorrectly used. A large number of pupils cannot copy accurately from the chalkboard or the textbooks.

Composition writing is an important section in the syllabus. The aim of composition writing is to give pupils an opportunity to use structures and vocabulary creatively in sentences and paragraphs. In one Standard 5 class, pupils were observed attempting to construct a composition by stringing together sentences which had previously been drilled.

Specific listening activities appear to revolve around listening 'comprehension'. Pupils do not listen for understanding of the content: they listen so that they can repeat what they have heard. For example, a Standard 4 teacher began a listening

comprehension lesson, by giving an excellent reading of an animal fable to the class. Her intonation, expression, miming and humour all added up to a very good story telling lesson. The pupils did not relax for a minute, they sat still in their desks with no response. The teacher then repeated the story. When she asked the pupils questions about the text, the answers were parroted. The words of the text were repeated. One pupil, when asked a specific question, recounted the text almost word for word.

Even taking into consideration the shyness of the pupils and the fact that they are unused to strangers, the response to the researcher's informal questions was minimal. Most did not appear to understand basic questions. It was mainly the older pupils who replied to simple questions. Their responses were in the main learned ones, e.g. I am living at x farm, I am twelve years old.

Thus, basically, what happens is that the teachers drill the content - be it a structure, a comprehension text or a composition - so that the pupils learn everything by rote. It was argued at 1.4 that in its extreme, this pattern of classroom interaction leads to rote-learning and, at its best, has only limited applicability in providing the pupils with learning strategies. In addition, it was pointed out that this usefulness is found where there is a narrow skills orientation or in teaching basic facts.

4.3.6 Teaching the content subjects

Twenty-one lessons were observed in which a content subject was taught in English. The subjects taught were Mathematics, General Science, Geography and History. The classes involved were Standard 3 - 5. See Table 4.1. The FLINT observation scheme was adapted so that its use pertaining to combined classes and the use of an L2 as the medium of instruction could be incorporated. This section will be dealt with in three parts, these are approach, English as the medium of instruction and textbooks.

a. Approach

The basic approach adopted by the teachers was IRE. Generally, the teacher introduced the lesson by giving the pupils the facts about the topic. The facts and their related concepts were then explained. The input was then checked with questions. In most cases half of the lesson was devoted to the teacher's questioning. After a correct response had been received, the class chorused the answer three or four times.

It was interesting to note that in content subject lessons, at least 50 % of the teachers used real objects. Although the purpose of using real objects is to aid the pupils in discovering information for themselves, in the lessons observed the objects were used for demonstration, not for exploration or use by the pupils. For example, in a combined Standard 3 and 4 lesson on the composition of soil, the teacher placed before each pupil a sample of sand, loam and stones. At no point in the lesson were the pupils asked to handle their samples and comment on them. During the teacher's explanation and questioning the pupils were asked only to look at the samples before them. Often, the pupils were not arranged in groups when working with real objects. In addition, pupils were rarely asked to discuss anything with each other.

b. English as the medium of instruction

Group work was utilized in four of the 19 content subject lessons observed. When the pupils did work in groups they talked together. Although the lessons were conducted in English, the pupils spoke in the vernacular. This was the only pupil-to-pupil interaction observed by the researcher.

The vernacular was also frequently used by the teachers to explain concepts. The teachers say that it is the pupils' lack of English which necessitates the use of the vernacular (see 4.2.3). It was clear however, that the teachers struggled to express themselves simply and coherently. It appears that the teachers themselves are not fluent in these specific areas of English.

c. Textbooks

Teachers rely heavily on the textbooks for the content information and to guide them in fulfilling the syllabus requirements. The use of these textbooks does, however, give rise to problems.

The explanations in the textbooks are often difficult to follow owing to an oversimplification of the language. Logical connectors which are vital clue words in the development of an argument are frequently misused. In addition, paragraph construction is frequently faulty. Advanced technical terms are liberally interspersed with this simplified language. In some instances a distortion of the facts has resulted.

In order to decode and interpret the textbooks, the teachers' reading skills have to be of a high standard. Evidence that black primary school teachers do not have the requisite reading skills was found by the researcher, when she taught a reading skills course to 70 black teachers in Soweto in 1983.

Nevertheless, there are sections of the textbooks such as the drawings, tables, diagrams and writing activities which could be purposefully used. Teachers were, however, unable to use these pictorial representations as aids in their lessons.

4.2.7 Classroom management skills

The classroom environment was looked at from the point of view of how it was managed in order to facilitate effective learning. Although the aspects of classroom management which are under consideration are discussed below separately for clarity, they are, in reality, interrelated.

The data on which the discussion is based was obtained from the observation of 58 lessons. Forty teachers were involved.

a. Physical Organization and Control

In 54 of the lessons observed, the pupils were formally seated in rows. Strict control was maintained at all times. The pupils rarely moved out of their own desks. They spoke to the teacher only when spoken to and they seldom engaged in pupil-to-pupil interaction. The teacher dominated the classroom.

In contrast, in four lessons where teachers used group work, the pupils were actively engaged. They talked together (in the vernacular) and the teacher was not the focus of attention.

b. Teacher talking time/pupil talking time

Teacher talking time is the total amount of time the teacher spends talking in any one lesson. It is therefore made up not only of the talking involved in conveying facts, giving explanations etc. but also of questions, instructions and comments. Similarly, pupil talking time is the total amount of talking that the pupils do in any one lesson.

On average, in the 58 lessons observed, the teachers talked for 80 % of the time and the pupils for 20%. The teachers were thus essentially dominant and the pupils passive.

c. Type of teacher/pupil interaction

Teacher talk consisted of connected discourse (a sequence of sentences) during explanations but isolated sentences and phrases when they were asking questions, responding to their pupils, giving instructions or maintaining control. Pupil talk was made up mainly of words and phrases. Pupils only used full sentences when they were asked to respond to a question in full.

Almost all the interactions between teacher and pupil consisted of one exchange i.e., teacher asks a question, pupil answers, sometimes the teacher responds and sometimes not. There was thus little attempt at engaging the pupils in real discourse. The following brief interchange in a Standard 3 class is characteristic of the lessons observed:

Teacher: The heart is a pump. The heart is a ... Thami?

Thami: A pump.

Teacher: Right. (or no answer) Class, what is the heart?

(This last interchange between the teacher and the pupils may be repeated four or five times.)

d. Questioning

All the teachers used many questions in all of the lessons observed but the purposes of the questions and hence the levels were limited. With very few exceptions, the teachers observed used questions to check understanding and to get pupils to recall information. While these are important functions the questions were usually bogus e.g. 'Do you understand?', 'Yes, Mistress'.

The other equally important purposes for questioning e.g. leading pupils to understanding, stimulating interest, getting pupils to express their own views etc., were seldom used. The few purposes for which questions were used were further limited by teachers using almost exclusively simple (low-level) questions. At best low-level questions offer practice in formal structures. The lack of high-level questions precludes an important opportunity to stimulate the pupils' reasoning ability.

While teachers often distributed their questions widely so giving a good number of pupils a chance to answer, probing techniques were notably absent. Probing allows the pupil to explore the topic and thus think about it more deeply. Wrong answers are not always 'wrong', the pupil may not have enough language or there may be some other difficulty. By probing the teacher helps the pupil to reformulate his ideas in order to arrive at the answer.

e. Feedback

One of the most striking features in these observed lessons was the lack of response of the teachers to the pupils. Teachers rarely commented on pupils' responses. Correct answers and particularly good answers were not commented on. The

expected 'good' or 'excellent' or 'yes' were not forthcoming. Generally the teacher simply went on to the next question.

Even less frequently did teachers give feedback to pupils who answered incorrectly. Pupils were not told why their answers were wrong. In many cases pupils were not even told that their answers were wrong. In those instances when the question was passed on to another pupil who gave a different answer also without teacher comment, the pupils were clearly confused.

In the observation of 54 lessons the researcher noted only 6 occasions when meaningful feedback was engaged in.

f. Pupil passivity

The pupils' part in the learning process is essentially passive. They sit quietly in their rows; speak only when asked to and dutifully chorus answers, drills and reading. However, when the pupils are asked a question many hands are raised. The pupils are clearly still eager to participate and learn at this stage.

4.3.8 Setting of tests and examinations

Tests which were written on the chalkboard and examinations from previous years were available for scrutiny. Serious errors in language, in the clarity of instructions and in the lay-out were noted. For example, a Standard 3 class was given a gap-filling exercise with a list of answers to test pronouns. There were six items. Four of the answers given did not fit any of the gaps.

A gap-filling comprehension with spelling errors and unclear instructions which was part of a Standard 4 end-of-year examination has been included in Appendix F.

4.3.9 Summary of general findings

The nature of the learning environment that emerged from the observations is informed by the following trends:

- the teacher is the disseminator of knowledge
- the pupils are passive learners
- the emphasis is on memory, practice and rote learning
- the interaction is one way (teacher → pupil)
- the exchanges in the interactions are limited
- interpersonal relations are disregarded.

4.4 Findings - specific

4.4.1 Introduction

The findings to be reported in this section relate specifically to the problems of farm schools.

4.4.2 Isolation of teachers

Because of the scattered nature of the rural areas and the lack of transport, most of the farm schools researched are isolated from what is happening in the urban areas and from one another.

The teachers are invited to attend very few courses and even fewer of these focus specifically on farm school teachers and farm school problems whereas in Soweto, so many courses are offered that teachers there say they have difficulty in choosing which to attend. It has been pointed out in 3.5.2 that the language of commerce in the area is Afrikaans and thus for those teachers who live in the area, their exposure to English is limited.

Teachers within an area do not have very much contact with one another either. The contact which they do have is confined to the occasional course, sports competitions and some social contact if they live in the same area. There is no centre where teachers can meet to exchange views, solve problems, share ideas and have access to resources.

None of these schools has a fully equipped library and the closest public library is in one of two urban areas between 80 - 100 km away depending on the location of the school. Two of the schools have a small selection of resource books. Thus, in the remainder of the schools, the teachers and their pupils have no access to resource books.

4.4.3 Isolation of pupils

The majority of pupils have no urban contact and they are more isolated than their teachers. While many of the children travel long distances to and from school (see 3.4.6) all this means is that they are moving from one rural area to another. Those children who live close to their schools also move to and from school but they are largely limited to one area.

Excursions to museums, zoos and places of interest such as newspapers and factories are rare. Those that do take place are funded by the pupils themselves either indirectly from their school funds or directly by contributing money over and

above their school funds. There are pupils who cannot afford the school funds, let alone extras. Two principals reported not having taken pupils on trips for two or more years owing to insufficient funds being available. Other principals complained of farmer/managers not releasing funds for excursions except on rare occasions and the managers deciding when and where the excursion would take place.

In addition, very few pupils have access to supplementary reading material, resource books, television and films. Without the kind of background provided by these resources, it is unlikely that the pupils make much sense of topics such as : Roman history, the political division of Germany, capital cities of the world etc., with which their syllabuses abound.

It was interesting to note that all but four of the schools where the research was conducted were in possession of a radio. These have been distributed by the DET so that the teachers and pupils could utilize the schools' radio service. This service provides information on a wide range of topics in all the subjects. The interested schools receive a programme so that they can work these programmes into their time-tables. However, on one occasion, the researcher arrived in a classroom to hear a talk on the rivers of Africa while the Standard 3 class was writing an English test.

Outside of their classrooms, pupils rarely have the opportunity to hear or speak English. Moreover, as has been pointed out at 4.3.7 (c and d) the pupils' use of the language in the classroom is limited. Thus, not only does this isolation prevent these pupils from acquiring a necessary broad base of knowledge, but it also limits their exposure to English.

4.3.4 The combined or multi-level class

The structural aspects of the combined class relate to the macro issues underpinning the farm school system. These aspects were detailed in paragraph 3.5.4. In this section the pedagogical and logistic aspects will be discussed as the issues under discussion here emerged from the observation of lessons and discussions with teachers concerning lessons.

A total of 33 lessons were observed in 23 combined classes. The two features which were the most prominent in the observation of these classes were:

- a) the physical organization of the different grades and
- b) the choice of syllabus.

Although these features have been separated below for discussion, it must be borne in mind that they are interdependent.

a. Physical organization

Only two out of 23 teachers have organized their classrooms in such a way that it is possible to teach the different standards independently of each other. The furniture has been arranged so that the groups are physically apart and they do not face each other. Generally, the teacher stands between the groups, so masking the one with which she is not dealing at the time.

In most of the classes there was no physical division of the pupils. The pupils sit in rows: one standard or level occupying one half of the classroom, the other level the other half. Those teachers who chose to teach the levels separately nonetheless stood in front of the whole class.

The few remaining teachers made no attempt to separate the levels and taught all the pupils as one class.

b. The choice of syllabus

1. The syllabus combined

The manner in which the different standards are physically divided in combined classes has a direct bearing on the teaching of the syllabus. For example, if two levels are being taught Mathematics simultaneously, it is not possible to teach two syllabuses simultaneously. Therefore, a choice has to be made as to whether to teach both classes the same syllabus or whether to teach only one part of the class.

In response to how they are able to cover two syllabuses in one year for each subject, the teachers revealed that the Inspectors have suggested the scheme set out below:

Year	Class Combination	Syllabus taught
1985	Standards 1 + 2	Standard 2
1986	Standards 1 + 2	Standard 1
1985	Standards 3 + 4	Standard 4
1986	Standards 3 + 4	Standard 3

The justification given for using the syllabuses in alternate years for Standards 1 + 2 combined and Standards 3 + 4 combined is that in each of these pairs the syllabus content is very similar. It came to light (personal communication with Dr

Hartshorne) that English and Mathematics are not supposed to be taught together only the content subjects. The teachers, however, through misunderstanding or through design tend to teach all the subjects 'combined'.

This arrangement means that a pupil in Standard 1 in 1985 will cover the Standard 2 syllabus and in 1986, now in Standard 2, will cover the Standard 1 syllabus.

Approaching the syllabus in this way has far-reaching negative implications. The most serious are:

- i) The syllabuses are graded. For example, the same topic can appear in the Standard 3 and Standard 4 syllabus but in the Standard 4 syllabus more difficult concepts and greater detail is added. The level of difficulty of the syllabus is thus increased. In subjects such as Mathematics and Science this creates enormous problems. All teachers who teach these subjects have commented on the difficulty pupils experience (see 4.2.3).
- ii) When the pupils enter Standard 3 they are faced with a change in the medium of instruction from the vernacular to the first official language. Although the pupils have been learning the first official language as a subject, they are hardly able to understand the language. While it can be argued that the pupils will soon learn the language because they have to, the teachers' use of the vernacular in the classroom militates against such learning.

In addition, the pupils are unlikely to learn the content either. Pupils who find themselves grappling with new concepts in two languages, one of which they are unfamiliar with, can hardly be expected to cope.

This situation is, of course, aggravated where Standard 3's are being taught a Standard 4 syllabus. In these circumstances, by the time the pupil has mastered sufficient language to grasp the content, he has a serious gap in his knowledge. What this system amounts to, in effect, is that it takes pupils two years to cover one syllabus in each subject.

This has severe ramifications later on. When the pupils reach Standard 5, they do not have the grounding to cope with the Standard 5 syllabus which is examined externally. This problem applies particularly to English and Mathematics. Because of the external examination the Standard 5 teachers are constrained towards an examination orientation.

2. The syllabus - separated

Not all the teachers follow the system of combining syllabuses as described above. Some teachers separate the pupils into different grades for language and mathematics but combine classes for the remaining subjects.

A few teachers attempt to teach the grades separately for all subjects. Among the teachers who try to separate their groups completely are those who have more than two grades combined in one classroom. Two separate but related problems emerge from this arrangement:

- i) **Separated syllabuses.** When teaching separate syllabuses, the teachers have to prepare two or more lessons for each subject. This doubles and in four cases trebles the amount of teacher preparation. On average, there are six 'academic' subjects taught each day. If the preparation is to be carried so that the lessons maximize the learning situation, the teacher would have to be well-grounded in all the subjects, resourceful and have many resources at hand.
- ii) **Classroom management for separate syllabuses.** It was observed that those pupils who are not being addressed by the teacher are either not given sufficient work to occupy them fully or they are not given anything to do at all. It was clear that many of these pupils were bored. Some teachers were aware of this but appeared to have schooled themselves to ignore this under-employed section of the class. The other teachers simply wrote the pupils off as 'naughty'. Having to occupy these pupils meaningfully would involve teachers in even more preparation and would demand material resources which were not available.

4.4.5 Summary of specific findings

The specific factors which affect the effective functioning of farm schools are:

- the isolation of teachers and pupils from exposure to the language of the medium of instruction and exposure to the mainstream of events both educational and social that are available to their urban counterparts
- physical organization of combined classes which does not allow pupils to be grouped according to their level
- the choice of a separated or combined syllabus which if the latter prevents pupils from being taught on the relevant level and if the former does not allow pupils the opportunity to exploit the learning environment.

The intervention programme for the farm school teachers was decided on the basis of the general and specific findings derived from the interviews, questionnaire and observation.

4.5 The intervention

The research findings clearly indicated that an English improvement course for teachers was not only desirable on the part of the teachers (see 4.2.1) but also feasible (in terms of what ELTIC was able to offer with limited resources). On the basis of the findings and available resources, it was decided to implement a three year pilot project in a specific area for a limited number of teachers. Owing to the wide-ranging needs of the teachers in relation to English language and methodology, the following three year pilot programme was proposed:

- Year 1: Teachers' English language proficiency
- Year 2: The teaching of English as a subject
- Year 3: The use of English as the medium of instruction

Items which emerged at the end of the first year were basically the same as those which were identified in the subsequent years. Thus, although over the three years, three schools and nine teachers dropped out and the course content changed, only the first year is reported on here.

4.5.1 Setting up the course

Nine schools in the Skeerpoort/Hartebeeshoek area were selected. These schools were chosen because they were in close geographical proximity and this facilitated the bringing together of teachers at a central venue. All 30 teachers (including principals) responded positively to an invitation to attend the course.

Based on the research findings (the needs which the teachers expressed in the structured and unstructured interviews and the questionnaire survey and the needs identified by the researcher in the interviews, questionnaire and observations), an integrated language skills course with a focus on reading was proposed. Before the course was fully developed, an outline was prepared for prospective participants. They were then given the opportunity to suggest alternatives or to withdraw if they felt such a programme would not meet their needs. All 30 teachers expressed interest in participating in the course.

4.5.2 Rationale for the course

Besides the reading skill being a necessary and important skill for all teachers in its own right, a facility in this skill would enable the teachers to inform themselves

more fully of the facts as well as the background to the content subjects (see 4.4.1, 4.4.2, 4.4.3). In addition, the provision of reading texts for the teachers would enable the contextualization of language structures such as tenses, pronoun usage and subject/verb agreement - all these aspects of perceived needs (see 4.2.1) which had emerged from the research. Also, reading texts provides an opportunity for vocabulary development in specific subjects, background topics and for classroom language (4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3).

4.5.3 Organization of the course

The researcher became a tutor and one other tutor was employed by ELTIC. One 2 - 2 1/2 hour workshop was conducted one afternoon a week. On two mornings a week the two tutors visited the participants in their schools. Each school was visited once every two weeks. Initially, the purpose of these visits was to follow up on work done in the workshops and to assist teachers with any specific problems relating to aspects of English in the classroom. Once the teachers were familiar with the workshop routine and were progressing with the course, the purpose of the visits was meant to change to helping the teachers transfer skills learnt in the workshop into their classrooms.

Comparing August and October Test Results

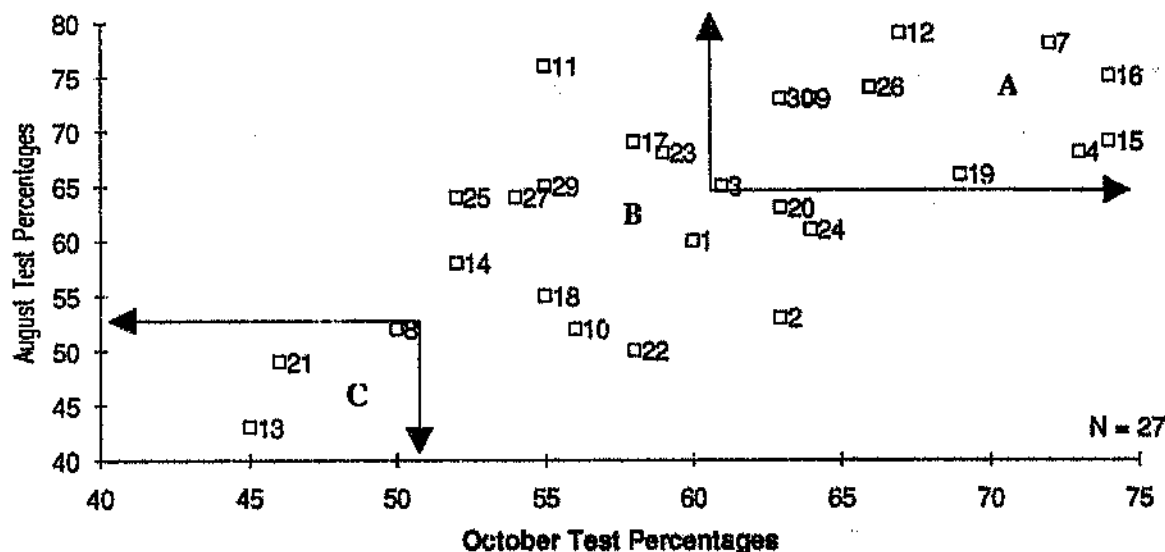


Figure 4.1 - Teachers Test Results

4.5.4 Implementation

In the weekly workshops, each tutor worked with 15 teachers. The groups of teachers were not specifically attached to a specific tutor. Each week each of the tutors worked with a different combination of teachers.

The course was divided into 15 units, each unit dealing with an important reading skill such as previewing and predicting, finding the core of sentences, reference and logical connectors etc. (see appendix G [a], [b], [c]). Most units were designed so that the important issues could be covered in one workshop and the more difficult areas were allotted two or three workshops. In all it was envisaged that the course would be completed in the 22 workshops that were available for the year. In practice only 19 workshops were available and the last unit was held over for the following year.

Input by the tutors was kept to a minimum. They functioned largely as facilitators. The reading activities were designed around tasks so that the teachers needed to write as well as to talk in pairs, groups and in plenary to come to grips with the principles of the unit. In addition, a variety of listening tasks were used to reinforce understanding of important points and processes. Each unit was looked at with a view to its applicability to the classroom.

At least half of the materials were either based on texts from the textbooks of the different content subjects or on texts dealing with content subject topics (see Appendix G [d]). The remainder of the materials were based on short stories or articles of interest expressed by the teachers. The view that 'all teachers are teachers of language' (Bullock Report, 1976) was a fundamental principle which informed the research and later the materials development in relation to the content subjects. By making the teachers aware of important structures and vocabulary that occur in specific subjects and by giving extra exercises to reinforce these, the materials aimed at getting teachers to transfer these aspects of language to the pupils in content subject lessons. Moreover, from error analyses of the writing tasks done on the course and teachers' requests, specific language items which were troublesome were dealt with.

Teaching methods were not a specific focus at this stage. However, a wide range of methods such as pair and group work, using realia, getting teachers to conduct and participate in plenary sessions etc. were selected to teach the reading skills. This enabled the teachers to experience a wide variety of methods firsthand. To raise consciousness of these methods, this experiential approach was discussed with the teachers at various points.

Farm School Teachers' Performance 1986

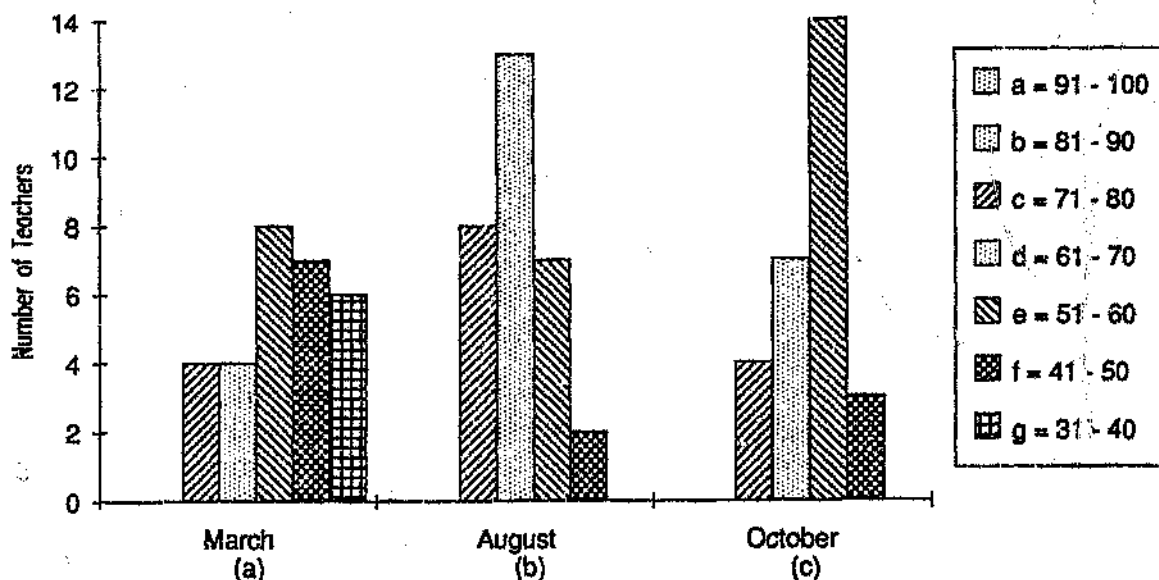


Figure 4.2 - Comparison of Test Results

4.5.5 Evaluation - the positive aspects

The teachers were tested three times in the year. Before the course began a diagnostic test (Appendix H [a]) to establish the reading and writing levels of the teachers was conducted in March (see Fig. 4.1(a) below). Early in August a second test (Appendix H [b]) to measure progress was administered. This test showed a normalization of the curve which in turn indicated that exposure to English and practice through tasks and activities had caused a positive change (see Fig. 4.1(b) below). At the end of October, a third test, the end-of-year assessment test was given. The results of this test are shown on Fig. 4.1(c).

The results of the third test (bar graph (c)) show a similar trend to the August marks, though some teachers performed at a lower level. In August there were 8 teachers in the 'c' category whereas in October, there were 11 teachers in the 'c' and 'd' categories. There were still a large number of teachers (August - 12; October - 13) with average marks. Three teachers attained only an 'f'. Despite extra help they were still experiencing major difficulties and they lagged further and further behind. Two teachers made very good progress: they began in 'g' in March, moved up to 'c' in August and maintained this standard to the end of the year.

The scattergram (Fig.4.2) shows a very high positive correlation between the August and October test results. The teachers who achieved the highest marks on both tests (11 teachers) are grouped in Section A. The teachers who achieved average scores are in Section B (14 teachers) and the lowest marks (3 teachers) are in Section C.

Based on involvement in and observation of the course as it progressed through the year, a different interpretation of aspects of these test results follow. Those teachers who scored in the A category in all three tests are those who were either Unisa or Vista students. Those teachers whose pretest scores were low but whose grades improved through the year probably indicate improved proficiency. In addition, there is a strong possibility the positive reinforcement created a Hawthorne effect (Cohen and Manion, 1980:166) - they exhibited positive psychological effects as a result of participating in the programme.

The response of the teachers as regards attendance remained good throughout the year. The average attendance rate for the year was 90 % with 10 of the 30 teachers having 100% attendance.

In addition, an important aim of the course appeared to be being fulfilled. The teachers meeting one another once a week provided them with the opportunity to get to know one another, to share problems and to have the opportunity to be less isolated.

4.5.6 Evaluation - the negative aspects

Despite the good attendance, the maintenance of the original group number and the obvious pleasure the teachers had in meeting with one another once a week, by the end of year one some dissatisfaction was made manifest. The teachers expressed dissatisfaction concerning certain aspects of the course and the tutor was concerned about the spread of unhealthy rivalry among the teachers and the resistance which teachers had shown to some parts of the programme.

One principal who acted as the spokesman for six other teachers, said that they wanted to learn more grammar. Further investigation showed that these teachers believed that if they could learn the grammar of English they would then know the language. Moreover, they said that once they know the language they would then be able to teach it in the same way. These teachers wanted a course in grammar which was made up of rules and exercises which they could then use verbatim to teach their pupils.

About 60 % of the teachers wanted to continue working at improving their proficiency in English. They were satisfied that working through language skills would be beneficial but they did not want to deal with English language method. All attempts to introduce methodology in the workshops met with resistance. In the follow-up visits to the schools, the teachers were unwilling to allow the tutors into their classrooms. This included those teachers who had willingly allowed the tutor/researcher to observe their lessons during the research stage. Except for four teachers any talk about methods and transfer of work done in the workshops was either ignored or dismissed after cursory discussion. One teacher said: 'I don't need to learn how to teach'. Similar statements were made to both tutors independently.

It was evident from early on in the year that there was fierce competition among four of the schools in this group for a cup for the best Standard 5 results. Two of the principals involved accused each other of altering marks. Late one afternoon the tutor found a Standard 5 class rote learning a model letter in English and one in Afrikaans that had been written on the chalkboard. The schools not directly involved in this competition grouped in support behind one of the four schools.

This competition filtered through into the workshops: the teachers wanted marks for every homework assignment and collusion in these assignments was clearly evident. Various attempts by the tutors to diffuse this situation were unsuccessful. The negative feelings engendered by this 'competition' caused a deep rift within the group. After the first two months of the following year, one faction consisting of two schools (seven teachers) withdrew from the programme. Three of the teachers did not want to leave the programme. Their principal ensured that they followed him by giving them various duties on the afternoon that the workshops were held.

This particular principal regarded himself as the leader of all schools in the area. He had been very supportive during the research phase. His interest and support continued until he found that the programme was not concerned with local intra-school politics. He saw the approach of bringing teachers together and treating them as important as a threat to his position. This withdrawal once again isolated these schools and denied the teachers the opportunity for some change.

These events have been recounted because programmes in other areas at later times with other tutors met with similar power struggle problems which partly undermined the efforts of the implementors. The overt resistance of these principals towards change was a reflection of the cover/resistance shown by the teachers to change in their classrooms.

Every effort was made to address the problems outlined above in the planning and developing of the programme for the following year. To this end it was decided that the workshops would continue to focus on improving teacher proficiency until the middle of the year when the emphasis would change to learning how to transfer these skills to the classroom. To help the teachers to overcome their resistance to 'classroom interference', they were to be asked to develop classroom activities based on workshop input in each workshop.

The net result was very similar. The few teachers who had shown promise and commitment continued to develop and grow, the remainder did not show any change and they appeared to have no motivation to do so.

The examination of the socio-economic context of the farm schools, the eliciting of teachers' felt needs and the observation of farm school classrooms in operation have provided insight into many of the aspects of this very complex situation. However, the resistance of the teachers to change indicated that an understanding of the teaching and learning situation in the farm schools was far from complete. In Chapter 5 some cognitive and change theories will be examined to try to fill in this picture more completely.

CHAPTER 5

TOWARDS A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE FINDINGS: SOME THEORIES OF LANGUAGE, LEARNING AND CHANGE.

Man's achievements rest upon the use of symbols.

Alfred Korzybski

(quoted in Hayakawa, 1973:23).

5.1 Introduction

The findings documented in Chapter 4 indicate that the problems which the farm school teachers bring to and meet in their classrooms are not in the first instance located in a need to improve their English language proficiency nor in a need to improve their classroom methodology. Some theories of cognition and language development and change will be examined in an attempt to try to illuminate further the difficulties manifested in the farm school classrooms.

Vygotsky's theory of cognition which incorporates language development provides the starting point for the discussion of cognitive theories (see 5.2). A discussion of the viewpoints of another cognitive theorist Bruner (see 5.4) and the linguists Donaldson, Cummings and Gee follow (see 5.5-5.7). In some instances these theorists take up the main tenets of Vygotsky's theories and they develop them in relation to education and language learning. In other instances, they formulate similar notions which branch into different areas of education and language learning. In the last section (see 5.9), further insight into teacher problems is sought in a different but complementary aspect of education is explored - theories of change in relation to teacher education.

5.2 Language and thought - Vygotsky

The three most important issues for this study which arise from Vygotsky's theory are:

- a) the role of learning and language in the development of the child
- b) internalization and the development of language and thought
- c) the role of the teacher.

These aspects are closely related and they cannot be discussed in isolation. Thus, in the first part of this section these issues have been contextualized in a general discussion of some of the central aspects of Vygotsky's theory of cognition. This

is followed by a more detailed discussion of the points salient to this study. The section concludes with an account of Vygotsky's views of learning a second language.

5.2.1 General outline

In the model of cognition proposed by Vygotsky, language and thought are closely interrelated and interdependent: language is the critical tool of thought and shapes the form of thought. Vygotsky interpreted thought and speech as instruments for the planning and carrying out of action. In 'Mind and Society' (1978:26) he said:

Children solve practical tasks with the help of their speech, as well as with their eyes and hands. This unity of perception, speech and action, which ultimately produces internalization of the visual field, constitutes the central subject matter for any analysis of the origin of uniquely human forms of behaviour.

Central to Vygotsky's theory of cognition is his idea of internalization. All processes - speech, emotion, play etc. - 'go inward'. Once these have been internalized they interact with one another and through this interaction they become ordered, systematic, logical and goal oriented. After the internalized actions have become ordered, the learner can stand back and reflect. In other words (s)he has become free of the immediate. This enables the learner to apply logic to practical action.

Vygotsky's notion of internalization involves firstly, social processes and secondly, language which mediates between these social processes and the individual. It is language which provides the bridge between the external social activity and the individual internal activity.

According to Vygotsky's argument, tools, whether practical or symbolic, are initially 'external'. That is, they are used outwardly on nature or in elementary communication with others. But tools affect their users: language, used first as a communicative tool, finally shapes the minds of those who use and adapt its use. Thus initially the tool language is used to communicate socially. It then moves inward and becomes 'inner speech' or thought. Thought is both an individual achievement and a social one.

Vygotsky (1978:27) contended that neither action (the interpsychological relationship with the external world) nor thought (the intrapsychological working of the internal being) is sufficient to explain cognitive development. He explains development as the interrelationship of thought and action mediated by tools and

devices. Important among these tools is language. Language enables humans to sort and order thoughts while thought is a way of organizing perception and action.

The interrelation of language and thought is bound up with the idea of the link between external and internal activity as well as with the concept of internalization. Both internalization and external and internal activities are tied to Vygotsky's concern with the acculturation of the child. The social origins of internal activity and internalization are central to Vygotsky's theory.

The chief instrument of integration and order in human life is language which is used in the service of other higher mental functions. Vygotsky (1987:15) argued that language is a powerful system of tools for use initially in talk, but increasingly and once inwardness is achieved, in perception, memory, thought and imagination.

5.2.3 Specific issues of Importance in Vygotsky's theory

a. Internalization

Vygotsky contended that the relation between external and internal activity is innate. He claimed that the transformation of external processes to create internal processes is not simply a mapping of external activities onto an existing internal structure. The external is absorbed to become the internal. In Leont'ev's words (1981:57 quoted in Wertsch, 1985:163):

the process of internalization is not the transferal of an external activity to a preexisting, internal 'plane of consciousness': it is the process in which this plane is formed.

It is important to note here that the word activity as it is used by Vygotsky concerns social processes: activity is a 'system' in the 'system of social relations'. According to Vygotsky, everything the individual does emerges from social action.

Social phenomena form the starting point for his theory. Vygotsky formulated a 'general genetic law of cultural development' (quoted in Wertsch, 1985:164). This provided the framework for his approach to many of the developmental issues with which he was concerned. He states this 'law' as follows:

Any function of the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition (Ibid:164).

b. The zone of proximal development (ZPD)

Vygotsky introduced the idea of the ZPD to deal with the following practical issues in educational psychology: the assessment of children's cognitive abilities and the evaluation of instructional practices.

Vygotsky's assessment of the cognitive abilities of children is based on the idea that the relationship between the external and the internal is reflected in the relationship between learning and development. Two separate issues are involved here: firstly, the general relationship between learning and development in the home and secondly, the specific features of this relationship when children reach school going age.

Vygotsky (1978:84-91) made a distinction between two levels of development: the actual developmental level and the level of learning capability. In the actual developmental level the development of a child's mental functions has already been established as a result of certain already completed developmental cycles. This level is determined by what the child is capable of doing independently.

In contrast, the second level is that which the child accomplishes only with the help of an adult or a more knowledgeable peer. It is that which the child has the potential to do. By demonstrating this distinction, Vygotsky showed that the child's learning capabilities exceed the actual developmental level. Vygotsky (1978:86) explained the relation between learning and development in his notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) as follows:

the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

Vygotsky also explained a second practical issue through his idea of the ZPD - the evaluation of instruction. His argument here is also based on his view that intrapsychological (internal - thought) grows out of the interpsychological (external - social).

He (1978:89) claimed that:

learning which is oriented toward developmental levels that have already been reached is ineffective from the viewpoint of a child's overall development. It does not aim for a new stage of the developmental process but rather lags behind this process. Thus, the notion of a zone of proximal development enables us to propound a new formula, namely that the only 'good learning' is that which is in advance of development.

In his notion of the ZPD, Vygotsky explains his idea of the 'moving inward' of speech. He introduces the idea of 'scaffolding'. Learners can do far better in reaching an understanding of a point when there is someone with them who is more knowledgeable and who can provide a 'scaffolding' than they can on their own.

In the scaffolding process, attention is focused on the role of dialogue between a more expert teacher and a less expert learner. The explanation of a concept can gradually unfold in the course of a dialogue. The learner is then able to reflect on the dialogue. Reflection empowers the learner to make use of differences and connections to reformulate his own thought. The language of the adult used in this dialogue (external action) thus becomes the medium through which the child's mental structures are formed and reformed. These structures eventually reach the higher mental functions of abstracting and generalizing. Thought then, is both an individual achievement and a social one. In Vygotsky's words:

The history of the process of the internalization of social speech is also the history of the socialization of children's practical intellect (1987:27).

c. The development of word meaning

Wertsch (1986:165) demonstrates that Vygotsky's account of 'semiotic mediation' is fundamental to the concept of internalization. In brief, he explains that signs (words) are used initially for the social purposes of showing or telling others what to do and later they are used for influencing oneself. Children can only use those forms of behaviour that have been used with them or have been transmitted to them in the form of speech. That is, inter-psychological semiotic processes require the use of external sign forms. A result of this is that it is possible for a child to communicate seemingly appropriately whereas (s)he does not yet recognize all levels of significance of the utterance/s as they are understood by more experienced members of the culture. When the child comes to understand what is meant by what is said then the cognitive skills develop.

According to Wertsch (1986:169), Vygotsky argued that 'although it is tempting to attribute an understanding of meaning to children when they begin to use word forms in what appear to be appropriate ways, the appearance of new words marks the beginning rather than the end point in the development of concepts'. Adult-child interaction is very important here. When the adult refers to objects, the child does not necessarily at this stage understand the meaning of the word but (s)he understands the reference. This agreement on reference gives the child an entree to participating in social relationships.

Vygotsky extended his notion of the progression in the child's development by dividing this advancement into stages. He argued that the child progresses through three stages in concept development: in stage one, the child's ideas are in the form of 'unorganized heaps'; in stage two, these ideas are organized into 'complexes'(pseudo-concepts) and lastly, in stage three, the child is able to understand and grapple with 'concepts'. The adult-guide is very important in helping the child through this progression. An important point to note here is that until the child reaches an understanding of word meanings or masters the concepts, 'words may be based on relatively simple, context-bound sign-object relationships...' but as the child develops there is the gradual emerging of 'the new significance of old signs and new definitions of old settings for the child' (1978:176).

In brief it can be said that the heart of Vygotsky's theory is that development and learning are inextricably bound up with the internalization process. The child is guided by an adult or significant other in taking in the external and making it internal. The external activity is a socially motivated activity and the mediating tool is language. These points will be taken up in the next section in relation to learning a second language (L2).

5.2.4 A Vygotskian perspective on learning a second language

In an article entitled *The road to competence in an alien land: a Vygotskian perspective*, Vera John -Steiner (1985) examines how Vygotsky's views concerning second language acquisition accord with present research and theory. The points identified in the previous section will be explored further in the light of John-Steiner's reviews and conclusions.

The following important generalizations can be made on the basis of current research and theory reviewed by John-Steiner:

- a) The acquisition of an L2 is linked to the use of linguistic and cognitive strategies. As these are developed to a greater extent in older children and adolescents than in younger children, the former acquire an L2 more effectively than do the latter.
- b) The active participation of learners is central to the task of dual language acquisition. In cases where young immigrants experience a great social and emotional distance between themselves and speakers of a target language, their learning is likely to be inhibited by a sense of passivity or alienation (1985:368).

Of first (L1) and second (L2) acquisition Vygotsky said it was unlikely that L2 learning at school could repeat L1 acquisition in the natural situation of the home. However, he claimed that no matter how different these two experiences are, they are processes that are 'internally united' by the use of linguistic and cognitive strategies (1985:348). He claimed that the L2 learner comes into the learning situation having developed the strategies (s)he needed to learn the L1. (S)he then uses those same strategies to learn the L2. It is thus in the strategies that learning the L1 and L2 come together.

Vygotsky made an additional point in relation to the differences between L1 and L2 acquisition. He said that the acquisition of an L2 is represented by a different line of development from that of the L1,

...if the development of the native language begins with free, spontaneous use of speech and is culminated in the conscious realization of linguistic forms and their mastery, then development of a foreign language begins with conscious realization of language and arbitrary command of it and culminates in spontaneous, free speech.

...This kind of conscious and deliberate acquisition of a foreign language obviously depends on a known level of development of the native language (Vygotsky:n.d:48 quoted John-Steiner, 1985:350).

Vygotsky further developed this argument when he said that being literate in one's L1 plays a central role in the interaction of L1 and L2 development. On this basis John-Steiner (Ibid:350-352) argues that contemporary research indicates that pressure on young children (7 - 8 year olds) to acquire another language may interfere with their learning of their L1. It is at this stage that young children are learning to read and write. It is also at this stage that they are learning to differentiate between social, private and inner speech where the finely tuned interactions between children and their caretakers are very important. Older children and adolescents are more cognitively mature and can thus apply various strategies to their learning.

Furthermore, Vygotsky proposed that the attainment of literacy itself contributes to linguistic-cognitive development, as it requires 'the conscious realization of one's linguistic processes' (1985:352). Vygotsky's notion of the inter-relationship between the external uses of language and the internal functions of speech is applicable here. John-Steiner cites the work of a number of other linguists and psycholinguists which support this view. For example, Wertsch and Stone's (1985) studies demonstrate the role of task-relevant dialogue in shaping children's problem-solving

behaviour. Their work also indicates that to reach full development is a lengthy process. On the basis of their research they argue that education in an L2 at an inappropriate time may interfere with childrens' conceptual development.

The critical role of the social environment in learning a second language was stressed by Vygotsky. He argued for more research into the social and educational factors which shape the competent use of L2 as well as the difficulties experienced by the learners.

John -Steiner (Ibid:352) recounts how the research of Ervin-Tripp (1981) and Wong Fillmore (1979) stress the importance of social and cognitive strategies in L2 acquisition. In brief their research isolated the following important strategies which children use: 1) When children are playing are in the classroom, the context often provides clues and cues which help the children to work out what is happening. On this basis the children assume that what is being said is directly relevant to the situation at hand and 2) the children rely on formulaic expressions.

She argues from this research that these strategies were particularly effective in the situation where the children had varied opportunities to learn informally in the context of play. However, when children do not have these opportunities the process is interfered with and slowed down:

Immigrant children who are first exposed to a target language in a highly structured classroom do not find adequate contextual support for their language-learning efforts. In these first and second grade classrooms, activities are of a pencil-and-paper kind and the teacher does most of the talking. Thus in such settings, there are limited opportunities for L2 learners to connect familiar activities with new expressions ... They were too old to learn their second language through play ... At the same time they were too young to have developed literacy and cognitive strategies, which were available to their older siblings who had a few years of education in their native language (John-Steiner, 1985:354).

The issue of the place of formal instruction in learning an L2 emerges here. The research reported above and other research has shown that younger children learn in highly contextualized settings while older children need a mixture of formal and informal situations. The consideration of affective factors for all learners has been shown to be important in language learning.

The specific points discussed at paragraph 5.2.3 were shown to be based on general theory in 5.2.2. The specific points were then discussed in relation to current

research and theory in L2. The following overall points relevant to this study have emerged:

- the paths of development of L1 and L2 acquisition are different but the linguistic and cognitive structures that were developed to learn L1 are then used to learn L2
- acquisition of the second language is dependent on the level of acquisition of the first language
- literacy contributes to linguistic-cognitive development; thus L2 at the wrong time may interfere with the child's conceptual development
- the role of the social environment is crucial in learning an L2 - informal instruction is important for children
- the role of the adult or significant other in providing scaffolding and then in mediating in the developmental process is essential
- the consideration of affective factors is important in the language learning process.

In the following sections these points will be discussed further as they have been developed by other theorists.

5.3 Beyond Vygotsky

Vygotsky's research and theory shows the importance of language in cognitive development. Fundamental to the understanding of the relationship of language and cognition is Vygotsky's notion of **internalization**. This is the process of the child acting on and in society. The other people involved - caretakers or significant others - help in the transmission of what is outside to what is inside by providing the scaffolding. These issues have been further researched and developed by a variety of researchers in number of different directions. One of these issues - **language proficiency** - which is fundamental to this study, will be examined in this section from a number of viewpoints.

Language proficiency is the relationship of face-to-face communicative skills or oral language competencies on the one hand and language skills on the other. In the following section the theoretical positions of Jerome Bruner, Margaret Donaldson and Jim Cummins will be outlined in order to illustrate attempts to describe differences between the linguistic demands of the school and those of face-to-face situations outside the school. There are many similarities in the views of these theorists to those of Vygotsky. These theorists, however, locate their positions more strongly in relation to the classroom. Later, this will provide a theoretical background against which the language issue in the farm schools can be analyzed.

5.4 Beyond the information given - Bruner

Bruner (1966: 8-10) presents a view of human beings who have developed *three* systems for processing and representing information. Central to the first system (called the enactive mode) are manipulation and action which take place largely in relation to the immediate environment. Perceptual organization and memory comprise the second system (ikonic mode); objects are no longer dependent on action, and memory generally relates to the visual, concrete and specific. The child can reproduce what has been learned but he cannot use it to come to new conclusions or to deal with different situations. In the third and last system, the emphasis is on the symbolic system of representation: experience is translated into language.

These three systems are not stages, they are rather emphases of development. The systems operate parallel to one another. Although it is language which makes the symbolic system possible, it is not language *per se* that makes the difference; rather it is the use of language that acts as the instrument of thinking. Language is thus a general or all-embracing tool. It provides direction and amplification for the way we use:

- a) our muscular apparatus when action in the immediate environment is all important in the first system;
- b) our senses when perceptual organization and memory are at the forefront of development in the second system and
- c) our powers of reflection when we internalize language in the third system.

In his research into cognitive development, Bruner shows the importance of the interaction between learner and tutor. He says: 'intellectual development depends upon a systematic and contingent interaction between a tutor and a learner, the tutor already being equipped with a wide range of previously invented techniques that he teaches the child ' (1966:6). Mental growth is thus largely dependent upon growth from the outside to the inside.

In the early stages of the child's development (Bruner's 'enactive' phase), the tutor rephrases the child's utterances so that they are 'correct'. The child then alters his utterance to match what he understood the adult model to be. Bruner suggests that an extension of this child/tutor interaction which is both a formational and transformational exchange goes on all through childhood. This interaction thus continues into schooling even though the tutor changes to the teacher and at times older children.

5.4.1 The role of the school

As our technology grows more complex in terms of machinery as well as human organization, the role of the school becomes more central in society as both an agent of socialization and as a transmitter of basic skills. As there is more knowledge and skill in the culture of complex societies than any one person can know Bruner (1965:439) argues that:

... increasingly, there develops an economical technique of instructing the young based heavily on telling out of context rather than showing in context. In literate societies the practice becomes institutionalized in the school, or the teacher.

The school and the teacher are instrumental in promoting this necessarily abstract way of instructing the young. In the detached school, there is frequently no relationship between what is imparted and life in the society. There is only an indirect relationship between the content of what is conveyed and the demands of the technical society. Bruner (Ibid:440) maintains:

... these indirectly imposed demands may be the most important feature of the detached school. For school is a sharp departure from indigenous practice. It takes learning, as we have noted, out of the context of immediate action just by dint of putting it into a school. This very extirpation makes learning become an act in itself, freed from the immediate ends of action, preparing the learner for the chain of reckoning remote from pay-off that is needed for the formulation of complex ideas. At the same time, the school, (if successful) frees the child from the pace-setting of the round of daily activity.

He continues his argument by saying that if the school in its turn can rise above 'pace-setting', its trivial routines and conventions, it may be crucial in fostering reflectiveness. In addition, in order to follow a lesson in school, the pupil must be able to follow language removed from the concrete situation. Decontextualization involves highly abstract uses of language.

Without the school, the child will acquire 'communicative competence': the ability to make and understand utterances in accordance with the circumstances in which they are made. However, without the school, the child will not acquire 'analytical competence': higher cognitive thinking. In other words the school promotes 'analytic competence'. The tool in this development is language (1974:388-390).

Bruner (1966:29) has argued that: 'the lack of opportunity to share in dialogue, to have occasion for paraphrase, to internalize speech as a vehicle for thought,' can cause difficulties for the learner. He goes on to say that: 'It appears that unless

certain basic skills are mastered early, later more elaborated ones become increasingly out of reach.'

The role of the teacher is wide-ranging. Bruner (1965:445-448) discusses the following functions of the teacher: to introduce the child to the different way of thinking contained by each discipline; to stimulate thought and maintain interest in the school setting; to reassure the child 'that it is all right to entertain and express highly subjective ideas (447)'; to ensure that the child knows what the teacher is talking about; to use personalized knowledge meaningfully and to encourage self-conscious reflectiveness.

In addition, the task of the teacher in educating children from disadvantaged groups should include in the first place, the need for the teacher to recognize the educational difficulties of the pupils in terms of a difference not a deficit. A change in teacher attitude may produce change in students' performance.

Secondly, the teacher does not have to try to make the student develop new intellectual structures, (s)he has to concentrate on finding ways to get the child to transfer skills already in place to the task in hand. Relevant materials are essential here. Relevant here means more than an aid to motivating the student. 'Relevant materials are those to which the child already applies skills the teacher seeks to have applied to his own content. It requires more than a casual acquaintance with one's students to know what those materials are (1971:465)'.

According to Bruner (1974:389) the essential role of the school is that of establishing context-free modes of thinking through the separation of the written word from the thing it stands for and the separation of school from life.

But school itself provides the same opportunity to use language out of context even spoken language, for to a very high degree, what one talks about are things that are not immediately present (Ibid:389).

5.5 Embedded and disembedded thought - Donaldson

In her book *Children's Minds*, Margaret Donaldson (1978:113) writes: '... there is a fundamental human urge to be effective, competent and independent, to understand the world and to act with skill'.

Donaldson claims that when the normal child comes to school (s)he already has well-established skills as a thinker. These skills however, involve the human senses and hence the here and now (Ibid:88).

Young pre-school children often appear to understand with ease what is said to them. This has often been taken to be an indication of skill with language *per se* but this is not necessarily so. The situation in which the child is at the moment of understanding or not understanding has to be examined to find out just how skilled the child is. For example, a child may understand a particular word in situation A but not understand it in situation B. Perhaps in situation A, the child initiated the discourse and the particular word used by an adult fitted in with what the child wanted to say or was saying whereas in situation B the word did not fit in and there was nothing in the situation which could help the child to work out the meaning of the word.

Donaldson (1978:74) also claims that as knowledge of word meaning grows, it undergoes development and change. The process of understanding an utterance does not just depend on adding one word-meaning to another. It is an active process of structuring and making sense of the whole. Thus although pre-school children can often reason well and they show remarkable understanding of the language, they are working with a context of fairly immediate goals and intentions and within a familiar pattern of events.

Thinking which does not move beyond the human senses so that children operate within the supportive context of meaningful events Donaldson calls **embedded thinking** (Ibid:77). These skills are directed outwards onto the real world where other peoples' utterances and situations can be understood not necessarily from the words which are uttered, but from non-linguistic cues such as actions and objects. In other words, the context helps understanding.

Donaldson (Ibid:88-89) in a discussion of the failure of the school system in the UK to help children to explore, understand and be effective wrote:

What is going to be required for success in our education system is that he should learn to turn language and thought upon themselves. He must become able to direct his own thought processes in a thoughtful manner.

In addition she said that the child must be able to choose what (s)he wants to say, make comparisons, think abstractly and manipulate symbols. The young child already has access to oral language as a symbolic system and thus, the first step at school is for the child to learn to conceptualize language so as to be able to free it from its embeddedness in the concrete.

When some children come to school, Donaldson (1978:91) argues, this process is already quite far advanced, for others the process has begun and for others this has not yet begun. The first two groups begin school with a tremendous advantage while the remaining group is at a disadvantage.

Donaldson (Ibid:93) explains the importance of reading as an important factor in freeing the child from the concrete. She argues that reading is important in becoming aware of language in its own right. However, when the child has actually to grapple with words on a page this provides the child with the impetus to become free of context. Because the written word is lasting and it can be free of non-linguistic context, the child can stop and think and so consider various possibilities and make choices. These features of the written word not only encourage an awareness of language in the learner but also encourage the learner to become aware of his/her own thinking. This is an important aid in intellectual development.

The gap between those children who enter school prepared and those who are not, has to be closed quickly otherwise it grows. This can be done but some children need more help than others. For these children what their teacher does can potentially make a great difference. It has been shown above that the early mastery of reading is essential for cognitive development thus an early introduction to reading can promote the development of these children.

Donaldson (1978:96) found in her investigations that for those children who are unprepared there is

- a) little awareness of spoken language even though the child can use the language competently in everyday situations
- and
- b) the child may have no clear idea at all about what kind of activity 'reading' is.

There are strategies that the teacher can employ to help the pupil in relation to b). Bruner's (1960:411) claim that 'one can teach anything at any age if one goes about it adequately' is reflected in Donaldson's (1978:99) comment that, 'the manner of teaching is equally important'. For example, if as a result of the teacher's approach, the pupil masters only part of a subject and hence he does not see this part in relation to the whole, the development process will not be advanced. The subject will tie the learner down rather than become the means by which the learner can become free.

From the beginning of his schooling the child has to be helped to some understanding of the general nature of the learning activity. Teachers have an essential role to play in this process but they need to be aware of exactly what is happening in the learning situation.

According to Donaldson, it is fundamental to cognitive growth that learners want to make things congruent. However, if the child lacks sufficient information or if insufficient care and attention has been given to the affective factors the child may withdraw and the withdrawal may become permanent. If this occurs the development process could be seriously hindered (1978:110-112).

Education in our culture requires us to think on demand. However, this is in some sense unnatural. But to allow children to grow their own way also leads to negative outcomes because if children are left to their own devices very few would win through on their own. Children need the guidance of a 'tutor/teacher' to be initiated and instructed into the more abstract levels of the culture. Children have to face difficulties if they are to attain the skills our societies require.

Donaldson makes a distinction between embedded and disembedded cognitive processes from a developmental perspective. In this her view is similar to Bruner's. However, she is more concerned with the implications for children's adjustment to formal schooling. Donaldson emphasizes the increasing autonomy or disembeddedness that emerges from literacy activities in comparison with face-to-face communication. Her view, like Bruner's, revolves around two types of language proficiency.

5.6 A theoretical framework for 'language proficiency' - Cummins

Cummins has developed a framework in which he attempts to conceptualize language proficiency in such a way 'that the developmental interrelationships between academic performance and language proficiency in both L1 and L2 can be considered' (Cummins, 1983:119).

In relation to the acquisition of second language (English) proficiency in bilingual programmes, Cummins (1980, 1983, 1984) distinguishes between two types of language proficiency - basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS is the ability to use language for social interaction: it is contextualized 'surface fluency'. CALP is language proficiency related to basic cognitive levels and conceptual knowledge and

is decontextualized deep level fluency. As the type of language used in school subjects and achievement tests is decontextualized, the school learner thus has to be proficient in these academically related aspects of the language (CALP) if he is to be successful academically. BICS is not sufficient to make progress in the school situation.

Cummins (1980) claims that L1 and L2 CALP are interdependent and the development of proficiency in L2 is partially a function of the level of L1 proficiency at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins. That is, previous language learning functions in L1 will predict future learning of these same functions in L2.

There is an obvious difference between L1 and L2 in terms of the surface features of phonology, syntax and lexicon. However, there is an underlying commonality which determines the performance of the individual in relation to cognitive functioning e.g. in reading or writing, in both L1 and L2.

The BICS/CALP distinction proposed by Cummins is also subject to the criticism that it is a dichotomy which has oversimplified the issues and thus is open to misinterpretation. In order to overcome this difficulty, Cummins proposes a model to explain L1 and L2 proficiency which is made up of two intersecting continua (so forming 4 quadrants) rather than a dichotomy. By setting up the framework in this way, all the different combinations and permutations of context and cognition in relation to communicative proficiency can be taken into account (see Fig 5.1).

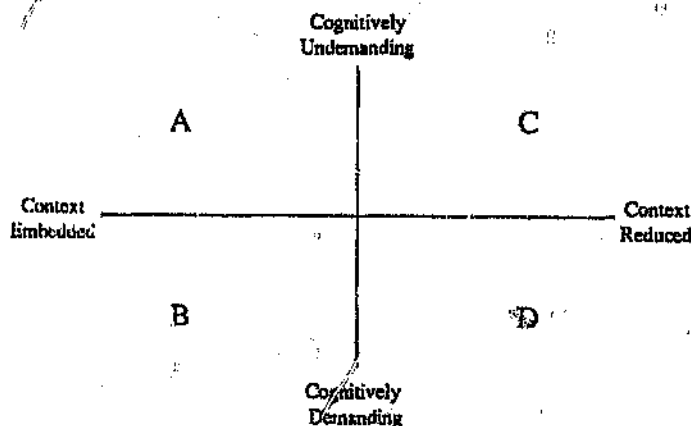


Figure 5.1

The horizontal continuum shows context embedded and context reduced communication. Here the relationship of the range of contextual support available

for expressing or receiving meaning is shown. The extremes of this continuum range from context embedded communication to context reduced communication. In the extreme position of context embedded communication the learner relies solely on linguistic cues for meaning. Here manipulation may have to come into play to interpret the situation. In the extreme of context reduced communication the learners can actively negotiate meaning, for example, by asking for explanations when the meaning is not clear and where language is supported by paralinguistic and situational clues

Tannen (1980) reviews research which suggests that 'minority students' failure in mainstream classrooms may occur because these students apply context-embedded strategies in situations where context-reduced strategies are expected and rewarded. The amount of cognitive involvement is not high enough for the particular task or activity. The result is surface or superficial answers and interpretations. Cognitive involvement can be explained as the amount of information that must be processed simultaneously in order to carry out an activity.

The vertical continuum on Cummins' framework represents cognitive involvement. Cummins points out that the upper parts of the continuum consist of communicative tasks and activities in which the linguistic tools have become largely automatized and thus little active cognitive involvement is required to complete a task successfully. An example of this type is completing an information gap activity on prepositions for which the answers have been given.

At the other end of the continuum are tasks and activities which require active cognitive involvement and here the linguistic tools have not become automatic. Activities such as writing an essay on a complex theme or analyzing an unseen poem require high cognitive processing.

According to Cummins (1980, 1983), L2 learners acquire context embedded English skills which become indistinguishable from L1 speakers in face-to-face situations in a reasonably short period of time. However, Cummins' observations show that it takes L2 students much longer to acquire context-reduced skills than it does for them to learn L2 embedded skills.

An important finding of Cummins (1980) in relation to acquiring L2 CALP is that the interdependence of the two languages would predict that older L2 learners whose L1 CALP is better developed, will acquire cognitive/academic L2 skills more rapidly than younger learners. These findings echo Vygotsky's argument that L1 literacy facilitates the learning of the L2. In 5.2.3 above it was shown that

Vygotsky thought that an L1 and an L2 are 'internally united'. Despite the acquisition processes being different, there is a 'mutual dependence'.

It is interesting to note that the acquisition of L1 BICS for older learners does not have the same predictability as there are too many variables in acquiring L2 communicative skills. However, the strong suggestion that the level of L1 CALP in older learners is a major determinant in acquiring L2 CALP is important here.

Cummings (1980) also found that if a learner has little or conflicting motivation for learning a second language, the cognitive skills may not be adequately utilized.

In sum, Cummings' view is that L2 acquisition is dependent on the level of L1 development and hence older learners cope better with CALP, that the development of CALP is much slower than the development of BICS and that learning an L2 requires motivation.

5.7 Literacy and discourses - Gee

One more theorist is reviewed in this section, James P. Gee. His views concur with those outlined above but he extends many of the main tenets such as 'embedded and disembedded' language and the BICS/CALP distinction to formulate his notion of literacy.

In a series of articles collected under the title *Literacy, Discourse and Linguistics*, James Gee (1989) proposes a way of talking about literacy and linguistics. He expounds the view that when we are using language it is not the language or the grammar of the language that is important but saying or writing the right thing in the right way while playing the right social role and appearing to hold the right values, beliefs, and attitudes. Gee (1989:6) calls this combination of *saying (writing)-doing-valuing-believing*, Discourses. (He distinguishes this kind of Discourse from linguistic discourse i.e., connected stretches of language which make sense, by capitalizing the D of the former.)

In a lifetime each person generally acquires many Discourses e.g. those of a man, a father, a woman, a mother, a politician, a teacher, a student, a South African, a factory worker, a member of a sports club etc. Each Discourse has its own 'identity kit' (1989:7) which contains all the signs, instructions and descriptions of the appropriate behaviour, talk and even dress that will enable others to recognize the particular role.

Because Discourses are not bodies of knowledge they cannot be taught. Thus, we acquire Discourses, we do not learn them and we acquire them in society from

those who have already mastered them. This acquisition takes place by means of 'enculturation or 'apprenticeship' into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse' (1989:7). We do not get into the Discourse unless we gain access to the social practices that make up the Discourse.

Every person through initial socialization in the home with intimates (family, peer group, clan) acquires a first or primary Discourse. It is the primary Discourse which children use to interact with others and to make sense of what is happening around them. Gee's elucidation of the primary discourse is not dissimilar to Cummings' BICS: what is innovative in this synthesis, is his distinction between primary and secondary discourses.

He explains the secondary Discourses as follows. Beyond the intimates and the immediate surroundings lie other Discourses - secondary Discourses. These belong to non-home-based institutions for example, schools, play groups, churches, local stores etc. Each of these demands one or more secondary Discourse which we acquire in the process of gaining access to these institutions.

There are always differences between any two Discourses and thus there is always conflict and tension between any two Discourses. The amount and intensity of conflict will depend on the differences. When this conflict is very intense it interferes with the acquisition of the secondary Discourse and it can obstruct the acquisition altogether.

Gee defines literacy as 'the mastery of or fluent control over a secondary Discourse' (1989:9). From this definition he draws two main conclusions. One, as there are many secondary Discourses so there are many literacies. Discourses and hence literacies are not like languages in that you can be partially fluent in a language but you cannot be partially fluent in a Discourse - you are either in the Discourse or you are not. It follows from this that we cannot talk of notions like 'functional literacy' and 'competency-based literacy'. Gee (Ibid:10) thus argues that: 'As far as literacy goes, there are only "fluent speakers" and "apprentices" (metaphorically speaking, because remember, discourses are not just ways of talking, but ways of talking, acting, thinking, valuing, etc.).'

The second conclusion that Gee draws from his theory is that 'primary Discourses, no matter whose they are, can never really be liberating literacies' (Ibid:10). Because primary discourse is the first discourse to be acquired, it is complete in itself. Later the primary discourse can be contained and critiqued within a secondary Discourse but not on its own. The primary discourse can never act as a

meta-language. All secondary discourses involve uses of language, whether written or oral or both, that go beyond our primary discourse (1987:22). Gee calls those uses 'secondary uses of language'.

Although secondary Discourses all build on, and extend, the uses of language acquired as part of the primary Discourse, **primary Discourses are very limited**. It thus follows that in order to be 'empowered' or 'liberated' any person must acquire at least one more Discourse as it is only with a second Discourse that we are able to analyze and critique our own primary Discourse. In other words, we can only review, evaluate and hence seriously change a Discourse if we have meta-level knowledge of two Discourses. 'The control of the secondary use of language used in a secondary Discourse provides a meta-discourse to critique the primary Discourse as well as other secondary Discourses and dominant Discourses' (1987:23) We thus need to know the language of the secondary Discourse and, as it is a secondary Discourse, the language will be a meta-language.

The learner masters Discourse (both primary and secondary) and hence literacies, through **acquisition** and acquisition occurs by exposure to 'models in natural, meaningful, and functional settings' (Ibid:23). However, meta-knowledge is best developed through **learning**. In order to be conversant with Discourses and literacies we therefore need both acquisition and learning. Gee says that acquisition and learning are means to different goals.

Gee argues that at school, mainstream middle-class children often appear to be learning the mastery of or fluent control over a secondary Discourse (1989:9). That is, the children appear to be **learning literacy or literacies**. However, research (Wells 1985,1986) indicates that these children are in fact using school to practise the literacies they acquired at home and before and after school. 'The learning (emphasis added) they are doing, provided it is tied to good teaching, is giving them not the literacies, but meta-level cognitive and linguistic skills that they can use to critique various discourses throughout their lives' (Gee, 1987:24).

Gee (Ibid) continues his argument by illustrating the importance of the school and teachers in the Discourse acquisition process. One of the most important attributes of good teaching is the creation of an environment where both **acquisition and learning** can take place. A poor teaching environment can be characterized by the emphasis on **learning** to the exclusion of all else.

Unfortunately it is non main-stream children who most frequently are in the situation where they do not have good teaching. It is also non main-stream children

who do not have access to dominant secondary Discourses that include those connected to the school because their parents lack access to those Discourses. Thus, at school these children cannot practise what they have not got. In addition they are exposed to **learning** rather than **acquisition**. These children are being exposed to meta-language which does not make sense without having the Discourse first. Moreover, as many school discourses often conflict with these children's primary discourse and other community-based secondary discourses, the acquisition process is often obstructed and sometimes even blocked (1987:23-24).

Gee claims that what he has said about secondary Discourses is true about acquiring second languages:

Acquisition and learning are differential sources of power: acquires usually beat learners at performance, while learners usually beat acquires at talking about it, that is, at explication, explanation, analysis, and criticism. - we are better at what we acquire, but we consciously know more about what we have learned (1987:20-21).

Thus learners do not attain the functional use of a second language through formal instruction in a classroom. Hence the teaching of grammar does not generally help in the mastery of a second language. However, learning a second language in a natural setting does not make the learner a linguist - thus acquisition is good for performance and learning is good for meta-level knowledge (1987:21).

5.8 The importance of schooling

A resume of the important ideas for this study that emerge from the theoretical positions discussed above follow. These points will then provide a basis for an examination of the importance of 'the school' or 'independent schooling'.

5.8.1 Resume

The theories of language proficiency of Vygotsky, Bruner, Donaldson, Cummins and Gee share the following commonalities:

- 1) These theorists agree that language acquisition is part of the socialization process: language comes from the outside to the inside. Initially children acquire their language from watching and listening to their care-takers and from imitating them. They therefore acquire not only language forms but also the paralinguistic features and socially accepted behaviours that accompany them.
- 2) While children themselves are actively involved in the process of acquisition their caretakers are essential in this process. For young children it is usually

the mother who is the 'tutor' although sometimes the tutor is another significant adult. Once the child goes to school, this role is taken over by the teacher. In all instances the tutor is an adult or an older child: someone who is experienced in the culture and can therefore guide and instruct the child into the culture.

- 3) The notion is promulgated that the early language of the child revolves around the child, his world or his environment but once the child goes to school, (s)he gradually decontextualizes his world as (s)he internalizes the language thus making development of the higher cognitive functions possible. The internalization of language is tied up with thought and the development of higher order and abstract thinking.
- 4) Finally, they all stress the importance of 'good teaching' at school. 'Good teaching' is that which facilitates the internalization process and leads to cognitive development.

5.8.2 To be schooled or not schooled

Holmes (1978:135) says: 'The most general function of the school is usually considered to be to instruct children, to transmit to them facts, opinions and skills'. In order to receive this instruction in subjects or in areas which the society deems important, children go to a place away from home on a regular basis.

Sylvia Scribner's research in West Africa in the 1970s (Hudson,1980:220-224) indicated the importance of 'formal' schooling to promote cognitive development. She found far-reaching differences between schooled and non-schooled people. She concluded from her research that the school teaches the child a schema for 'logical discourse' so that the child is able to use his knowledge theoretically. Schema for 'logical discourse' in Bruner's words is 'school language' (5.4.1) and 'disembedded language' according to Donaldson (5.5).

Scribner does not, however, claim that all schooled people have these schemata but that they are far more common among the schooled than among the unschooled. In this argument the important consideration is those people who go to school and do not learn the schema or the school language.

Hudson (1980:220) hypothesizes that the reason that all school going children do not learn the language of the school is that some children do not want to. He suggests that if the child is threatened by the school language in any way, he might resist learning it. There may be a linguistic mismatch which may interfere with

language *per se*. This in turn prevents the child from learning the school language. Moreover, the child may feel psychologically as well as academically threatened. A resulting fear of failure and its implications for the child could block the learning process. Furthermore, children may come from homes that do not support school going. For them, the school experience is a temporary arrangement. The consequent lack of motivation on the part of the pupil can only hinder his progress.

Donaldson (1978:113) said that fundamentally all humans want to be useful, independent people. This urge comes from a very early age. By the time children come to school they have a vast store of experiences. Bruner (5.4.1) has shown that unless children grasp certain basic skills early in their school lives, they are unable to make them up later. Similarly, Donaldson has argued that unless the gap is closed as soon as possible, the pupils fall further and further behind. Bruner and Greenfield (1974:388-389) claim that the longer the pupil remains at school the better as the longer the school experience, the greater the exposure to school language and the better the ability to decentre. The need for lengthy exposure is supported by Cummins view where he maintains that the development of CALP takes up to four years to develop (5.6).

Donaldson says that 'good teaching' can help children to overcome most of the problems they bring to school because of the lack of school readiness. Gee maintains that some of the problems the pupils bring to school, can be overcome by exposing them to both 'acquisition' and 'learning' (5.7).

According to Bruner and Greenfield (1974:388-389), it is not the actual content of what is being transmitted that is important but the language of the school that is used in the transmission process. However, the content can provide the setting in which the language is used. Thus it is the way in which the content is used to promote learning that is important not the content itself. In addition, each subject has its own discourse and these are secondary discourses. Gee has discussed the importance of the learners (from deprived situations) gaining access to the secondary discourses if they are to become 'literate'. Gee (1987:24) argued that the content subjects can become the vehicles for learning meta-cognitive and linguistic skills which will help the learner to gain mastery of the particular secondary discourses of the content subjects. In his discussion of the ZPD, Vygotsky (1978:91) wrote:

Each school subject has its own specific relation to the course of child development, a relation that varies as the child goes from one stage to another. This leads us directly to a reexamination of the problem of formal discipline, that is, to the significance of each

particular subject from the viewpoint of overall mental development.

The argument above revolves around children learning in their mother tongue (L1) but of central concern in this study is the learning and use of L2. Vygotsky claimed that L2 learning is facilitated by fluency in the L1. Cummins' research accords with Vygotsky's statement. This has a direct bearing on the age of the pupil. If the pupil begins L2 instruction too early, not only will his L2 learning be affected but his L1 fluency will also be interfered with. Gee claims that second languages are acquired in the same way as secondary Discourses - a situation where both 'learning' and 'acquisition' will aid the learner.

All the theorists agree that whether the learner requires a scaffold, a mediator, school language, disembedded, decontextualized language, schema or secondary Discourses, the most important underlying feature is good teaching.

The question that emerges here is: can effective teachers be developed?

5.9 Change

The theorists discussed in the previous sections have emphasized the importance of 'good teaching' to promote cognitive development which in turn will develop higher level and abstract thinking. On one level farm school teachers are willing to work towards helping the pupils as was demonstrated on numerous occasions. Despite all the odds, the teachers persist. Their overall attitude can be summed up in their own words:

- 'I feel for these kids, that's why I'm here.'
- 'I wouldn't be here but for these children.'
- 'If some of us don't help them (pupils) who will?'

The focus of this study is the needs of farm school teachers in relation to using English as the medium of instruction. In order to understand the position of these teachers as fully as possible, their situation has been examined from a number of viewpoints. These aspects are: their appointment, qualifications, TPR, language and subject knowledge, classroom and teaching skills, provision of accommodation and isolation. The findings which have emerged from the study centre around the problems pertaining to the learning/teaching situation. In brief these difficulties are:

- some teachers are unqualified
- the majority of teachers are underqualified either in terms of a lack of sufficient certification or inadequate and inappropriate courses

- teachers have insufficient knowledge of both the use and usage of the language of the medium of instruction
- their knowledge of the content of the subjects across the curriculum is inadequate
- their classroom management skills are wanting in every respect
- teachers' approaches and methodologies are generally inappropriate
- teachers are isolated from exposure to English and from the mainstream of education thought and courses
- teachers are constrained to follow a syllabus which is rigid, overloaded and irrelevant to pupils' needs
- teachers lack confidence

The kind of 'good' teaching which these theorists discussed above promulgate for bringing about optimal learning would necessitate considerable change in the current practices of the farm school teachers.

Displacement is a notion which maintains that any person who is required to act under pressure or in a situation where that person is insecure, will fall back on a pattern of learned behaviour. On the whole, the teachers who have been observed are in a pressurized and insecure position. There are many reasons for this, namely, large classes, combined classes, teachers' own difficulties with the language, insecurity in the knowledge of the content of the subject/s being taught, the packed syllabuses, an examination-orientated system and, in many instances, a lack of the requisite qualifications.

Subject to the above stresses, the known behaviour on which the teachers rely is that behavior which enables them to have full control of the classroom. For these teachers this means that the classroom must be teacher-centered. The IRE interaction pattern - teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation (see 1.4) with the concomitant rote-learning will help them maintain their dominance. As long as the teachers are in control in the classroom, they feel secure that they are fulfilling the official requirements. It then becomes a matter of doing what is officially required and not a matter of best meeting the educational needs of the pupils.

While it is clear that the language issue in all its aspects i.e, teachers' own English, English as a subject, and the use of English as the medium of instruction is hindering the establishment of an optimal teaching/learning environment, it is also clear the lack of classroom management skills and isolation entrench the language difficulties and so exacerbate the problems.

Further, it has been demonstrated that the effective functioning of the farm school system is hindered by political, economic and social factors. Each of these issues separately does not satisfactorily account for the educational failure in the farm schools. Even adding them all together does not explain what has gone wrong. The views of the theorists discussed in this chapter have shed some light on this issue: the teaching/learning environment in the farm schools fails to make the kind of educational provision which could empower the pupils to lift themselves out of the cycle of poverty.

The kind of educational change which is under discussion here is innovative change rather than quantitative change i.e., change which attempts to introduce new ideas, new curricula, new methods and new attitudes etc. rather than changes to the infrastructure of the educational system.

In innovative change, the main emphasis falls, 'not on design and planning, but on what we may call project monitoring or implementation analysis' (Hurst 1978:56). This means that perhaps the responses of participants to the innovation, their rates and levels of its acceptance, and the reasons for low levels of adoption all have to be carefully monitored and analyzed because it is at the implementation stage that the amount of change and hence the effectiveness of the intervention can be assessed.

In a review of the literature of educational change, Hurst (1978:4) shows that implementing innovative projects has not been effective in the past. He argues that there are lessons to be learnt from past failures. The most important of these lessons is¹ that the purposes of change should not be to implement innovations *per se*, but to aim for improvement, greater fairness and greater efficiency. Innovations should thus be seen as a means to an end not as an end in themselves. A closely related point which is discussed by Straker Cook (1988:25), is that innovations are seldom, if ever, fully adapted and developed for the contexts for which they are initially proposed. As a result, a substantial proportion of the changes will thus be found to be unworkable. Those which are successful are a small proportion of all the changes promulgated. Moreover, these changes take a great deal of time to filter through into the system and then only after experimentation, trial and error, adaptation and development. 'Most successful change in education is evolutionary and gradual, and it is fitting that this is so' (Hurst 1978:56).

¹ The words 'change' and 'innovation' are co-occurrent in that while innovation entails change, change does necessarily imply innovation Straker Cook, 1988:17).

Hurst claims that the idea of dispensing with the traditional education system simply because it is conventional, is unsound. Any traditional system has been developed and adapted over many, many years to meet changing human needs. The system can and does develop and change its character, but this cannot be achieved simply by one, two or three education innovations. The planners and innovators tend to over-estimate the value of their own ideas and to give too little credit to potential adopters in being able to assess the value and relevance of the innovation. In his review Hurst (1978:56) shows how time and again change theorists oversimplify and reduce the complexity of human responses to new ideas. For example, teachers keep to traditional methods and content - those they saw in use when they were students at school - because they know they work up to a point.

Many theorists have taken this to mean teachers are absolutely set against change. Hurst argues that this does not mean that teachers will oppose all change, rather it shows that they are opposed to taking unnecessary risks. For teachers risk-taking is a two-edged sword. Firstly, there is the risk of investing resources of time, energy or material for little or no return or benefit (material, intellectual, psychological) and secondly, among the unintended and unforeseen outcomes of the innovation, there will be undesirable consequences (loss of confidence of pupils, discrimination from colleagues etc.) None of these risks can, however, be predicted. Hurst (1978:57) claims that careful, sensitive and slow innovation, and on-going monitoring is the best that can be done during implementation so that new ideas are tried out in such a way that corrective action can be given and taken if necessary.

Tom Hutchinson (1988) adds another dimension to understanding and managing change. His view is that change is a pervading part of life, it is around and about us at all times. The problem is that change is often thought of in terms of change itself rather than as a change in behaviour. And it is the contemplation of a change of behaviour that disturbs the framework by which people make sense of the world. Hurst has said that teachers are not fundamentally opposed to change (see paragraph above). Hutchinson does not oppose this view but he places greater emphasis on the changes which the implementation of an innovation would entail for the adopters - here the teachers.

To the teachers change poses a potential threat to their status, habits, beliefs and norms and the commonest reaction to change is resistance. It has been shown above how fear of displacement reinforces old approaches. In order to meet and overcome this resistance the why?, how? and what? of resistance must be known.

An essential consideration when thinking about introducing change is to take into account the fact that individuals are members of many different groups and groups have great power over the individual mainly because they provide the individual with benefits. Thus, if group affiliations are removed through introducing innovation, then benefits are removed. According to Hutchinson (1989) groups provide:

- reality testing (in particular, people test their values in relation to what they think is supported by other people)
- affiliation and recognition (if these aspects are ignored then the participant's affiliation can break down eg. solitary confinement)
- self-esteem (people feel important because other people think they are)
- power and achievement (people can succeed because they have power)

Hurst, Hutchinson et al have demonstrated the difficulties involved in bringing about change. On the basis of the available knowledge and insights about change, they recommend various strategies for implementing innovations. In sum, the kind of implementation strategy which should be sought is one which aims 'at bringing about a state of affairs in which participants perceive that a change of practice will probably be an improvement and that the risks involved are acceptable' (Hurst 1978:60).

The review of the literature of the theory of change indicates that what is required for successful change to be attained is that the 'right' variables have to be manipulated. Hurst argues that practice has shown that this view is profoundly mistaken. 'They [innovations] can be implemented successfully, but only sometimes, and by taking thought afterwards as well as before' (1978:57) - (insertion and emphasis added).

It is, however, clearly demonstrated in the literature that there are certain conditions of acceptance, and that unless these conditions are satisfied, it is highly unlikely that innovations will be adopted. The general conditions of acceptance as outlined by Hurst (1978:57-59) are:

- communication (adequate and accurate information about all aspects of the innovation must be given. Trust, confidence and feedback from participants are vital)
- relevance or desirability (outcomes must accord with the participants' value systems and promote benefits; sometimes values have to be changed.)
- effectiveness or reliability (innovation must be perceived to fit context)
- feasibility (necessary resource requirements cannot be underestimated)

- efficiency (participants will go for whatever serves their situation (e.g. rote-learning))
- trialability (potential adopters trial change themselves)
- adaptability (flexibility to accommodate adaptations and modifications to suit adopters and/or context)

Hutchinson et al claim that change will only be successful if it takes into account: both the intellect and emotions of the adoptees; the impingement of the implementation on the adoptees value systems; that not only individuals are affected but also groups and organizations and the structures, norms and environment of each of these. From what these reviewers have written, it appears that innovations have not been successful.

In his book *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*, C. E. Beeby (1966 - quoted in 1981: 5-7) advances a 'hypothesis of the stages' in which he argues that teachers' competence, flexibility and ability to innovate, depend largely on their level of education and training. It has been shown above that Hurst's view is that teachers have difficulty in embracing change unless they can see that there are advantages and no risks. Hurst's view is supported by Hutchinson who elaborates on the difficulties that people have in accepting change because it threatens them both personally and in relation to their various group loyalties.

Thus, it would appear that if the level of education and training of teachers can be improved they will develop confidence in their ability to innovate and to be flexible. If the teachers can be assured that only advantages will accrue by re-training and they will not be threatened in any way, the evidence submitted by Hurst et al indicates that there is a strong case for change coming about provided that the process adopted is slow and careful. However, perhaps there is still a missing element if change is really to be promoted.

In an essay entitled *Both Sides of the Wall*, Raymond Wilson writes of his experience in bringing a group of adult learners to realize the need for change. He says (1970:204):

It is the problem of all social change: that a system produces kinds of human beings who then seem to illustrate the justification of the system. Breaking through to a different world involves not just the rejection of authority but the taking of authority., with all its consequent demands on oneself.

Thus according to Wilson the process of change involves a careful and critical examination of the current system, retaining those elements that would work positively for the situation and rejecting those that are negative. In order carry out

these functions effectively, a commitment to and acceptance of the responsibility for change is essential. In relation to the teachers this would mean their taking responsibility for their improvement by actively seeking and participating in the change.

In the light of the additional insights provided by the theories of cognition and educational change discussed in this chapter, in the next chapter (Chapter 6), those areas of the farm school situation which would not be and those which might be amenable to change are examined. In addition, on the basis of a) the main tenets of cognitive theories and b) those aspects where change might be effected, a suggestion for an intervention is put forward.

CHAPTER 6

A CHALLENGE FOR CHANGE

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.

John Milton: Areopagitica

6.1 Introduction

The farm school research began as an investigation to determine the feasibility of implementing an English language course to help teachers meet their needs to use English as the medium of instruction. This narrow research focus left important issues unexplained. The research was thus extended to include the socio-economic background of the farm schools. This backgrounding yielded essential information concerning the living and working environment in which the farm schools are established. However, observation brought to light important aspects of the teaching/learning situation which needed clarification. In addition, the results of the pilot intervention raised more questions concerning the teachers. Theories of cognition and change were then examined to try to fill in some of these gaps. While this provided further insights into the situation, the picture remains far from complete.

From the outset the research conducted for this study was based on the underlying assumption that once the needs of the teachers had been identified, a programme could be developed and implemented and change would follow. The study has demonstrated that both the farm school situation and the notion of change itself are many faceted and any approach adopted has to have breadth as well as depth.

The culmination of the problems and difficulties that have emerged from the findings, is the poor performance and the high drop-out rate of the farm school pupils. The response to the enormity of the difficulties which the farm school pupils bring to and find in the school and which for the majority ends in failure and dropping out is the question: can anything be done to reverse this situation?

Essentially, it would take large scale political change to eradicate the problems the farm school children are faced with both inside and outside of the school. However, even if the new South Africa begins tomorrow, it will be some time before the

changes filter down into the rural areas and in particular into the rural schools (Wilson 1989:134). The body of under-qualified and non-qualified teachers, the economically and socially disadvantaged children and the poor provision of buildings would remain very much the same as they are now for some time to come.

As basic change will take time, it is important to re-examine the situation to find out whether or not there are aspects which can be addressed now in order to bring about some shift within this plethora of constraints. The most urgent needs identified in the farm school system are:

- to get all farm school children to enrol at school
- to get the pupils to attend regularly
- to make provision for children who lack school readiness - to improve the language teaching and learning situation
- to help the teachers to become more proficient in the language of the medium of instruction
- to improve their knowledge of their subjects and their classroom management skills
- to bring about a change in teacher attitudes to farm schools and to teaching to improve the physical conditions of the school buildings
- to provide basic equipment and classroom libraries.

Although in the current political and economic circumstances, it is not possible to meet all these needs, one of the two most important components in the learning/teaching situation is accessible: the teachers. The teachers could be the focus of change in two ways: they themselves could be the subjects of change and then they could become the agents of change. However, this can only happen subject to certain conditions pertaining to change being met.

Following the theorists of 'change' (see 5.9), it can be argued that in order for teachers themselves to be open to change, they have to be sure that the 'change' is advantageous and that it does not entail risk to them personally or to their group loyalties. For the teachers to effect change, they need to be competent, flexible and innovative. These characteristics are in turn dependent on the levels of education and training that the teachers have received.

In paragraph 6.3, the use of the medium of instruction and the classroom practices of the teachers will be re-examined in the light of the principles of 'good teaching'. On the basis of the points which emerge from the second section, paragraph 6.4 looks at what changes might and might not be acceptable to the teachers.

Thereafter, possibilities that could enable teachers to redress the situation will be presented. The chapter concludes with questions and suggestions for further research in this area.

6.2 The 'ideal'

The theories presented in this study have a central common point: the importance of language in relation to the development of thought. Furthermore, all the theorists point to the essential role of the teacher in promoting this process. Each of the theorists has the following to say about the role of the teacher:

- Vygotsky argues that once the child is at school, the teacher is the guide who provides the scaffolding for language which is the mediator in the internalization process.
- For Bruner, cognitive development depends on the 'systematic and contingent interaction between the learner and the teacher' (1966:6).
- Donaldson maintains that the role of the teacher is both informational and transactional in leading the child to learn to disembed.
- Cummins demonstrates that for both L1 and L2 learners in the initial instruction stage, context-embeddedness should be maximized if learners are to develop successful context-reduction skills.
- Gee argues that the good teacher can provide for both 'learning' and 'acquisition'.

In practice, the implications for the teacher of adopting these theoretical underpinnings are:

- a) Where the medium of instruction is in an L2, the teacher needs a high level of communicative and analytic competence in the L2.
- b) The teacher needs a thorough knowledge and understanding of language as well as pedagogical skills.
- c) The teacher needs to know the subject/s well enough to feel comfortable in any eventuality and for any demand in the classroom.
- d) A teaching style which is sufficiently flexible to accommodate the demands of both instruction and transaction.
- e) A working knowledge of a wide range of classroom management skills is important.
- f) A clear understanding of the working of and the relation of affective factors to the teaching/learning situation is required.
- g) The ability to treat the syllabus with flexibility.
- h) The skill to develop and adapt material to maximize the learning situation.

6.3 The reality

6.3.1 The use of English (L2) as the medium of instruction

The data from the classroom observation, the survey results and the attitudes of most of the teachers to the intervention programme indicated clearly that the teachers are far from being able to promote what the theorists advocate as the kind of learning/teaching situation that will promote language and thought. More specifically two main issues pertaining to the teachers are at the centre of the problems in the farm school classroom: the part played or not played by the use of the medium of instruction and the hinderance or help of the teachers' classroom practices.

Firstly, the teachers own level of communicative and analytical competence is not high enough to enable them to pass these on to their pupils. This is illustrated in the frequency with which the teachers revert to the use of the vernacular. It must be pointed out here that codeswitching is a useful and valuable technique if it used consciously to help L2 pupils towards comprehension. However, when the teachers use the vernacular far more than they do the L2, it becomes a hindrance rather than an aid to the progress of the learners. For example, the vernacular of the school is not necessarily the mother tongue of all the pupils and the resulting linguistic mismatch can only cause confusion and prevent development.

Furthermore, in a content subject lesson, the teacher explains a concept (4.2.3) in the mother tongue either because (s)he is not able to explain it in English or because (s)he finds the pupil cannot understand the explanation in English. Observation showed that in these instances the follow-up continued in the vernacular but eventually the pupils will have to write a test and an examination using that concept in English.

Also, in the follow-up it is the teacher who continues to do the talking in the vernacular and the chance for communicative practice has been ignored. In this instance, the opportunity for pupils to try to use the language analytically to try to come to grips with the concept with the guidance (scaffolding) of the teacher has been lost. The opportunity 'to share in dialogue, ... to internalize speech as a vehicle for thought' (Bruner 5.4) has been denied the pupils. In addition, their exposure to the L2 has been limited.

It can also be argued here that the teacher does not know the subject well enough to feel secure in any eventuality. Because of this, the teacher resorts to the vernacular. The teacher thus does not avail her/himself of the opportunity of

allowing the pupils both to use the language and to explore the subject through the language in a meaningful way.

The issue of the lack of exposure to English in the farm schools is a very important one (see 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). Because of the isolation of the farms and hence the schools, the pupils do not have the opportunity to hear or speak English. Furthermore, the language of business transaction in the area researched is mainly Afrikaans. Virtually the only exposure the pupils get to English is limited to their classrooms.

By not having a thorough knowledge and understanding of language skills, it is difficult for the teacher to help the pupils to get to know and use these skills. Donaldson (5.5) has demonstrated the importance to cognitive development of children learning to read as early as possible. For both Cummins and Gee, a sound knowledge of these skills aids the learner in obtaining access to CALP and to the required secondary Discourses.

6.3.2 Teachers' classroom practices

The majority of farm school teachers do not reflect on their classroom practices and they do not know what alternatives are available. The result is that these teachers are tied to the teacher-centered, rote-learning model. This model encourages a lock-step approach dictated by the syllabus and the text book/s. No room is left for the provision of needs of individual pupils and pupils gain no understanding of the general nature of the learning process.

Combined classes can be identified with the farm schools researched in this study (3.5.4 and 4.4.4) and large classes are also very common. It has been demonstrated above (3.5.4) that by far the majority of farm school pupils have been in a combined class at some time during their farm school years. It has also been shown that combined classes have problems which are peculiar to them (4.4.4) such as teaching two different standards the same syllabus at the same time. Because of a lack of relevant training the teachers do not know how to use this situation to the advantage of the pupils and they thus regard the combined class as a burden. The best they can do is to use what they know: the teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation pattern (IRE)(see 1.4) or the teacher-centered model.

All the negative aspects of classroom practice found in the non-combined class are evident in the extreme in the combined class. In the majority of lessons, half of the class is not being taught and is sitting by idly while the other half is learning passively. In all the combined classes only a handful of teachers are able to make

learning opportunities available by maximizing classroom management techniques. Pupils in these classes get half the exposure to the language, half the syllabus and half of the attention that the pupils in the classes which are not combined receive. The generally inadequate teaching/learning situation in the non-combined farm school class is thus exacerbated in the combined class.

The creation of a learning environment where the pupils are actively engaged in exploring ideas by means of language and with the guidance of the teacher is very far removed from the farm school classroom as it exists at present.

6.4 Recommendations

6.4.1 An action which has a good chance of success

Both the teachers' perceived needs (see 4.2) as well as their requests at the end of the first year of the pilot programme (see 4.5) were a clear indication that they wanted an English language proficiency course. However, the reasons given by the teachers in the first instance were that they needed the English for teaching purposes while at the end of the first year the teachers said openly that they wanted the English to improve their qualifications (see 4.5).

The rationale for assessing the teachers perceived needs is that if you give the teachers what they want there is a good chance of successful transfer of information. It could be argued against providing a course that would meet the personal needs of the teachers that it is unlikely to have any direct effect in the classroom. However, the theory has clearly shown that the teachers must be proficient in the language they are teaching if they are to guide the development of their pupils.

Moreover, Beeby (see 5.9) claimed that one of the requirements for change depended on the level of education of the teachers. On the basis of the views promulgated by the 'change' theorists (see 5.9) it can be argued that once the teachers become more proficient thereby gaining access to higher and broader education and thus better qualifications, they will be more confident in their abilities. Increased confidence will in turn facilitate greater flexibility in teaching styles and allow teacher to have greater freedom in syllabus interpretation. It is reasonable to assume that the teachers will then begin to reflect on what happens in their classrooms and hence want to improve their practices.

The argument here is not that there will be direct transfer but gradual change. This accords with the change theories discussed in Chapter 5, where it is maintained that the only effective change in education is slow change.

6.4.2 An action which has a fair chance of success

Not all the teachers showed resistance to a course in classroom management (see 4.5). Provision could be made for those teachers who wish to participate in such a course.

In order for such a programme to be successful regular classroom follow-up would have to be conducted. In addition, a regular back-up system would have to be in place. Adequate resources such as reference books, pictures and stationery would have to be made available. Finally, teachers' views and opinions should be consulted and incorporated at each stage of the course.

Provided that the teachers are not put in a position where they feel threatened and they are not overloaded with alternative information and method this programme would have a fair chance of success.

Only about 25 % (see 4.5.6) of the teachers showed an interest in working on their classroom management practices. Implementing a course with a small group is expensive in terms of human resources and economics. However, if the teachers' enthusiasm can be captured and maximized, other teachers can probably be motivated to join in. Demonstrations of what the participants have achieved could be used for this purpose.

6.4.3 Actions which are not likely to help

From the findings of the research, the experience of the intervention and the theories of language, thought and change, two distinct problematical areas have emerged in this study. Firstly, any kind of programme which poses a threat to the teachers will meet with resistance. The threat may come from: the content being so theoretical that teachers cannot see its relevance; a course so packed with content that the teachers feel overwhelmed and finally and most importantly, a top-down approach which diminishes the teachers.

A second approach which has not proved useful is a needs-based negotiated programme. Experience has shown (see 2.8.4) when the researcher does not want to lead the teachers to answers, (s)he simply asks the teachers to state their needs in relation to what goes on in the classroom. The result is that the majority of teachers do not know what to say because they do not know what the possibilities

are. When more information is given in, for example, a list of what aspects can be offered in a course, the teachers often do not know what each item entails. For example, there was an instance when the teachers understood speaking skills to mean pronunciation skills (see 4.2.2). A misunderstanding of this nature can easily demotivate the teachers and hence affect the intervention.

6.4.4 What can be done?

Clearly, offering teachers an English language course which will help them to become more proficient can meet some of the difficulties which are manifested in the farm school classroom. However, this is necessarily a long-term programme. Although initially it appeared that the focus of the intervention should be on teachers (see 4.5), it has subsequently become clear that this would give rise to the untenable situation where the pupils continue to fail and drop-out while the teachers improve their proficiency.

On the other hand, any intervention that addresses the pupils and bypasses the teachers would arouse such a negative reaction in the teachers that it would not work. Further, (see 6.4.2 and 4.5.6) any programme which focuses on what happens in the classroom but which does not have direct access to the classroom from the outset, has a minimal chance of attaining a positive outcome.

The suggestions for change outlined above all revolve around school-focussed interventions i.e., where the teachers are taken out of the classroom for courses. The advantage of this approach is that many schools can be involved at the same time and it is thus cost-effective in terms of human resources, time and money. The disadvantage of this approach is that the pupils are not directly involved at any stage of the process.

It is now proposed that a school-based programme has a better chance of success. This is a programme where a member of the project team (tutor) works in one or two schools. The tutor is available in the school, to all teachers for a certain number of hours each week or each day. The tutor is thus there as support in and out of the classroom. In this way problems and difficulties can be dealt with as and when they arise and the classroom follow-up can take place immediately. The range of aspects that can be dealt with is increased. For example, the choice of material for a particular topic, the necessary language structures and how the topic relates to the syllabus are some of the areas that could be covered for one lesson. Furthermore and most importantly, the pupils are directly involved both in the trying out of alternative approaches and in the change process.

A further specific advantage as far as the farm schools are concerned is the fact that to date schooling has proceeded with very little if any interruption. Thus, whatever the problems in the farm schools, a school-based programme is viable.

It is further suggested that an integrated language/content course for farm schools could go long way to addressing the underlying and most basic problems of farm school pupils, namely, no school readiness, large and/or combined classes, linguistic mismatch and an inadequate teaching/learning environment.

Underpinning the theory presented in this study is the notion that language is a tool through which the child comes to understand the world, and language and cognition are constantly interacting. The process of thought itself is dependent on language, and the growth of thought depends on the development of language. For children who are L2 learners traditional methods for teaching an L2 do not take into account that learning for cognitive or academic development are interdependent with language learning. Bruner and Greenfield (see 5.4.2) have pointed out that it is not the actual content of what is being transmitted that is important but the language of the school that is used in the transmission process. However, the content can provide the setting in which the language is used. An integrated approach would bring together the domains of language learning and cognitive development.

This approach would maximize the learning situation and would thus help the farm school children to bridge the gap caused by the lack of school readiness, this gap which interferes with later academic development (see Chapter 5).

All the theorists have discussed the points that language is learned most effectively for communication in meaningful, purposeful, social and academic contexts. Gee (1987:24) sums this up when he writes:

Settings which focus on acquisition, not learning, should be stressed if the goal is to help non-main stream children attain mastery of literacies. These are not likely to be traditional classroom settings ... but rather natural and functional environments.

Children need to know about their school subjects and thus their school subjects can become the means of exploring and using the language meaningfully in 'natural and functional environments'. Moreover, language facilitates the purposeful exploration of the subjects. By working in an integrated/language programme, the farm school children would be exposed to using language meaningfully and thus would be able to build language skills. In addition, they would be acquiring subject background at the same time as developing communication and analytical skills.

Content can provide both a motivational and cognitive basis for language learning - cognitive because it provides concepts to which language functions and structures can be attached and motivational because it can be made relevant to the experience of the pupils. 'Relevant' is used here in Bruner's sense of - that which the pupils have had some experience with (see 5.4.1). The content could thus become another kind of scaffold which would help the pupils to make the transition from the known to the unknown and from contextualized to decontextualized thinking.

Lastly this approach could help the pupils to realize the differences between the informal communication of the home and social environment to the more formal 'school' language. Once the pupils are 'tuned-in' to the register of the school, they are freed from the context and they can begin to think on higher and higher levels. Learning the school register may be one of Gee's gateways to access to secondary Discourses and academic 'success'.

6.5 Conclusion

Gee (1986:59) maintains that:

Literacy in and out of itself leads to no higher order, global cognitive skills; all humans who are acculturated and socialized are already in possession of higher order cognitive skills, though their expression and the practices they are embedded in will differ across cultures.

However, Gee argues that essay-text literacy is the literacy of Western technology and it often replaces other indigenous literacy forms all over the world. He (Ibid:60) concludes his argument by saying:

We should not fool ourselves into thinking that access literacy automatically ensures equality and social success or erases racism or minority disenfranchisement. But nonetheless English (all teachers) are gatekeepers: Short of radical change, there is no access to power in the society without control over the discourse practices in thought, speech, and writing of essay-text literacy and its attendant world view (insertion added).

If, teachers ultimately have to be concerned with teaching the discourses rather than 'language' or 'subjects' so that their pupils can gain access to the essay-text literacy, any change that is instituted should have as its aim that:

Teachers of ... are not, in fact, teaching (language or subjects) ... Rather, they are teaching a set of discourse practices, oral and written, connected with the standard dialect of English (which will lead to essay-text literacy).(insertions added) Adapted from Gee (Ibid).

6.6 Possible research questions arising from this study

In this last section three questions which deserve further research arising out of this study are discussed briefly.

6.6.1 Linguistic mismatch

In 3.6.2 it was indicated that linguistic mismatch in the farm school classroom is not unusual. Latterly, in the Soweto English Language Project (SELP) project (1991), it has come to light that linguistic mismatch in the urban areas is also very common. The implications of this for future language policy formulation are far-reaching. For example, if a very large number of children are not being taught in the mother tongue from the point of school entry, other options might be considered.

From an educational and psychological viewpoint Vygotsky's claim that acquisition of the second language is dependent on the level of development of the first language becomes a very important consideration. Further Cummins' et al research supported Vygotsky's claim and went further to show that if the first language is not fully developed when the second is introduced the L2 interferes with the acquisition of the mother tongue. This situation is further complicated by the introduction of English as the medium of instruction.

A research question emerging from this could be: How many black children in South Africa are enliterated in their mother tongue? What are the educational and psychological implication for those who are not enliterated in their mother tongue?

6.6.2 Importance of parental involvement in the schooling of their children

Principals and teachers reported that parents are either too busy or too tired to become interested in the schooling of their children (see 3.3.3). The lack of this important support has been promulgated as a reason for lack of school readiness, irregular attendance and early removal from school. Mashishi (1991) in a talk given at the ELTIC Forum, recounted her experience with an urban parents reading club, where many of the parents were reluctant to help their children as they were illiterate. If this is the case in Soweto, it is likely to be a much bigger problem in the rural areas. Parents can play an important part in the scaffolding process.

The research question here would be:

What help can be given to rural parents to enable them to become partners in their children's schooling?

6.6.3 Combined classes

The study has shown the enormous problems that the combined classes bring for both the teachers and the pupils. Literature concerning rural/one teacher schools in other parts of the world (USA, UK, Europe etc.) shows that a very successful teaching/ learning situation can be created in the combined class. These schools however, have developed an excellent back-up system (e.g. in Alaska highly developed computer centers in contact with one another) and the teachers are highly trained. As the possibility of SA being able to provide this kind of infra-structure for the farm schools is unlikely in the near future, and as the pupils in the combined classes are really at the end of the education line, a solution may be to do away with them altogether.

The research question would thus be:

How viable are combined classes in the SA farm schools?

6.7 An overwhelming challenge

The problems both within and surrounding the farm schools are extremely complex. However, an acknowledgement of these inadequacies and constraints does not explain them. As Lawrence and Paterson (1991:2) have pointed out:

...[T]o say that education does not answer simply and unproblematically to the needs of rural society, does not really contribute in any way to our understanding the diversity and enormous potential for conflict and contradiction in and around rural education.

In the final analysis this study was an attempt to gain greater insight into the issues which make up the complex farm school system. Three aspects in particular were highlighted by the research - the high rate of attrition, combined classes and linguistic mismatch. On the basis of the findings a possibility for an alternative programme was promulgated (6.4.4) and suggestions for further research were put forward (6.6). There is a great deal more that needs to be understood concerning the farm schools in order to change possibilities and suggestions into an appropriate policy. The challenge thus remains.

APPENDIX A - Questionnaire

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING INFORMATION CENTRE (ELTIC)

Name of school: _____

Surname: _____ First name: _____

Last Std passed at school: _____ Name of Teachers' Diploma _____

Name of Teachers' College: _____ Do you come from this area originally? _____

Standards and subjects being taught:

Standards:	Subjects:	No. of pupils in class
Sub A _____	_____	_____
Sub B _____	_____	_____
Std 1 _____	_____	_____
Std 2 _____	_____	_____
Std 3 _____	_____	_____
Std 4 _____	_____	_____
Std 5 _____	_____	_____

- How long have you been teaching at this school? _____
- For how many years have you been teaching? _____
- Are you doing any upgrading course eg Unisa, Matric? _____
- Which course/s are you doing? _____
- Do you need help to improve your own English? _____
- Do you need help to teach English? _____
- In which areas? (eg speaking, reading, grammar etc) _____

- Do you need help to teach any of the content subjects? _____
- What kind of help do you think you need? _____

APPENDIX B - Structured Interview Schedule

1. History

When did the school begin?

Who began it?

Has it changed much? (buildings, managers)

2. Enrolment

How many pupils are enrolled?

From how many farms do they come?

Do all the children from this farm attend school?

Do all the children from the feeding farms attend school?

3. Classes and numbers

What is the highest standard of the school?

How many classes are there in the school?

Are any of the standards combined?

How many pupils are there in each standard?

What is the TPR?

4. Attendance and transport

What is the furthest distance the pupils have to travel?

What is the shortest distance to the school?

How do the children get to school?

What is the attendance like?

Is there a seasonal fluctuation in attendance?

5. Pass rates and drop-out rates

What is the pass rate generally?

What is the percentage pass rate in Std 5? (last three years)

Where do the children go to school after Std 5 (Std 4)?

How many (%) of pupils go on to High School?

What happens to pupils who don't go to High School?

What is the drop-out rate during the H.P. years?

Is there any point at which the drop-out rate is most marked?

6. Staff

Do you run double sessions?
Where do the teachers live?
Why have the teachers chosen to teach here?
Do you have any difficulties in finding staff?
Are all your teachers paid by the DET?
Have you or any members of your staff attended any in-service training courses?
What extra-mural activities are the staff involved in?
Do the teachers move from school to school often?

7. Language

What language is used as the mother tongue?
What is the medium of instruction from Std 3?
Do the teachers really use the medium of instruction?
Are there any problems with the medium of instruction?

8. Physical conditions

How many classrooms are there in the school?
Are there sufficient classrooms?
Is there an ablution block, office, staffroom?
Do you have water and electricity?
Do you have a telephone?
How efficient is the postal service?
Is there sufficient furniture?

9. Books and equipment

Are there sufficient textbooks?
Do the textbooks arrive in time?
Do the pupils have to buy any of the textbooks for themselves?
Are the pupils able to provide sufficient stationery for their needs?
Do you have a library (general and/or class)?
What teaching aids are available to the teachers (worksheets, charts, science equipment etc.)?
Do you have any copying facilities?

10. General

Is a health service available for the pupils?
Is there any provision for remedial teaching?
Is there a feeding scheme in the school?
Who provides the school uniforms?
What extra-mural activities such as trips are available?
What do the children do after school?
Are the parents interested in what the children do at school?
Are the parents involved in any kind of non-formal education programmes?
Is the school in any way a community centre?

11. Farmer/manager

How often do you see the manager?
Do you feel that you can approach the manager with any school problem?
Does the manager have any interest in the teaching and learning that goes on in the school?
Does the manager have any other interest in the school?

12. Change

If you could have any change you wanted, what would you like to see in relation to:

buildings
staff
pupils
syllabus
in-service training courses
or any other not listed above?

APPENDIX C - TALOS Observation Scheme

TALOS Observation Scheme (The Low Inference TALOS)

(a)

School _____ Grade _____
 French teacher's name _____ Date _____

Who - student		Who - teacher		Content focus		Skill focus		Teaching medium		Teaching act		What - type of utterance		Type of question		To whom	
Who	To whom	Who	To whom	Language	Subject	Form	Function	Form	Function	Form	Function	Form	Function	Form	Function	Form	Function
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108
109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126
127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162
163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180
181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198
199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216
217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234
235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252
253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270
271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288
289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306
307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324
325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342
343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360
361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378
379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396
397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414
415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432
433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450
451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468
469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486
487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504
505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522
523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540
541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558
559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576
577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594
595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612
613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630
631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648
649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666
667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684
685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702
703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720
721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738
739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756
757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774
775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792
793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810
811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828
829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846
847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864
865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882
883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900
901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918
919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936
937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954
955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972
973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990
991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008
1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026
1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044
1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062
1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080
1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098
1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116
1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134
1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152
1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170
1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188
1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206
1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	1222	1223	1224
1225	1226	1227	1228	1229	1230	1231	1232	1233	1234	1235	1236	1237	1238	1239	1240	1241	1242
1243	1244	1245	1246	1247	1248	1249	1250	1251	1252	1253	1254	1255	1256				

TALOS Observation Scheme
(The High Inference TALOS)

	extremely low	low	fair	high	extremely high
TEACHER					
Use of L1	0	1	2	3	4
Use of L2	0	1	2	3	4
teacher talk time	0	1	2	3	4
explicit lesson structure	0	1	2	3	4
task orientation	0	1	2	3	4
clarity	0	1	2	3	4
initiate problem solving	0	1	2	3	4
personalized questions and comments	0	1	2	3	4
positive reinforcement	0	1	2	3	4
negative reinforcement	0	1	2	3	4
corrections	0	1	2	3	4
pacing	0	1	2	3	4
use of audio-visual aids	0	1	2	3	4
gestures	0	1	2	3	4
humour	0	1	2	3	4
enthusiasm	0	1	2	3	4
STUDENTS					
Use of L1 on task	0	1	2	3	4
Use of L2 on task	0	1	2	3	4
student talk time on task	0	1	2	3	4
initiate problem solving	0	1	2	3	4
comprehension	0	1	2	3	4
attention	0	1	2	3	4
participation	0	1	2	3	4
personalized questions and comments	0	1	2	3	4
positive affect	0	1	2	3	4
negative affect	0	1	2	3	4
S to S interaction on task	0	1	2	3	4
PROGRAM					
linguistic appropriateness	0	1	2	3	4
content appropriateness	0	1	2	3	4
depth	0	1	2	3	4
variety	0	1	2	3	4
listening skill focus	0	1	2	3	4
speaking skill focus	0	1	2	3	4
reading skill focus	0	1	2	3	4
writing skill focus	0	1	2	3	4
formal properties	0	1	2	3	4
functional properties	0	1	2	3	4
integration with general curriculum	0	1	2	3	4

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TALOS Observation Schema (General Information)

1. Observer _____
2. Date _____
3. School _____
4. Name of French teacher _____
5. Name of home-room teacher _____
6. Grade _____
7. Observation (circle one) 1st 2nd 3rd 4th
8. Lesson start _____
9. Lesson end _____
10. French room (circle one) yes no
11. Teacher French displays? yes no
12. Student French displays? yes no
13. Francophone French teacher? yes no

APPENDIX D - Observation Scheme (Adapted)

TEACHER:
STANDARD:
SUBJECT:
TOPIC:

SCHOOL:
COMBINED CLASS: (Y) (N)
STANDARDS COMBINED:
NO. OF PUPILS IN EACH STANDARD:

SKILLS:

L S R W
Words
Sentences
Paragraphs

CONTENT:

Introduction
facts
new info
concepts
re-cycling
re-inforcement
revision
checking/asking

METHOD:

lecture
explanation
demonstration
discovery
drill
chorus (Tr.Ts)
dramatization
dialogue

QUESTIONING:

no. asked by tchr.
individ. ans.
class ans.
tchr. ans.
probing
prompting
re-directing
distributing
pupils' ques.

CLASSRM. MANAGEMENT:

TTT/PTT
instructions L1? L2?
arrangement
p/p help
monitoring
facilitating
tchr.as resource
accuracy/fluency

COMBINED CLASS:

stds.taught together or separately?
if separately, how was the std. without tchr. occupied?

COMMENTS:

NB: If L1 is used at any stage indicate this.

APPENDIX E - Carroll Rating Scheme

SPOKEN ENGLISH - CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT

Section A - rating by specific aspect

1. Fluency

- A** the teacher can speak effortlessly and smoothly on a wide variety of topics
- B** the teacher can speak easily on topics she knows
- C** the teacher is able to express the general idea of a topic but his/her language does not flow easily
- D** the teacher struggles to express him/herself.

2. Accuracy

- A** there are no noticeable errors and the teacher uses a variety of structures appropriately
- B** there are occasional errors and the variety of structures is limited
- C** errors but no hindering of communication
- D** there are constant errors which interfere with communication.

3. Vocabulary

- A** extensive knowledge of vocabulary and accurate usage in all situations
- B** general vocabulary adequate to cope with complex problems and in a variety of situations

- C adequate vocabulary for specific purposes but stumbles in other areas
- D in accurate use and limited knowledge of vocabulary.

Section B - overall rating

- A Excellent: the teacher is completely fluent, makes very few errors and has a wide range of structures and vocabulary.
- B Good: the teacher is reasonably fluent, makes some grammatical errors and has a fair range of structures and vocabulary.
- C Satisfactory: the teacher's language does not flow very easily; (s)he makes quite a few grammatical errors and has a limited range of structures and vocabulary.
- D Weak: the teacher struggles to express herself in English; she makes grammatical errors which hinder communication and has an inadequate range of structures and vocabulary.

Adapted from Carroll, J.B. (1982) Testing Communicative Performance. Oxford: Pergamon.

APPENDIX F - Standard 4 English Exam

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

STANDARD FOUR

ANNUAL PROMOTION EXAMINATION.

ENGLISH FIRST PAPER.

MARKS:-40

TIME:-45mins

1. SENTENCE WORK.

(a) Not more than five sentences:-

NEARLY BEATEN BY A SNAKE.

One day I went to the , , , , ,
under a tree, I suddenly saw a
snake about Its body
was half raised and its tongue
. I was
could not ~~move~~ move or shout
. towards I jumped
up and it on the head
and killed it.

two metres from me.
jerked in and out.
Then it came.
threw a stone at it.
While I was sitting
river to fish
so frightened that I
Luckily I hit

/10/

2. PARAGRAPHS:-

(b) Arrangement of simple sentences in logical order :-

- (i) In the garden we grow lillies, roses, violets, carnations and other flowers. *
- (ii) My new house is composed of a sitting-room, dining-room, kitchen bath-room and two bedrooms..
- (iii) There father grows many kinds of vegetables.
- (iv) In the front of the house we have grass and flower garden.
- (v) Our garden is in the back yard.
- (vi) In winter we spend much time in the sitting-room.
- (vii) We have our meals in the dining room.
- (viii) At night we sit before the fire until it is time to go to bed.
- (ix) There is a warm carpet on the floor, and the fire burns brightly in the fire-place.

/10/

3. PARAGRAPH WRITING

(c) Choose only ONE topic from the topics given below.
N.E. Not more than 5 or 6 sentences.

- (a) Our school
- (b) A street accident.
- (c) A sad story or The story I have read.

/10/

4. INFORMAL LETTER TO A FRIEND OR RELATIVE.

N.E. The complete letter should not exceed 50 words.

(a) Write one of the following letters:-

To your father/ mother and ask for money. Tell what you are going to use it for.

or

To your friend and invite him/her to your birthday party.

/10/

APPENDIX G - Reading Skills Course

4.1

ELTIC FARM SCHOOL PROJECT

READING SKILLS COURSE

Session 4: Previewing (4)

*Work together in your groups.
Read and follow the instructions carefully.*

1. Look at the heading at the top of p 3. What does this heading suggest to you?

2. Look at the clues on page 3.
3. How do these clues relate to the heading? Give your answer in 3 main headings.
 - a) _____
 - b) _____
 - c) _____
4. Find the blurb on page 4 and read it.
5. What did you learn from the blurb? _____

6. How does the blurb relate to the heading and clues? _____

7. Are there any other clues? What are these clues? What do these tell you?

8. From what you have learnt from the clues, predict what you think the text will be about?

9. Read the text through once. Do not stop for any words or sentences you do not understand.
10. Check your prediction. Make any alterations to your prediction that you think necessary. Write any changes below:

11. Read the text again. This time read it more carefully. Check your prediction again.
12. Say briefly what the text is about.

Can You Read?

TRAIN TIMETABLE - JOHANNESBURG
PRETORIA
PORTERBURG

DANGER

**BINNELANDSE TELEGRAM
INLAND TELEGRAM**

Rekeningno./Account no.	Woerde Words	Landkryg's Charge	Op Dienkood's Order code	Bedrag/Amount	Aanvaars Accepted
Kies Kies	Kontoor van herkoms/Office of origin	Woerde Words	Datum Date	Tyd Time	Dienster Service
AAN TO	Tarief Rate	BLOKLETTERS/BLOCK LETTERS			
		SMITH 204 ORANGE STREET NEWLAND			

FATHER ILL. COME HOME
IMMEDIATELY.

WASHING INSTRUCTIONS

1. Use only cold water
2. Use a mild soap
3. Dry flat
4. Do not dryclean.

SPECIAL -

ONE DAY ONLY 35.86
Brown bread 32c
Sugar 1 kg R1. 35c

DISPRIN

FOR HEADACHES, COLDS, FEVERS, FLU, NEURALGIA, PERIOD PAINS, RHEUMATISM, ETC.
ADULTS DOSAGE: 1 to 3 tablets in a 1/2 tumbler of water. Stir and drink when the tablets dissolve.
Tablets can also be dissolved on the tongue or swallowed. If necessary repeat after 4 hours.
CHILDREN'S DOSAGE: See enclosed leaflet for information and dosage.
DO NOT USE CONTINUOUSLY FOR MORE THAN 10 DAYS WITHOUT CONSULTING YOUR DOCTOR

TRESPASSERS WILL BE PROSECUTED.



First aid for food poisoning

- (a) If you know what the person has eaten, keep it to show the doctor.
- (b) Make the person vomit. The quickest way is to push two fingers down his throat. If this does not work put two large spoonfuls of salt in warm water and make him drink it. This is called an emetic.
- (c) When he has finished vomiting give him as much milk to drink as possible. This helps to take away the poison.
- (d) After the emetic and milk, give two spoonfuls of castor oil to help the poison to pass through the intestines.

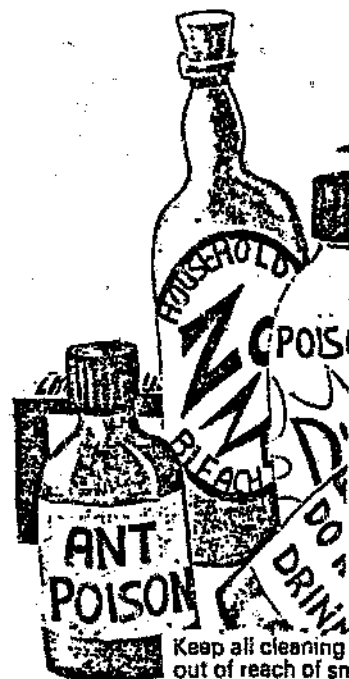
FIVE YEAR REPLACEMENT GUARANTEE

This heater, as specified hereunder, is guaranteed by Dion Discount Centres against element failure solely for a period of five years from date of purchase and specifically excludes consequential damage caused through misuse or carelessness, or any other cause whatsoever.

CONDITION OF GUARANTEE

1. The guarantee shall only apply to the original purchaser and is not transferable or assignable.
2. The guarantee shall not apply to any damage resulting from, accident to the heater, nor to any damage caused thereto by alteration or

only on the voltage and current supply



Keep all cleaning agents and out of reach of small children

WARNING!

Sockets are dangerous!!!

Keep your fingers out!!!

is a day without reading and writing. Most people around the world in the past didn't know how to read and write to live. But in countries like Britain where people are expected to be able to read and write, it's a handicap if you can't. Still ... about 4 in every 100 adults in Britain can't read and write well enough to deal with most of the things in our life that need reading and writing. They're not stupid: they just missed out on learning. This is a story about one of them.

Brenda Linson never goes anywhere without an empty spectacles case. She doesn't wear glasses. The reason she can't do without her specs case is because she can't read or write. If she ever gets into any situation where she might be expected to do either of those things, she fishes around in her bag for the specs case, finds it empty, and asks the person concerned to do the reading or writing for her.

Brenda is now in her late thirties. She's capable and intelligent and until a few months ago hardly anybody knew she was illiterate. It never occurred to her husband in 10 years of marriage. He is away a lot for his work; he insists on handling all the letters and bills that come into the house; he accepted it as normal that Brenda should phone her friends rather than write to them. It has never occurred to her children either. When they were young their mother told them stories rather than read to them. Now that the oldest is quite a good reader Brenda can get her to read any notes brought home from school simply by asking 'What's this all about then?'

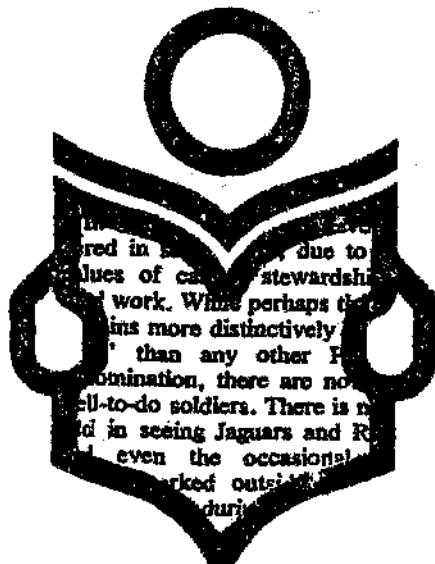
She managed to hide the secret at work too - even when she was promoted to head waitress in the private club where she worked. She devised a coding system for the menu so that she didn't need to write out orders. She also memorized the club members' names for the bills, and knew she could always get one of the others to do things she couldn't manage by blaming it on her missing specs or on her bad memory. She also ran her own business at home, completing knitting patterns for various firms. She had no trouble with numbers and she learned knitting patterns off by heart; she could always use the phone when she stuck, pretending she just wanted to check an order by getting someone at the firm to read it over to her.

But then things started to go wrong. She went to see her children's headmaster because she felt they weren't getting on in school as well as they ought to be. (She was determined they wouldn't have to face the problems she'd had to face.) The headmaster said there was no need to worry - provided that the children were getting help with their work at home. For the first time in her life, Brenda felt forced to admit she was illiterate and couldn't help them. The headmaster was shocked and could hardly believe her. Then there were problems at work when a change in the system meant that Brenda was on her own at work for 1½ hours each night. Without anyone to turn to if she got stuck, she decided she couldn't face the worry and gave in her notice.

A couple of months later she noticed a simple poster in her local laundrette. It said 'Can You Read?' above a picture of someone reading. Brenda knew enough simple words to make this out and she memorized the telephone number to ring. She forced herself to contact the local adult reading scheme. The morning of her first appointment she finally told her husband what he hadn't guessed in their 10 years together.

Brenda now goes to reading and writing lessons for a couple of hours each week. She is making fast progress, and is on the track of another job. She's now herself helping her youngest child with the simple reading books he brings home from school. That's extra practice for Brenda too. But her son doesn't realize that he and his mum are learning to read together.

(adapt. from *The Secret Few People Guess*, Jenny Stevens)



6.1

ELTIC FARM SCHOOL PROJECT

Session 8

READING SKILLS COURSE

Vocabulary (3)

ACTIVITY 1 Revision

- a) The entire city was annihilated by the war. That is, all the buildings were ruined. All the animals were killed, the vegetation was destroyed and not a single human survived.
- (i) Meaning:
- (ii) Technique:
- b) Although Maria and Anna are sisters their personalities are quite different. Maria talks a lot whereas Anna is usually taciturn.
- (i) Meaning:
- (ii) Technique:
- c) I was carrying my zud when the handle broke and all my books, files and pencils fell to the ground.
- (i) Meaning:
- (ii) Technique:
- c) Because their business proved so lucrative they were able to double their profits in a year.
- (i) Meaning:
- (ii) Technique:

ACTIVITY 2

Work together in pairs.

Read and follow the instructions carefully.

- a) Look at the heading on 8.2. What do you think the article will be about?

- b) Look at the pictures and drawings on 8.2. What information have you gained from these pictures and drawings?

- c) Relate the heading and the clues from the pictures and say what you think the article will be about. (predict)
-
-

- d) Read through the text once. Do not stop for any words or sentences you do not understand.

- e) Check your prediction. Make any alterations to your prediction that you think necessary. Write any changes below.
-
-

- f) Read the text again.

- g) In this activity you have been given a list of the more difficult words in the passage. Below each word are three words. One of these is the correct explanation. Use word-formation and/or the contextual clues to help you find the answer. After you have decided on your answer say which technique you used.

1. durable (line 3)

(i) recognizable	(ii) temporary	(iii) lasting
technique:	helping word/s:	

2. portable (line 4)

(i) to divide	(ii) to carry	(iii) to communicate
technique:	helping word/s:	

3. barter (line 10)

(i) buy	(ii) bargain	(iii) exchange
technique:	helping word/s:	

4. currency (line 28)

(i) money	(ii) finance	(iii) supplies
technique:	helping word/s:	

5. supplanted (line 37)

(i) replaced	(ii) varied	(iii) fixed
technique:	helping word/s:	

6. picturesque (line 38)

(i) valuable	(ii) colourful	(iii) decorate
technique:	helping word/s:	

Session 8 (continued)

7. remote (line 39)

(i) nearby

(ii) small

(iii) far away

technique:

helping word/s:

8. hoard (line 39)

(i) cultivate

(ii) save

(iii) invest

technique:

helping word/s:

9. primitive (line 40)

(i) new

(ii) old

(iii) historic

technique:

helping word/s:

- h) Are there any words and/or phrases which you did not understand and which do not appear in g) above. If there are, write them down and try to work out their meanings.

Money



A cowrie shell

Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, summed up the four chief qualities of money some 2,000 years ago. It must be lasting and easy to recognize, to divide, and to carry about. In other words it must be, 'durable, distinct, divisible and portable'. When we think of money today, we picture it either as round, flat pieces of metal which we call coins, or as printed paper notes. But there are still parts of the world today where coins and notes are of no use. They will buy nothing, and a traveller might starve if he had none of the particular local 'money' to exchange for food.

5

Among isolated peoples, who are not often reached by traders from outside, commerce usually means barter. There is a direct exchange of goods. Perhaps it is fish for vegetables, meat for grain, or various kinds of food in exchange for pots, baskets, or other manufactured goods. For this kind of simple trading, money is not needed, but there is often something that everyone wants and everybody can use, such as salt to flavour food, shells for ornaments, or iron and copper to make into tools and vessels. These things - salt, shells or metals - are still used as money in out-of-the-way parts of the world today.

10

15

Salt may seem rather a strange substance to use as money, but in countries where the food of the people is mainly vegetable, it is often an absolute necessity. Cakes of salt, stamped to show their value, were used as money in Tibet until recent times, and cakes of salt will still buy goods in Borneo and parts of Africa.

20

Cowrie sea shells have been used as money at some time or another over the greater part of the Old World. These were collected mainly from the beaches of the Maldive Islands in the Indian Ocean, and were traded to India and China. In Africa, cowries were traded right across the continent from East to West. Four or five thousand went for one Maria Theresa dollar, an Austrian silver coin which was once accepted as currency in many parts of Africa.

25

Metal, valued by weight, preceded coins in many parts of the world. Iron, in lumps, bars or rings is still used in many countries instead of money. It can either be exchanged for goods, or made into tools, weapons or ornaments. The early money of China, apart from shells, was of bronze, often in flat, round pieces with a hole in the middle, called 'cash'. The earliest of these are between three thousand and four thousand years old - older than the earliest coins of the eastern Mediterranean.

30

35

Nowadays, coins and notes have supplanted nearly all the more picturesque forms of money, and although in one or two of the more remote countries people still hoard it for future use on ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, examples of primitive money will soon be found only in museums.

40

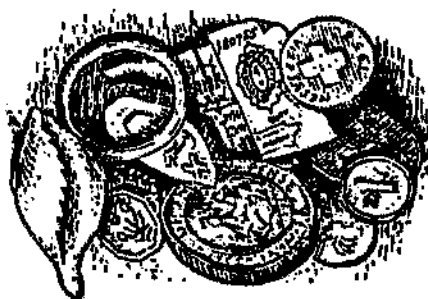
From: Mosback, G. & V. 'Practical Faster Reading.' O.U.P.



Coins used in the Middle Ages in England



A Roman coin



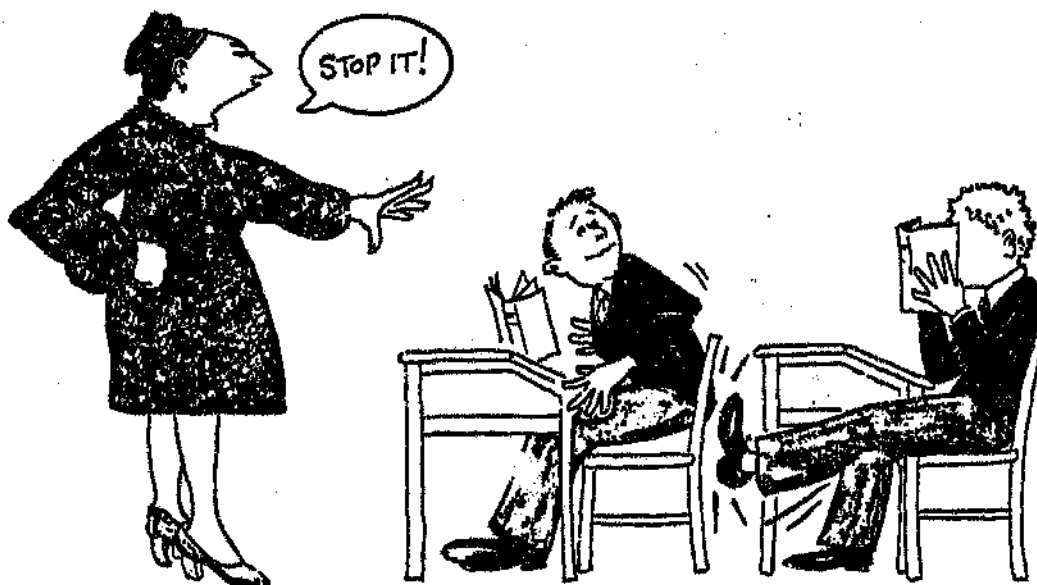
Coins, paper money, iron rings and shells are used as money.



These copper bars were important in central African trade a long time before the

READING SKILLS COURSE

Session 15:

REFERENCE (1)ACTIVITY 1*Look carefully at the drawing below.*

a) What is 'it'? _____

b) What helped you to work out what 'it' is? _____

The most common reference words are:

1. All the personal pronouns n.b. it and its

2. him, his, hers, their, theirs, our, ours, your, yours.

3. them, one, this, those, there, that, here, which, few.

ACTIVITY 2

Below is a short text. Read it and decide what the underlined words refer to. Write your answers in the table.

Samir and Pushpa sometimes called their father Daddy and they sometimes called him Pitaji according to Indian custom. It depended on his mood. If he was angry or lecturing them about how Indian boys should behave or not behave, how they could so easily spoil his good name in the town, then they said, 'Yes Pitaji'. 'No Pitaji'.

Word from text	Word/s referred to	Forward or backward reference	
their			
they			
him			
It			
his			
he			
them			
they			
his			
they			

ACTIVITY 3

Read the paragraph below. Look at the underlined reference words and show by means of arrows which word/s they refer to.

But Nudaka had after all, brought something to eat. At the bottom of the suitcase was a large packet of mixed sweets. She had bought them for her family but as she took him, but she saw that the doorway of her mother's house was suddenly filled with children. They watched her with solemn eyes. Nudaka took Hiamle's thin dry hand and went out with him into the hot sun. She gathered the ragged children around her and placed the sweets one by one into their outstretched hands. Their eyes shone with thanks but it caused a jerk in her heart.

/ 4 ...

ACTIVITY 4

Below is a list of reference words. Use them to fill in the blanks in the passage. Some of the reference words will be used more than once.

You,	she,	it,	we,	her,	their,	the
------	------	-----	-----	------	--------	-----

Nudaka climbed down from the Port Elizabeth train and watched _____ dwindling away in the distance. Then _____ came down into the valley and suddenly the drought was all around _____. Everything was brown and shrivelled. _____ was a dead landscape.

She pushed open the gate and started walking up and steep broken hill to the houses. A few people sat at _____ doorways. _____ did not greet her, did not recognise _____.

How different was this homecoming from what _____ had been dreaming for four years. There were no shouts of: 'How are _____?' '_____ have missed you'. ... There was only silence around the houses.

ACTIVITY 5

Read the short text below and decide what the underlined words refer to. Write your answers in the table below.

A simple examination problem

Some students find it difficult to do examinations because they do not know how to begin. This is not a difficult problem to solve however. Here is one way of doing it. Before you do anything, read the instructions carefully. Note whether they say 'Answer all the questions' or 'Answer some of them'. If you only have to answer three out of five questions read through the paper and choose those you think you can do. Then, check the time allowed and divide it by the number of questions you must answer. Make sure you do not spend too much time on anyone. If you do, you will not be able to finish the examination.

Word from text	Word/s referred to	Forward or backward reference.	
it			
they			
this			
here			
they			
them			
those			
it			
anyone			
of you do			

ACTIVITY 6

Below are two columns of words: one consists of prefixes, the other of roots. Build as many words as you can by combining the prefixes and the roots.

<u>PREFIXES</u>		<u>ROOTS</u>
In- , im- ,	(in, into, onto)	- VENT (come)
Sub-	(under, away, beneath)	- POSE (put)
Re-	(back, again)	- FORM (shape)
Trans-	(across)	- TRACT (pull)
De-	(away, down)	- PORT (carry)
Con-, com-	(with, together)	- VERT (turn)

1. Read the paragraphs below carefully and then underline the topic sentences. In addition, write down what you think the topic of each paragraph is.

- a) Bones break quite easily. When a bone breaks, cracks or splinters, it is painful because the bone cells are alive. You will recognize a broken bone because:

1. It is painful,
2. It is usually swollen,
3. It is usually bruised, and
4. In certain cases, the ends of the broken bones, e.g. in arms and legs, can pierce the flesh or show an unnatural dent.



(from: Health Education in Action. 3)

- b) Cocoa trees grow in hot, wet places such as South America and western Africa. They grow to about 9 metres high and have few branches. Several years after planting, tiny pink flowers grow from the bark and branches of the tree. Some of them turn into oval-shaped fruits called pods. Each pod contains about 40 seeds usually known as beans.

(from: Junior Encyclopedia. Hamlyn.)

- c) In South Africa we have many rivers and tributaries. Some of them are long and wide, like the Orange River. Some are smaller. Only a few of our rivers are as deep as some of the rivers found in other countries. Because of this ships can't be used to carry things from one city to another like in Europe. But our rivers can be used to water dry areas (irrigation) and to make electricity (hydro-electric power).



27. Major rivers in South Africa

(from: Geography to the Point. 3.)

APPENDIX H - Tests

SECTION A

1. Read the passage below through once to get the general idea.

Malnutrition

Many people think eating food is simply something which is pleasant and necessary to satisfy hunger. They do not realise that a great deal of their ill health is due to eating the wrong kinds of food. The reason for this is that they do not know enough about what food is for.

In many parts of the world, notably in certain Asian countries, there is much starvation, and many people die each year because they eat insufficient food. In these countries the main problem is the low production of food. In Africa, however, starvation is not as common as in Asia because in most areas the climate and soil allow the people living there to produce enough food for their needs. A person belonging to a family in which hunger is unknown finds it difficult to realise that some of his relatives may be ill because of something lacking in their diet. But food is necessary not only to

satisfy hunger, but also to provide the body with certain substances to keep it healthy. Ill health due to a poor diet is known as malnutrition. In most cases in Africa, malnutrition is due not to lack of food, but to lack of knowledge about food, and the solution to this problem lies in the spreading of this knowledge.

It is important for people to realise that malnutrition causes a great deal of illness and death. Moreover, apart from the people who are obviously ill, there are many thousands who are tired or weak, or have poorly developed bodies, simply through lack of proper feeding. These people are far more likely to get common diseases (for example, tuberculosis, infections, diarrhoea) than those with a good diet.

It is extraordinary how many people are unaware of the serious problem of malnutrition in their own country.

From: Toward Protein Feeds. Adapted from an article from Daily Times of Nigeria.



2. Re-read the passage. When you have read the passage again, say whether the statements below are true or false by placing a circle around the T or F next to the statement.

For example:

The passage is about malnutrition. (T) / F

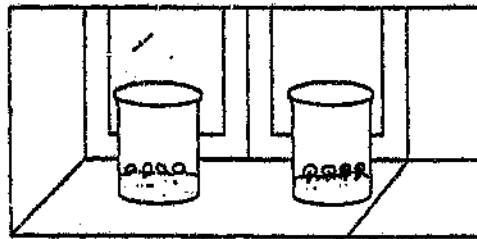
Use the passage to help you find the answers.

- | | |
|---|-------|
| a) Illness caused by eating the wrong kinds of foods is called malnutrition. | T / F |
| b) The main difference between certain Asian countries and Africa is that there are more people in Asia than in Africa. | T / F |
| c) There is no starvation in Africa. | T / F |
| d) Many people eat the wrong kind of food because they do not know enough about good and bad food. | T / F |
| e) Malnutrition often leads to disease, under-developed bodies and death. | T / F |

Read through the passage below once to get the general idea.

The germination of bean seeds

Water, warmth and oxygen are all necessary for the germination of seeds. I conducted an experiment to show that water was an important factor in germination. I washed and dried two glass jars and placed a layer of cotton wool in the bottom of each one. I moistened the cotton wool in the first jar with clean water, but I left the wool in the other jar dry. I then placed five bean seeds in each jar and put the jars in a warm place near a sunny window. Every day I moistened the cotton wool in the first jar so that it remained damp. The other jar was completely dry. Both jars were warm, and there was plenty of fresh air to provide oxygen. After a few days, tiny radicles started to show on the beans in the moist jar. The seeds on the damp cotton wool were germinating. But there was no sign of growth on the beans in the dry jar.



From: Reading for a Purpose, Book 3.
A.H. Sloor and E.S.H. Grant. Longman

2. Re-read the passage more slowly before answering the questions below.

In each question or statement below only one answer is correct. Circle the number of the answer which you think is correct.

- a) Germination means: i) development
ii) birth
iii) growth
- b) Which word below is similar in meaning to the word 'moisture'?
- i) warmth
ii) damp
iii) sunny
- c) The experiment showed that for germination to take place
- i) moisture, warmth and fresh air are necessary.
ii) water and a warm place only are necessary.
iii) dryness, oxygen and sunlight are necessary.
- d) How long did it take for germination to take place
- i) two days
ii) 36 hours
iii) 12 hours?
- e) The writer says that each day he
- i) cleaned the jars
ii) he wet the cottonwool in one jar
iii) he moved the jars into the sun
- f) Does the fact that the radicles started to show mean that the bean seeds are
- i) drying up
ii) dying
iii) growing?

3. This passage is a description of an experiment. Imagine that you are going to do this experiment for your class. Using the information from passage, write up the steps of the experiment for your lesson plan. There are eight steps in the experiment. The first two steps have been done for you.

1. Clean and dry two glass jars.

2. Place a layer of cotton wool in each jar.

3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

SECTION 1

1. Read through the passage below once to get the general idea.

Lucia

The Teacher wore a white blouse and a green skirt. Njoroge liked the white and green because it was like a blooming white flower on a green plant. Grass in this country was green in wet weather and flowers bloomed white all over the land. ... Njoroge, however, feared her when two days later she beat a boy, whack! whack! ("Bring the other hand") whack! whack! whack! The stick broke into bits. Njoroge could almost feel the pain. It was as if it was being communicated to him without physical contact. The teacher looked ugly while she punished. Njoroge hated seeing anyone being thrashed and he was sorry for the boy. But he should not have bullied a *Njuka*. It was on that day that Njoroge learnt that *Njuka* was the name given to a new-comer.

From: Weep not, child by Ngugi.

2. Read through the passage again before answering the questions below.

- a) The colours 'white' and 'green' are frequently mentioned at the beginning of the passage. Do these colours suggest that Njoroge
 - i) liked the teacher
 - ii) loved the teacher
 - iii) admired the teacher?
 - b) Does the sentence 'The teacher looked ugly while she punished' show that Njoroge
 - i) disliked the teacher
 - ii) feared the teacher?
 - iii) admired the teacher?
 - c) Did Njoroge's feelings for the teacher change? Yes / No. Give a reason for your answer. Write one sentence only.
-
-

d) Who was punished? _____

Why ~~was~~ this person punished? Write one sentence only.

e) Why was Njoroge so upset?

because _____

f) As a teacher, how would you have acted in this situation? Give reasons for your answer. Do not write more than three sentences.

SECTION D. DICTATION.

SECTION E. CLOZE.

Read the following passage and fill in the blanks with the words from the bottom of the page. Please note that in the list at the bottom of the page there are more words than there are blanks. This means that some of the words in the list are incorrect. Choose those words which you think are the correct ones.

Reclaiming desert lands

For many years agriculturalists have attempted to reclaim desert land for productive use. Up to now this has always proved expensive and required a great deal of hard work. Where sand is drifting, coarse, quick-growing grass has to be planted in trenches. As seedlings and small trees can easily be buried by drifting sand or destroyed by sand storms, hard work is often wasted. A large proportion of plants do not survive, for sand dunes drift even in light winds.

An oil company in Libya has discovered a _____ to prevent sand drifting over new plants. This _____ help us to reclaim desert land all over _____ world. The experimenters found that _____ was possible to spray sand with a fine layer _____ petroleum emulsion, which was prepared from oil. _____ kept the sand firm and still even in gales of over 100 kilometres _____ hour.

Trees also help to increase the general moisture level _____ the air. Water is drawn up from the _____ by the roots of the trees. It travels through the tree trunks and evaporates _____ the leaves into the air. In twenty-four hours, a _____ eucalyptus tree can draw up more than 70 litres of _____. A forest moistens the air so that rainfall _____ in the area. The rainfall encourages more fertile land _____ helps plants to grow. Unfortunately, people in ancient _____ cut down the original forests. This destroyed the water _____ system that trees provide. When goats ate _____ the grass as well, the desert took _____ the land. But the Arabs have a saying: "A large forest has a moist breath", and, _____ new trees can survive in the desert, it may _____ possible to reclaim land where good food could once more be produced.

Experts believe this task is possible.

FROM: Modern Africa by Barry Williams.

Word list:

an	decreases	through	some	if	at
onto	it	a	way	these	ground
water	manner	in	should	over	of
and	this	times	small	large	circulation
all	may	be	increases	the	because

* Elephants live together in family groups. Several families consisting of mothers and their offspring – sometimes as many as a hundred animals – keep together in a herd and move from one area to another, searching for food and fresh water. The leader of the herd is always the oldest and largest female. She is called the matriarch.

Adult bull elephants do not travel with the herd. They either travel alone or form a group with other adult bulls.

The herd travels and eats during the cool night and early-morning hours and then rests in the shade during the day. The matriarch always stands guard while the others doze.

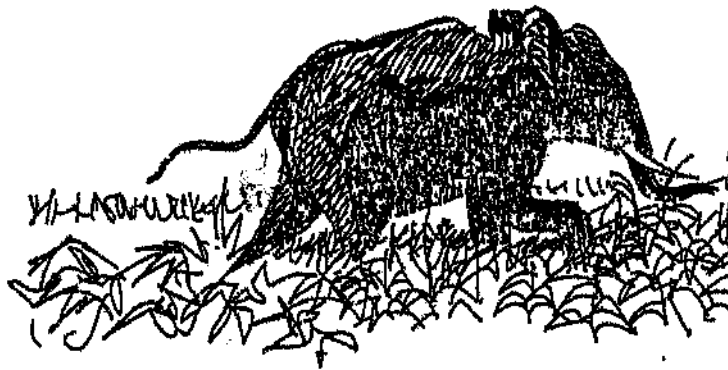
Elephants are peaceful animals, but if the matriarch senses danger she will roll down her trunk, throw out her ears – which makes her look larger and more frightening – and charge. If she screams to the others they will follow her. Usually this is enough to frighten away any intruders. *

The cow elephants are completely responsible for raising and protecting the young. The males associate with the cows and calves only at breeding time.

You can tell which calf belongs to which mother in a group of elephants by the way the calf moves up close to the mother and touches her trunk or tastes what she is eating. Sometimes the mother will discipline her calf with a whack of her trunk. When a calf is alarmed it will always run under its mother's belly to its security position between her front legs.

An elephant's teeth tell us how old it is. Twenty-four molar teeth grow during an elephant's lifetime, but only one or two pairs – in both its upper and lower jaws – are in place at any one time. New teeth are formed behind these, and move forward to replace the older teeth as they fall out. Each tooth is enormous, about 3.6 kg and 30 cm long. After the elephant's last set of teeth wear down and fall out, the elephant dies, because it can no longer chew its food.

From *African Elephant*, Judy Ross, Zoo Book 4, pp. 3–4, Ginn & Co. Ltd. 1981.



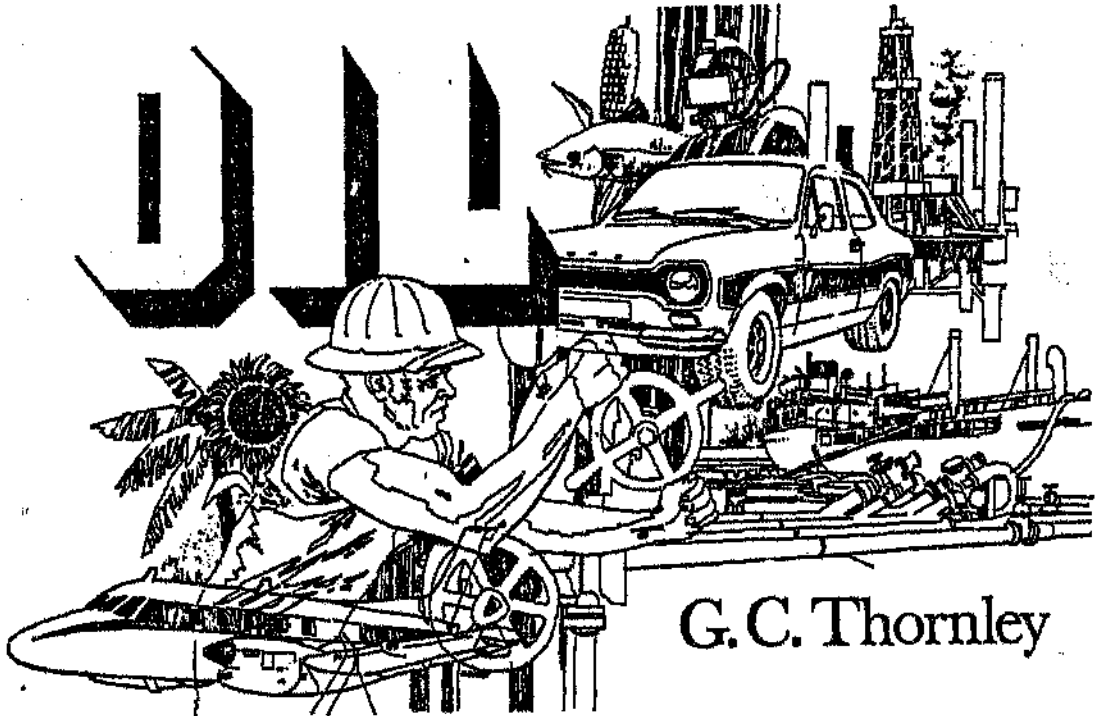
READING SKILLS COURSE

TEST 2

SECTION 1

PREVIEWING AND PREDICTING

1. Look carefully at the heading and drawings below. That is, look carefully at the clues below.



2. In the space below write brief notes about the clues.
Try to group your ideas.

3. Relate all the ideas you have gained from the clues and predict what you think the text will be about.

4. Read through the text on 30.2 without stopping for any difficulties. In other words read the text to get the general idea.

5. Check your prediction. Write down your additions and alterations below.

6. Re-read the text. This time read more carefully. (10)

SECTION 2

FUNCTION AND GENERAL UNDERSTANDING

1. What is the function of the text? _____
2. Say whether the statements below are true or false. Circle the T or F next to the statement. (1)

- a) The main source of animal oil is fish. T / F
- b) Vegetable oil was known only in the old days. T / F
- c) The three main uses of mineral oil are: illumination, lubrication and cooking. T / F
- d) Mineral oil became very important when the internal combustion engine was invented. T / F
- e) Scientists think that oil was formed from sea water by processes of chemistry, pressure and temperature. T / F
- f) The driller is unlucky when the drill goes near the oil but does not strike it. T / F
- g) When crude oil is heated, petrol rises from it first because it has a low boiling point. T / F
- h) The four main areas of the world where oil deposits are found all produce oil at full capacity. T / F

(9)

/ 3 ...

1. Match the words given in list A with the meanings given in list B. List B has extra items.

<u>List A</u>	<u>List B</u>
a) stripped off (210)	1) separated by a thin film of oil
b) lubricated (257)	2) in the future
c) minute (283)	3) to turn a liquid into gas
d) originated (293)	4) to remove a covering
e) confirmed (293)	5) very small
f) vaporises (2137)	6) have one's beginning
	7) prove that something is right

(6)

2. Find the word in the passage that has a similar meaning to each of the following. The paragraph in which you will find the word has been given beside the meaning.

- a) sick people (p.1) _____
- b) to provide light (p.3) _____
- c) exploring an area for a mineral such as oil (p.7)

(3)

3. Use word formation and/or contextual clues to work out the meanings of the words below. Say in each case what technique you used or which words helped you to find the meaning.

a) consumption (213) _____

b) antiquity (222-23) _____

c) marine (299) _____

d) indicate (2111) _____

(8)

4. 'And where there is shale there is likely to be oil' (22108-109).

Describe 'shale' and say to which class of rocks it belongs. _____

(3)

(20)

SECTION 4

CORE SENTENCES

In the sentences below:

- a) circle the finite verbs
 - b) bracket the dependent or subordinate clauses
 - c) underline the main clause or the core.
1. Because petrol has a low boiling point if a little is poured into the hand, it soon vaporizes.
 2. When all the present oil fields are exhausted, it is possible that the North Pole may become the scene of oil exploration and production.

(6)

SECTION 5REFERENCE AND LINK WORDS

1. Say to which words the following reference words refer.
They have been underlined in the text.

These (120) _____ they (154) _____
 he (131) _____ They (179) _____
 This (135) _____ it (190) _____
 we (138) _____ them (195) _____

(8)

2. Tick the function for each of the link words given below.
They have been circled in the text.

Link word	<u>FUNCTION</u>			
	Addition	Contrast	Causal	Time
for (124)				
But (129)				
Because (151)				
however (167)				
When (172)				
For (189)				
If (1121)				
Last of all (1139)				
Another (1147)				
Yet (1155)				

(10)

1. Find the topic sentence in each of the following paragraphs:

a) Paragraph 2: _____

b) Paragraph 4: _____

c) Paragraph 6: _____

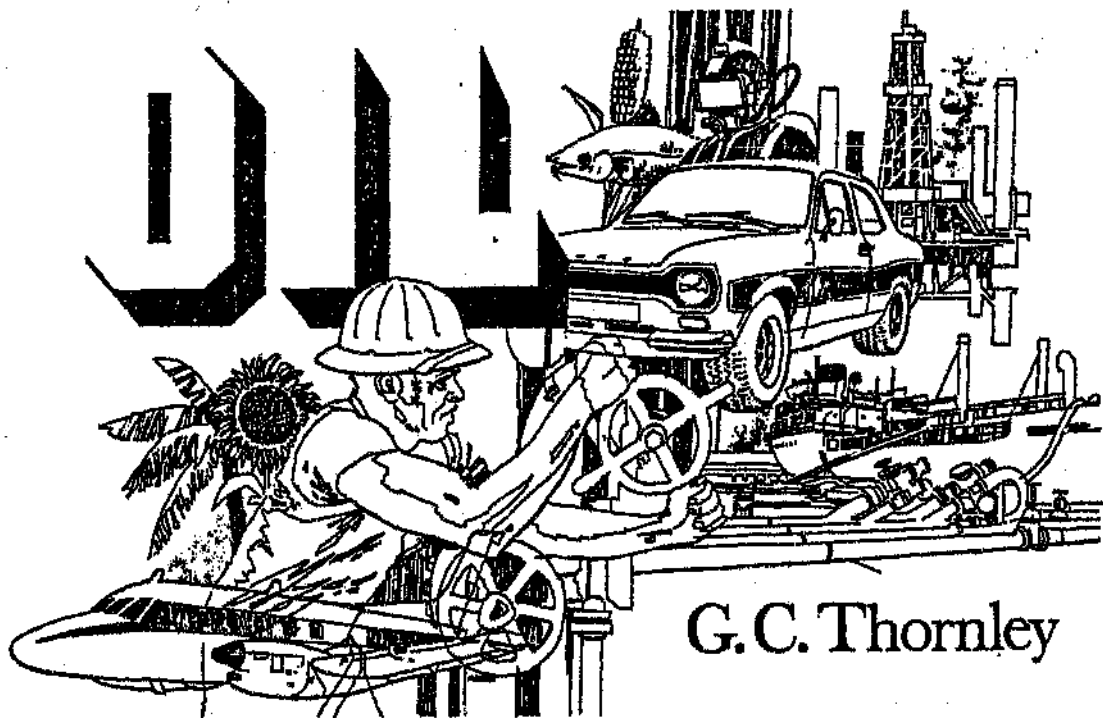
(4)

2. Work out the main idea in each of the following paragraphs:

a) Paragraph 3: _____

b) Paragraph 5: _____

(12)



1 There are three main groups of oils: animal, vegetable and mineral. Great quantities of animal oil come from whales, those enormous creatures of the sea which are the largest remaining animals in the world. To protect the whale from the cold of the Arctic seas, nature has provided it with a thick covering of fat called blubber. When the whale is killed, the blubber is stripped off and boiled down, either on board ship or on shore. It produces a great quantity of oil which can be made into food for human consumption. A few other creatures yield oil, but none so much as the whale. The livers of the cod and the halibut, two kinds of fish, yield nourishing oil. Both cod liver oil and halibut liver oil are given to sick children and other invalids who need certain vitamins. These oils may be bought at any chemist's.

2 Vegetable oil has been known from antiquity. No household can get on without it, for it is used in cooking. Perfumes may be made from the oils of certain flowers. Soaps are made from vegetable and animal oils.

3 To the ordinary man, one kind of oil may be as important as another. But when the politician or the engineer refers to oil, he almost always means mineral oil, the oil that drives tanks, aeroplanes and warships, motor-cars and diesel locomotives; the oil that is used to lubricate all kinds of machinery. This is the oil that has changed the life of the common man. When it is refined into petrol it is used to drive the internal combustion engine. To it we owe the existence of the motor-car, which has replaced the private carriage drawn by the horse. To it we owe the possibility of flying. It has changed the methods of warfare on land and sea. This kind of oil comes out of the earth. Because it burns well, it is used as fuel and in some ways it is superior to coal in this respect. Many big ships now burn oil instead of coal. Because it burns brightly, it is used for illumination; countless homes are still illuminated with oil-burning lamps. Because it is very slippery, it is used for lubrication. Two metal surfaces rubbing together cause friction and heat; but if they are separated

by a thin film of oil, the friction and heat 55
are reduced. No machine would work
for long if it were not properly lubricated.
The oil used for this purpose must be of
the correct thickness; if it is too thin it
will not give sufficient lubrication, and if 60
it is too thick it will not reach all parts
that must be lubricated.

4 The existence of oil wells has been
known for a long time. Some of the
Indians of North America used to collect 65
and sell the oil from the wells of Pennsylv-
vania. No one, however, seems to have
realised the importance of this oil until it
was found that paraffin-oil could be made
from it; this led to the development of the 70
wells and to the making of enormous
profits. When the internal combustion
engine was invented, oil became of world-
wide importance.

5 What was the origin of the oil which 75
now drives our motor-cars and air-
craft? Scientists are confident about the
formation of coal, but they do not seem
so sure when asked about oil. They think
that the oil under the surface of the earth 80
originated in the distant past, and was
formed from living things in the sea.
Countless billions of minute sea creatures
and plants lived and sank to the sea bed.
They were covered with huge deposits 85
of mud; and by processes of chemistry,
pressure and temperature were changed
through long ages into what we know as
oil. For these creatures to become oil,
it was necessary that they should be im- 90
prisoned between layers of rock for an
enormous length of time. The statement
that oil originated in the sea is confirmed
by a glance at a map showing the chief
oilfields of the world; very few of them are 95
far distant from the oceans of today. In
some places gas and oil come up to the
surface of the sea from its bed. The rocks
in which oil is found are of marine origin
too. They are sedimentary rocks, rocks 100
which were laid down by the action of
water on the bed of the ocean. Almost
always the remains of shells, and other
proofs of sea life, are found close to the
oil. A very common sedimentary rock is 105
called shale, which is a soft rock and was
obviously formed by being deposited on
the sea bed. And where there is shale
there is likely to be oil.

6 Geologists, scientists who study rocks, 110
indicate the likely places to the oil drillers.
In some cases oil comes out of the ground
without any drilling at all and has been
used for hundreds of years.

7 There is a lot of luck in drilling for oil. 115
The drill may just miss the oil although it
is near; on the other hand, it may strike
oil at a fairly high level. When the drill
goes down, it brings up soil. The sam- 120
ples of soil from various depths are ex-
amined for traces of oil. If they are dis-
appointed at one place, the drillers go to
another. Great sums of money have been
spent, for example in the deserts of Egypt,
in 'prospecting' for oil. Sometimes little 125
is found. When we buy a few gallons of
petrol for our cars, we pay not only the
cost of the petrol, but also part of the cost
of the search that is always going on.

8 When the crude oil is obtained from the 130
field, it is taken to the refineries to be
treated. The commonest form of treat-
ment is heating. When the oil is heated,
the first vapours to rise are cooled and
become the finest petrol. Petrol has a low 135
boiling point; if a little is poured into the
hand, it soon vaporizes. Gas that comes
off the oil later is condensed into paraffin.
Last of all the lubricating oils of various
grades are produced. What remains is 140
heavy oil that is used as fuel.

9 There are four main areas of the world
where deposits of oil appear. The first
is that of the Middle East, and includes
the regions near the Caspian Sea, the 145
Black Sea, the Red Sea and the Persian
Gulf. Another is the area between North
and South America, and the third, be-
tween Asia and Australia, includes the
islands of Sumatra, Borneo and Java. 150

10 The fourth area is the part near the
North Pole. When all the present oil-
fields are exhausted, it is possible that this
cold region may become the scene of oil
activity. Yet the difficulties will be great, 155
and the cost may be so high that no com-
pany will undertake the work. If progress
in using atomic power to drive machines
is fast enough, it is possible that oil-driven
engines may give place to the new kind of 160
engine. In that case the demand for oil
will fall, the oilfields will gradually dis-
appear, and the deposits at the North
Pole may rest where they are for ever.

From: *Power and Progress*
(Longman)

Extracted by: Bhasker + Prabhu in
English through Reading. (Mamman)

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