ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSMISSION:
POLICY RESPONSES AND IMPLEMENTATION

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Abstract

English Language and Ideological Transmission - Policy Responses and Implementation

The aim of this study was to examine - within the context of the English Language and ideological transmission - the fact that the British Educational service contains mainly monolingual, English-speaking teachers, academics, advisers, policy-makers and other professionals whereas the composition of the service is culturally and linguistically diverse. What therefore are the CRITERIA used in formulating and implementing policies for mainstream curriculum for language development and education and how relevant are these for such a diverse community?

The process of transmission is described in its broad sense - through various historical and current policy documents and significantly through a literature review - suggesting that 'every thing, including silence and omission, speaks' but that English language is a crucial vehicle of transmission in Britain as it is the defining and controlling force through its exclusive use in all the structures which include the education system. As such it 'informs' and 'creates particular realities' based on its historically rooted, inherent ideological messages regarding 'race' with its strongly overdetermined negative connotations of black people and assertions of superiority of white people and their languages.
It is argued that this ideological transmission provides a 'distorted' overview of the 'realities' and creates 'heirarchies' which in turn underpin and premise policy formulations on language and educational issues in schools through which the black people are constantly marginalised and left on the periphery of the mainstream education service. Additionally, the inherent ideological messages in the English language direct and establish the language of discourse on black people and their languages thus reproducing the historically defined imbalanced power relationships between black and white people.

The effects of this distorted overview on monolingual English teachers and educationalists is explored through two case studies of two separate secondary schools. The case studies showed the fragmentation and narrowness with which language issues of the black and white multilingual British people in British schools are considered. Evidence is cited from policy documents, class observations and interviews conducted with teachers and pupils to show the contradictions and conflicts that are created - resulting in frustration and professional crisis for specially the language teachers in British schools.

The study concludes that any significant change in the treatment of black people is likely only through intervention with the criteria which are used to formulate policies but are ideologically informed and which end up reproducing the distorted power relationship between black and white people. Without such
intervention it is argued, the Race Relations Legislation, 1976; funding from section 11 of the Local Government Act, 1966; or the proliferation of Equal Opportunities Policies (on which provision and services for black people is argued) will have no educational relevance and will continue to remain an exercise in race relations with the unattainable 'assimilation' and control of black people as its target.
And among His Signs
Is the creation of the heavens
And the earth, and the variations
In your languages
And your colours: verily
In that are Signs
For those who know

The Holy Qur'an
Surah XXX, Ayat 22
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION - ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study arose from a long process of working in an Urban Aid project set up in the mid 70s by the NEC (Neighbourhood English Classes) - "an independent non-profit-making organisation" (see Appendix A); to teach ESL (English as a second language) to adult immigrants in a local authority. The target was mainly the Asian women.

Definition of ESL for Adults

In 1974, NEC (Appendix A) described its overall service as arrangement of:

"classes in everyday English for adult immigrants, many of them parents, whose adjustment to life in England is hampered by their inability to communicate effectively."

Because the
"Students need to be equipped for the complexities of everyday life and to play their part in the community."

The way to achieve this profound aim was identified in terms of activities such as:

"We go on bus, tube and train journeys with them, visit parks and palaces, go on picnics, give parties, go shopping, and in general give them as broad a spectrum of experiences as we can. They learn how to use the telephone, how to tell the doctor where it hurts, how to talk to their children's teachers and to their neighbours."

It took ownership of the clientele "our students" and explained how many of them "are literate in their own languages", but how "learning a new script is not easy". On that basis the pitch was struck to cover the very basic skills with otherwise linguistically sophisticated adults to:
"give them practice in filling in forms, and in writing their own names and names of their children." (Appendix A)

Many such schemes were started by the NEC and other voluntary and statutory bodies such as Camden, Brent and Hillingdon up and down the country. In schools also there was ESL provision being made mainly for children of Asian origin on a similar basis as we shall soon see.

I was appointed as a Home Tutor Organiser (HTO) with a brief (see Appendix B) to visit adults in their homes when referred by agencies such as health clinics, social and employment services, ESL and Multicultural support units. I was required to recruit volunteer tutors, train them to teach ESL to Adult Immigrants' and match them to the usually house-bound adults who were unable to attend ESL classes. It was expected that the adults would learn sufficient 'basic', 'survival' English for the agencies to conduct their affairs with them. This was an indirect way of fulfilling the aim of getting them "to play their part in the community".

It became clear that in fact, the criteria on which the premise, the function and the content of ESL were defined, were dictated by the needs and expectations of the statutory institutions in the main, together with organisations and agencies who were making the referrals. ESL teachers, tutors and organisers were drawn into the arena of social work to cope with the 'problem' of the "non-English speaking immigrants" who were seen to be "hampered by their inability to communicate effectively".
The efficiency and the appropriacy of the institutions making the referrals were not questioned. More importantly the CRITERIA used by them in formulating their services for a radically changed population were not examined. Thus the "non-English speaking immigrants" could only be defined as the 'problem'.

Given the above premise, we as ESL providers inevitably became involved with 'befriending' the immigrants by making contacts on their behalf with the agencies and the schools, in order to make the immigrants more 'acceptable'. This kind of thrust became central to the legitimacy and the very existence of ESL providers and the ESL industry nationally. Hence, the more deeply involved I became, the more I recognised the unstated function of ESL. On the surface it was located within the education sector on the basis of its 'teaching' function, but in practice it had a very clear purpose to assimilate the immigrants into the main fabric of the society by teaching them how to behave in a given situation without questioning the criteria, the premise or the assumptions on which the society operates.

The term 'assimilate' is used in this study to mean 'absorption into the existing system' which is distinct from 'integration'. On this issue of assimilation, the DES (Department of Education and Science) pointed out the visibility factor by stating that:

"the feasibility of doing so varies from group to group - Western European non-English speaking immigrants find this easier to accomplish than others, for very obvious reasons." (DES 1967).

ESL's function, therefore, had fundamental implications. It was to all intents and purposes, negotiating a very clearly
subordinate power relationship through a distinctly colour-coded, specific linguistic code for the immigrants within the existing social, economic and political structures, based as it was on the problematic view of the "non-English speaking immigrants".

Definition of ESL for children

For me this view was confirmed in the parallel debate about the immigrant children from similar backgrounds ie "....whose parents came from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan"; when the Plowden Report (1967) not only confirmed the problematic but also indicated a 'segregationist' solution. It stated that:

"When the concentration of non-English speaking children reaches a level which seems to interfere with the opportunity for other children to learn.... there may be a demand for dispersal of the immigrants."

(DES 1967 p 72).

Following this report and in keeping with the view planted there, the DES extended the debate by conducting its own survey which was published under the definitive title of "The Education of Immigrants" (1971). It noted first of all:

"the increase during the past decade of pupils and students from overseas in our schools and colleges,"

and identified

"some of the particular problems which face both them and the education service." (DES 1971 piii).

Thus the survey normalised the identification of the immigrant children as a statistical reference for the purpose of their education under the definition of them being a problem and provided the 'language of discourse' about their education through discussions about their languages, cultures and home backgrounds.
On the issue of languages spoken by the immigrant children, the problem-centred approach was maintained. The problem that may exist within the structure and its own lack of expertise was not examined. It therefore took the view, without any logical explanation or evidence that,

"If there is any validity in Bernstein's view that the restricted code of many culturally deprived children may hinder their ability to develop certain kinds of thinking, it is certainly applicable to non-English speaking immigrant children who may be suffering, not only from a limitation of a restricted code in their own language, but from the complication of trying to learn a second language." (DES 1971 p9).

In one breath, this linguistic and cultural evaluation, defined the Indian languages as having "a restricted code", established the need "to learn a second language" as the main solution while the multilingual context of the children was completely omitted, denied and ignored. The omission of any reference to the multilingual context is also prominent by its absence in the Education Reform Act, 1988. Given this premise, the special group of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, the immigrants could only be seen as a problem. Thus the term immigrant became, on the one hand a euphemism for black people and on the other the equation of immigrant = problem - a working definition for professionals and institutions.

It is important to recognise that as the framing of the debate was based on the problem definition, the solution itself also became problematic because it did not allow space to discuss the relationship between culture and language, about the hierarchy of languages nor the place of the first language when defining the
need to learn the second language. Clearly the educational understanding and expertise about multilingualism and multiculturalism was lacking.

Hence the contradictions set in. Further discussion in the survey confirmed the monolingual perspective and the contradiction embodied in its solution. The evaluative judgement denigrated the immigrants' languages and cultures while on the one hand and argued about 'tolerating' other cultures for better community relations and promoting 'equal opportunities' on the other by saying that:

"we need to respect and permit the expression of difference of attitude, custom, belief, language and culture ...'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' as a former Home Secretary once defined it." (DES 1971 p13).

The Home Secretary's utterances on "equal opportunities" did not take into account the historical context nor the power relationships affecting this issue when recommending "mutual tolerance". More importantly, the DES itself did not explain how the "permission to express" would be made possible in educational terms nor address their own definition of children suffering from "a restricted code in their own language" and as a consequence their inability to "develop certain kinds of thinking". In essence the debate had a two-fold consequence. Firstly, it affirmed the discussion of immigrant children as being 'deficient' and 'problem-oriented' with advice to 'tolerate' their differences suggesting ESL as the only firm solution. Secondly it firmly and emphatically placed these issues in the
arena of race relations, far removed from the main stream policy-making structures where educational strategies are devised. The connection with the adults was complete when the concern was extended to embrace the home and community of the immigrant child.

"Many return after school to a non English-speaking home and community and receive none of the linguistic consolidation of which they are in need; this is most serious during the long holiday period when the regression in their linguistic attainment can be very marked." (DES 1971 p.10).

While the reference to "the linguistic consolidation" was specific to the English language, the interpretive, evaluative judgement was directed at the multilingual home and community context of the immigrants as being 'deficient'.

**Implications of the definition of 'immigrant' as a 'problem' and the ESL provision**

The language of discourse coming from the DES was so powerful that it became a part of everyday speech presenting "a guide to social reality", shaping "a system of thinking and behavior" (Sotomayor 1977) and providing the national criteria for deciding policies and resources for both the adults and the children.

It became apparent within the adult schemes nationally through NATESLA (National Association of Teachers of ESL to Adults) that the ESL provision - in keeping with the DES's definition - was outside the mainstream of the adult education provision as it was based on 'special' and 'unusual' needs. Similarly, the
immigrant children in schools, specifically colour-coded because of their visibility, suffered a linguistic/educational de facto segregation, for the DES circular 7/65 had made it possible for the LEAs (Local Education Authority) to officially and legally 'disperse' the immigrant children if they made up over a third of the whole school population.

The ESL provision was, therefore, made 'separate' and 'special' for both the adults and the children as special groups of 'non-English speaking immigrants' and resourced through good race relations-oriented special funding (DES 1971) - which by its very nature was marginal to the mainstream. The special funding was two-fold. The most popularly used by ESL providers was section 11 (S11) of the Local Government Act, 1966. Under this provision, a statutory organisation could claim from the Home Office, 75% of the salaries of those employed by the local authorities to service the needs of the immigrants. Nationally, a bulk of this was used by the education sector for ESL. For example, in the London Borough of Harrow where I worked, the section leader in charge of teaching EFL (English as a Foreign Language), in the College of Further Education, started the ball rolling by 'converting' her own EFL expertise to ESL and her own post to S11 post thus facilitating employment of teachers equivalent to three full time posts (though majority of the appointees were part time) - using further S11 monies. This move started in the middle 70s, expanded and culminated in the department ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) in 1985/86 of which the section leader who had initiated the first
move became the head.

Secondly, under one of the criteria of the Urban Programme if "they had more than 6% of immigrants on the school roll" (DES 1971 p27), a grant of 75% of the whole expenditure could be obtained from the Department of Environment by a voluntary organisation provided it was approved and submitted by a local authority department. It was under this provision that the NEC had started ESL where I was employed as the Home Tutor Organiser. Whereas the Urban Programme was fairly general and was widely used, the SII was specific to the

"substantial numbers from the Commonwealth whose language and customs differ from those of the community" (Renton 1966/67)

and was the key political thrust at national level to the whole 'problem' of the immigrants - their languages and cultures for the process of absorption and assimilation.

The Politics of ESL -
Its structural, political and economic implications

Thus an organic connection was made between the immigrants problematic presence and targetting of special funding to service them. ESL, as the biggest consumer of the SII funding became the middle ground between the mainstream provision and the marginalised provision for the immigrants. The mediating role of ESL became concrete and took on definite political and economic functions beside its stated educational function. Indeed, the definition of the immigrant as 'deficient', 'disadvantaged' and a 'problem' (DES 1967, 1971) had led to the
building of structures - of which ESL was the main structure - within the education sector to maintain and sustain this definition outside the mainstream curriculum. The 'deficiency' definition became the main premise on which ESL was constructed and for which the special funding was made available.

The language used in the political arena and the educational debate became similar and complementary ensuring and reinforcing a consistent view of immigrants as above. The term immigrant through this usage, as evidenced here, became colour-coded and was a specific reference to the visibility of the target people with ESL emerging as a politically facilitated race relations exercise - controlling the educational and life chances of the colour-coded immigrant children and their families without the appropriate educational strategy or coherence to the mainstream curriculum.

Impact of Section 11 funding and the process of marginalisation

The main outcome of this process was the dispersal of the immigrants and of activating their marginalisation. In terms of ESL it was about the linguistic dispersal based on the visibility factor.

Sotomayor (1977) in an article discussing "human services to certain minority groups" within the American context, gives some important philosophical and theoretical positions. According to her, the process of marginalisation could have a most serious and
damaging outcome as it affects the very foundation and existence of the immigrant communities placing 'them'

"in a precarious position of marginality, belonging neither to one group nor another, resulting in a state of anomie, alienation and confusion."

(Sotomayor 1977).

It is important to state that the ESL teachers and providers were also similarly affected. Their marginalisation as the providers provided them with the motivation to press for changes in the provision as we shall see later on.

The central government validated at national level the 'problem' of the immigrants in its debate in the House of Commons by using similar language and definitions to the Plowden Report (1967) and the DES Survey 13 (1971). For example, during a discussion on the special funding, it was asked in the House of Commons:

"Thus, where the language and customs of immigrants differ, grants may be given but otherwise, apparently, they cannot be. Is this an indirect reference to the increased educational change due to immigration?"

(Renton 1966/67)

Clearly, the exclusive nature of the funding (S11) dictated how, when, where, what, why, by whom and for whom the provision would work. Roy Hattersley, MP put it to the House of Commons that,

"It is essential to make provision to teach these children: basic British customs, basic British habits and if one likes basic British prejudices, if they are to live happily and successfully in an integrated way in this community."

(Hattersley 1966/67).

The solution was unquestionably 'assimilation' as was later confirmed and criticised in Swann (1985).
The effects of marginalisation—
Structural position and life chances

"The narrow parameters of these various conceptualizations negate the self-realization of the ethnic group in question, but serve the purpose of the inherent demeaning process typical of oppression, conquest, and colonization."
(Sotomayor 1977)

The analysis presented by Sotomayor in fact had come true in Britain. It was available as evidence in a publication entitled "The facts of Racial Disadvantage" (Smith 1976). This was further endorsed in "Black and White Britain - The Third PSI Survey" (Brown 1984).

It is to be expected that a nationally agreed 'problematic' definition of a special category of immigrants will create its own reaction and response to the 'problem'. Informed by the House of Commons, the nation's response was to reject the special category of the immigrants and it seemed that the race relations legislation had very little effect in altering the situation.

The Runnymede Trust summarised Smith's report as having "established for the first time a solid body of factual information about the situation of these particular minority groups and the disadvantages which they face. The findings showed that six years after passing of the 1968 Race Relations Act Asians and West Indians were still doing much poorer jobs, earning much less, and occupying much poorer housing than the rest of the population." (The Runnymede Trust 1977).

The rejection was now quantifiable and, as the PSI Survey (Brown 1984) later showed on the increase.

A further significance of this report was the way in which the experiences of the Asians and those of the people of African and
Caribbean origin in Britain were juxtaposed to show the commonality of our experiences and structural position despite the enormous cultural diversity. Thus from the common experience of exclusion and denigration, grew the concept of "Black and White Britain" (Brown 1984) as political colours. While the concept is still evolving it has proved controversial from its inception - despite the evidence - and continues to raise emotions from across the colour line.

My own preoccupation with ESL - which was fragmented within the education sector to manage the 'Asian dimension' - had neither allowed space to make these connections nor to examine our common position structurally as the special categories of 'immigrants' (Asians and Afro-Caribbeans). However, I felt that the commonality of our experiences as brought out in Smith's statistical national survey was so strong that it was crucial for me to examine and analyse in some depth, the position of the West Indians (people of African/Caribbean origin) within the education sector at least to start with.

So what was the position of the African/Caribbeans within the education sector?

The focus on the one hand was on their behaviour - temperament - and separately on their languages and dialects which in themselves were kept separate from the ESL-oriented discussions that encompassed the Asians. I soon recognised that it was the behavioural aspect of the African/Caribbean children that was used to locate them in the ESN(M) (Educationally sub-normal)
schools through which they too experienced the kind of de facto segregation which the Asian children suffered on account of ESL. Giles (1977), in his study discusses in detail "The West Indian Experience in British Schools", the issues affecting them and the perceptions held by teachers and educators of these children. In the opinion of one head teacher:

"..the West Indian children definitely were different,... they lost their tempers faster, they exploded quicker;... 'Teachers just have to recognize that they can explode faster and recognize that some things might spark them off, and not fan the flames, because they do lose their tempers.'" (Giles 1977)

As a consequence the teacher expectations of these children were significantly affected. Swann (1985) in its summary of the interim report "West Indian Children in our Schools" stated that the origins of

"..the Committee's establishment centred around West Indians' fears that their children were being wrongly placed in ESN(M) schools." (p xxi)

The key note of both the interim report and Swann was that:

"There is no doubt that West Indian children, as a group, and on average, are underachieving, both by comparison with their school fellows in the White majority, as well as in terms of their potential,..." (p 81)

While the main cause identified was racism and the accompanying low teacher expectations, the language issues did not feature at all significantly. In its "Main Conclusions and Recommendations" (pp 771-773) concerning "Language and Language Education", no specific reference was made to the language issues affecting the African/ Caribbean children apart from a brief reference to their dialects. In comparison to the Asians this reference was almost insignificant.
As I understood it, the language debate with reference to the Caribbean communities tended to centre around their dialects (Rosen and Burgess 1980) and their historical relationships with the European languages (as opposed to mother tongues, ESL, bilingualism or other such references used for the Asians) though the issues were much more complex, both in terms of the social context in which these languages/dialects had developed and their linguistic structures. Additionally, the usage of these seemed to be governed by hierarchies in the Caribbean, superseded by other stronger pressures in Britain. These have been discussed widely and one of the authentic sources which presented a comprehensive discussion on these issues was a "Series of Occasional papers..." "on Caribbean Language and Dialects" published in the 80s by "Caribbean Communications Project/ARAWIDI Limited"; which bring out the complexities and the issues mentioned here.

Language - a common issue

The question of identity came out as a paramount feature in relation to this language debate (Milner 1983). In comparison, the Asian languages debate was differently structured as has been explained and was tied in with the religion, culture and community context. And yet as I understood it, the specific bias ie 'identity' applied to the Caribbean languages/dialects' debate had relevance to the Asian question and vice versa. For language per se is not detachable from self. In fact

"...language and thinking, on the premise that every language has a structure that must somehow influence the way its speakers view the world." (Bolinger 1980 p viii).
It is intrinsic to our culture, our identity, our emotions, our cognitive and conceptual development. The multi-dimensional nature of language affects and influences us in a variety of ways and we recognise and define our reality through it, with it and from it. Language(s) in any culture provides our individual and collective view of the self, the family, the society, the world and the universe, the physical and the spiritual (Friere, 1972; Garrison 1979; Jones 1986; Lannoy 1971; Mukherjee 1985; Pattanayak 1981). Surely these concerns must include and be applicable to English and monolingual white English learners? (Rosen and Burgess 1980 pp 119-121).

While it is not the purpose of this study to discuss the linguistic aspects of languages of either of the groups, nor is it possible for me to look at the Caribbean dimension in any significant detail, I have had to recognise the powerful connection and commonality of our experiences - and what that means in terms of language and educational provision, practices and procedures - as that has determined the structural position of the groups under reference. The more I studied and understood the situation, the more I felt that while the differences and to some extent some historical tensions between the Asians and the African/Caribbeans were significant and very important, there needed to be a common meaningful educational strategy under which these differences could be addressed. Without this the differences and tensions were only succeeding in creating divisions resulting in competition for limited resources and
special treatment, marginalising both groups from the mainstream. In any case why were the issues affecting the black children being separated from the mainstream concerns? Would it not make it educationally more relevant if there were a common educational strategy for language education within which the diversity of needs and differences could be addressed?

I had also to come to terms with the fact that these issues were being discussed separately and that there were divisions and fragmentation of the language debate, that these were already confined to certain parameters. However critically I viewed this situation, my own process of exploration and study had to take these divisions on to begin with. Hence, though the definition and concept of black in Britain is integral to my thinking and my process of study, I had to look at the Asian dimension in greater detail as my critique had grown out of ESL where I had been employed and as stated before, ESL was very specific to the Asians.

Black and white as political colours
The premise and the definition of the two groups as 'problematic' based on the visibility factor, had set the discourse and though the debate continues to separate the two groups by discussing the details about the Asian/Indian dimension separately from the African/Caribbean and I have to fall in with that to begin with, in essence, the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings on which the definitions were based and the subsequent outcome of
the position of both groups politically and structurally has been similar but distinctly different from the mainstream majority group (Smith 1976; Brown 1984).

This as I understood it, was the overiding evidence on which black and white become realistic terms - however controversial and confrontational they may be for some black and white people. My own process of recognition of this reality was long and painful. It was after some years of entering this arena that I began to see my position critically as a professional teacher and as such, it became incumbent for me to analyse, clarify and take a very clear position as a black woman within the education sector. Anything less than that would leave me in an invidious position of colluding with a system which as I was beginning to realise was a delegitimisation of myself and my context.

Thus I entered one of the most important processes of my adult life. My involvement with community organisations and collectives took on a clear direction of analysing what was happening to us as black professionals, parents, students, governors and as individuals generally within the structural and social context of Britain.

Within the context of the common experience and shared structural position in Britain of people of Asian, African and Caribbean origin the language issue for me became of crucial significance as a point of intervention within education with the politics of black and white as integral and unavoidable aspects of this process.
However, before entering into the question of language and issues surrounding it, it was crucial for me to recognise what it meant for me to be black in Britain. It meant affirming my rooting in the community and giving expression to an undeniable collective and common experience of structural inequalities caused by racism (later discussed and placed on the agenda of the educational institutions by Swann (1985)).

In essence the political colour black affirmed a new definition of culture where unity did not mean uniformity. It also became for me a platform from which to address and combat the issues highlighted so far within the education sector; a catalyst for challenge and a direction for initiating systematic change which would have rigour and clarity and which would make educational sense - away from race relation related ambiguities and patronisation.

Hence, the term 'black' used in this study reflects and stands for the definition as discussed above.

The black response to the educational provision

For the black community, language inevitably became the key issue and the main focus for taking systematic action. Asians who had been the main target group for the ESL treatment, affirmed their cultural and linguistic position by starting language classes within their own community organisations, as, within the ESL construct and the mainstream language education, there was no room for learning one's own language/s.
The formation of the National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching (NCMTT) in 1978 provides the evidence of the strength of this development. Though the purpose of the Council's formation in the first instance was to try and put into action the Council of the European Communities' directive of 25 July 1977

"...to promote, in coordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children..." (77/486/EEC)

in effect, it went on to coordinate and support initiatives up and down the country producing materials, staging conferences, organising study sessions and other related activities on the question of mother tongues other than English.

Equally, the African/Caribbean groups opened up their own separate, supplementary schools to ensure better education for their children.

A recent, significantly-titled publication, "We are our own Educators!" presents a record of a process of over ten years, highlighting the key factors leading to these initiatives. It critiques various reports including Swann (1985) as follows:

"The current series of Reports concerning our children's education say very little about the fact that the structure could be at fault and therefore it should bear the blame. The various Reports lay the responsibility for the neglect of our children at the door of their parents. Both the Rampton Committee Interim Report and the Swann 'Education for All' got their facts and priorities wrong." (Jones 1986)

It then goes on to put forward a black analysis, based on historical experience, of the situation in Britain.
"Before we can understand the use of Supplementary education today, we have to go back into history to understand the various factors affecting the education of Black children, and more precisely West Indian children in the British Schools. We must understand the colonial policy, and the racial attitude of the teachers and the stereotyping of Black children coupled with the racism prevalent in British Schools."

"Black children are the victims of white educational and cultural values passed on through, amongst other things, the use of the English Language." (Jones 1986)

The significance of this statement is the pinpointing of "the use of the English Language" - echoing the historical context of the colonial policy and racism.

"Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours." (Sartre 1961)

The colonial history has left its legacy and the English language is no more a substitution. It is a language of millions and for those of us who are a part of that colonial history and are from a multilingual context, English is the language of power not only in Britain but at an international level.

I had originally thought that ESL was a way of mastering the English language thus bettering the life chances of the learners.

However, having realised the real function of ESL, I was faced with an even more important and crucial dimension of the English language whereby, when a black man begins to define himself,

"..he must first define the white man. But to do so on the white man's terms would lead him back to self-denigration. And yet the only tools of intellect available to him are, white tools - white language, white education, white systems of thoughts - the very things that alienate him from himself." (Sivanandan 1982 pp 86/87)
The sharpness of this statement together with similar other assertions (Dummett 1984; Fanon 1961; Fryer 1984; Moorhouse 1983; Rex 1975; Sivanandan 1982 and so on) for me, once again brought out the language issue as the most crucial factor in the education process. This time, its common impact of alienation (Sivanandan 1982) on black people in the British education system was very clear. It was to do with the content of the English language in the first instance and then the pedagogy used for its teaching by mostly white monolingual teachers to white, by and large, monolingual natives and to black, Asian/African/Caribbean multi-lingual/dialectal people (native of Britain or otherwise, but generally referred to as the immigrants).

This focus in itself, I realized was a very wide area. For within the white communities, it incorporated the British class and regional tensions with their own politics and hierarchy (Bernstein 1973; Bolinger 1980; Leith 1983). This I also realized must inform the white educationalists and must form a part of their context in which they would respond to the whole question of teaching English. What was becoming increasingly urgent was to understand the fragmentation of the debate on language and why it had to be politically addressed through race relations and not through a corporate language policy based on educational concerns within the mainstream curriculum.

It is important here to consider briefly the overall nature of the white response as a matter of comparison.
The white debate about the education of black people

In contrast to the black response which was an active response of providing extra community provision to combat the reality of the situation as experienced by black people in the British education system, the white response was to research and talk about the ethnocentricity and exclusiveness of the British education system, concentrating on the language issues but through which they showed up the inequalities vividly:

"The first perspective is that of the mainstream school, which in Britain remains monocultural and monolingual. It does not recognize or accord value to the culture and language of children of minorities." (Khan 1978)

They highlighted the diversity in British schools:

"More and more pupils in schools...have in their repertoires an overseas dialect or another language. Was this of no concern to the English mother tongue teacher? Should he not know the nature of the pupil's linguistic allegiances? (Rosen and Burgess 1980)

While the points raised on the language issues were very important and are taken up in a separate section, the overall perspective of the above well-known and widely referred works are of fundamental importance here, as they define the parameters of the debate on the inequalities suffered in British schools.

Khan's work developed into the "Linguistic Minorities Project" (1983) which concentrated on monitoring and recording the linguistic diversity in some LEAs and offered a blue print on how to conduct a survey for other authorities to follow suit. Rosen and Burgess' plea to "know the nature of pupils' linguistic allegiances" created a bias towards knowing about the black and minority languages (now incorporated in the Education Reform Act..."
(ERA) 1988). In either case the focus that I had developed — as discussed earlier, through mainly black collectives and community research and analysis, was missing. Khan's reference to "monoculture" of mainstream schools was not quite the same as racism that had been identified as reported above. However, both the works under reference here, were widely used by LEAs and educational institutions including in the Harrow LEA where I worked; it became a matter of 'good practice' to do so.

Given both the position of the black and white, the basic situation did not seem to have changed even in 1985 as was evident from the Swann Report where the issue of inequality was dealt with, at the end of Chapter 3 under "ACHIEVEMENT AND UNDERACHIEVEMENT":

"It will be evident that society is faced with a dual problem: eradicating the discriminatory attitudes of the white majority on the one hand, and on the other evolving an educational system which ensures that all pupils achieve their full potential." (Swann 1985)

Taking this statement seriously, I needed to examine what "the discriminatory attitudes of the white majority are" and what they have been, where they stem from and what informs these attitudes — in other words the CAUSE of discrimination. Whether the term "discrimination" was in fact a correct description of this phenomenon and the inequalities experienced by black and white people needed to be clarified.

Interestingly, as is evident from the above discussion, there were sharp differences between the perceptions of the white and black people on this issue.
I needed to examine whether the expertise to evolve "an educational system which ensures that all pupils achieve their full potential" (Swann 1985) exists or indeed can exist, given the currently operative problematic definition of black people.

**Discrimination or racism?**

I realised that the debate was much more complex - was it about discrimination or was it about racism as black people had defined it and which Swann had discussed? It was clearly not just about funding, resources and organisation and as I realised these were not the most fundamental issues but were 'outcomes' - as was becoming clear from the black response which argued that the IDEOLOGICAL position was the more significant as that was supplying the basis on which the black people were being defined 'inferior' and therefore 'deficient' and therefore a 'problem'.

Ideologically, the problematic definition of black people, had historic roots:

"...even among the unemployed of the industrial north, there was conscious acknowledgement and gratification that we were a superior nation whose power extended over His Majesty's other subjects spread across the globe".

and

"Somewhere out there was an even lowlier underdog in the form of the native, obliged by divine authority and His chosen British instrument to know his inferior place and keep it," (Moorhouse 1983)

The evidence of this ideological base which informed the current black and white relationship was plentiful. It occurred in works which, while the contents overlapped could in fact be seen as those which by and large were analyses based on historical events (Bernal 1987; Cesaire 1955; Fanon 1961; Moorhouse 1983); some
that were responding to current interest on the issue of racism as manifest in the present day British society (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982; Cohen and Bains 1988; Dummet 1984; Husband 1982); and some that were a social - very often black - analysis of the very current events and their effects affecting the black and white relationship in Britain (Brown 1984; CRE 1987/1988; Daniel 1968; Institute of Race Relations [IRR] various articles in its "Race and Class" journals including vol: XXVIII 1987 and XXIX 1988, Indian Workers Association [IWA] 1987; Milner 1983; Smith 1977; Sivanandan 1982). These references are by no means exhaustive neither are they uniform in their approach nor do they fall into natural categories described above, but they were a point of reference for this study and for that purpose they have been loosely thus categorised.

While I became engrossed with such publications, I decided to also test this out more rigorously in practical terms for myself; I found that the continuity of this definition was remarkably intact. The DES's definition was: "...they are formed by different breeding and ordered by different manners." (DES 1967)

When seen in conjunction with Mr Hattersley's solution ("to teach these children basic British customs...etc as cited earlier in this study) the inferiority of black people was very clearly implied although differently stated to the citations from Moorhouse above. For me, the deeper meaning, showing the connection between the historic and the present really became very concrete. I began to understand in 'objective' terms, how the experience of the black people in British schools could only
be negative and oppressive within the ideological context described here. The earlier citations from Jones (1986), Sivanandan 1982; Khan 1978; Rosen and Burgess 1980 and finally Swann 1985 amongst many others, need to be considered in the light of this ideological transmission through the English language in the British education system which underlies the debate about the black people. Under such a construct the findings of the PEP Reports of 1967 and 1977 and the PSI Survey of 1984 of the macro British society were not in any way surprising. On the contrary, given the construct, these findings made a lot of sense.

Thus, Swann's statement about "... eradicating the discriminatory attitudes of the White majority.." became more than a conversational piece that I had heard stated by so many and so often. It appeared to me as a deep-lying, ideologically informed, fairly entrenched position. It is 'deep-lying' because of its historical roots, as described above, which are left to grow and the position is 'entrenched' because these roots are not even acknowledged or articulated within the white institutional arena. Thus, as was beginning to be evident in my exploration, the historic roots are buried as thriving roots without being systematically exposed even when the inequalities are a result of these. Only the outer growth from these roots is considered which is the EFFECTS - that is to say how the black people are affected - but the root CAUSE, which in this case, is the fundamental definition on which the education provision for black people is made, is left unexamined.
For the purpose of clarity and specific direction - in the light of the evidence discussed here - I decided to adopt, for this study, a definition of racism based on black analysis taking into account:

(i) the 'visibility factor';
(ii) the power relationships;
(iii) the historical and ideological context; and
(iv) the evidence of the macro surveys by PEP and PSI.

These factors at macro level were included in the definition to allow me to test out their reproduction in the micro - the education sector - especially in terms of policy-making and its implementation. Hence, the definition of racism as adopted for this study is:

"Racism as a theory and system developed from Western Europe as determinate universal premise to define 'black' and 'white' relations - 'First' and 'Third World' - based on the hegemony of white power, and wherever, we as black people have lived, or are living with 'white power' we have been and are under siege." (IWA 1987)

This also confirmed the very serious need to look at the English language in the transmission of the ideology of racism, and in defining the current debate, where it provides the base line. By the very fact that my research was also being conducted in that language, I hoped that it would also provide the main vehicle for its own critique of the ideological transmission embodied in it. My study, therefore, includes some very fundamental questions on racism and discrimination, inquiring and exploring whether there is a clear definition of racism as I had understood it or otherwise and whether there is an
examination of its transmission through the English language. Does the language debate in fact take on what the English language transmits? Are there clearly defined CRITERA and an examination of those criteria upon which policy decisions are made?

The thesis
I recognise that policy issues, their delivery and implementation, are very crucial and demand high professional standards. However, the study would be missing the context and the most important black contribution if it were to consider solely matters of organisation and resources but not the ideological issue of racism and what role it plays in defining the policies, their delivery and implementation. To leave it as descrimination would be fatal as it would mean universalising the issue and the specific construct of racism as evidenced so far.

Hence, I decided that within the context of the English language and the ideological transmission, the focus of the study needed to be on the CRITERIA that operate within education structures at national, LEA, school and classroom levels in determining the multilingual, multicultural curriculum. The thesis examines the fact that the British educational service contains mainly monolingual, English-speaking teachers, academics, advisers, policy-makers and other professionals whereas the composition of the service is culturally and linguistically diverse. What therefore are the CRITERIA used in formulating and implementing policies for mainstream curriculum for language development and education and how relevant are these for such a diverse community?
CHAPTER II
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction
The presence of black people - 'immigrants' - in significant numbers in Britain has, since the 60s, raised language-related issues in the education sector and as a result, there have been various policy-based and other ad hoc initiatives to address this situation. Some of the key issues and processes related to these initiatives have been described in the preceding chapter.

A review of the literature is, therefore, included here to contextualise the above. The selection of the literature is based on some of the key issues that have been identified and is organised under two broad areas.

(a) English language and ideological transmission is considered through its historical context and its present significance, the ideological messages that are enshrined in the English language and the various ways in which these are transmitted, especially through the education system. It is asserted that the English language is a language of power and is the base line which defines our 'realities' and establishes black and white power relationships.

(b) This section is followed by some perspectives about language (and culture). It includes works which describe the functions, purposes and forces that influence and create a language, its organic impact on identity and self-concept of an individual.
It is not the purpose of this section or this study to consider technical and linguistic aspects of language nor the pedagogy in any detail though there may be some reference to these. It is, however, an important area which needs to be considered urgently and which I hope to pursue after the completion of this study. The perspectives incorporated here are from mono-, bi- and multi-lingual contexts and as such offer broad definitions for these terms.

(a) The English language and ideological transmission

Some very important aspects have emerged from this exploration and although they overlap and interweave, these aspects suggest, first of all, a legacy of concepts, evaluative judgements, definitions and views about black people, and how these were utilised and sharpened, especially during the colonisation of three quarters of the world. The popularity of the English language was a consequence of this colonial era which created a national (British) and international impact establishing a black inferiority and white superiority, together with the right to own and control the black people, their lives and their lands.

They also suggest that systematic work has been done to re-interpret and at times distort the historical knowledge base - through the English language - which, while it 'informs' the thinking and decision-making processes within the current British context also creates contradictions. They record the black responses and reactions to the cumulative oppressive and
alienating effects suffered and conclude with a brief discussion about the power of language to reproduce and transmit from generation to generation.

I begin with Frantz Fanon who transfers his specific experience of French colonialism in Algeria to the broader experience of the colonised world (by the Europeans) which includes significant experiences of the 'natives' under the British rule. Sartre commenting in the preface to the specific work entitled: "The Wretched of the Earth" (Fanon 1961) states:

"Not very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five million men and one thousand five hundred million natives. The former had the word, the others had the use of it." (ibid p7)

"...they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases,...After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, White-washed. These walking lies had nothing left say to their brothers; they only echoed. From Paris, from London, from Amsterdam..." (ibid p7)

"...the third world finds itself and speaks to itself through his (Fanon's) voice." (Sartre in Fanon 1961 p9)

While continuing his commentary, he talks about the process of dehumanising and pinpoints language as a part of that process.

"Everything will be done to wipe out their tradition, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours. ...if he gives in, he degrades himself and he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces." (ibid p13)

Fanon's own analysis of what that experience is about and the responses and reactions it creates is described vividly showing the inter-relationship between the physical (gut response) and the intellect (thought process) resulting in a particular social behaviour.
"But every time Western values are mentioned they produce in the native a sort of stiffening or muscular lock-jaw. The violence with which the supremacy of white values over the ways of life and of thought of the native mean that, in revenge, the native laughs in mockery when Western values are mentioned in front of him. In the colonial context the settler only ends his work of breaking in the native when the latter admits loudly and intelligibly the supremacy of the white man's values. In the period of decolonization, the colonized masses mock at these very values, insult them and vomit them up. (Fanon 1961 p33)

And in conclusion,

"When I search for Man in the technique and style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders." (ibid p 252)

In the wake of Fanon's writings there are others who confirm his assertions in which the definition of black people - natives - in the English language is inferior and subhuman.

"Europeans gave the impressions, to themselves as well as to outsiders, of being one race." (Klernan 1982)

"They knew perfectly well that Negroes were men, yet they frequently described the Africans as 'brutish' or 'bestial' or 'beastly'" (Jordan 1982)

Fryer shows how deliberate this definition was, the purpose of such distortion and very crucially wrought with contradictions.

"To justify this trade, and the use of slaves to make sugar, the myths were woven into more or less coherent racist ideology. Africans were said to be inherently inferior, mentally, morally, culturally and spiritually, to Europeans. They were subhuman savages, not civilized human beings like us. So there could be no disgrace in buying or kidnapping them, branding them, shipping them to the New World, selling them, forcing them to work under the whip. English racism was born of greed." (Fryer 1984 p7)

Fryer also shows the role of the English church and further contradictions that affected the white Christians at a very
fundamental and basic level as people. He quotes Thomas Sherlock, bishop of Bangor, Salisbury and London,

"'Christianity and the embracing of the Gospel does not make the least difference in the civil property', said Thomas Sherlock when speaking about the slave trade in 1727." (As quoted, [J.E.V.Crofts], 'Enthusiasm', in Eighteenth Century Literature: an Oxford Miscellany (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909), 130)

"..he was stating the Church of England's official view. The planters in the West Indies shared the widespread belief that if they let their black slaves be converted to Christianity and baptized this would mean setting them free. The Church did its best to reassure the planters on that score; on the issue of slavery it was otherwise totally passive."

The contradiction, on the one hand, of defining humans as subhumans and likened to animals to justify their maltreatment and slavery, and on the other hand, converting them to Christianity like human beings was to say the least, quite unbearable. Hence,

"In the controversy that developed, the planters argued that black people were not human beings but animals without souls to save." (ibid p146)

The contradiction, Fryer suggests is,

".....the very dawn of English racism, and we find it reflected or reported in 300-year-old religious tracts." (ibid p146)

According to Moorhouse (1983), Indians were similarly branded - "an even lowlier underdog in the form of the native" - as cited in the earlier chapter. While these extracts show the power of the language to define, the following extracts indicate the systematic use of the language as a weapon to also control and impose on the basis of the claimed white superiority the rights of an Englishman. This comes out clearly in the writings of
Edmund Burke, an 18th Century thinker and a politician who contributed to the imperial affairs relating to India. He wrote in English prose - in a style that put him at the summit of the writers of his time. In his words:

"...it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties, as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right." (Burke 1910 p31)

Moorhouse (1983) in his study of the British rule in India, also documents some significant policy-based debates and articulations which illustrate how the rights of the English are defined in the English language and how control of the language is sought in order to control and to transmit only what is considered appropriate in a manner defined by the government irrespective of the context of the Indian people and their aspirations.

"The Anglicizers, while conceding the usefulness of vernacular languages, ridiculing the argument in favour of classical teaching.... They looked to the day when English would not just be the talent of a highly qualified elite but, with the vernaculars, the native language of the whole sub-continent." (Moorhouse 1983 p97)

Similarly, it is vividly illustrated in another instance recorded in this work, when Thomas Babington Macaulay as a member of Governor General, Lord Bentick's supreme council in charge of legislation was given a brief "...to preside over the education committee....he produced a document" in which Moorhouse records that,

"He (Macaulay) had not found one Orientalist, he said, 'who could deny that a single shelf of a good European
library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.' He believed he was not exaggerating when he said that 'all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England'." (Macaulay as recorded in Moorhouse 1983 p97/99)

Having made this assertion, he is recorded to have stated that,

"The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach (English) language, we shall teach languages in which....there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own....." (ibid p99)

It is evident that the institutionalised 'inferiority-laden' definition of the native referred to as an 'immigrant' in modern Britain in need of changing his culture is still persistent. It is albeit differently stated. Some examples of these have already been cited in the first chapter of this study where there is a brief view of the definition from the DES, an illustration of the kind of debate that took place in the House of Commons and findings as documented in Giles (1977). In addition to this evidence, there is a similar case being made by others such as Rex in his article on "Racialism and the Urban Crisis" (Kuper L (ed) 1975) which states that,

"Unfortunately, the stereotype of the coloured colonial implies the lowest status of all, being associated with ignorance, incapacity, evil and in its most extreme form, the sub-human." (Rex 1975)

and by Husband as explained in

"...a set reader for the Open University course 'Ethnic minorities and community relations'..." (Husband (Ed) 1982 Preface)
which
"...examines the place of 'race' in contemporary British society and culture." (ibid)

where in he states that,

"The pattern of migration into Britain and social change within Britain is identified as the particular context within which historical images of 'race' and nationality have had relevance for shaping individual experience and public policy." (ibid)

Within this reader there are numerous articles by various writers who trace the historical descriptions as discussed above and show the current image of the 'immigrant' as being directly related to the historical context and an extension of the inferior, low ability and problem-related image - as in Husband (p15); Kiernan (p37), Jordan (pp45/49), Rees (p94) and Dummett M&A (pp98-100).

Given this reality, the lack of faith displayed by black parents and their reference to the historical context, as in Jones (1986), to understand the current institutional dynamics is quite pertinent and precise. It is specially so when we consider evidence such as that given in the extract below.

"A Secret Report made by the Education Sub-Committee stated quite clearly that Black children should be given a 'second class' form of education. Among other things, the Report pointed out that:

...on a rough calculation about half of the immigrants will be West Indian at seven out of the eleven schools, the significance of this being the general recognition that their IQ's work out below their English contemporaries. Thus academic standards will be lower in schools where they form a large group. It will be a process that will continue and it would particularly affect Haringey where the immigrant parents will see education as the way to open doors for their children."

"A.J.F. Doulton, 'Education Sub-committee, Haringey 1969'." (Jones 1986)
Supporting a similar position, Sivanandan's analysis about the use of "white language" (cited earlier) in the context of the foregoing discussion is particularly incisive. Searle makes a similar claim and is also cited in Jones.

"The English language has its roots in a savage historical racism and pride. The white man devised a language based on words and symbols which protected himself and advertised his belief in the primacy of his colour. When he promotes that language to a non-white people, it is a way of breaking apart the identity of those people, dividing them from themselves and subjecting them to white values and political thinking which are assimilated and spoken out through that language. And the white 'values' and thinking of the nations which have been the strongest colonial powers - Britain, France, the United States of America, Portugal, Holland were, and still are the 'values' and thinking of capitalism." (Searle 1973 p 10)

The evidence here can be concluded with a view that:

"The White world has yet to learn to question the deep collective unconscious and with time the distorted knowledge has become an organic part of White historical legacy, inheritance and psyche, and incorporated into the dynamics of institutions" (Mukherjee 1986)

The reference to "distorted knowledge" forming a part of "White historical legacy, inheritance and psyche" has its rooting in the evidence documented in this section and according to Mukherjee it is incorporated in the institutions. This is a crucial extension of the analysis the debate on language and language doesn't make.

The evidence below shows some different viewpoints, but confirms the basic message about exclusion and omission of black contribution on the one hand and the evaluative judgement and inferiority-laden definitions of black people establishing superiority of white people on the other, which it is suggested, inform the interpretation and at times (as shown in
Bazin, Bernal and Jones below) systematic doctoring of facts and
events. This results in a base of "distorted knowledge" which in
turn forms the context in which the curriculum content and
literature, both, general and educational is prepared for
teaching and transmitting to the society, young children and
students in the education sector. The power of language to
teach and oppress is described by Fanon (1961) when he
states that:
"The settler makes history; his life is an epoch,
an Odyssey. He is the absolute beginning: 'This
land was created by us'; he is the unceasing cause:
'If we leave, all is lost, and the country will go
back to the Middle Ages.'"

Moorhouse (1983) in his discussion recollects that:
"I don't recollect any formal history lesson dealing
with the sub-continent, or even Asia as a whole, our
obsession being ancient Greek-cum-Roman and modern
European, with a token of North America in the Upper
Fifth..."

Both Bazin (1987) and Joseph (1987) cited separately in the IRR's
journal "Race and Class", make a thorough examination of this
issue. Bazin traces a process which shows how the knowledge,
discoveries, expertise and the total culture of the "Third World
Peoples" is at first negated; how the same people are fed on
western 'products' (including education) and how the west then
'discovers' the knowledge base to which in fact the modern world
owes its own technical and technological progress in the first
place. He states that:
"By the time the graduate student rediscovers the Mayas'
way of counting, reading off dates from astronomical
inscriptions carved in stone monuments, the Mexican
schoolboy, descendant of the Mayas, will have flunked
his maths class and dropped out of school definitively.
It is as if history were irresistibly continuing its work
of destruction of the living 'natives', while allowing
'civilised' westerners to record their ancestors' cultural
success in notebooks and theses." (Bazin 1987 p4)
and,

"Europe, however, kept believing that it was the best and should civilise the other people of this earth. By the time of the 'great discoveries', no one stopped to notice that Maya counting was similar to the Arabic method, use of which was now spreading throughout the Iberian peninsula, in response to the growing needs of maritime commerce."

(ibid p5)

He also traces an economic strategy which crippled and annihilated the local cotton industries and expertise "from India to Brazil". The destruction of local cotton industries was to establish the British monopoly. Thus, in India,

"When mills were finally installed in the colonised cotton-producing countries, it was in the form of British-owned factories. But this process of expansion and domination, totally controlled from England, is referred to as 'the foundation of the Indian mill industry in Bombay around 1850', by the Encyclopaedia Britannica."

(ibid p8)

Bazin thus shows a process of appropriation and then a public claim to ownership and authorship which is established through a language (English in this case). Joseph too starts with a similar argument.

"There exists a widespread Eurocentric bias in the production, dissemination and evaluation of scientific knowledge. And this is in part a result of the way many perceive the development of science over the ages."

(Joseph 1987 p13)

and

"Now an important area of concern for anti-racists is the manner in which European scholarship has represented the past and potentialities of non-white societies with respect to their achievements and capabilities in promoting science and technology." (ibid p13)
and

"I propose to show that the standard treatment of the history of non-European mathematics is a product of a historiographical bias (conscious or otherwise) in the selection and interpretation of facts which, as a consequence, results in ignoring, devaluing or distorting contributions arising outside European mathematical traditions." (ibid p14)

He explains that,

"The contributions of the colonised were ignored or devalued as part of the rationale for subjugation and dominance. And the developments in mathematics before the Greeks - notably in Egypt and Mesopotamia - suffered a similar fate, being dismissed as of little importance to the future of the subject." (ibid p15)

In addition to the above evidence, there is very thorough, penetrating and substantial work researched over ten years and compiled in three volumes by Bernal, which not only confirms the above points, but develops them considerably through his research. The description of his work printed in the back of Volume I states:

"Martin Bernal challenges the whole basis of our thinking about this question. Classical civilization, he argues, has deep roots in Afroasiatic cultures. But these Afroasiatic influences have been systematically ignored, denied or suppressed since the eighteenth century - chiefly for racist reasons." (Bernal 1987)

He asserts that the Greeks,

"Although proud of themselves and their recent accomplishments, they did not see their political institutions, science, philosophy or religion as original. They derived them... from the East in general, and Egypt in particular." (ibid)

The most crucial aspect of his work for this study is Chapter V in Volume I which looks at "Romantic Linguists". He explains how the inferiority-laden, sub-human definition accorded to black people played a central role in the rewriting and distortion of historical events.
"The Egyptians were increasingly detached from the noble Caucasians, and their 'black' and African nature was more and more emphasized. Thus the idea that they were the cultural ancestors of the Greeks - the epitome and pure childhood of Europe - became unbearable." (ibid pp 224/5)

Following from such thinking, Bernal comments on how the white superiority is established -

"Indeed, since the 19th century it has become literally unthinkable to Europeans that peoples of any other continent could be 'scientific' in the way they themselves are, or that Asians or Africans could have contributed in any profound way to the making of Europe." (ibid p236)

And how the control over language becomes paramount, a means of control and transmission of knowledge.

"Naturally, the institutional rise of Orientalism must - at least in England and France - be associated with the huge expansion of colonialism and other forms of domination over Asia and Africa taking place at the same time. Not only was a systematic understanding of non-European peoples and their spoken languages needed to control these people but a knowledge of their civilizations, by seizing and categorising their cultures, ensured that the natives themselves could learn about their own civilizations only through European scholarship. This provided yet another rope to tie the colonial elites to the metropolitan countries, which has been an increasingly important factor in the retention of European cultural hegemony since the decline of direct colonialism in the second half of the 20th century." (ibid p236)

It is important to connect Bernal's findings and other similar evidence cited with Fanon's description of the effects the "European cultural hegemony" has had on the natives and the psychic impact on the white people. In addition to this very important revelation, Bernal offers some vital discoveries within this context of language and its use to define and to dominate - for me it is also a unique piece of research with
reference to its clear connection between language and race.

Within that context, Bernal explains how

"Friedrich Schlegel was one of the first men to link language to race," (ibid p231)

and define

"...... the spiritual Indian language as regressive. That is to say having been formed as perfect, they had undergone more or less decay" (ibid p232)

and how this definition underwent some modification to

"... explain superiority and inferiority of languages in terms of their relative places in evolution" (ibid p232)

He further explains that while the connection of European languages with Sanskrit could not be shaken off easily, attempts were made to 'purify' the connection by arguing

"... that Sanskrit and the European languages probably had a common unknown ancestor - it was generally thought that Sanskrit itself was the original Indo-European language." (ibid p229)

The additional point of importance here is the distortion which was woven into the process of creating and proving this hierarchy. This is vital as it brings out the contradictions which create conflicts and which in turn, in order to maintain the hierarchy and the superiority, require explanations - other than clarifying the distortions.

It is a fact that the European languages, as Bernal shows clearly in the chapter referenced here, have a definite relationship to Sanskrit. Hence Macaulay's pronouncement that "'all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory
schools in England.'" (Moorhouse 1983) is highly questionable. While Schlegel's effort, having classified Sanskrit as perfect, is to indict the Indian languages by declaring them regressive. In each case the superiority is being maintained on an uneasy bed of contradictions.

From the point of this study, the hierarchy of languages is of great relevance, especially the selection of the English language through which education is conducted and 'knowledge' and 'cultural' norms are transmitted.

To conclude this section of the literature review on English language and ideological transmission, it is important to note the similarities in the 'real' message between what is evidenced here and the modern debate on language which has been the essential aspect of Chapter I - especially the definition of black people and the language of discourse for issues affecting black people in Britain. It is also crucial for this study to note that,

"... a system of language shapes a system of thinking and behaviour" and that

"The role of language in the transmission of such knowledge from generation to generation points to the centrality of language in cultural transmission as well" (Sotomayor 1977) and

"To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture." (Fanon 1970 p29)

but maybe Fanon's conclusion sums up the position of (English) language when he refers to Paul Varley (1952) to say that he

"called language 'the God gone astray in the flesh'". (ibid p14)
Finally, it is relevant here to briefly reflect on the process of transmission as it is a key element in this thesis. In his work entitled "Class, Codes and Control", Bernstein (1973) includes discussion on transmission within the context of the English class system and control.

The main issues raised in terms of transmission are applicable to black people in schools though the experiences and dynamics of black and white are contextually and qualitatively different to those suffered by white working class children. He talks about the role of the middle class 'core value' and 'forms of social control' (pp.viii/1) which have a relevance to the discussion of black issues. While it is not possible to go into details of transmission structures which are described as,

"... the key relationships, curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, and through the concepts of open and closed, distinguishing two different transmission structures,..." (Bernstein 1975 p8)

it is important to take cognizance of the complex and highly institutionalised nature of transmission that Bernstein presents. Excitingly though, his description relating to 'Educational Transmission' (micro) bears out the arguments presented in the evidence at the macro level in relation to how societies are affected:

"From another point of view, variations in the strength of boundaries are only the surface realizations of continuities and discontinuities which are generated by underlying rules. It is a matter of considerable sociological and sociolinguistic interest how it is that certain rules generate distinctive texts. It then becomes important to understand the different forms of socialization into distinctive underlying rules."
For these underlying rules are not learned as a consequence of any one practice, but they are somehow inferred by the socialized from a range of social relations. In this sense, the socialized is always active in his own socialization. He both acquires the ground rule and he responds to it; I think that these underlying rules give rise to coding procedures. The process of cultural reproduction is accomplished by the controls on the selection and institutionalizing of these underlying rules, which create ways of experiencing, of interpreting and telling about the world." (ibid p11)

(The technical reference to framing and coding are explained in chapter 5 of the work cited).

A general application of the above analysis to black people in Britain is confirmed to a point by the following statements:

"THE POWER OF LANGUAGE

The language of schools is an oppressive instrument. It does for the black what it has done for the working class white, only more so." (Dhondy et al 1982 p48)

"This is quite true. However, I think that Dhondy misses the point. The language of schools is the major instrument of cultural depersonalisation."

(Johnson in Dhondy et al 1982 p56)
(b) Perspectives about language

Wherever a Muslim abides, the written word defines his/her very primary and fundamental position

"BESIDES THE QUR'AN, the Hadith of the Prophet gives a Muslim embodiment of the code of life. It provides guidance in all walks of life - individual and social, material and moral, economic and political, legal and cultural, national and international. In the Prophet's lofty personality, according to the Muslims, is the last milestone of the heavenly sent commandments. Therefore, his conduct and character have been declared as a specimen to be followed and adopted by man to achieve nearness to Allah and ultimate salvation." (Doi 1973 p11)

The written word is power and for a Muslim it is his world and his being. To read is power, as manifest in Allah's first revelation to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him):

"Read in the name of the Lord, who createth, Createth man from a clot of blood. Read, and thy Lord is the most bounteous, Who teacheth by the pen, Teacheth man what he knew not."
(The Qur'an, Sura 96, Verses 1-5 cited in Doi 1973 p17)

In the Indian context, for a Hindu, the spoken word is the ultimate for that controls the thought process through which the world is understood. Lannoy (1971) explains:

"The first and most basic trait in the continuity of Indian thought may therefore be summarized as the absolute authority of the Word as a universal metaphysical principle." (Lannoy 1971 p272)

"The Brahmans,.. devised a system of musical incantation uniting the laws of phonetics and the physiology of sound waves. The oral culture of the Vedic period was uniquely suited to the expression of inspired knowledge which accorded with the three basic concepts... : magic power of the Word; the flux of all things; identify between the knowing subject and the reality known."
(ibid p274)

"Until the invention of the phonetic Sanskrit alphabet, memorization of the Vedas by Brahmans was the sole means to ensure their transmission." (ibid p274)
"The musicologist Alain Danielou demonstrates the high degree of perfection obtained in the control of the human voice by Indian musicians when he states that they have the ability to produce and differentiate between minute intervals (exact to a hundredth of a comma...)" (ibid p275)

"... it is an indication of the care with which the 'culture of sound' is developed, for Hindus still believe that such precision in the repetition of exact intervals, over and over again, permits sounds to act upon the internal personality, transform sensibility, way of thinking, state of soul, and even moral character." (ibid p275)

"In other words, the Hindu has never divorced the physical from the spiritual;... An integral aspect of this Vedic 'culture of sound' is the so-called 'science' mantrashastra - systematic application of magic incantation in ritual. The Word is Brahman; the Word is Revelation, an icon of the Absolute,... " (ibid p275)

"Words are the Vedic yoga: they unite mind and matter." (ibid p276)

"... before the introduction of Western education every Indian child was born into the resonant world of sound. He learnt by looking and listening, and developed a hyper-receptivity to the dynamism of the auditory world." (ibid p278)

The importance of language in both the above contexts is unquestionable. It commands the being of a person in a total sense and dictates his/her way of life. While these observations may be applied to other languages and other contexts, it can be said that its power at a fundamental level for various cultures differs and is therefore stronger in some contexts than others. The implications here are about the unique position of written Arabic to a muslim and Mantrashastra to a Hindu. It may be argued that they are irreplaceable as their function and purpose is specific and built in the structure of their respective languages.
A crucial implication of this discussion is: (1) to establish—without a doubt—how language in its various forms can as a matter of evolution in a given culture and its related traditions, command and control for an individual, his collective and his society the total understanding of the world, the being and the complete thought processes but (2) more crucially to question IF these understandings and thoughts represented in Britain and other English-speaking countries, can be expressed in the English language. Does the English language have the capacity to express Indian thought and Muslim belief in their fundamental sense? Or is the English language only able to articulate fundamentally white Christianity-based cultural norms? The question here is not technical but ideological.

More significantly, the questions here refer to the political functions of the English language rather than its linguistic capacities and the most pertinent question in terms of this study is—are these different and diverse fundamental positions ever affirmed for the black British children in British schools? Is it ever likely for black British children of different cultural norms and religions to study in their country of birth without making the kind of protests that are made in Jones (1986) cited in Chapter I? Husband's work on the English language explains this partly in terms of its use in the media but which has implications on the general and educational use of the language.

"Starting from a historical view of the development of beliefs relating to black peoples, and tracing the history of contact between Britain and black societies, it is argued that the English language carries within it
strongly overdetermined connotations regarding race. The operation of the news media is located within the contemporary structural relations of interracial contact in Britain; this contemporary situation is characterized by a visible, and historically rooted, ideology of tolerance which exists alongside de facto racist practices. Language use in the media serves to mediate this ambiguity between ideology and behavior through disseminating and sustaining a definition of the situation which amplifies the perceived tolerance of the state, obscures the fundamental nature of the discriminatory process, and facilitates the legitimation of scapegoating black minorities in Britain."

(Husband 1978 Abstract)

In terms of the African and the black American context, Mazrui's work which is described in the following abstract summarises the position very clearly.

"The English language is conquering a substantial part of the black world & creating psychological & political problems. James Baldwin, the black American novelist, has written how he once hated Shakespeare because the bard symbolized the tyranny of the English language to which black Americans were condemned as eternal preys. Baldwin later decided that black English in America had been forged by a separate & immense experience & had become one of the tools of a people's survival. Many African languages suffered by relying on oral tradition. Africa must have had great philosophers, mystics and great eccentrics, but the oral tradition tends to transmit consensus rather than heresy, accepted ideas rather than innovative intellectual deviations. African languages are on the defensive against such European languages as English within Africa itself. If English is to become the black man's language it has to shed some of the racism of its metaphor. 'Black' in English often connotes evil, death or void. Concepts like black market, blackmail, black sheep are a fusion of fear of the night & fear of the black man. European christianity contributed to the metaphorical association of blackness with sin. English must be deracialized, partly deanglicized, & increasingly Africanized if it is to serve the Afro-Saxons adequately. English is on the defensive in Asia, but for the time being it is triumphant in Africa. That very triumph requires that it be compelled to become a suitable medium for black cultures."  

(Mazrui 1975 Abstract)

Clearly, the recommendation here is of pertinence to the use of English in Britain.
Dalphinis in a descriptive work on "Caribbean & African Languages" (1985) explains the very specific and different functions attached to these in a by and large, oral tradition.

"For Africans, the oral mode has been, and even up to today continues to be, the preferred mode for cultural dissemination. Consequently descendants of Africans in the Caribbean have continued to be affected by an oral tradition imported by them from Africa and readapted under the cultural conditions of the Caribbean."

(Dalphinis 1985 p157)

He points out:
"...differences, both systematic and conceptual, between European and Creole languages, it is important that the two language groups be differentiated, both in the minds of their speakers and the people with whom they communicate." (ibid pp.161/2)

and concludes that:
"The point at issue, however, is not the judgement of one language group by criterion based in another. The yardstick of European languages cannot be used to judge Afro-Caribbean Creole languages or vice versa. Within each language is to be found its own music and its own inherent beauty." (ibid p162)

He identifies very clear forces and purposes that are embodied in the oral tradition of these languages. The crucial expertise of survival is of primary importance:

"Creole oral literature is, however, also indicative of the slavery-based social milieu in terms of which these languages developed. Patwa ti jan tales of a young man who defeats his social 'superiors' by cunning, for example, is indicative of a slave psychology suitable to a society where cunning was the only possible strategy against socially superior masters."

(ibid p166)

Additionally,
"Oral literature in Africa is a means by which items of historical value are stored." (ibid p166)

A very important cultural norm which is central to social behaviour within the context is

"The use of praise and abuse"
"Individuals are praised or abused as rewards or penalties for conforming or not conforming to the societies' values."

(ibid pp.166/7)
The power of this tradition is that "...nearly all individuals have access to the means of production in oral literature." (ibid p167)

Thus,

"Carnival in Trinidad is the occasion for relatively little-known individuals to perform their calypsoes before a large audience. This socially non-selective production has, therefore, allowed a creative safety-valve for at times anti-social feelings in Creole-speaking societies, as it traditionally has done in African societies." (ibid p167)

This means that the

"...audience participation in African and Creole oral literature; is a natural extension of this mode of communication itself. Hand-clapping as a means of emphasising the rhythm, the singing of the chorus, the sudden exclamations are part of the very essence of audience anticipation in Afro-Caribbean oral literature as reflected within the chorus/lead-singer structure of most Afro-Caribbean songs,..." (ibid pp.167/8)

Such traditions and social norms on which a person's being is reliant, are transmitted from generation to generation (Sotomayor 1977) I would suggest regardless of where they are born and though they may undergo change as Dalphinis describes (African to the Caribbean context) and adapts to different circumstances - freedom to slavery - the psyche of an individual carries and transmits values of his 'collective'.

The cultural/linguistic diversity illustrated here is present in the modern British education system (Rosen & Burgess 1980). The question is how able is the system to affirm this diversity within its mainstream core values through the English language? (The term culture is used here to mean core values, beliefs, religions, experiences and other significant aspects that define a collective).
Can Mazrui's recommendations cited earlier be taken up seriously and systematically? What would be the consequence of not doing so? In Giles' preview of Kochman's article on "Black and White styles in Conflict", there is some indication, where he interprets one of Kochman's messages as:

"First, White behavioural norms have generally been taken as the institutionalised standards by which people are judged. Indeed, this book is a compelling illustration of how so-called appropriate behaviour and moral actions are historically and culturally determined." (Giles 1982)

He further reports that,

"Despite centuries of US residency and concomitant pressures on them to assimilate culturally, Blacks have maintained their distinctive values, behaviours and language." (ibid)

On a similar line, Ngugi states:

"This book, Decolonising the Mind, is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings. From now on it is Gikuyu and Kiswahili all the way." (Ngugi 1986 p xiv)

And to quote a yet stronger statement -

"I will say that language is the primary medium of communication in the educational process and, in this case, the English language as one of the prime carriers of racism from one person to another in our society and discuss how the teacher and the student, especially the Negro student, are affected by this fact. The English language is my enemy." (Davis 1973 p72)

These honest and blunt statements shows the alienation and negation that is experienced by black people through the English language. What then are the responses?

Christopher Brumfit, from the University of Southampton, speaking at the University of London Institute of Education on 27th
January 1987, connected the question of language with culture and language as an instrument of power. He then posed a question:

"If language and culture are so closely linked, what is the purpose of our language teaching?"

He did not however, examine the historical legacy of the English language in line with the evidence presented in section (a) above except to state at the start:

"Language can be seen as a means of freeing depressed groups,..."

He went on to present the justification for multilingualism stating without commenting on or analysing the monolingualism operating in modern Britain:

"Traditional British ethnocentrism may account for a suspicion of multilingualism as a goal but political needs in the inner city and the educational value of linguistic confidence by learners may still make it a worthwhile aim for many schools."

This justification for multilingualism was followed by the question:

"But how can multilingual policies be developed?"

In response to that he suggested for the

"..nation to develop language policies that acknowledge the place of language maintenance and extension, second language and foreign language provision..."

Very clearly and prominently missing from this analysis of language-related issues, culture and power and the general argument for multilingualism were the dimensions which have been presented so profusely in this study thus far. Not only were these perspectives missing but they were not even referred or acknowledged when defining the context or recommending the educational goals and strategies at the end of the talk.
His main argument and reference point in recommending multilingualism was:

"Monolingualism, of the kind that the British educational system tolerated and even encouraged, was to a great extent the product of nineteenth century nationalism, and the identification of one language to one nation."

"Cultural diversity is seen as a legitimate goal for politicians and educationalists alike."

He further introduced 'equal rights' as a justification thus placing his recommendations under the 'race relations' umbrella and concluding with a warning that:

"In so far as it carries political weight, exclusion of large groups of the population from full participation in language activity in schools, and ultimately in society, can only breed dangerous political discontent. In Britain, there are already signs of this issue becoming important as a focus for community discontent,..."

With reference to the discontent referred by Brumfit, Dhondy reports that this has already been experienced:

"On the public's side, rebellion and the refusal to be schooled have turned to organised insurrection and articulate demonstration. The arguments contained in this pamphlet are best borne out by the escalation of the challenge to authority and mass disaffection manifested in the riots of '81 and in the organised demonstration against the press, against the government, against the police of twelve thousand young blacks on the New Cross Massacre Action Committee's Black Peoples' Day of Action on March 2nd 1981." (Dhondy 1981 p7)

"From such moments there is no going back. It is through such moments that the connection between rebellion and decolonisation is made. That connection will be made in British schooling." (ibid p7)

With reference to Brumfit's position on multilingualism there is a qualitative difference between what he recommends and how a black collective loosely defined it during one of its working sessions - the difference emerges from the perception and
acknowledgement by the black collective of the context evidenced in this study. Thus their definition noted that:

"Multilingualism as a theory suggests a multidimensional understanding - social, economic, political and cultural reality of Britain which is an integral and organic part of our everyday existence and experiences. Implicit within the definition is inclusion, space and critical affirmation - political, cultural, economic and linguistic." (North London Community Group 1985)

However the group's statement that, "The idea of monolingualism is outdated, corrosive and declining" in principle corresponds to Brumfit's view of monolingualism.

Pattanayakji has written profusely and profoundly on the issue of language with particular reference to mother tongue, mono-, bi-, and multilingualism, with a critique on processes of standardisation of languages. He states that:

"Individuals and groups draw a sense of identity and rootedness from the language they use." (Pattanayak 1981 p157)

And that,

"Mother tongue is such a language with which one is emotionally identified. It is the language through which the child recognizes and organizes his experience and environment around him. It is the language used to express one's basic needs, ideas, thoughts, joys, sorrows and other feelings. This is the language which if one gives up, one may remain intellectually alive but grow emotionally sterile." (ibid p51)

"Instruction in the mother tongue helps in the search for self-affirmation, establishes group identity, satisfies the national urge for cultural rootedness and avoids fanaticism. It brings the child into a harmonious relationship with his environment and maximises the opportunities offered by the early learning experience. It permits the adult learner to see issues in the perspective of the common man. The mother tongue curriculum maker had to understand the role of mother tongue in concept formation, critical thinking, creativity and in imparting social values." (ibid p55)
With reference to the national impact and policy formation within a multilingual context, he describes the Indian legacy.

"India has an unbroken tradition of 3000 years of the oral transmission of knowledge. In a linguistically and ethnically diversified country, this tradition ensured (a) maintenance of group identity within an independent network of cultures, (b) maintenance of small communication zones within a broad communicational matrix through gradual merging of borders and a shared common core, (c) maintenance of group autonomy and resistance against incursions by empire builders into the affairs of the people, and (d) awareness of individuals and groups comprising the Indian cultural area, the various linkages and balances at the micro and macro levels and participation in the maintenance and the furtherance of tradition in the face of constant changes. Mother tongues held the key to this unique delicate balance." (ibid, p.57)

In a very different spirit, Corder's presentation of "What is language?" focuses on and explores different aspects which also include language functions such as

"... language is an object like a tool" (Corder 1973, p.19/20) or a 'possession' which is in some ways a "skilled behaviour which we have to learn," and 'acquire'. He goes on to state that:

"Our language about language reveals a variety of different ways of regarding it which, even if we admit that they are often metaphorical, nevertheless imply a certain logical inconsistency. The question is not so much which of these views is 'right'; they are all in their way valid, but none of them is complete or comprehensive. We just have to admit that language is such a complex phenomenon that no one viewpoint can see it as a whole." (ibid, p.21)

He then develops the question of behaviour and a "part of human psychology" which "involves describing and explaining the unobservable, "which make it all very "complicated" (ibid, p.23)

In his exploration, he makes reference to various linguists such as Chomsky and others and talks about "Language as a Social
phenomenon" and thus arrives at "The linguistic approach to language" in which he describes the distinction between the specialised use of the term 'linguistic' as in 'linguistic linguistics' for which he refers to "Hjelmslev's book Language (1963). Corder concludes this exploration with some very important observations showing firstly the dominance of European thinking in this field but secondly and more importantly, the depersonalisation and depoliticization of this 'discipline' which in fact defines the politics of language learning in Britain and European countries and abroad as an European product for export.

"The linguistic approach to language is probably the most familiar approach as it is certainly the one with the longest history inside and outside Europe. It is also for that reason probably the theoretically most advanced and complex. Its data are not people and their behaviour, but texts and recorded utterances. It is not concerned with distinctions between hearers and speakers, nor is it concerned with how people come to acquire languages or what part language plays in society." (Corder 1973 p27)

"The sheer success and sophistication of the linguistic approach to language has, however, been bought dearly. As I have said, this way of looking at language is necessarily the most objectivizing. But language is not, after all, a thing with real existence. Objectivizing means abstraction. By abstracting in this way, the linguistic study of language has tended to lose its connections with man and society. The more sophisticated the theories and descriptions of language structure have become, the less reason there has seemed to be to prefer one way of describing it over another. We have come to a point where the only grounds for deciding which is a better description or theory must be sociological or psychological, that is, on its compatibility with one of the other approaches." (ibid p27)

His opening observations under "Implications for language teaching", shows a broader approach and purpose to language learning. However its message is about learning "to behave" where,
"...varying degrees of participation require different levels of skill in language performance. They also imply some division of linguistic behaviour into different sorts of skill...." (ibid)

The reference to skills is two-fold. One is language performance of a general kind while the other is specific to reading, writing, speaking and listening. He critiques the,

"...language teaching with its insistence on correctness, the rules of the grammar, and its limited objectives, is that it lacked this sociological dimension. It assumed that a language was a 'linguistic' linguistic concept. Little thought seems to have been given to the notion of appropriateness, to the way that language behaviour is responsive to differing social situations." (ibid p29)

He thus arrives at a position where he states that,

"The answer to the question 'ought we to teach grammar?' is, therefore, psychologically, 'yes', and linguistically, 'perhaps'." (ibid p30)

The significance of the discussion of Corder's work here, is to simply look at an example of the sort of discussion that is current in the field of linguistics and applied linguistics. As stated before, it is not the purpose of this study to go into this area in any significant depth, but to draw upon how such discussion in relation to the British and the world context affects and at times dictates how a language should be taught, implicit to which is what the purpose and function of a language is. In the light of the descriptions given above, it is the purpose of this inclusion to show how the diversity of different perceptions described earlier in this study are not acknowledged. From this omission and the omission noted in Brumfit, it can be concluded that the context in which this and similar other discussions on linguistics are conducted do not
either include or acknowledge the ideological context of the English language and its transmission as evidenced here and, therefore, the omission itself is a defining force for it delegitimizes the most crucial context as argued in this study. Additionally, if the underlying assumption is that the discussion on applied linguistics is technical and, therefore, applicable to any language, then such an assumption needs to be challenged for it assumes that there are no differences in the perceptions about a language and the specific functions attached to them. Secondly, such applications to any language cannot be relevant as the discussion on linguistics does not take on the multilingual normality which must operate from a different theoretical base but operates from a monolingual position as evidenced above.

Thus in addition to Corder's own criticism of the discipline of linguistics, there is a further dimension of it being exclusive and monolingual in its construct, devised mainly by the Europeans in relation to their national languages. Such exclusivity is in fact stated by Harding and Riley in their book on "The Bilingual Family" (1986). In the preface it states: "It is not about bilingual societies such as Finland or Wales." (Harding and Riley 1986 Preface) - thus distancing itself from the mother tongue issue and politics of national language, cultural alienation and power relationships - albeit of European location. Similarly,

"The linguistic problems of immigrant groups are not discussed either: they involve social and political issues which go well beyond the scope of this book." (ibid)
but is specific to,

"...all parents who might be considering bringing up their children as bilinguals... The English-speaking family living in Stuttgart, or Madrid or Strasbourg..." (ibid)

which presumably is considered to be non-problematic and not involving social and political issues. In paragraph two of the Preface, it states that:

"...many case studies refer to professional families... the book should be useful to the wider range of increasingly mobile families..." (ibid)

but obviously not "immigrant groups" since they have already been eliminated. It is even more exclusive and narrow when it states

"The term 'family' refers to the social unit formed by any couple plus children." (ibid)

In this work, the reduction and fragmentation of language issues and purposes are clear and the elitist status of the target people is also made obvious. The main perception and function of becoming a bilingual is commodity oriented and is referred to as a possession - almost a toy. For example, referring to bilingual children of the category described above it states that they all, .... value and enjoy their bilingualism, finding in it a source of interest and enrichment. For children, in particular, it is quite literally fun and games." (ibid p2)

In the first chapter, it defines the limits of the study, justifying it by stating how "much of the mystery remains" on the question of the "ways in which children acquire language" and hence "we will concentrate on what children actually do with language, since that can be observed and studied by an outsider." It omits the most fundamental discussion about what language is, what it means, the factors that control and generate language and
what language can be used for. Instead in its "second reason" it limits it to being "of far greater relevance to their relationships with their parents than most technical studies." It then immediately delves into language functions and manages to reduce the whole question of "building up relationships" as follows:

"- Morning.  
- Bit nippy isn't it?  
- Oh well.  
- See you."

Then goes on to explain that,

"We spend much of our lives building up and maintaining social-relationships by means of rituals of this kind. If we look at the actual content of such exchanges, at what is actually said, we find that they are almost totally bereft of meaning. But if we look at their functions, at what is done, we see they are of very great importance: quite literally, they hold society together." (ibid p5)

How can utterances, "almost totally bereft of meaning", become a ritual and how can a meaningless ritual "hold society together"?

But then this is a perspective amongst many; the important question is if this kind of perception of language and elite European bilingualism, carries more weight than others?

The point made in this section is that language is a complex issue with very intimate and organic connections with the 'self'. There are numerous perceptions about language - its purpose and functions. Some of the elements of the diversity selected for this section, are represented in Britain - how is this taken up within the education sector? In response to this question, various reports and policy documents have been considered in chapters IV and V.
CHAPTER III
METHODS

Introduction

Chapters I and II describe in length the context in which the need for my study arose. Once the decision had been validated and the thesis for examination agreed, various stages based on the nature and definition of the thesis emerged. These took into account (i) my personal initially collusive and later critical involvement with ESL for over a decade; (ii) my critical understanding of issues related to language development and education in Britain; (iii) the publication of various studies/research and issues relating to special funding and special policies nationally connected to 'London dialects', ESL and 'bilingualism' with reference to the languages used by black people; (iv) and the identification of racism in the exclusively monolingual, monocultural and Standard English oriented tradition of language development and education (Khan, 1978) in British schools as an important reality reported in Scarman (1981), Rampton (1981) - putting both the people of the West Indian and Asian origin into a 'deficiency' and 'disadvantaged' syndrome, as discussed in Chapter I. The construct of ESL and references such as bilingual/multilingual in Britain, rightly or wrongly, were by and large about the Indian people and Indian languages. (The recent European fever and the ERA 1988 has thrown up some further language considerations in terms of placing more emphasis on the learning of the 'modern' languages and accommodating of Welsh in Wales.) However the ESL and the 'bilingual' reference has
remained more or less intact.

The roots of these terms as discussed and suggested in the literature review are embedded in the colonial experience which provides a continuum of experience of Indian people learning English — during the colonial times and at present in India and in Britain today. This too is evidenced in the literature review through the examination of the purpose and the basis on which English was introduced in India based on Macaulay's 'definition' (Moorhouse 1983) and other historical events relating to the language issue. Thus one of the major purposes for the study was to explore the relationship between the historical definition and the construct of ESL as experienced in Britain today within the context of the English language and its use as a vehicle of:
- education (transmission) and
- definition, on which policies are formulated.

Essentially the institutional dynamics in terms of the definition of the 'immigrant', the consequent policy responses which define approaches to language development and education became a crucial area of study. This I felt could only be considered realistically through the examination of the understandings of the, by and large, majority monolingual English speaking professionals, of the ideological underpinnings and the educational and theoretical implications of teaching in a multilingual and multicultural Britain. I had received most of my teaching qualifications (B Ed) in Britain and practically all my professional work in the education sector had also been in Britain. I, therefore, needed to rethink and understand in
educational terms my own multilingualism and its professional importance if I were to seriously apply myself to the study which is intended to be innovative in an interventionist sense.

Visit to India - understanding the research process:
Therefore, a visit to India, under the supervision of Dr D P Pattanayak, who was then the Director of the Institute of Indian Languages at Mysore, in November/December 1986 for over five weeks became one of the first major stages in my study. Prior to this visit, there was a preparatory period which included discussion sessions with key, leading educationists involved with language and education issues: Professor Chris Mullard, Gerry Davies, then Inspector in ILEA and Dr Jagdish Gundara, Head of Multicultural Department at the University of London Institute of Education. These discussions were a process of sharing my reasons and purpose for the study and inquiring into their experiences and understanding of the issues. Inevitably, these discussions revealed many other facets and aspects in the form of references, policy documents, reports and studies that I needed to take into account in my study. Gerry Davies in his capacity as an inspector, wrote numerous letters of introduction to schools I could visit to conduct the empirical work required for the study. These interviews and systematic reading of related materials assisted me in drawing up a fairly clear picture of the thinking that existed on language teaching in Britain. Thus the thread of the study in the context of the English Language and Ideological Transmission which may
determine the policy responses and their implementation, became a very concrete reality.

In India I looked at various policy documents and met with many people who worked with the Institute and with Pattanayakji. For a period of time I was able to work with the Director, lecturers and students of a teacher training college which was linked to the Institute. Here I did some systematic work, that is, I conducted formal and informal interviews, attended some lectures which culminated in my conducting an experimental lesson with the student teachers, followed by discussion. This process was an important experience as it provided me with some initial understanding about conducting research, on which I later based my empirical work in schools in Britain.

The contacts I made were not under my control. Pattanayakji very much directed me to meet the experts employed by the Institute. These introductions in turn led to others and through this process I continued to deepen my understanding of conducting research work. Based on this I started preparing a fairly tight and clear procedure for these meetings and interviews. It was becoming evident to me that I was meeting with people who were deeply involved and immersed in their work. They were of certain maturity in this field of work, and the majority of them had written and published special studies, programmes and books. It became important for me to take time to read some of the material written by the individuals I was meeting and to arrange at least one follow-through session where I could share not only my
propose my interpretation of the issues which were highlighted during our meetings/interviews, which were of significance and to which I wanted their response. I wanted to be able to talk through my experience, understanding and analysis from Britain. In many cases, this procedure could not be followed and so it left some question marks about our discussions and my own critique, which I had shared with the interviewees. Many times it was possible to talk it through with Pattanayakji. He had a very clear and detailed grasp of what was happening at the Institute and around him. I documented my discussions with Pattanayakji in some detail and shared these with him. He himself is a major structure in the Indian context, at national level, and has made significant contributions on the international scale. Thus, to understand a small part of his life's work was in itself, an important part of my study during the first part of my visit.

The significance of my stay at the Institute was that I had my first taste of carrying out research in a disciplined manner where I learned about and defined the process of interviewing, the preparation before and the follow-through and conducting face-to-face discussions with people who had experience in this field and others who willingly gave their time to share their perspectives.

The second part consisted of my travelling to Gujarat, Delhi and Calcutta and spending a few days in each of these places and
meeting with people, most of whom once again, carried a personal introduction from Pattanayakji. At times, the process here was as intense as in Mysore and at times I only managed a glimpse of what was really happening. I am aware that to have been directed by Pattanayakji for the majority of my contacts, in itself is a limitation of a kind. However, there were many other introductions resulting from the initial contacts, and I met some critiques of Pattanayakji as well. The crucial point here is that I had an opportunity to participate in the discussion of the same issues - significantly that of multilingual approach to language education and the use of English in schools - through a variety of perspectives and interpretations coming from different people and different sources at different times with individual contributions merging to form a large canvass of the significant issues. I had, it seemed followed the technique of 'triangulation' (Cohen and Manion p147 1980)

The importance of the policy analysis and the data collected from this visit on the issues under reference have a wide application to the debate in Britain on the learning of English language within a multilingual context, with reference to the black colonial experience. However, as stated in the earlier chapter, I have come to the conclusion that the discussion of theoretical underpinnings for a possible model describing 'multilingual' and 'multi-meaning' approaches to the teaching of English language may be considered meaningfully after the completion of this study, as I believe this study prepares the ground for the consideration of such a model.
Hence the pertinence of the India visit to this study is really the way it helped me to prepare a focus and above all, the way in which the experience gave me the opportunity to theorize on the research process itself. Also, since India was the first area where I started systematic research work, it became the main experience on which the approaches for the conduct of the empirical work for this study have been based. In that sense, the approaches could have been thought through in Britain - as indeed they partly were when I went to see Professor Mullard, Gerry Davies and Dr Gundara - for I started to formulate an approach then. It became sharper, more informed and focused in India where I had the opportunity to enter into many interview, discussion and seminar situations but it finally came together when I gained access to two London schools as will be described later in this chapter.

Focus of the research

Thus, with the broad base prepared in India, the next stage was very much to establish the focus of the study and thus decide the area of research. Chapter I discusses the reasons and the process leading to this study which is to examine the criteria that inform and underpin the policy responses and their implementation within the British education structures in determining the multilingual, multicultural curriculum within the context of English Language and its Ideological Transmission. It seemed that the data for this study could be best obtained by analysing policy documents and from investigations in schools in
in relation to policy and practice. While the written policies could be obtained and analysed outside of school, data on the 'practice' and what actually happens in the school and the classroom, had to be obtained by being present at the site and witnessing the situation. Hence access to schools became crucial.

Rationale for policy analysis at four levels

The point of the study was to investigate how the ideological transmission as discussed in Chapters I and II underpin the policy responses and their implementation. Based on the position that what happens at macro level is reproduced at micro level - more fully explained at the start of the Chapter on Policies - I considered it important to look at policy issues not only in schools and how they translate at classroom level but also at LEA and national level specifically to explore the continuity or otherwise of the ideological underpinnings since policies can and are often made and implemented at different levels.

In that sense of the policy making process (and especially the policies that are important to this study) the central government may and has legislated, but LEAs interpret the law and make their own decisions. In turn, schools accept these policies but interpret them in the light of their particular contexts; teachers put policies into practice in a context that is perhaps too busy to ensure undistorted implementation of the policy to the letter. Thus there are four levels of policy and practice:
(i) the central government and national bodies working in relation to it, most importantly the DES and bodies such as the CRE specifically set up under the Race Relations legislation with reference to the black 'immigrant' presence; (ii) LEA, (iii) school and (iv) classroom. Given this reality, the scrutiny of the ideological transmission and its reproduction was of essence.

Access to schools - rationale for choosing the case study model

Gerry Davies's efforts yielded access to one school in ILEA while Tuku Mukherjee's work in Ealing offered access to a school there. Thus the 'choice' of schools was opportunistic - as I gratefully accepted what I was offered and made available to me. Both of these schools are described in some detail later on but it is important to state some essential points about them here. They were both comprehensive schools. The ILEA school was all boys of mainly Bangladeshi origin while the Ealing school was mixed - boys and girls - representing a wide range of linguistic backgrounds including Indian, European and African. The Ealing school also happened to have children from more prosperous families than the ILEA school.

From the point of the study and in terms of the macro national context of Britain, both schools fell into somewhat similar organisational structures as far as status and age range were concerned. At a local level they were under two very different structures. ILEA - unlike Ealing - consisted of a number of boroughs that were about to be made independent education authorities and had been known to take a lead on the issues of
'race', 'class' and 'gender'. Ealing on the other hand, had a smaller area of influence but had historically attracted attention due to the kind of response it had made to its immigrant population in the borough. At the micro level of each school, they had their own identity which has been described in a latter chapter. The purpose of this study is not to compare the two schools but to investigate the responses and the criteria underpinning their policies and practices within their own individual frameworks. Hence I decided to adopt the case study approach for schools, recognising that at macro level, they were both affected by central government legislation and DES guidelines and directives thus providing a level of commonality.

From my own experiences through involvement in community and professional organisations, I knew that in both schools there were some serious tensions in the area of my study and in both cases there had been significant initiatives taken on the issue of 'language'. However, I also knew that there was a feeling of confusion amongst the senior staff as to the direction in which they were moving and of its likely outcome. While keeping this in view, I began to define the research process.

Defining the research process

The first important step was to consider the most appropriate, overall approach to the empirical work within the,

"two influential trends in thinking about the nature of social science in general,..."

of

"...'positivism' and 'naturalism' the former privileging quantitative methods, the latter promoting ethnography

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as the central ....social research method."  
(Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 pp2/3)

While the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, the point of reference for me was to understand that,

"In all cases there is some image of the social world and of the phenomenon under review within it. The researcher carries into the field expectations that are influential at every stage." (Shipman 1973 p24)

I recognised that the purpose of the study must decide the approach. It must also take into account, first of all, that the research was to be conducted not only over a short period of time but also by one person - myself - and secondly that the study needed to probe into sensitive issues of organisation, power relationships and deeper levels of understanding of ideological underpinnings that may inform the every day professional practice of the target group. I also recognised that the:

"...'science of persons' approach place great store on the systematic and painstaking analysis of SOCIAL EPISODES. The approach to analysing these is known as the ETHOGENIC method. Unlike positivistic approaches, which ignore or presume its subjects' interpretations of situations, ETHOGENIC approaches concentrate upon the ways in which a person construes his social world." (Cohen and Manion 1980 p24)

On the grounds of restricted resources and a limited time frame in which the investigations were to be carried out, clearly the research could not be allowed to be defined as ethnographic in its fullest sense where,

"The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available..." (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 p2)

However, the research clearly needed to be interpretative and
qualitative and, therefore, closer to naturalism and ethnographic methods through which,

"...the meanings that give form and content to social processes be understood" (ibid p2) and through which, "...the social researchers adopt an attitude of 'respect' or 'appreciation' towards the social world." (ibid p6)

On the same grounds, I ruled out the 'positivist' methods which are "modelled on the natural sciences" (ibid) requiring very technical and controlled conditions which for this study would be inappropriate.

Clearly, whatever choice a researcher makes, there are weaknesses to be addressed. In choosing the phenomenological approach, I was aware of the possible problems of 'reliability' of methods and 'authenticity' of the data and, therefore, the question of 'validity'. Thus, reflecting on my experiences in India I decided to use a kind of triangulation by collecting data of the same phenomenon of eg, the ideological transmission through the use of the English language using a number of different sources:

- observation (some participatory);
- unstructured and semi-structured formal and informal interviews
- and organised and structured workshops/seminars as appropriate.

Given that the research was conducted on my own, the use of the above variety of methods, sources and timing for the collection of data seemed to offer the best 'validity' though each of the above techniques themselves offer their own weaknesses in terms of validity. For example,

"The method of participant observation.....is preferred as a mode of sociological enquiry and is to be applied very self-critically since the research act is recognised as
a social act. ... The observer must be careful to recognize that different parties in any interaction may have different interpretations of it and that these interpretations cannot be assumed in advance of empirical investigation." (Gorbutt 1972 p7)

And,

"...observations, questionnaires and interviews...are never completely reliable and there are always opportunities for distortion." (Shipman 1973 pxi)

However, to counteract these weaknesses it is suggested that the "...responsibility of the researcher to provide his audience with detail of his research procedures applies regardless of the research approach used" (ibid pxii)

Given the above discussion, which influenced and disciplined my work, I believe that the approach I had prepared gave a multi-dimensional view of the issues under investigation and that while each technique had its own tensions and set of dynamics, they were each different to the others. For instance, discussion of issues conducted during a formal meeting or a seminar would bring out very different power relationships as opposed to one-to-one interviews or participant observer. The former would offer a more general and public platform for the discussion of a common issue while the interview would be private and more intense in so far as the individuals would experience concentrated examination of self and the other person involved in the interview.

**Empirical investigations - sampling and the use of questionnaire for interviewing**

I was fortunate in so far as the schools to which I had obtained access; my negotiations with the individual Heads in both cases allowed me freedom of movement in the schools and additionally allowed access to some in-service work, meetings, sessions with external visitors and so on. As the study required me to probe
into areas of 'internalisation' and seek to bring forth areas of 'unconscious' predisposition and understandings, it became important for me to limit my investigations by working in depth with a few, rather than many, at a superficial level. Hence, the main targets in each school in addition to the Heads were some key personnel amongst the staff who were overtly or covertly connected to the issues under reference but more importantly, the language teachers from each department or section representing separately organised provision; and consequently students and groups that these teachers were involved with. In all, 51 individual and 3 group interviews were conducted with 42 people: 2 head teachers; 1 deputy head; 7 heads and deputy heads of departments; 13 other members of staff; and 19 pupils. Of the 19 pupils, 5 were interviewed individually as well as in a group, 8 were interviewed individually and 6 were interviewed in groups only.

During the initial and informal interviews with the heads in particular and some heads of departments, where I discussed my involvement and likely access, I explained my area of study and the direction of my inquiry. At this point, I had a set of questions (Appendix C1) that were loosely defined around policy issues mainly concentrating on the rationale, target resourcing and implementation aspects of the policy but not directly asking about the process of transmission nor the ideological content of the English language as described in the earlier chapters. However, while the initial, informal interviews helped to pilot the questionnaire to be used in interviews and make it sharper
and much more focused, they also brought out the fundamental importance of the process of the ideological transmission to the fore. Correspondingly, it became crucial to investigate not only if and how the teachers and others are 'informed' by the ideological transmission but also to investigate whether they recognise that they may be the key participants to the process and if so do they intervene or reaffirm the process? I recognised that while to question the ideological message would be to challenge the most fundamental position, it was very likely that this will have been a part of their process of socialisation as the majority white English-speaking, monolingual teachers and, therefore, in some ways it may not be a matter for controversy for them in the same way it was for black people. However, it was of interest to investigate if the features described in the earlier chapters were being reproduced at this level? Hence the Questionnaire went through a further stage of piloting (Appendix C2) before being finalised as an interview schedule.

The nature of the enquiry based on the final formulation of the questionnaire (Appendix C3) did not allow for a straightforward formally structured question and answer interviews. However, the questionnaire was used as a strict reference point for its purpose was to provide the focus and also 'consistency' in the interviews. The initial informal interviews besides helping to prepare the final questionnaire, also served to set the context for my study in the school and since these were mainly with people who had some over all responsibility for departments and, or school policy issues,
I was able to negotiate access to classes, teachers, students, materials and policy papers. Subsequently, these key people made themselves available for more structured and detailed interviews, some of them responding in depth to my searching questions. The process of selecting pupils for interviews to some degree was 'natural' in so far as some became 'volunteers' as they warmed to me during class and as they became involved in discussion with me; thus entering into an informal interview situation. Some students were suggested by the teachers and some by the students whom I had interviewed at specific times. These interviews were conducted individually and in groups as described earlier.

However 'natural' and meaningful the whole process has been, it cannot be claimed that the resultant group of people through whom the investigations were carried out make up a 'representative sample' in the technical sense. The various contacts I made and the class observation I managed to negotiate, are summarised in a schedule (Appendix D) which records: numbers, nature of contact, and respondents and their characteristics.

Interpretation and 'Researcher effect'

"Whether explicit or implicit, the model of the social world held by the researcher will affect all the processes of research from deciding the precise nature of the issue to be investigated, to the way the results are written for publication." (Shipman 1973 p21)

I had been aware of the seriousness of this position all along and had recognised its pertinence for my study. Hence as with the overall approach, I also wanted to address the question of
interpretation and the 'researcher effect'. Therefore, both for
the interviews and observations, I followed a procedure of:
- documenting the findings during the event;
- summarising and typing these;
- returning to the individual/s concerned for their corrections/
  comments, further clarification, elaboration and omissions of
  any significant points;
- making the necessary alterations sometimes accompanied by
  further discussions.

Through this procedure I hoped to ensure that my interpretation
of the significant aspects of the discussions and the
observations were scrutinised from the perspective of those
concerned and their view points and observations were also
incorporated.

In terms of the classroom observations, I was conscious that as
the teachers - with whom I had already formed some kind of
relationship having had some informal discussions and at times
also having had an opportunity of interviewing them - became
more relaxed and the pupils - who got used to seeing me around
and sitting in during lessons - less conscious of my presence;
the pupils, at times took the initiative to make contact with me
during lessons as they would with their teacher if she were not
busy with some one else. Indeed during the latter part of my
work in both schools, I felt a sense of belonging with my own
specific role and brief as I had shared it openly and publicly
with all those who were interested. While this position did not
eliminate my own perspective and interpretation, it did to a
point remove the 'researcher effect'.
How it could have been different?
The process of conducting the empirical investigation and analysing the findings have both confirmed and questioned some of my viewpoints on research methods, approaches and techniques. The nature of the enquiry created a challenge for those participating and also gave space to some who wanted to articulate their position in terms of what was happening to them individually at the professional level. While this evidence is important, some respondents could see, for example, their role in the 'transmission' of the ideology when I shared my own research and analysis of the English language and the possibility of intervening with this process.

Hence, some wanted to be able to take this thinking further and convert it to a practical application for themselves in the classroom. To a point, I had recognised this possibility at the start and in response to that understanding and also as a matter of my own accountability, I had, during my early negotiations with the heads of the respective schools and other key teachers, offered to share my perspective together with the findings. At that early point, my offer had been taken as a positive thing, but in fact, while some effort was made towards the end of my work at each of the schools, there was no realisation of this negotiation in any concrete sense.

To a point, the lesson given at the Teacher Training Institute in India was in fact the nearest I had got to realising what I now think could have been an important part of my empirical work as
it would have immediate practical implications at the philosophical and theoretical levels.

It is, however, hoped that based on this study, some innovative work will be done in schools though a follow-through process as described above was I believe an important issue that I should have built in and carried out as an integral aspect of the empirical work. It is this oversight that has contributed to the decision to hold over some of the findings on which multilingual, multi-cultural and also multi-meaning approaches to language education can be based and new theoretical ground can be explored.

Organisation of the findings

The work done in the two schools is presented as a case study of each in its own right. The intention is not to compare the two but to draw out the main trends as based on the Questionnaire (Appendix C). The findings from each school are presented separately. There is a brief description of the school including linguistic composition and organisation and resourcing of the language provision in each. This is followed by a descriptive analysis of the informal and semi-structured interviews based on the Questionnaire. Most of the interviews were not recorded on tape but documented in the form of hand-written notes. The description is derived from these notes and can therefore be credited to various individuals. Some of the later interviews were recorded on tape on which further clarification was not sought. Some responses are quoted directly from these. The
findings also include observations of some selected classes as access was obtained through the various heads of department and sections and groups. Most of these classes were visited and observed between one and four times. A breakdown of these sessions is incorporated in the schedule mentioned above. (Appendix D).

It is in the latter and concluding section of this study that these findings are examined critically and used as evidence to establish the main arguments of the thesis. The chapter on case studies is preceded by the chapter on policies which analyses the policies at national level. This provides the context for the LEA and ILEA policies which are described in the case studies chapter to provide the context in which each school's framework and classroom practices are presented.
CHAPTER IV

A POLICIES IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN RESPONSE TO BLACK PRESENCE AND THE ACCOMPANYING DEBATE ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Introduction

My study grew out of educational concerns relating to language development and education. Chapter I describes my processes and experiences through which I developed rigorous understanding and analysis of the issues surrounding my area of concern. It is from this very concrete base that my purpose and direction were defined, giving shape and focus to my enquiry, as described in Chapter III. The enquiry in broad terms is about the mainly monolingual English-speaking professionals who operate the power of the English language to inform, to transmit and to define; and how these definitions are maintained and reproduced. This is described in the literature review. In practice it has meant: a study of policies at national, LEA and school levels; their formulation, dissemination and transmission; targets and implementation; and their eventual outcome in the classroom.

This aspect of the study was conducted within the context of the definitions of black people as in DES (1967/1971) cited in Chapter I and the evidence presented in Chapter II. Additionally in that Chapter, the literature review which includes a brief discussion on 'The English Language and Transmission' shows that ideological messages and definitions and discourse about black people is transmitted from generation to generation and thus sets the context for issues and especially language issues covering black people in Britain. A consideration of the
ideological transmission is, therefore, crucial to the total process of policy-making as one feeds off the other. To separate these would be to ignore the context which the English language defines and transmits - providing a clear base-line around which the discourse is conducted. At first it seemed sufficient to consider policies prepared at LEA level and to follow their process through the selected schools and the classrooms. But having recognised the power of the definition that comes nationally from the Secretary of State for Education and the DES, it became important to examine these in some detail before considering the LEAs.

It also emerged that the CRE which was set up by the Race Relations Act, 1976 in response to the recent black presence in Britain, was significant to the issues under consideration. The CRE's role has been to monitor this Act and in that capacity, it has used Section 71 of this Act to put pressure on LEAs to formulate policies and hence it was important to examine its role in the policy making and disseminating process and to review its findings as the monitor of the Race Relations Act. Thus the following four levels were taken up: - national, LEA, school, and classroom.

Within the continuum of policy-making - generally carried out at the top - and its implementation at classroom level by the teachers, there are sometimes strong currents from bottom upwards. The implementation and mediation of the policies at grass-roots level produces its own dynamics and the outcome of
the exercise in itself could and sometimes does become a defining
force - eg, the invalidation of ESL and the highlighting of the
need to reconsider appropriate educational theory and strategy
for language development within the British multilingual context.
The example of ESL is one which has had a national impact and
which has gained significance. It is because the cumulative
response at classroom level across the country has pushed it up
back again to policy-making levels. This will be examined in the
case studies with a view to analysing the nature of the ensuing
change and whether it has any bearing on the ideological issues
and definitions established at national level by the DES.

Hence, 'policies' and their accompanying processes could only be
studied and fully assessed in their context and with regard to
the flow of currents generated during the whole process which may
be vertical, top down; multi-directional and also circular.

However, the essence of the motion of the current is in the
direction, force and control that is built into it; where the
power to generate is located; the monitoring of criteria and
mechanism; whose views, experiences and definitions are validated
for establishing change processes, redefinition and movement; the
allocation of responsibilities and accountability - both in terms
of the fundamental and ideological levels as well as theoretical,
organisational and management.
It can, therefore, be argued that, the nature of policy implementation is multi-dimensional: the outcome also, is likely to reflect this. It is, however, important to recognise the very tight link that exists between the criteria, the ideological aspects and the general ethos of the policy formulation and its outcome.

It may also be argued that this is so in any policy implementation process and to a point this is probably true. However, the point of this study is to examine within the context of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE and TRANSMISSION "what CRITERIA are used in formulating and implementing policies for mainstream curriculum for language development and education...." for a diverse community, by ".....mainly monolingual, English-speaking teachers, academics, advisers, policy-makers and other professionals." (as defined at the end of Chapter I).

The English language as the language of power and a vehicle for controlling the administration, provides the base line for the transmission of concepts, ideological factors and philosophical principles as a constant and consistent backdrop, defining the language of discourse and the parameters of the debate, thus approving, affirming and validating selectively according to its own definition. Therefore for this study, the context provided by the English language and the ideological transmission through it is of crucial importance as it is the basis upon which the policy making can be examined and its implementation assessed.
The foregoing discussion on the 'context' and the policy-making processes provides a guide and a framework to the following section on, "A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT OF POLICIES AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING PROCESSES" and the "POLICY ISSUES" section incorporated in the CASE STUDIES. While the selection of policy-related material at national level is dictated by its general relevance to the study, the selection of two of the LEAs - Ealing and ILEA - is specifically related to access obtained in two schools which have been used for case studies. This is explained in the METHODS chapter.

Language of discourse based on 'race relations' and the role of the CRE

Before attempting to analyse the policies, it is important to make reference to:

(1) some basic terms which are introduced through the race relations-oriented rhetoric, chiefly by the CRE, which is used in these policies and

(2) to note that all the policy material I have considered in my enquiry is, without exception, tied in with 'race relations'.

In not a single case has there been a discussion of 'language development' which has taken on a 'normal' multilingual context as a central position within its core curriculum definition though it is argued that it should be integral to the mainstream.

The CRE has played an important role, essentially as the central government's chief agent, in perfecting and disseminating this language of discourse based on race relations.
Its main function has been to promote 'good race relations' mainly by minimising the 'effects' of inequality (racism). Its powers do not extend into eliminating the 'cause' of inequality or redefining the status quo and the power relationships. Hence, it is in itself, an embodiment of confusion and contradictions and as its main function is to focus on the effects of racism, it is unable to argue for relevant and workable educational strategies. Hence, its institutional position is weakened. It therefore ends up pleading for a policy of 'pluralism':

"..a comprehensive policy that aims to build on the positive aspects of pluralism."

which in fact is a universal reality but the term as used here, is racialised to refer to the black presence. Thus the CRE traps itself and introduces the contradiction by negating the reality and arguing for 'positivity'. It then tries to justify its plea for 'positivity' for the enhancement of race relations:

"..the extent to which the curriculum reflects the realities of contemporary cultural pluralism, and presents these as positive aspects of British life, will have consequences for future race relations." (CRE August 1981 p9)

This brief discussion which pinpoints CRE's central position, also illustrates its real and invidious function, which is, to assimilate the black people into the 'normality' of the British society. Thus the principal responses to the black presence have been about creating special provision and very specifically language provision which is invariably justified and argued under EOP, antiracism, multicultural, multi-ethnic (Brumfit, cited in chapter II) and other such terms which are used in the race relations discourse. These terms are very often used
interchangeably referring to the target people's composition as in 'multicultural' and 'multi-ethnic' and their fundamental rights to equality and justice as in EOP and anti-racist. Multi-ethnic as a term does not in itself convey any kind of a process except to remind us that there is a multi-ethnic composition in a given situation. There are very probably no regions in Britain today which are not multi-ethnic (as per its definition referring to - origins, cultures, religions and linguistic composition) but which are racist.

The term multi-ethnic in the present race relation debate is colour-coded to refer to the black presence which brings out the overt manifestations of racism. In the white multi-ethnic locations, the overt effects of racism on black and white people are not seen and so the pressures to become anti-racist are not applied, neither is there generally a reference to the multi-ethnicity of the all-white population (though the ERA 1988 makes reference to white linguistic differences as in Welsh and the Celtic languages). The lack of rigour in distinguishing and defining these terms produces confusion. It is evident that the use of these terms is selective and intentional.

For example, as confirmed by a senior officer from Berkshire on a special visit to Harrow Borough's Working Party on Racial Equality and Justice, it is a point of fact that the Royal County of Berkshire's process of formulating an antiracist policy - through black leadership of Dr Chris Mullard and Tuku Mukherjee - incorporated a rigorous definition of racism in which black and
white terms were defined as political colours. This was essentially to create some sharply-focused strategies for an antiracist response. Yet, before the formal adoption of the policy statement in January 1983, the term black was changed to 'ethnic minority'.

This cannot be taken as a substitute, but a term with meaning which alters the premise and the entire language of discourse. This is discussed at the start of the study in chapter I where it asks 'Discrimination or Racism?' The change of terminology means that the specific phenomenon of racism that defines the black and white relationship in modern Britain which is historically defined as evidenced in Chapter II, is dropped in favour of the more universalised phenomenon of discrimination which is easier to handle and useful in diffusing the white responsibility.

In an analysis of the thinking that has informed the ERA 1988, Gordon comments,

"One of the problems in discussing the thinking of the New Right on race and education is the terminology used. This confuses anti-racist and multicultural education — indeed, it confuses these with virtually any approach to education which is not completely 'colour-blind'. It is clear that there are two different New Right arguments. The first sees a threat in multicultural education .... Such cultural relativism denies what the New Right sees as the superior value of British culture compared to other cultures." (Gordon 1988)

This view however is not specific to the New Right as can be seen from the discussions in the preceding chapters and in modern politics, Hattersley (1966/67) is an example. Whether the confusion is deliberate or emanates from the contradictions woven into the race relations debate is also a vital concern to this study.
"As for the second position, the danger lies in education which is specifically anti-racist and which questions the unequal relations of power between white and black people. Such an approach is a danger because of its belief in equality, its commitment to social intervention and its implicit critique of the present social, economic and political hierarchy." (Gordon 1988)

Hence the terminology and the language of discourse surrounding these terms is selective and it serves to transmit the ideology. In the present study, the English language is the base line which sets the terms of the debate. In this case it is also the language of control as the terms are set at national level by the government. It chooses to legitimize the "New Right" (op cit) but to delegitimize the black perception and definition as in the case of Berkshire.

It will not be possible to assess and analyse the effects of ERA 1988 until the middle or late 90s. It can be said that the omission of reference to black people and the absence of rhetoric on racism in the preparation of this reform, points to a colour-blind approach. This is taking the whole debate back to the 60s and yet the intervening 70s and 80s - profuse with the rhetoric on racism, have managed to steer clear of addressing the specificity of racism. Thus the continuity of the ideological transmission has not been interrupted for the necessary intervention at a fundamental level has not been made as is overtly manifest even in the very late 80s - the evidence for which is available in the publication appropriately entitled "LEARNING IN TERROR" (CRE 1988). It takes us into the arena of education and the experiences of black students with reference to
racial abuse, beating-up and even murder. Hence it is crucial to explore how policies, curricula, negation, silence and location in fact validate specific kinds of racist harassment. In this sense, the Berkshire exercise was a departure in the way it made racism central by exploring its effects on both black and white people. This is also the reason why it is referred to as "revolutionary". (Gordon 1988).

Since the provision of language for black pupils and adults is also argued under the race relations umbrella, the terms used to refer to linguistic location and provision also are affected by confusing and contradictory terminology. This is discussed at length in the case studies but it is important to note that from the point of view of policy making, the dichotomy of ESL on the one hand and multi/bilingualism and mothertongue on the other, is the main source of contradiction and confusion. ESL is a specific and special construct for processing the immigrants of especially Asian origin (though at times it takes on other groups) and is based on the premise of 'special needs'. While the descriptions such as bi/multilingualism and mothertongue are descriptions of reality and by definition should be part of the core curriculum, the process of language development in that context is not about assimilation into the normal mainstream curriculum - as is argued under ESL - but of recognition and validation of bi/multilingualism and the variety of mothertongues. This in itself would define a differently structured mainstream curriculum and its accompanying pedagogy of language development and education.
DES - The power to define, transmit and control

(LEA policies appear in relation to schools in the CASE STUDIES)

Having recognised that there is a race relations-related basis for the policies under reference clears the ground for sharper focus on the very powerful structure of the DES which has the real role of defining and is at the very apex of British educational structure. For the purpose of this study, the DES here is referred to as an arm of the state and the apex organisation within the British education structure. This is in no way suggesting that there do not exist great tensions and powerful politics between the Central Government (through the Secretary of State) and the DES. It is however not within the scope of this study to deal with these neither is it of immediate relevance as the essential aspect is that, despite the tensions and the disagreements, what comes out officially from the DES under its name, carries the weight and implications embodied in its position at the very apex of the structure.

The DES as a complex structure, has evolved from a Committee of the Privy Council for Education in 1839 to its present position since 1968. In between it was the Board of Education and later the Ministry of Education. It is the body through which ministerial functions are performed. In its coordinating role, it services the Secretary of State for Education and is responsible for all aspects of Education in England. It has claimed to have had a unique educational feature of being
decentralised on the basis that it does not exercise direct control over the content or the teaching methods. This has now been altered through the introduction of the new ERA 1988 which imposes a prescriptive national curriculum with accompanying schemes of work and an assessment examination system at 7, 11, 14 and 16 but confirms that the teaching methods will not be defined by the DES and in fact limits the right of the Secretary of State in this area. However, the DES is the main policy-making body and is responsible for: allocating educational resources, setting standards and guidelines for the use of educational buildings, the supply and training of teachers and setting basic educational standards and objectives. It commissions research on all aspects of education such as curriculum content, assessment and so on, through specially set-up bodies like the NCC (National Curriculum Council which has evolved from the Schools Council and the Schools Curriculum Development Council) the NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research) and others.

The key point of examination here is about the process of ideological transmission and the role of the DES in generating and transmitting it through its language of discourse. The DES has different branches to carry out its various functions. It also houses and services Her Majesty's Inspectorate. The mechanism for receiving critiques of its work is conducted in the main through the democratic tradition of questions in the House, through the media and letters addressed to the Secretary of State - all channels which the DES and the Government itself use for their own publicity campaigns such as the introduction of a
new Bill in the Houses of Parliament when consultative papers are issued to seek the opinions of the public. The reality of the matter is that while decentralisation has been a unique feature, there have been check points in the form of reports, pronouncements and legislation of which the ERA 1988 is a highly prescriptive example. And although there has been no direct control over the content (and will not be till the impact of the national curriculum is felt in the 90s) there have been very clear dictates in terms of research findings resourced by the DES, recommended assessment procedures and standards and syllabuses set by the examining bodies.

As the apex structure and arm of the government, the DES's power to commission and resource research; and to manage the training and supply of teachers - establishes it as the most crucial controlling body. Through the Secretary of State it has the power of discretion and it can set up consultations and may receive critiques of the positions it may be taking - but it has the power and discretion to take-up or to ignore.

What then has been the official response from the DES through the Secretary of State to the black presence and its role in defining and controlling the debate on language development and education?
Chapter I of this study discusses this and it is important to encapsulate it here as a point of reference for this section even though the 'definition' is now over twenty years old. Whether the definition as discussed here is still operational and valid is a matter for analysis in this study.

'The definition' and its implications

The DES defined the immigrants as a problem and provided the language of discourse based on that definition - creating a specific, deficiency-oriented view of black languages and black people as a whole. This has provided the overview which has informed the educational discourse and the context in which policies have been formulated. Additionally, the stated message has been to try and help the immigrant children to assimilate while their cultural and linguistic differences (disadvantages) are tolerated so as to promote good race relations. In the general discourse about black people and the issues surrounding them (Dec 1967, 1971) there is no attempt to either acknowledge or to identify the operative ideological context of racism. The fact that the discussion of this context is missing, is in itself a very strong cue for LEAs and schools to do the same.

To substantiate this omission further, I have analyzed "A background paper for the regional conferences February and March 1977" issued by the DES under the title of "Educating Our Children".
This was the start of the great education debate instigated by the then Prime Minister when he spoke at Ruskin College, Oxford - calling "...for a wide debate on educational issues." (DES 1977 p1 1.1)

"The purpose of this paper is to provide background information for the regional conferences. It is not an expression of Government policy or priorities: ..It simply seeks to present the issues as clearly as possible for an audience with very widely varying interests and experience." (ibid p1 1.3)

This paper is an open paper simply stating the issues. However, it is setting the agenda and the parameters as well as providing an overview and its accompanying language of discourse. Therefore the following analysis of its content is significant.

The paper makes no meaningful reference to the black presence or the issue of racism except for an overriding reference (using terminology used for referring to black people) to the reality and composition of British society - as a problematic issue - in the introduction to the curriculum section, which states:

"... we now live in a multi-cultural and multi-racial society which the curriculum needs to reflect." (ibid p2 2.1)

Given that the race relations legislation of 1976 had just come into force and the Green Paper "Education in Schools" urging LEAs to consider issues concerning the West Indian children was under consideration, it is a deliberate omission signalling that the issue of racism is to be left off the agenda and hence at the very outset, the cause that disadvantages the black students in school is put beyond scrutiny. This analysis becomes quite clear as, after having made the statement about the composition of the society, the implications of that are neither discussed nor
planted in any of the background-creating details in the rest of the document. Also very significantly and questionably, the language issue is totally left out except for reference to "the place of Welsh language in Schools in Wales." (ibid p1 1.4 (d)), thus totally disregarding a fundamental reality of the multilingual composition of modern British society.

A very insidious function is performed by ignoring the black presence. The silence and the omission leaves the historic legacy and British inheritance unchallenged and what is not challenged is therefore assumed to be accepted. In that sense, the reproduction of the inferiority-laden definition of black people continues to be maintained.

In essence then, even though the mainstream debate leaves out the implications of the black presence in order to safeguard the core value system, it is unable to ignore the black presence totally and it ends up identifying black people as problematic and provides for it to be dealt with separately. Hence specific policies are initiated with the result that they are created mainly to manage the effects of the institutionalised mainstream practices and core value systems on black people.

This kind of approach defined at national level is replicated as can be clearly illustrated in the examination of policies at LEA and school levels in case studies such as the Hargreaves Report, as well as and even more vividly, in a thorough analysis of such policies in the LEAs, carried out under the
supervision of Professor Chris Mullard wherein the "General Concluding Remarks" state that:

"The research was then able to discover that the presence of Black groups and the management of racism constituted the dominant contextualisation for the production of policy and practice."

"This has therefore tended to lead to an enforced pathological and protective substructure in the organisation and regulation of the different levels of multiracial, multicultural and multi-ethnic education. Thus it would appear that multiculturalism has no significance outside the presence of racial groups. It is consequently a racially grounded discourse."

(Mullard et al p84 October 1983)

There is thus, in response to the black presence, a creation of a model which is 'race' specific creating an equation race = black. Over ten years on from the start of the great education debate, the ERA 1988 is reproducing the same model albeit taking it further, for in its consultation document on the national curriculum, it refers to "Sir James Callaghan's speech as Prime Minister at Ruskin College in 1976" (DES 1977) but drops the reference to the composition of the multicultural society. Analytically, in the ERA 1988,

"The changes proposed mark the end of the educational 'settlement' of the 1944 Act and the most radical, if reactionary, restructuring of the British education system this century. The changes proposed have grave implications for black people, who will be among the worst affected. The power of local education authorities to determine policy including policies promoting anti-racism, will be considerably weakened by allowing schools to become independent, while the national curriculum will have little place for anti-racist perspectives, particularly when so much emphasis is to be placed on the testing of core subjects. Most insidious, however, is the prospect of 'white flight' from racially mixed schools as white parents exercise their new 'parental choice' and the emergence of an education system segregated along racial - and class - lines, with the majority of black pupils confined to 'sink' schools of the inner city." (Gordon 1988)
This analysis makes it clear that as the Act leaves schools in the market place and the DES has given up its responsibilities to act on the issue of racism, it is likely that further segregation of black and white communities will occur - not only in the more general way as pointed out by Gordon cited above, but also in terms of organised movements emerging from reasons such as single sex education for Muslim girls and essentially in the form of black protest to the system that has been by and large unresponsive to black realities. For example a report on ERA in a Sunday paper stated that:

"The parents are organising a school boycott this week in protest at the council's refusal to back their demand for voluntary-aided status for an independent Girls' school in Batley, West Yorkshire." (Judith Judd in THE OBSERVER, 11.12.88)

In a more general sense however, as analysed by Gordon above, the position of the DES is highly significant, as by not taking the responsibility of racism as shown in Swann's findings and recommendations on this issue (Swann pp18-36), it speaks louder than any written policy. It is clearly setting the agenda for the schools and local managements and in so doing, it is playing a central role in defining and controlling the debate on the issue of racism and its effects on children in the education system - of which language is the key issue. It is also a slap in the face for Swann's recommendations such as:

"(b) Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural society and all pupils must understand what that means.
(c) This challenge cannot be left to the separate and independent initiatives of LEAs and schools: only those with experience of substantial numbers
of ethnic minority pupils have attempted to tackle it, though the issue affects all schools and all pupils.

(g) Only in this way can schools begin to offer anything approaching the equality of opportunity for all pupils which it must be the aspiration of the education system to provide."(Swann 1985 p769)

As reported by Maureen O'Connor in The Guardian, Swann's recommendations had begun to be taken up:

"Ever since Swann an increasing number of local authorities - 70 to date, according to the CRE - have launched anti-racist and multi-cultural policies, as the Report recommended. They include Conservative-controlled authorities, and some with minimal numbers of ethnic minority children in their own schools. Of the 115 local education authorities, a minority of 47, have published or are working on guidelines on racial harassment."

(THE GUARDIAN 20.05.1988)

But in the same report it states that:

"The Commission for Racial Equality's two latest reports - the one alleging widespread racial harassment in schools, the other detailing the shortage of ethnic minority teachers - comes just as the all-party consensus which greeted the Swann Report three years ago shows ominous signs of cracking." (ibid)

The reasons identified are to do with two 'Tory-controlled Councils' one of which is Berkshire, where its policy statement was abandoned -

"...a statement which pre-dated Swann, had been commended as a model by that committee, and used as an example of good practice by other authorities up and down the country." (ibid)

And the other is Kensington and Chelsea which

"...announced that it would abandon the Ilea's policies on ethnic minorities when it gained control of its schools. It would substitute a "colour blind" policy, the very approach which an investigation in neighbourhood Ealing had just blamed for that borough's failure to recruit ethnic minority teachers in anything like representative numbers." (ibid)
On the discussion emanating from the report on Ahmed Iqbal Ullah's murder in September 1986 at Burnage High School, Ian MacDonald QC - Chairman of the panel set up to inquire into the murder - was quoted in THE GUARDIAN as having declared that,

"A school with a history of racial violence needs an effective anti-racist policy" (THE GUARDIAN 01.05.88)

The report of the Inquiry however, expose the misguided implementation of the anti-racist policy at Burnage, thus making a case for clear thinking and guidance that is required on the policy issues. However, post Burnage, ERA 1988 indicates that the Central Government has given up its responsibilities - a move which was anticipated partly through the discussion accompanying the process of the Bill through parliament - of which the Conservative-controlled Berkshire and Kensington and Chelsea are symptomatic. On the report of the MacDonald inquiry, it was reported that,

"Mr Richard Leese, Chairman of the city council's education committee, said: "If all he (Mr Baker) is going to do is what he has done with Ilea and pander to the right wing of his party, then it is probably extremely destructive for him to take an interest. But if he seriously addresses the issue of antiracist education and if his department addresses the issue of racism, then his interest may well be helpful."" (THE GUARDIAN 29.04.88)

But the ERA 1988 shows that it is not to be. It can be said here that post-Swann, there has been at least the effort to address this area from the point of view of equality and while the efforts are subject to critical analysis on the point of ideological intervention, the about turn of this new reform is really closing down the whole industry that has grown around it.
The other side of this action is that however racist in its concept, the ERA is a clear, neat statement of non-intervention and the upholding of traditional values that the right wing Hillgate Group, which advises the Conservative party, advocates. It has openly attacked the equal opportunities policy, suggesting that there has been deterioration in education as

"Schools have been treated as instruments of equalizing" and that
"... teaching of facts has given way to the inculcation of opinions" (The Hillgate Group 1987 p2)

In essence, it is asking to remain steadfast to the British values which the review of literature in Chapter II shows are informed by a racist ideology.

Thus ERA is leading back to the 60s, as by omission, it is advocating a colour-blind approach of which Swann gives an incisive account. The only difference of course is that it cannot be claimed any more in Britain that the issue of racism is not known. It is an informed choice that has been made with and escape clause which puts it under market forces and so while the validation of the antiracist route is not any more available from the top, the market is designated as the battle ground for anyone to enter the arena as a matter of choice and good management of schools.

Meanwhile, the transmission of the most erroneous definition of black people as deficient and disadvantaged and therefore a problem, has been adopted as a premise for conducting research into black people at national level. This was pinpointed and
criticized at a conference organised by the Centre for Multicultural Education and the Thomas Coram Research Unit at the University of London Institute of Education. In the subsequent publication of its "Working Paper 3", it states:

"There have been previous government initiatives before the setting up of Rampton - for example, the Select Committee Report, 1977. While most of the discussion at the national and local authority levels has been concerned with 'under-achievement', the black community has been also concerned with fundamental issues of equality relating to the education of their children. Hence, they were critical of the setting up of the Rampton Committee and its pre-occupation with low achievement." (Gundara and Tizard 1984)

And,

"The overwhelming image of the black population that I have found in years of contact with schools can be summed up as one of a 'problem' population, deviant or deficient in innumerable ways, disadvantaged and deprived of those virtues which educationalists presume to be necessary for the education they think is needed. They do not ask whether what they offer to the black population is what that population wants, or thinks it needs, but rather they wonder what is to be done about them. The Rampton Report recognizes this image." (Burchell 1984)

This definition continues to recur at every level as can be seen in the evidence presented in the study. In the conference under reference, one of the main briefs of the speakers was to identify areas and direction for further research. The black position was very clear that it should have:

"A focus on the issue of white racism and all its manifestations in education." (Mullard 1984)

It is the simplest and most logical response, given that both Rampton and Swann in one way or another, accepted that racism is a significant issue. However, as Mullard also pointed out:

"This steadfast reluctance to engage with racism as either an all-embracing explanation of underachievement, or indeed as the real problem at issue, becomes only too apparent when it is understood that the conceptual approach or analysis of the problem is one that is more conspicuous in its concealment than in its articulation." (ibid)
In his conclusion he states:

"So...the implications of Rampton for research, where does this leave us and point to? In the first place the analysis offered inevitably leaves us in a position where we have to reject with all the intellectual force we can muster the three Rs: the Rampton exercise as originally constituted and conducted; the Racism it fails to grapple with in any convincing way; and, finally, the area of Research it draws and depends upon to sustain its descriptions and findings. What this analysis therefore points to is an overriding need to embark upon a qualitatively quite different kind of research; ....." (ibid)

Given that resources are allocated for research as a proof of concern and attempt to assist black people, it is a matter of serious concern that not only is black scholarship ignored and invalidated and that research of the required quality is not undertaken, but as the evidence below shows, it is actually prohibited.

"The DES (20.07.86) specifically requested that this project should address itself to the recognition of ethnic diversity, as distinct from and in place of 'antiracism' in discussing the training of teachers of English as a second language. Many of those interviewed in the course of the project have questioned whether current approaches to language support can be fully understood, and the commitment to the changes required gained, without directly addressing not simply linguistic diversity, but power relationships between linguistic groups, and the influence of those who define the needs of less dominant linguistic groups on perceptions of their achievements. How far is it possible effectively to train teachers for supporting bilingual pupils in mainstream schools, or to attempt staff development programmes in ESOL, without directly and explicitly addressing structural and institutional racism, and drawing on the principles and approaches developed in antiracist theory?" (Bourne 1987)

(Though of course the definition of ESL and bilingualism in itself is a racist construct, as discussed earlier).

The point of the above discussion is to show how the CONCEPTUALISATION (definition) is transmitted down the line and
indeed when challenged, is controlled by the power structure - DES - to maintain its own definition and ideological message that goes with it. Thus even when the DES has claimed decentralisation as its unique feature, at least on this issue at its very fundamental and ideological level it has maintained strict control. Bourne's expose, discreet, is brave in some ways as it may affect her future prospects. For this reason, researchers, academics and professionals very often do not speak out. The immediate cost of doing so may be a deterrent as I have understood from various colleagues and others I have been able to have discussions with, but the long term costs of colluding have not been fully assessed. This kind of collusion down the line has ensured that the debate continues and as is evident from the case studies, schools and classrooms have become the battlefield.

In conclusion to this chapter and as a lead to the following case studies which incorporate mainly the policy formulation and implementation processes at LEA, school and classroom levels, it needs to be noted that within the DES definition of black people which is informed by an ideology based on black and white imbalanced power relationships, the operational model has been that of assimilation. I wish to incorporate at this point, evidence from "The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups" (cmnd. 9453) commonly known as the Swann Report (1985) to ensure that the crucial assertion that is being made here is fully understood and
accepted. In its discussion over responses to immigrants, it states (pp192-200) that:

"The initial response of the education system ... during the late 1950s and early 1960s was to focus on absorbing them into the majority pupil population as rapidly as possible."

"...characterised by ad hoc responses to the educational needs of immigrant pupils .... to "compensate" for their assumed "deficiencies" - primarily in being non-English speaking - and on the other hand to disrupt the education of indigenous children as little as possible. Above all the assimilation approach seems to have recognised the existence of a single cultural criterion which was "white", Christian and English-speaking and to have failed to acknowledge any wider implications of the changing nature of British society."

"By the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a growing realisation that the policies of assimilation and integration had failed to achieve their objectives - many ethnic minority pupils clearly still had educational needs which existing policies were proving unable to meet." (Swann 1985)

In stating "Our View", the Committee makes its own observation and position as follows:

"...we regard both the assimilationist and integrationist educational responses to the needs of the ethnic minority pupils as, in retrospect, misguided and ill-founded. Regrettably, however, many of the legacies of these early days still underline much of the thinking and discussion about the educational needs of ethnic minority groups.... the seemingly automatic assumption by some teachers that an ethnic minority pupil will experience, and may well cause, problems, and, above all perhaps, the underlying suspicion that the arrival of ethnic minority pupils has meant that schools have changed for the worse and that their presence poses a threat both to traditional educational standards and to the educational wellbeing of ethnic majority pupils." (ibid)

While the 1970s and 1980s have seen the issue of racism put on the agenda and there has been the use of a variety of terminology such as multi-racial, ethnic, cultural and lingual, and anti-
-racist to describe policy issues and pedagogies, in essence and at its very fundamental basis, the assimilation orientation has remained. This is reflected in the outcome of cases such as that of Mrs McGoldrick and Mr Honeyford which provide evidence of how the power structures responded to uphold the white professionals (given underpinning of their thinking as explained by Swann) in the face of anti-racism initiative. This process of legitimising the white viewpoint against antiracist thinking, has effectively delegitimised and officially discredited the efforts to combat racism in educational issues. To that extent ILEA has lost its existence because of the stand it has taken on the oppressive issues of class, gender and race.

From this analysis it is correct to assume that the ERA 1988 is a response to counter whatever efforts that have been made to combat racism and that the DES has sacrificed its unique feature of decentralisation so as to even more tightly control the curriculum content. For this is the crucial ground for ensuring the ideological transmission. Hence, Mr Baker's (then Secretary of State for Education and Science) pronouncements on a radio interview stating that:

"..'it was important that the background of the ethnic minority pupils' should be appreciated in the history teaching....But one has to start with British history as the core." (THE GUARDIAN - 14.01.89)

As well as Mrs Thatcher's offering that:

"The truths of Judaic-Christian tradition are infinitely precious, not only, as I believe, because they are true, but also because they provide the moral impulse WHICH ALONE (my stress) can lead to that peace, in the true meaning of the word," (THE GUARDIAN - 22.05.88)
are not at all strange or out of place considering the overview stated by Swann which underpins the thinking of ""white" Christian and English-Speaking" (Swann 1985) people even at the apex of society. In fact the pronouncements from both Baker and Thatcher show the precision with which the control is being applied and why.

This is fully understood and publicly clarified as in Gordon (1988) cited above. Additionally there is a clarification in an introductory leaflet of the "Black Community Consultative Meeting" (BCCM 1987) held in December 1987 which stated;

"Schools will be forced to teach to the narrow curriculum laid down by the law. This curriculum will be designed to transmit and impose white middle-class values on all students. Any attempt to include Black contributions to society will be deemed controversial and therefore illegal. This will deny and destroy all children's understanding of society as it really is. Schools have been warned not to be critical of Britain's colonial heritage." (ibid)

Clearly, though the debate has progressed in its rhetoric over the last 20 years, there is back-tracking and a return to the 60s. The 'definition' in fact is not only operational but is reaffirmed.

Thus closing this chapter on such a note is not only to prepare for what is to come (and to return to) but also to view critically: what in fact has been happening in LEAs, schools and classrooms. The analysis of policy at national level in this chapter provides the backdrop and the premise from which it can be evaluated: what is it that the DES's unique feature of decentralisation had allowed and which may now be lost?
CHAPTER V
CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1 - A SCHOOL IN ILEA

The context and the background

This is an all boys' school which was opened in 1965 when two boys' secondary modern schools were amalgamated. It became a comprehensive school in 1973. It is a three-storey Victorian building with substantial new extensions. It has on-site playgrounds but off-site playing fields, thus offering restricted playing facilities during school break time and no greenery around the school vicinity.

The classes are unstreamed and while years 1-3 remain intact in their classes for all subjects in year 4/5, 40% of the lessons are in tutor group for the compulsory subjects and subject groups for optional subjects. Some of the prominent provision for this school is the Bridging Course which is offered as an alternative to boys in their 5th year and where admission is by application and selection. The sixth form provision is organised jointly with a girls' school and there is heavy reliance on the Division Sixth Form Centre for A-level work. The other significant provision is the Special Needs Department which,

"...monitors the progress of all pupils with special needs, particularly ESL pupils, those whose mother tongue is English who have language problems, and boys with emotional problems...""There are nine 'ESL' and 'remedial' teachers, with the distinction between the two categories becoming increasingly blurred." (Annual Review 1985)
The school's intake at 11+ has been going down since 1983 and within the new intake the general pattern is that of single figure intake of what is classified as children from 'Band 1' with a majority from 'Band 2/3'. The likely explanation is that the 'banding' may not be accurate due to the level of English language acquisition at the time of testing. There is also high pupil mobility and in comparison to average figures for ILEA, there is a higher proportion of children registered for free meals and larger proportion of parents known to be unemployed. The staffing is generous with the pupil-teacher ratio of 1:9.4 when according to a report in the TES (04.12.87 Times Educational Supplement) the national average had dropped to 15.7 for secondary schools and 6.4 for special schools. However the examination results are extremely worrying where none of the 13 'Band 1' pupils secured the average 5 O-level/CSE grade 1 pass.

This background is basically a description of the pupils of Bangladeshi origin as, since 1978, the school has attracted more and more boys of Bangladeshi origin. The main reason for this is described in detail in A Report by Bethnal Green and Stepney Trades Council on Racial Attacks in East London; entitled "Blood on the Streets". The report concludes that the:

"Parental choice of secondary school at secondary transfer strongly reflects racial prejudice and fears of racial intimidation. Bengalee parents tend to opt for schools which have the highest proportion of Bengalee pupils already."

It goes on to explain that:
"While the East End is traditionally a 'high crime' area, there is clear evidence that the local Bengalee community has suffered physical attacks and harassment over recent years on a totally different scale to that inflicted on the rest of the community." (BG & S Trades Council 1978)
At the time of the study, 95% of the pupils in the lower school and 70% of the pupils overall were of Bangladeshi origin, making Sylheti/Bengali a dominant language of the school. The ILEA's language census of 1985 showed a total of 12,627 Bengali speakers, an increase of 37.8% on the 1983 figure of 9,098. Out of the total population of ILEA pupils, 22% had Bengali as their home language in addition to or without the English language. Thus in 1987, whilst pupils learning ESL in the ILEA formed 16.8%, and in the sample division 31.8%, in the sample school itself, the figure rose to 74.7%.

In order to understand the full implications of the above details it is important to take a brief look at the social context of the community and its recent history in Britain. In the Minutes of Evidence on "Bangladeshis in Britain" it is noted:

"Initially, only the men arrived in Britain and settled around the East End of London with the view of eventually returning to their families in Sylhet once they had saved enough money. However, from the outset, these men were given semi-skilled work either in the rag trade or catering industries. Consequently, the hope of returning to Bangladesh soon began to crumble and they began to bring their families over from the mid 60s. (R.R. & I. Sub-Cmt; H of C, 1985/86)

"This uneven pattern of immigration was also reflected in the length of stay in Britain of the children. 79% of the children were born in Bangladesh in comparison with 21% who were born in Britain. Of those children born in Bangladesh, 43% came to Britain before the age of five. Over half (57%) came after the age of compulsory schooling. Those children who came to Britain after the age of five had obviously had less schooling within the British education system than children born in Britain. It was found that a third of the children missed a year of schooling whilst 26% missed between two to three years of schooling." (ibid)

The social conditions of this community since their arrival in this country are full of harassment.
The school itself is surrounded by council houses and large blocks of flats and conditions around a lot of these areas are squalid and unkempt mainly due to unemployment and general level of poverty. In terms of the longer history of the area as recorded in Charles Booth's survey carried out between 1887 and 1903, the social conditions are not a new feature.

"Booth had already demonstrated in two papers to the statistical society that the PALL MALL GAZETTE was in error, and that not a quarter but a third of the East End's population was in want."
"Booth's seventeen volumes... demonstrated conclusively that, even by a minimal criterion, some thirty per cent of London's population was living in a state that could rightly be called poverty." (Rose 1974)

He identified the social and economic reasons for poverty where the large proportion of the population struggled as:

"....the unrecognised men and women in sweated industries, casual workers, and the unemployed or unemployable." (Webb 1980)

It seems as though the historic characteristics have been transmitted and reproduced for this community to the present day.

"Recent Bengalee immigration has followed almost exactly the pattern of earlier Jewish immigration to Spitalfields in the 1900s and 1930s and the Hugonot refugees before them. It is evident not only in the places where they have felt safest but also in the pattern of employment taken up in what was seen as a hostile host community. The vast majority of Bengalees who work in Tower Hamlets, like previous immigrant groups, are employed in the rag trade". (BG&S Trade Council 1978)

However, while the legacy of poverty, exploitation and unemployment of the area has been transmitted over the years and is an important issue, the evidence shows that the Bangladeshi community's experience is disproportionately worse than that suffered by either the settled community of the area or the waves of the previous immigrants who had settled in the area.

Page 113
The Minutes of Evidence records the following statistics:

"Unemployment was found to be high amongst Bangladeshis in ILEA compared with other groups. At the primary level, 53.8% were unemployed compared with other groups. At the secondary level, 49.6% of Bangladeshi parents were unemployed compared with 17.2%." (H of C 1985/86)

The duality of disproportionate unemployment in the community on the one hand and employment in low paying and exploitative jobs on the other, is further exacerbated by lack of support from the Trade Unions.

"There is still a massive job to be done in combating the racialist ideas and attitudes that remain within the trade union movement in the East End of London." (BG&S T Council 1978)

This particular experience with the Trade Unions is once again peculiar to the Bangladeshi community. In the earlier part of this century, as a result of Booth's survey of this area and work of the other social researchers, a most significant development was that of trade unions; and their increasing strength became one of the major instruments for bringing about economic change and a means of combatting exploitation and unemployment of the working class people. This sophisticated and highly developed instrument of social change is not of assistance to the Bengali community as the evidence shows.

The Bengali community's experience of housing too has been that of constant harassment and disruption.

"Particular estates, ...become known as 'no-go' areas among the Asian community because of their reputation for racial intimidation. Asian families on these estates apply for transfers to the E1 postal area or sometimes in desperation actually leave their council flats to squat nearer the main centres of Bangladeshi settlement elsewhere in Tower Hamlets."
The information received from the Headmaster of the sample school confirmed the above:

"Some children live in appaling housing conditions. We have formed a body called DCI which links the community and the school. Through this body we are able to assist with the housing problems."

Under the circumstances, the organisation of structures for community links were in some ways imperative but had varying support from the school staff and were viewed with very different perspectives. An acting head of a department had some very straightforward points to make when asked about the community links.

"A small group of 'left wing' racists have got into power in this school, ... They have been active in street and community politics and have swayed a large number of white liberals to put them in power. The only Black people they seem to respect are those who will agree with them, or do as they are told. They like glamour situations like confrontation on the street or storming local housing offices."

However, the impact of such shifting circumstances surrounding the community's basic security, source of income and shelter are felt traumatically and are seen in the high pupil mobility recorded in the sample school. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1985/86</th>
<th>1986/87</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taken on roll (excluding transfer at 11+)</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken off roll (excluding statutory leavers)</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes of address</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total roll</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>614&quot;</td>
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The high student mobility is also accompanied by high turnover of teaching staff. During the academic year of 1986/87, 40% of the teachers left and there were some who were to leave at the end of the academic year.
The context presented so far makes it evident that the Bangladeshi community's arrival and its struggles as an immigrant community are a part of the area's recognised history and that as an immigrant community it has been under siege like the previous communities. However, the other immigrant communities have arrived, struggled under siege and moved on,

"Today almost nothing remains of this thriving, cheerful, upwardly mobile Jewish community. The Talmud Torahs, Yeshiva and conventicles have been re-sited in the more salubrious north-west of London" (THE TIMES 18.07.78)

while the Bangladeshi community's plight continues and is still under siege suffering a multiplicity of oppressions and unable to move on.

At the heart of it is the issue of racism as identified and evidenced in a memorandum submitted by the ILEA as a key problem faced by the Bangladeshis.

"Bangladeshi children are subjected to racism in various forms within the education system from physical attacks to constant verbal abuse and insults." (H of C 1985/86)

This submission is confirmed below:

"Behind the headlines is an almost continuous and unrelenting battery of Asian people and their property in the East End of London. The barrage of harassment, insult and intimidation, week in, week out, fundamentally determines how the immigrant community here lives and works..."

(BG & S Trades Council 1978)

In another memorandum the ILEA makes a specific statement on "Racial Attacks and Harassment":

"The ILEA has instituted arrangements for the systematic collection of information on all assaults on pupils, staff and visitors to its establishments. This includes ...eg, pupils attacked on their way to or from school or outside the school gates, or in the proximity of the school at midday." (H of C 1978)
In the sample school, the Head seemed to have no option but to take on the policing role - as he explained to me:

"At one point in time, when the children came to school they had to decide what route to take as the NF is very strong in this area and the nearby estate all used to be white and there were many attacks on the Bengali children. Now the tenants around the school are mainly Bengalis but our children are still at risk when they are outside the school. I spend my lunch time in the playground and walking around."

"It is difficult to have after school activities. Only day before yesterday a boy was attacked. Parents' meeting is held in the afternoon to have a decent attendance."

The reference to the NF (National Front) made by the Head here is interesting from the point of view of another Head as related in his account of "a number of attacks".

"He said there was no discernable National Front presence among his pupils. However, he was concerned about several visits by furious White parents demanding to know why their sons had been punished or caned 'only for beating up Asians' (an activity with which some of them did not seem at all displeased). This was the first occasion in over 15 years as a Head that parents had come to him to complain about caning.

(BG & S Trades Council 1978)

The common factor between both reports spanning a period of ten years is the constancy with which the Bangladeshis get beaten up as a result of active racism operating in the area - NF or otherwise. The view of who the perpetrators are differs but as the one view does not eliminate the other, it only illustrates the pervasive nature of racism and the difficulties of recognising where it is coming from though the dynamics are continuously being reproduced with unmistakeable consistency. Is this a transmission of perhaps a different order which is over and above the legacy of the area?
Given this evidence, I wanted to check out the children's perceptions but despite this reality, the responses from the pupils were short. One of the second year boys, when discussing the school's composition, said that he would like more English boys in the school so that he can speak English with them and improve his own. But:

"They are afraid to come as there has been a lot of fighting and they are afraid. They come to the (school) gate and chase around." (Tape 1D side A 31)

thus making some reference to the violence and the tension but two other boys from the same class said:

"I really like the school because there are many Bengali boys here." (Tape 1D side A 15)

which in some ways confirms the earlier analysis suggesting that the Bangladeshi families choose to send their children to this school as they see safety in numbers.

An English boy, the only one in that class, confirmed the incidents around the school gates and used the term 'racist' to describe the perpetrators and said that it was bad and that he did not participate and just went home.

The discussion with the children certainly showed that it was not something that they either wished to discuss or were used to discussing at school or perhaps they may have simply seen it as an intrusion on my part into a sensitive area. However, there were no times when I witnessed a discussion of this issues as it affected the children during normal lessons.
POLICY ISSUES - ILEA and the school

The memoranda from ILEA submitted as evidence to the House of Commons (1985/86) quoted above, addresses the physical and overt aspects of racism. In the appendix to the latter memorandum on "Racial Attacks and Harassment", it addresses the issue of 'Support and Raising Standards' and puts forward suggestions for 'Tackling Racism'. Here an important connection is made between institutional and cultural aspects, the school curriculum and ethos, recruitment policy and the people within the system as having a clear role in the dynamics of racism. Under point 2.3 of the appendix it states:

"Staff should always be alert to racism within themselves and within the institutions in which they work."

"They should question the principles underlying the curriculum and the organisation of the school—specifically covering the Authority's Equal Opportunity Policies at appointment...."

(H of C 1985/86)

It then states the overall mechanism for initiating antiracism, area of responsibility and training needs.

"2.4 All schools in the Authority have been asked to develop anti-racist policies."

"Anti-racism must be seen as the active responsibility of every adult in the school and not as something resting mainly with the head and senior management once the policy has been drawn up. Such policies must be implemented by schools containing mainly White pupils as scrupulously as in those that contain high proportions of Black...pupils."

"2.5 In order to support the anti-racist work of schools, suitable in-service training on anti-racist perspectives needs to be provided." (Ibid)

In the view of one of the senior staff in key position, the implementation of at least the ILEA Equal Opportunities Policy,
which is generally interpreted as being about recruitment and employment of black people as operated in the sample school, was basically a lot of words, as for instance,

"...specialist Bengalee teachers ...are often forced to do a two year probation. Often they are.... underpaid while their 'status' is checked. This kind of racist harassment is the real face of ILEA"

As I discovered, the school does not have its own official antiracist policy or statement despite ILEA's requirement for all its schools to develop their own policy. However, in a job description issued by the school in 1986 for the recruitment of a senior teacher, it stated:

"All members of the senior management team have a responsibility to develop and maintain an equal opportunities policy. They also have a responsibility and must have a commitment to developing and monitoring anti-racist and anti-sexist policies within the curriculum and within the structure of the school."
(Job description, Sept 1986)

The statement is just as impressive as the ILEA statement but as no policy has been developed by the school, there cannot be proper implementation. Furthermore, in defining its general aims the school's main public statement published in the Divisional Handbook make no mention of the antiracist/antisexist commitment. It states:

"The school aims to meet the educational needs of all children whatever their strengths and weaknesses. Apart from giving children the opportunity to take public examinations necessary to pursue their career ambitions, the school is trying to assume a wider educational role. Considerable importance is attached to the fact that the school serves a multi-ethnic community and is developing a curriculum which values the different cultures represented in that community." (ibid)
There is also no whole school language policy and the statement in the Annual Review of the School mentioned earlier is, therefore, the main reference to language issues - located under "special needs" through which the 'ESL' pupils are also located under that provision and with whom

"Increasingly language support work is done by collaborative teaching within mainstream lessons (particularly English and Humanities), although an extraction programme is maintained for those with greatest needs. There are nine 'ESL' and 'remedial' teachers, with the distinction between the two categories becoming increasingly blurred."
(Annual Review 1985)

This position is acknowledged and reconfirmed in a paper prepared for the purpose of negotiating a new post defined as "SEN/ESL Coordination". (Special Educational Needs)

In view of the fact that the school did not have a clear policy, I needed to explore what in fact was dictating the special provision in response to the black presence. It seemed that while the school had not been able to produce its own policy, it was evidently taking its postion directly from ILEA as seen in the statement incorporated in the job description earlier. I felt that the relationship between ILEA and the school was perhaps much tighter. I looked at the Hargreaves Report (1984) which makes 104 recommendations to be implemented over five years to try and discover how the language issue was being dealt with and defining role for the school and its provision.
In addressing itself to "Improving Secondary Schools", the committee took on the brief to examine 'under achievement' of pupils and as such focussed on "ESL and bilingual (or multi-lingual) pupils" (3.7) as one of the categories. This immediately brought out the connection that the school had established between SEN (Special Educational Needs) and ESL.

Hargreaves emphasizes ESL and then goes on to say that:

"The Authority has responded to the situation by appointing its first inspector for bilingualism /community and heritage languages." (Hargreaves 1984)

But when discussing "The Whole Curriculum", the language aim is stated as: "iii to help pupils to use language effectively" (S 3.4.1). This again I found was similar to the school's own omission of the issue in its public document (Annual Review (1985) where the general aims did not state the specific commitments. Hence, the reproduction down the line of the definition and fragmentation of language provision began to be established. Clearly, the multilingual/ bilingual context and the issue of racism was not being applied at a fundamental level of defining the language provision while the monolingual position of a single language (English) as a normality was being confirmed. I further discovered that this confusion and fragmentation was reproduced in some of the subsequent ILEA documents and discussions about language.

For example, there is a reference to,

"... a growing recognition of the central importance of language and bi-lingualism to the extension of equal opportunities and to the raising of the level of educational achievement." (ILEA 6213, March 1986)
It then goes on to discuss under 1.7:

"A sound policy for languages education must recognise several related principles of educational thinking." (ibid) where it states that to master the English language is "a basic right" but the other languages must be "respected" (triggering toleration) and speaking more than one language is "desirable" (a multilingual reality reduced to desirability, triggering the race relations orientation rather than educational necessity); that as far as possible, support and provision for these languages should be provided and "conventional conceptions of modern languages" should be rethought (re-locating the mother tongue and community language issue under the umbrella of modern and foreign languages by what is seen as a radical challenge to a long standing convention).

POLICY ISSUES — Structural location of the language provision, staffing and the use of Section 11 funding

Thus in keeping with the above thinking, the leaflet entitled: "The Bilingual Development / Community Language Team" (ILEA 1986) declares the authority's Community Languages Team's location within the Modern Languages Inspectorate, while indicating working relationships with multicultural education and equality of opportunity in education. While the "London English Paper No. 3 for Bilingual Learners" (ILEA 1987) defines, "How teachers can support the learning of bilingual pupils in the mainstream classroom."

It uses the term 'bilingual' which has crept in since the 80s as a euphemism for ESL and as a result fails to consider the educational implications of bilingualism in the real sense of the
term but as a reference to a special category of pupils and the organisational implications in terms of their 'support' — from withdrawal to 'collaborative' work in the mainstream — claiming to use new methods and techniques but presumably under the same construct of ESL as there is no attempt to either analyse that construct nor to redefine it in any of the various publications reported above. Instead, the debate is developed with the introduction and formalisation of some key operative terms which couch the language issues in relation to the black pupils giving these issues and the pupils a structural location as follows:

- the pupils and their languages are referred to as ESL, Bilingual, Community languages,
- the provision is identified under the umbrella of multicultural education,
- the justification and the (S 11) funding is sought under EOP,
- an attempt to bring it under mainstream is by adding it on to the Modern Languages section and getting ESL teachers to do collaborative work with subject teachers thus advancing the position of the ESL teachers as 'advisers'.

The concoction of terms confuses the issue which in real terms is not about bi- or multi-lingualism at all but about 'supporting' the learning of (English) ESL by one method or the other and therefore by definition, the pupil cannot be referred to as a "bilingual learner" for that is a contradiction to the real purpose defined in these policy-forming documents. Thus the confusion and contradictions are built in at a fundamental level
and the sample school has reproduced this kind of structure and definition within its body and organisation of departments. It has separate departments as follows:

**English** - Scale 4 Acting HOD (Deputy Head) White male; 6 full time teachers, 3 of whom were supply teachers.

**ESL** - Scale 3 HOD Black male; 17.3 f/t teachers paid through Section 11 equivalent of 8.6 ESL working under HOD; 9/10 others spread around school as mainstream, teaching with some ESL-like work as interpreted by the Head.

**Bengali** - Scale 3 HOD Black female; 2 f/t teachers.

**French** - Scale 3 HOD White male with a small supporting staff.

A new post was being advertised for a Senior Teacher with a brief to support language and antiracist initiatives; developing and coordinating 'Language for Learning'; and community involvement.

The ESL Department is the largest department though the status of the Head is lower than the Head of the English Department. The Department is diffused as most of its function and purpose is to do collaborative teaching across the school curriculum.

"ESL teachers' main function is to work with the main stream; to give specific language support to bilingual children in subjects such as English, Science, Social Studies and Humanities - a bit in Drama as well." (D 3.1)

"The ESL Department meets once a week and liaises with other departments as necessary. Relationship with the Bengali Dept. is similar to other depts. except when preparing BILINGUAL MATERIAL. This kind of material is important for image forming/language acquisition: to be equal and perceived to be equal to other materials." (D 5.3)
A senior teacher's comment about this was:

"There is no open collaboration between the English and Bengali Department. Bengali Department has only 3 teachers - should be at least as many as English teachers and to be used as collaborative teachers - force mainstream teachers to come to terms with language for the children, it was a fight to get the three teachers - treated like poor relations." (H 3.1)

I attended one of the ESL teachers' working sessions where the above remark became meaningful. The meeting was considering 'Oral and Aural skills in the Bilingual pupil'. The group's base position was that use of mother tongue is very important. However, the Bengali teachers were not there and I was made to understand that they had difficulty working together as departments. For me the above comment (H.3.1) became a part of a creditable analysis of the confused and tense situation that existed in the school. In reality ESL teachers had a more powerful role in the school and as I discovered at their meeting, they were taking the initiative to formulate the school language policy and institute 'antiracism' in the school.

However, it emerged that the school was in receipt of S.11 funding accounting for 19.2 teachers, 17.3 of which was allocated to ESL work - about half of it was for teachers in the ESL department and the other half spread across the school to allow other teachers to carry out ESL like work (without either the ESL or the other teachers always knowing that they had been 'named'). It was felt that the funding was meant for direct benefit to the 'bilingual' pupils and that 'collaborative' work
by ESL teachers was the main vehicle for doing this. Thus some of the ESL teachers' engagement with the science department advising it on the adaptation of its materials instead of ensuring collaborative work all across the curriculum was seen as a misuse of the S.11 funding especially as there was no clear system or a procedure for on going assessment or systematic record keeping of the 'bilingual' children's progress of learning 'English'. It was also felt that generally the main thrust of the S.11 funding had been to create smaller classes in the school when the classes had not been large in the first instance according to the recognised standards.

This state of affairs raised further confusion in the school as to where the responsibility for effecting change lay. Furthermore there were other groups from whom there were very powerful moves such as the black group, which also related to the black group in the division, and the Union - separately and sometimes in competition with each other. The intense power politics and the tensions in the school were extremely live and there were identifiably powerful groupings wherever I went though on an individual basis the dynamics were different and I received a lot of cooperation during my work at the school.
A very important section of my investigation, also incorporated in my questionnaire (Appendix C3 - nos. 2/3/4/5), was about the perceptions, understanding and clarity of practitioners, organisers and policy makers on issues such as:

- What is Language?
- Transmission through English language.
- Definition of mono/bi/multilingualism; differences in the processes of language acquisition; and their related pedagogies and educational strategies.

My investigations showed that: (a) the philosophical aspects of language and ideological transmission which are integral to teaching and specifically to language teaching and (b) the inbuilt processes of affirmation/non-affirmation, had not been given very much thought. In fact I received no information from any of the interviewees about any space that was allocated or that they had made for themselves for the discussion of the issues under reference.

The 'switch' of terminology from ESL to bi/multilingualism was simply a switch to what the teachers saw as an attempt to try and remove their marginalised position and affect attitudes of the other staff who saw them as 'add on' provision, and therefore in the main it revolved around organisational matters and resources. However, I found that there was an 'awareness' amongst some about the fact that the English language carries strong and primarily negative messages about females, the working class and 'race.'
A term used interchangeably to refer to black people. Some of the responses show this 'awareness' as in the case of an English teacher below.

"English is a broad area not just language, but I see it as a liberal art. It is changing - it has been culturally narrow, Eurocentric, Anglocentric but also Class-centric. English teachers do not set out to impart concepts but are aware of areas they must deal with - racism, sexism. We have discussed racism head on. I read and pick up material from all over the world - as a socialist I believe in the freedom - racism/resistance. Explore South Africa - e.g. Novel - experience of two Black kids from S. Africa - Journey to Joeberg. Using Video - Asian families in South Africa." (H 5.1)

Here the issue of racism is identified with other issues such as Anglocentrism and sexism but is then dealt with as a category in itself with South Africa as the main context, thus ignoring the first hand experience of the pupils which makes up a very strong sociological and psychological context in which their intellectual development takes place. The comment that the "English teachers do not set out to impart concepts" is a crucial point as it does not deny that concepts are taught. The fact that these are not specifically stated, they cannot be critically examined or analysed. Hence, in view of the statement made about English language, it can be argued that the inherent messages, concepts and values embedded in the English language as described in chapter II, may well be taught and transmitted as a 'normality' in the absence of a clearly stated intervention with this. A further response from the same teacher shows this:

"The school is very slowly recognising it is not a white enclave but a part of 30 000 Bengali community. Looking at racism in English I have not dealt with it directly with the children - but experiences that the children can empathise with." (H 5.2)
There is an effort made to try and do something about the situation:

"Tried to get English material written by Indians... Indian literature, but not readily available and not very lasting," (H 5.3)

If this is an effort to challenge the racism in English language identified in (H 5.1), or to provide cultural norms more relevant to the Indian children, then it is assuming that somehow the Indian authors' writing in English will not carry the same messages as other English authors' writings and that by the fact that the literature has an Indian authorship, it does not require critical examination of the ideological messages, concepts, values and norms it incorporates. It is argued by Sivanandan (1982), Sartre (1961) and others quoted in chapter II that those of us who have been educated through the medium of English, have also been subject to the ideological transmission. Hence, by simply picking up literature written by an Indian in English does not automatically mean that the ideological messages under reference will not be there. In any case it must surely be the responsibility of the teacher to intervene and critically analyse such messages in the course of his teaching rather than to run for shelter under the 'black' umbrella. But such a proposition in fact is essentially alien to most teachers as the construct and the resulting parameters of the debate do not take on the issues of ideological transmission. Thus the question about this issue also brought out a very defensive response,

"I am giving my children basic literacy, I don't think of it as English" (Tape 2D side 1 244)

It is important to note that this response was received from a
designated ESL teacher actively involved in 'collaborative' teaching but who was not aware that her post was S.11 funded and in fact seemed very disturbed when she realised that it may be actually true. In the main, she side tracked the issue of ideological transmission but in the process ended up suggesting that somehow the teaching of basic literacy is free of ideological implications and that in an amazing way it is not teaching English. I wish to point out that this detailed analysis of this one response is important as it is an illustration of what I found to be generally and widely shared amongst especially ESL teachers in one way or the other.

**LANGUAGE AND TRANSMISSION: definitions and essential differences in the processes of language acquisition**

There were no formal definitions of the terms: mono/bi and multilingualism, nor any evidence of a formally adopted theoretical basis from which provision was being defined and departments organised. Those involved with ESL saw the process of language acquisition differently from some of the others who worked on the basis of enhancing pupils' education and language development by allowing them to learn and/or to be instructed in their mothertongue. These differing views were not presented to the interviewees and, therefore, there is no claim here that those involved, did not see the other processes taking place simultaneously to the one they were engaged in as valid. It is possible that they saw the different processes operating but chose to restrict their responses to the specific area of their involvement while not confirming or eliminating the other process.
The overall position described was as follows:

"The children are basically from Sylhet and speak Sylheti which is not available in written form... The boys who come here from Bangladesh, come with varying linguistic standards. Some will have had no formal education and therefore not literate in writing even Bengali, while others will have had a high level of education which may include immaculate Bengali but perhaps no English. The last category of children worry me as their education may stagnate while they try to improve their English. The older boys in the school are truly bilingual. In the playground you will hear a mixture of languages. They swap languages halfway through a sentence. (W 1.2)

On the question of language acquisition the same person explained,

"Acquisition of language is a crucial means of access to the curriculum. It is crucial to develop the first language if they are to learn English effectively hence a child's mastery of his first language is essential. Bengali is the social language of the school and the neighbourhood. It is therefore educationally justifiable for all the children in the school to learn Bengali." (W 2.1)

The thinking described above reflects the formal positions established in the Authority's various publications referred under 'Policy Issues'. This in essence defines the practice in the school. The centrality of Bengali was prominently argued with varying viewpoints though the overall thinking seems to stem from a common understanding that learning one's own language would enhance one's overall education and 'second' language learning. The reality is that while there is an overt policy of teaching Bengali as a core subject and clearly stated intention to use Bengali as well as English to teach all mainstream subjects, there is not the clearly thought through theoretical base and consequently no necessary expertise within the staff to uphold a 'bilingual' school policy.
The argument presented however, is only about the lack of expertise referring to 'qualified' Bengali teachers who can teach the mainstream subjects while the absence of a clearly defined theoretical position and the expertise emanating from that is not discussed.

"Studying another language has educational justification. Traditionally it has been French which has formed a part of the core curriculum. In this area it is just as valid or more valid to learn Bengali and to have it as a core subject". (W 3.1a)

"Year 4/5 have Bengali as an option. This kind of provision gives the language the status which is very important". (W3.2)

However, it was argued that bilingual teaching cannot be practised as:

"We have a bilingual school but monolingual staff. It is our policy to recruit bilingual staff who are Bengali speakers. We put in a rider on our adverts that ability to speak Bengali would be an advantage but it has not produced the desired effect. The reason is that the DES does not recognise some of the qualifications of the Bengali-speaking teachers who have qualified overseas. We wish to introduce bilingual teaching i.e. using Bengali as well as English as the medium of instruction but these are the very teachers not available and we can only go through the authority. Bilingual teachers are paid the same as other teachers, there is no mechanism to argue differently on the basis of 'short supply' as is the case with craft, design, technology and science teachers." (W 4.1)

In essence, at the end of the investigation it showed that while the authority's policy was not supported by any successful initiative to provide the relevant expertise (in this case seen to be 'bilingual' mainstream teachers), within the school itself the cross departmental work with any rigour was lacking. Whatever work was done jointly was mostly under 'collaborative' and organisational kind of work. In some instances, the Bengali 'translation' may have become an important commodity in the
preparation of materials and therefore there may have been some interaction between the ESL and Bengali departments on that basis. However, my investigation did not yield any such evidence. But more importantly, there was no clearly defined mechanism which systematically required the two departments to work together for a whole school language policy incorporating a shared and jointly defined educational strategy. While the management continued to state that:

"We have a strong E2L section in the school. I inherited an E2L Department. Personally I don't want to develop an E2L Department. We need teachers with expertise in teaching E2L but I would like to see bilingualism develop for each department and for each department to have responsibility for developing English language." (W 5.1)

This argument provided an organisational and resource-based constraint and a very different dimension to how the ESL practitioners saw their role within the 'bilingual' context. While some of them saw the fundamental need for learning the mothertongue (Bengali) and admitted that it would be good to have 'bilingual' teachers to teach ESL, the centrality of their position was about HOW to teach ESL. Teaching of ESL was accepted as the main strategy and it was felt that it should lead to an examination -

"Instead 4th/5th years are allowed ESL as an optional subject and for which they cannot sit an exam." (D 5.2b)

In addition to being ESL teachers, they also saw themselves and were perceived by others as 'advisers' to main stream and the English Department.
"...ESL's main contribution is to get mainstream teachers to review their own methods/materials. Previously the children would go to the Language Centre and spend years there. It is tragic that there are not many ESL/Bengali teachers in the school." (H 1.2b)

They also saw themselves responsible for the preparation of antiracist and bilingual material.

"We see ourselves doing other things like producing antiracist materials, but can't at the moment due to timetable constraints." (D 5.2a)

The most formalised practice of their role as ESL teachers in the classroom was to do with 'collaborative teaching'. This came out to be the most important development on which more timetable space for collaboration and staff resources could be claimed.

**Pedagogies and practices**

In the first instance, the ESL teachers collaborated on the basis of their expertise on the language and the content was statedly the concern of the subject teachers. It was then claimed that as ESL training included gender/race issues, the ESL teachers could advise the mainstream teachers on these regarding the content of the subject. This was in keeping with their perception of being 'advisers'. There were once again differing responses and viewpoints about the 'kind' of collaboration that was actually in operation and the purpose of collaboration, depending on actual experience. In one case, a teacher claimed that the ESL and subject boundaries were blurred and she did not feel that as an ESL teacher, she was the language 'expert' in those circumstances. Commenting on her experience of collaborative work with another teacher, she added:
"I find 'X' just as capable of monitoring their progress - she thinks the same way as I do - I can't advise her."
(Tape 2D side 1 183/7)

but,

"Where teachers do not share your philosophy and approach, it becomes impossible."
(Tape 2D side 1 212/22)

When questioned about ESL expertise and the role of ESL teachers, her responses were as follows:

(Expertise) - "I have thought about it a lot. I am a second language learner (- speaks Polish). I understand a great deal of their problems." (Tape 2D side 1 166/74)

(Role) - "We have a good idea of how best to facilitate language development. We give basic simple instructions - mainly techniques." (Tape 2D side 1 192/202)

When I asked her what essentially justifies the ESL teacher's position as a collaborative worker, she responded as follows:

"I think school needs two teachers desperately, on my own I have to use traditionsl methods and can't get round to everyone, the language difficulties are so many."
(Tape 2D side I 089')

and

"Drama is the only class where the children completely understand what is going on all the time."
(Tape 2D side 1 155)

(I was explained that boys translate and also make up dialogue in Bengali and that sometimes the teacher does not know what is being said until it is translated for her).

"Science is very difficult, English is very difficult."
(Tape 2D side 1 156)

This teacher took the position that a teacher with expertise in Bengali would eliminate two teachers in the class and therefore presumably the collaborative work. Another strong indication of this came from a senior English teacher:

"An ESL teacher who speaks Bengali does some Collaborative teaching; ESL and special needs teachers work as mainstream teachers as supports. Four-fifths of the English time is supported by ESL teachers." (H 2. 1a)
The description above explains the centrality of the role of ESL teachers though the purpose is not fully clear. The Bengali teachers' position was nowhere near that. In essence, the Bengali Department was much more of a comparison with the French Department. In fact, there were obvious tensions with regards to 'numbers' in the 4th/5th year groups where pupils were able to choose their options. The relationship there was a competition to try and achieve greater numbers to retain position on the curriculum.

Class observation

I observed some of the classes. The access, the choice and the timings for these are explained in the section on methods. My note-taking was with reference to my study and I focused on the (1) content of the lesson. This was noted both in terms of the materials used and what the teacher said the check points being: social context - its relevance to pupil experience; transmission of norms, values, assumptions, whether there was any intervention or critical viewing of messages in the materials used in terms of it containing racist, and to an extent, sexist viewpoints. (2) The approach of teachers became a very important area for me as I went around the classes. This was really to note the dynamics between the teacher/s and the pupils and the 'effectiveness' and 'impact' of the lessons. This was noted in some instances through the comments of the pupils.
The main concern was however to pick out, in a participatory and experiential manner, the process of language development following the main strands of arguments that had come out in the interviews, discussions and policy documentations:

- Learning of mother tongue is an important aspect to learning other languages and in this case, learning English effectively.
- The realisation and actualisation of the label 'bilingual', that these children carried and what it really meant. Then to record separately, but not divorced from the above process, the question of collaborative teaching, the argument presented and its practice in class.

While the observation records and note-making was not as systematic as explained above, I managed to note some aspects of the main elements at each of the lessons. However, each lesson or group of lessons was different and I was responsive to the differences.

In order to present the 'whole' picture of the result of my class observations in a succinct form, I have used the broad headings of the main areas of observation and organised them in a consistent order. (I have allowed some space to present additional information where I have felt it is important and which adds to the study).

It is important at this stage to note some of the practical points common to all classes.

- Lessons are about 40 minutes long. Some classes are held over double lessons.
- All year groups are divided into unstreamed classes.
- During the first three years, classes remain intact for every subject. While year 4 and 5 spend 40% of their time in tutor group classes for the three compulsory subjects: English, Maths and Social Studies. The remaining time is used studying 5 option subjects.

**Class observation as per individual lessons**

**Class: 2R Subject: Bengali**

Content: Use of work sheets. Some class oriented work. Different bits of work unrelated to each other, most of it contextless eg series of words to be learnt for writing.

Approach: Not grouped according to ability. Traditional method. eg Worksheet divided into six squares each with a picture and the name written in Bengali, translated in English and Bengali pronunciation written in English - pupils to learn the vocabulary using the worksheet. Class restless. Some found it too easy; some found it too difficult.

Language Rationale for learning Bengali not obvious - did not Development: relate to the process of learning other languages of the school.

Collaborative Work: None

**Class: 5E Subject: Bengali**

Content: Exam oriented - Description of a park 'Sunderbon'.

Approach: Very low attendance. Space for discussion of issues affecting the boys, specially - qualification/college courses. Issues of management / organisation and racism. Disillusionment with the management - some students time tabled to attend Electronics at the same time as Bengali. Examination tension in the air. Some work - comprehension etc.

Language Difficulties in English, explained. Discussion in Development: fluent Bengali/English on the part of the teacher - students similarly oriented but not fluent.

Collaborative Work: None.
Class: 2R  Subject: French

Content: Unrelated to pupils’ social context.

Approach: Traditional, vocabulary work, repeating after teacher. Working from a worksheet. Reading instructions, making drawings, very little student interaction.
St: “I get mixed up with French.” (Tape 1D Side A '205')

Language Some explanation in English – not useful to some but Development: no further assistance and difficulties with English not dealt with. Use of mother tongue almost nil.

Collaborative Work: None.

Class: 2R  Subject: English/ESL

Content: Stories from around the world. English/Bengali moral oriented, reading materials. Efforts to make it ‘relevant’ to pupils’ social context and interest but unable to address the issues and tensions that were brought up by students. Some content for example, pictures about jogging used for group discussion, not effective in terms of relevance. Imagery - cartoons. Issue of racism distanced to South Africa. Discrimination addressed in terms of how it applies to everyone.

Approach: Some space for individual work/student interaction. Time for student-teacher interaction. Reading/writing unconnected and fragmented. Groupings in ability levels. Discussion encouraged. Some interesting and serious work produced. Class reading - aloud rapidly, interrupted occasionally for clarification and at the end, to check the central message. Depth not reached.

Language Bengali not integral to the main lesson. All Development: material introduced in English, when written work given, often allowed to write in Bengali, mainly aimed at those who could not 'cope' with English. Quality of 'bilingual' material not very good. Educational value questionable as most stories translated from English to Bengali or vice versa. The purpose not clear, except for some psychological impact – could be affirmative or equally inaffirmative.

Collaborative Bengali/English speaking ESL supply teacher – used Work: to translate some of the information given by the English teacher. Most of the time spent with a clearly identified group of boys in a separate group. Total effort directed to explaining in Bengali what was said in English and then encouraged to write in simple English and Bengali if necessary. Issues coming up in Bengali discussions were checked for relevance to the English lesson that had been given.
Class 2R Subject: English/ESL (cont)

I paid a further visit to this class to follow through the learning of English using ESL/Bengali teacher to do the Collaborative work and also to observe the issue-oriented lesson the teacher tended to teach. During various discussions and the interview, he seemed to be very aware of the issue of ideological transmission through the English language. However, as on previous occasions, he tended to distance and universalise the issue of racism - as reported above, or as during this lesson, he diffused it as follows:

He read Chapter 2 from - "CHIKE and the River" by Chinua Achebe. This was followed by some brief discussion. He then made a specific input -

"Niger is black in Latin. When the white man went there, they found black-skinned people and named the country Nigeria/Nigger ... We call African people Jamaicans because this is the way we refer to them."

There was no discussion on this. The class then proceeded to do written work based on the story.

The ESL/Bengali collaborative teachers position about his role (not specific to this lesson only) was:

Strategy - (When) "It is done in a difficult way, I modify it"

Multilingual approach - 
"...a child wrote five letters, I asked him to write in his own language so he does not forget.... When they fail to relate to Bengali, specially in Science - after four or five classes, boys do not know what is male/female - I had to tell them in their mother tongue. It was difficult first time - pollination etc - It was not a radical improvement, but it pacified them."
Class: 2A Subject: English

Content: Topic oriented "ISLAND" - not rooted in the children's social context - use of worksheets.

Approach: T: We are going to draw an island - when we have done that, there are things we can put on the island. Worksheets, paper and pencils handed out. Class restless. One student started throwing things around, another stared at the worksheet (as it worked out, during the whole lesson unable to respond, knew very little English). Another said: "I don't know what a skull look like." Another boy left the class and came back in again.

Language Not much evidence of serious progress.

Development:

Collaborative None. Usually another ESL teacher collaborates.

Work: Shares the aims and objectives but helps keep discipline and goes around to assist individuals.

As the class was obviously not engaged with the work, I took note of the display on the walls as follows and left.

Wall by the door on the right:
ANC poster - "We Salute our Leader - Release all South Africans"
Book Poster - "Charlie and the Chocolate Factory" Roald Dahl

Back wall
Children's work - writings and drawings:
- main topic - Living Martians / Alien
- monkey and tiger like drawings of aliens
- poems: "Me Myself" / "Living in London"

A printed story - "The Emigrant Boy"
(Interesting juxtapositioning of Alien and the story)
These pieces named above were interspersed with posters on:
- Anne Frank
- poetry competition
- Alice in Wonderland

Wall on the left
Posters: "The Witches" - Roald Dahl
"The Dark is Rising" - Susan Cooper
ANC - Freedom poems

A poem on Jabberwocky
(Freedom and struggle against oppression distanced to S Africa.)
Class: SN  Subject: English

Content: Exam oriented. CSE - LREB but different levels ie Proficiency in the Use of English 1/2. Content irrelevant, some contextless, some technical aspects - assumed to have covered in their curriculum. Comprehension passages. (Teacher's comment: "Highly inappropriate - as it is very anglocentric ie Orwell's memories of Prep School")

Approach: Objective test - mechanical work unrelated to content/experience - assuming low ability level. Folders of 'best' work. Checked one student's work - full of construction, tense and spelling mistakes. Some evidence of having thought in Bengali and translated in English, but not able to present it appropriately. Transference of understanding within the bilingual context, ignored. Student-teacher relationship informal in the social context but subdued in terms of work.

Language T: Five years ago, ten students took 'O' level Development: English and six took 'O' level Literature. This has changed as 'O' level English and Literature is not suited to bilingual kids.
Teacher's view: Preparing for GCSE - 100% coursework based on continuous assessment - approach made to the Board about oral work to be conducted bilingually' - "have received a very frosty response so far."

Collaborative None. The class was being taught by an ESL teacher who generally does collaborative work and who is 'aware' of issues (language and racism) but there was no evidence of the articulation of those issues in the classroom.

This teacher was a leading member of the ESL Department and was in the forefront of policy making initiatives on language and antiracism/EOP. Her blandness in class on such issues was apparent on every occasion I observed the classes she was teaching in or working in collaboration with colleague as below. In fact, she tried to obliterate her position as a 'special' teacher - as ESL teachers are.
Subject: Science

Content: Experiment based. New concepts gave an opportunity to relate to children's orientation/interest, cultural norms/diversity; but these were not exploited during this lesson. Though efforts made to root new ideas into pupil's own ideas and thus allowing ownership but the unwritten parameters of what is 'normal' and 'acceptable' defined and dictated the contributions.

Approach: Practical work - there was considerable interest and interaction. Lesson relaxed but challenging. Worksheets were 'simplified' and 'diluted' from the original text for use in the whole class as follows:

The original sheet - side one:
Title - "Finding out about air pressure"
Content - Sketches of equipment with labels, followed by instructions to copy out information as introduction to the experiment. Two block sketches showing the experiments defining point by point the various stages to be carried out.

Documenting - series of questions as follows:
"Draw a diagram for each activity.
What force was needed to the suction pad from the bench when it was a) dry and b) wet?
What makes the pad stick to the bench?
What happens to the stopper when more air is forced into the bottle?
What makes this happen?

Specially prepared sheet:
Title - "Air Pressure"
Content - given in the form of "Activity" 1-4 which was also the basis for documenting.

Activity 1 - in three parts
i) a table in which information needed to be filled into boxes to state either rough or smooth; wet or dry and a figure representing force as observed on the scale.

ii) "We needed the most force to pull a -------- sucker off a ------- surface. rough, dry, smooth, wet"

iii) "Explanation
When the sucker is pressed on the bench, ------- is force out. The air -------- outside the sucker makes it stick to the bench."

Followed by similarly organised 'activities'.
Language New vocabulary, concepts purposefully taught -
Development: those unable to understand English, had to rely on
translation from other children. One child
without any English at all - feeling dazed - just tagging along
with a friend next to him, ESL teacher coming along to check.
Child translating, had an added burden - to cope with his own
understanding as well as to help the other one do what was
necessary. Written work mainly formal reporting of experiments.

Collaborative ESL - teacher as collaborator. Position taken -
Work: to assist everyone and whoever needing assistance,
not just those weak in English. Also concerned
about own role/status and therefore agreement with science
teacher to take an equal share in leading the lessons. The role
as language 'expert' diffused. Science teacher aware of own
responsibility to handle the language issues as he had an ESL
qualification and had worked as an ESL/EFL teacher before.

Subsequent to the above, I attended the second half of another
double science lesson with the same class/teachers. This was
about "Building Bridges". It was a very lively lesson as it
required the students to literally design and build bridges. The
discussions in various groups revolved around:
- construction and use of materials eg corrugated paper,
  principle of simplicity and calculation of expense.
- "My idea to put cellotape"; "My idea to......" etc etc

The homework at the end was to draw a picture of a bridge and
write down - using the title "Building Bridges" - what happened
when constructing the bridge. While, this was an 'enjoyable' and
a 'constructive' lesson in some ways, it did not extend into
conceptual considerations such as what it means to build bridges
in society - given the daily reality of the terrific tensions
and racist attacks that the student population live with.

I raised this issue with the Science teacher, suggesting that
this would create space for the students to consider the social
issues which are integral to the practical as well as the intellectual. His response was that written work in science is mostly about reporting, following instructions using a rigid form to a point where the descriptive language is used only to report on observations and conclusions of experiments related to only the actual visible events but not including personal feelings, emotions or concepts in terms of life and what it means to a person.

Thus, as I noted from the students' notebooks, like "Building Bridges", the concept of "stability" too was taken up in relation to objects being stable or unstable. Even more crucially, a discussion on puberty was handled so crudely and clinically that it was finally written up as a set of statements noting the physical manifestation of changes that happen during this time and the feeling one may have to masturbate. It was considered highly radical that some slang terms generally used in this context, and their meanings were also given during this lesson. Ironically, soon after this lesson, according to the children's notes, they had been looking at "Friction" but the connection with masturbation was not made - only related to weights and measuring pressure.
Summary of main observations - Case study 1

The context and the background

The school's population comprised students increasingly of Bangladeshi origin, from economically low income families. They lived under a constant threat of physical racial violence and institutional inequalities. As a result they suffered bad housing conditions and severe unemployment with only some low grade employment opportunities.

The school was recorded to be taking in children from mainly lower ability band. While the numbers recruited were getting smaller, the student mobility as well as the staff turnover was high even though the ratio of teacher to pupil was generous. However negative the conditions, they made up the main characteristics of the student population. Additionally, and very significantly the students were mostly all from Bangladesh, and they shared the same linguistic, cultural and religious background.

Policy issues

Even though ILEA had an antiracist policy and required its schools to do the same, this school had not managed to work out its own policy. Hence, despite the violent reality of racism, the issue was not discussed in class as part of the curriculum. The main response was to provide marginalised provision in the shape of ESL based on Hargreaves' definition of underachieving bilingual pupils. This provision was seen to be the same as SEN and was funded through S 11. As such, and in keeping with
Hargreaves, the mainstream language concerns were different and the language issues affecting the 'bilingual' pupils were packaged into separate bundles of ESL cum collaborative teaching and Bengali lessons.

Language and Transmission
There was some awareness of main issues ie (i) ideological transmission of racism through English and (ii) language development which was displayed at individual level during discussions and interviews, but there was no systematic, critical appraisal of (i) in terms of what was being transmitted and on (ii) there was no clearly defined theoretical base on which the students' so called 'bilingualism' was being developed as a mainstream 'normal' educational strategy. There were academic discussions about the issues but these did not materialize in the same way in practice as there was no evidence of a shared theoretical basis between departments involved with language teaching. Hence, the fragmentation of the language debate discussed under 'policy issues' was apparent, (a) causing incoherence within and between departments (ESL, Bengali and English) and (b) offering no clear premise against which the issues that had been debated could be monitored eg, progress made through collaborative teaching in class.

In the absence of a working theoretical base, the content defined the approach and thus, except during the Bengali lesson with the 5th years, no serious discussion about the issues affecting the children was observed, either in subject or language lessons.
Similarly, as 'bilingualism' was not supported by a clear theoretical base, Bengali, as ninety percent of students' mothertongue, was simply 'encouraged' whenever possible and pupils were allowed to articulate in their mothertongue whenever they wished during normal class.

Bengali lessons were taught like French lessons and in fact there were tensions between the Bengali and French department about who had higher number of pupils in the 4th and 5th years when they had to choose their options.

**Pedagogies and practices**

References to bi/multilingualism were in the context of 'supporting' essentially a theoretical base designed for teaching English to monolingual speakers and therefore the collaborative teaching initiative was really a method for reacting to the difficult position of ESL teachers, organisationally. Thus, various contradictory positions were noted. It was argued that,

- Working in class and not withdrawing pupils would save 'them' from being stigmatised; and staying in class would expose them to peer group language.
- ESL expertise in collaboration with the subject teachers, would help develop children's language systematically and concentratedly.
- but, collaborative work should be done so that all the children could get the benefit and 'ESL' pupils would not be picked out.
ESL teachers should have an additional advisory role for developing 'language for learning' with the subject teachers, taking due respect of the issues of racism.

These contradictions were evident in the classroom. The outcome was that there was no 'systematic' work with the children most in need and no clear intervention with transmission of 'norms'—only preoccupation with preparation of antiracist materials. More importantly, there were no records available from ESL teachers doing collaborative work, about the assessment of progress of 'bilingual' pupils.
CABE STUDY 2 - A SCHOOL IN THE LONDON BOROUGH OF EALING

The context and the background

This is a county comprehensive school for boys and girls aged 12 - 18 years. It was opened in September 1984 when two schools, due to falling rolls, were amalgamated to form this school. The Head and the Deputy Head came from yet another school which was due for closure. The school, therefore has an unusually large catchment area across the borough which includes some of the population from the Head and Deputy Head's original school. The school claims an increasing popularity in the Borough. This is explained in The Governing Body's Annual Report to the Parents (July 1988). It is recorded that 189 pupils made this school their first choice for September 1988 as compared to 64 in 1984. As a result, the school has now become a six form entry school.

Additionally, it states:

"that the school is now very much an all borough school. The new intakes also appear to be more genuinely comprehensive in the sense that they contain a greater cross section of pupils in terms of ability, social background and ethnic diversity." (Annual Report 1988)

In some ways, as a new school, it seems to have acquired a modern and progressive outlook with new equipment accentuating its technological orientation amongst other specialities. The school has a new computer room, a fully equipped business studies department, high standard facilities for craft and home economics, a photographic studio, a construction training centre within the TVEI (Technical and vocational Initiative) section and a newly created music suite. The Governors' report too is preoccupied with activities such as the "Tokyo Video
Conference", "The Bio-Cosmos Launch" and the school's "Rocket Launch". This perhaps helps to understand some of the reasons for its popularity, but also reflects the orientation and the aspirations of the population that subscribe to the school.

A brief profile of the Outer London Borough of Ealing given in a report by HM Inspectors, DS 26/85 (1987), offers a social perspective and shows the level of diversity within Ealing's population.

"Its relative prosperity in the past was built upon the presence of a range of industries, including motor, electrical, construction, film and television. Such conditions, combined with the proximity of Heathrow Airport, attracted many immigrant workers, and since the late 1950s a large proportion of these have come from the Caribbean, Asia and East Africa. The ethnic minority populations are not evenly distributed throughout Ealing: towards the east, Acton is ethnically very mixed, with a rapidly declining population; in the west of the borough, Southall is a national centre for the Asian community with a rising population of about 53,000 of whom almost half are under twenty-four years old. According to the 1981 Census, 26% of Ealing's population were born outside the UK and Irish Republic, and of this number 70% live in Southall." DS 26/85 (1987).

In reality, within the school population, a much larger proportion of the pupils are from the NCWP (New Commonwealth and Pakistan) than the 26% shown on the overall profile of the residents. According to the 1981 census, as quoted in The Third PSI Survey (Brown 1984 p30), of the general population of England and Wales, 13% male and 12% female are between the age of 0-9 as compared to 16% male and 16% female West Indians and 27% male and 28% female Asians. The pattern in Ealing reflects this national demographic profile of the black people. In "A Case Study" of Ealing by Fitzgerald (1986), the housing and employment position of the people from the NCWP, based on census 1981
figures, described as: "...not only do many disadvantaged groups in Ealing disproportionately include black people, but the circumstances in which those black people live are likely to be more deprived than those of whites in the same group. There are, for example, a disproportionately large number of black young people unemployed and these are, in turn, more likely also to live in overcrowded households where the head is also unemployed."

The employment scene, according to Ealing council's own Staff Audit/Headcount conducted on 18 January 1988 and presented to the Personnel Committee on 23 June 1988, shows the under-representation, low-level status and marginalisation of black people within the local authority structure itself. The following extracts from the "Observations on the distribution of staff by Race" included in the departmental returns, makes this explicit.

"Black people in Community Services were therefore over-represented in the lowest grades." DEPARTMENT 2

"Going up the hierarchy 1 in 10 of those grades S1 to S2 were black, 37% of white staff employed in the department were in grade PT and above, in comparison to 20% of black staff. There was no black member of staff above PY (where there was one)." DEPARTMENT 4

"Beyond grade S2 black people were under-represented in all senior grades." DEPARTMENT 5

"The Equal Opportunities Unit (EOU) is part of Personnel and thus affects the distribution of staff particularly black staff at senior levels." DEPARTMENT 6

"The proportion of black staff (including the EOU) was 22% which is 6% above the average. If the EOU is excluded ... the proportion of black staff falls to 16%....Excluding the EOU 1 out of 10 staff on Grade S1-2 was black only 1 out of the remaining 12 staff on PT-PW was black, there was no other black person above PW. In respect of mainstream personnel work black people were under-represented at senior levels. Outside the EOU there are only 2 black people above S2 out of 30 staff." DEPARTMENT 6

On the housing front, according to Fitzgerald, it was clearly stated by the Director of Housing, that the pattern of discrimination practised in this area could not be kept hidden for too long.
The Ealing Family Housing Association Ltd, for one, has since adopted an Equal Opportunities Policy and has used it to take up the issue of racism within its housing sector. Though this is one organisation, it confirms the Fitzgerald (1986) findings which are specific to Ealing and the conclusions drawn by the PSI survey (Brown 1984) which are based on findings at national level:

".....there are still severe inequalities between the housing of black and white families, not least because of the limited geographical spread of ethnic minority residence." (Brown 1984)

The diversity of Acton described above in DS 26/85 (1987) as "ethnically very mixed" is acknowledged in the school's official (yellow) handout (1986/87). It

"...welcomes the breadth of cultural and linguistic backgrounds characteristic of the London Borough of Ealing..."

A statistical breakdown of the school's 4th years, shows:

"Europeans 59.2% Asians 16.2% Afro/Caribbean 15.5% Middle East 5.6% Far East 3.5%"

The European category includes the white pupils without showing their cultural, linguistic, ethnic or national identity. The remaining categories show the presence of the black pupils with some geographic breakdown but no further breakdown of any of the other differences that exist within these broad and very general categories. The above breakdown was conducted for the purpose of monitoring pupils' choices of their subject options, on a racial basis. (A similar breakdown was conducted under gender, while maintaining the above 'racial' categories).

According to the Deputy Head, the racial breakdown shown in the 4th year is typical of the overall composition of the school's population. While there is no rationale put forward for the
monitoring across these categories, two main issues that affect the school may have provided the rationale:
(i) The language education of all its pupils and its provision.
(ii) Racism - which is also prevalent institutionally and within the local authority structures as described above.

This is evident from various statements within the school's own public documents and policies, which will be discussed below. The LEA's Schools' Language Survey carried out in March 1985, covering 80% of the Borough's pupils showed the responses as: "...43% said they spoke a language at home other than English. In Southall 82% came from homes where English was not the first language, and of these 80% spoke Punjabi, 7% Gujarati and 7% Urdu. Eighty-five percent of pupils said they used one spoken language other than English, and 15% more than one." DS 26/85 (1987)

One of the survey questions put to those who spoke another language apart from English, was, to name the language they spoke. In response to this, 189 different languages were named. The Survey Report (Ealing 1985), gives further details about Acton under the "AREA BREAKDOWN":

"Of the 4974 pupils surveyed in Acton, 1624 (32.6%) reported speaking one or more languages other than English"

In the same document, a pie graph shows the distribution of languages amongst the 1624 pupils as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 155
The school's own record shows some 47 different languages within its school population. In keeping with the pattern above, the school too has a high proportion of speakers of Indian languages. It also has a substantial number of pupils from the Middle East making Farsi and Arabic prominent languages. Within this spread of languages, there are statistics including the respondents' first, second and third languages. Whilst these are interesting, their detailed analysis is not essential to this study. However, some significant observations need to be noted.

1. Amongst the multilinguals, expertise and access in numerous languages for different purposes is a normality.

2. The pattern of language expertise possessed by pupils from the youngest nursery age group to the secondary school level is complex.

3. The differing levels in expertise, variation in the mastery of oracy and literacy and the different purposes for which these languages are used, have clear implications for language education.

The school's response to the cultural and linguistic diversity, can be partly assessed from its official (yellow) handout. It shows that in the common core of subjects, in the first two years (year 2 and 3), it offers: English, Modern Languages (which include a controlled choice of French, German, Italian and "community languages" - a reference to Indian languages) in addition to Mathematics, Integrated Science, Cultural Studies, Creative Arts, Technology, Life Skills, Music, Physical Education and Drama. In years 4 and 5 however, the common core of subjects mentions only English and the above.
languages are offered as 'options'. A detailed explanation of the structural location of this provision is taken up later in this Case Study under "Policy Issues".

In the context presented so far it is evident that the black presence in Ealing has shown up racism that exists within its institutions. The evidence is in keeping with the national picture at a macro level as documented in the PSI survey. Logically, what exists in the macro at the national and local authority level is likely to exist in the micro at the school level. In a very short span of time, it became apparent that while the school, as a new structure was struggling to prove itself a good school in the 'normal' sense - described in the handout and the brochure - there was a forceful preoccupation with EOP as will be shown in the following pages, confirming the existence of the issue of racism (as well as sexism) - the evidence of which was available in the various discussions and interviews that I conducted. Further evidence was available at a meeting which was held when an Inquiry Team set up by the Education Department, to look into discrimination in the employment of ethnic minority teachers in Ealing, came to listen to what the black (ethnic minority) teachers and 6th form students had to say. Some of the points they made are of relevance to the present discussion. Black teachers:

- Racism was seen as a definite issue. It was felt that if there were enough black teachers in the school, something could be done about the curriculum.
- With reference to an initiative taken by the school, when a white parent was asked to speak to the 6th form students about their experience of racism - as predicted - the students said they did not have any problems.
One teacher had written to the authority asking for its own definition of the term 'ethnic minority' but received a response. It was felt that by using this term the question of racism was being diffused, and as it was also used to include white minority groups such as the Irish and the Jewish, the purpose was to play a game of statistics and to seek promotion for basically white staff.

6th Form Students:

They turned up in fair numbers to the meeting having had a note in their register saying "all ethnic minority students go to the library at 2 pm"

- They too queried the use of the term 'ethnic minority' and were critical of the way they had been informed of this event.

- They related various experiences of racism, both with white as students and teachers. They talked about covert racism: "They do not say it but we know what they are thinking."

- They talked about one particular white teacher who, it had been admitted publicly, was racist. For some this teacher's racism was so extreme and overt that "you could almost laugh about it."

- As an illustration of this and the school's own position on such matters, one of the students related an incident:

  When a black boy entered his class about two minutes after the bell had gone, the teacher under reference addressed him in a derogatory manner using racial terms. The boy retaliated with a similar response at which he was asked to report to the year head. When he did report, he was told, "Just forget it. We all know what he is like."

- The students demonstrated their anger about this and other similar incidents at the meeting. They were resentful that the incident had not even been taken up to the Head Teacher. It was also made known at that meeting that the teacher under reference had in fact been moved to another school where there were 80% Black students.

It is significant to note here that it was in the London Borough of Ealing that the Dispersal Policy was first put into practice. This was facilitated by the DES circular 7/65 which allowed the 'bussing' of ethnic minority pupils (only black pupils) from any school where they happened to form more than a third of the whole school population into white schools.
POLICY ISSUES - London Borough of Ealing and the school

Subsequent to the publication of the Swann Report, the DES conducted several exercises to evaluate educational practices in various areas of which the London Borough of Ealing was one. It was conducted in the autumn of 1985 with specific reference to Southall. The Inspectors observation in their report was:

"At the time of the exercise, the LEA did not have a policy statement on multi-ethnic education. The co-ordination of all aspects of the Borough's multicultural provision is the responsibility of the Organiser for Multicultural Education,.." (DS 26/85)

In keeping with the debate constructed nationally (as in Ch I) -
1 They did not make reference in their report to any other policy statements nor did they clarify whether any such policy statements existed, and if so, what these were.
2 The "Statement on multi-ethnic education" clearly showed its reference to the process of 'add on' provision to that which already exists.

thus locating the discussion about multi-ethnic/multicultural (black people) under race relations.

"A range of school-based and borough-wide courses on aspects of multi-ethnic education and race relations is provided by the LEA. These include secondment on a termly basis to follow the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) Diploma in the Teaching of Community Languages; a two-term DES Regional Courses; and various shorter courses based at the Teachers' Centre (eleven in 1984/5) on aspects of ethnic minority cultures." (ibid)

The above further highlights its lack of concern with the examination of what exists in the mainstream or the white culture, focusing entirely on "ethnic minority cultures" and ways of teaching "Community Language".

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The structural marginalisation of the target group coupled with 'special provision created specifically for them, logically resulted in the marginalisation of black expertise and hence the Panel of Inquiry set up by the Ealing Council on 16 December 1986.

"To enquire into the recruitment and promotion of ethnic minority teachers in the London Borough of Ealing," (EALING'S DILEMMA, March 1988)

The report of the above Inquiry showed the outcome resulting from the application of the paradigm and the parameters of the debate. It stated that the,

"...multicultural provision as has been available...has overwhelmingly slanted in the direction of language. Such work fitted in very comfortably with the assimilationist ideology of the time, of which it seems indeed to have been the natural and inevitable (stressed) product. This has meant that issues of racial equality and racism in schools have been not so much marginalised as totally missing from the agenda." (ibid)

It is worth examining the 'slant' as incorporated in a Committee Report entitled "Community Languages and Bilingual Education" (CL&BE cmt report 1988). This was presented in June 1988 in response "...to the Education Committee Policy statement on Race Equality..." (EALING'S DILEMMA March 1988)

This lacks rigour as it does not define the social context in which the issue is located. Instead, it takes on the construct of the debate described earlier and consequently, in keeping with the nationally constructed definition laid out in Swann, it fragments the concept of language into small manageable bundles for the consumption of schools and teachers;

"(a) bilingual education - where mother-tongue is used alongside English during normal activities particularly in pre-school, nursery and early years education
(b) mother-tongue maintenance - where fluency in the mother
tongue is consciously developed as part of the primary
curriculum
(c) teaching community languages - where community languages
and their literature are studied as part of the timetable
and teaching materials in High School and Colleges
(d) community languages used as a medium of instruction for
learning about religion, cultural and other subjects in
the voluntary sector." (CL&BE cmt report 1988)

The Report makes an important though generalised statement about
establishing,

"...a language education policy which will nurture and
harness the linguistic and cultural resources of Ealing for
the enrichment of all (stressed)." (CL&BE cmt report 1988)

and states that, "Bilingualism... automatically includes English.
(stressed)" However, in its "PROPOSAL FOR ACTION 1988/90", the
focus is entirely on "Bilinguals", with no reference to "the
enrichment of all". The question of English as an integral
aspect of "Bilinguals" is also ignored.

The general form and direction of policy issues, is replicated at
the school level. The context and the background to this case
study focus on the fragmentation of the debate, the resulting
conflict and confusion; the study of the policy issues in the
school shows up this pattern even more vividly.

At my first encounter with the Head, I inquired if there were any
policy statements for the school. His response was:

"We are just getting into Equal Opportunities Policy.
It is a question of time and status."

It was significant that on inquiring about the school policy, the
immediate response was about EOP and no reference was made to
some very definite stances incorporated in the official (yellow)
handout or the guide discussed above.

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The Head's understanding of the EOP was that it,
"...can create real opportunity in curriculum and education
for all students of ethnic background at different levels
i.e. content, presentation, community development..."

A teacher with a specific brief for EOP in the school and as a
part of the Borough MSS (Multicultural Support Service), explained:

"EOP issues are addressed under MSS. The rationale for this
Service is to promote antiracist, antisexist curriculum
which is less insular and less male dominted. It takes on
board curriculum development suitable for 'bilingual'
children in the main stream."

Within the spirit of the above expression, one of the objectives
declared in the Modern Languages' "Departmental Policy on Equal
Opportunities, Special Needs and Multicultural Education", reads:

"To use multicultural and equal opportunities materials
wherever appropriate, to teach established skills and
concepts."

At a later date I was invited to attend the school's EOP Working
Party meeting. I understood that three working groups had been
set up: parent liaison, curriculum/school ethos and a research
group. Their joint brief under their special titles was to make
and in-depth analysis of the existing situation. It was
explained that:

"The policy statement on its own is not enough,
it has to be implemented."

"We are one of the few schools to adopt EOP
and to have an EOP Working Party."

"We have our EOP statement that has been prepared
by one member of staff. We should look at how
we can deal with racial harassment in the
playground and in the school."

There was a lengthy discussion and various options were
considered. It was agreed that a 'code of discipline' should be
prepared to deal with incidents of racial harassment but that it should be done in conjunction with the students. The fact that not a single pupil had ever attended any of the Working Party meetings inspite of being invited was raised and it was also suggested that they may not agree with a 'code of discipline' as the main solution to racial harassment.

In any case, the adoption of a 'code of discipline' would not in any way reflect the understanding of EOP as had been expressed by the Head as recorded above. However, this kind of response shows the ease with which serious statements can become tokenistic. Earlier on a constraint had been identified:

"It is important for all of us to be aware of the issues and their implications. The council has arranged for the Head Teachers to go to Bournemouth but the staff at each school need to have similar opportunity. Without this kind of input, we cannot take meaningful action."

By the end of the academic year 1987/88, the school did manage to take two days and as a part of their on-going process, they have prepared a "DRAFT SCHOOL POLICY AGAINST RACISM AND SEXISM / DRAFT GUIDELINES FOR DEALING WITH RACIST/SEXIST INCIDENTS", it is in operation and for inclusion in the school handbook 1988/89.

The policy is to provide a basic response to tackling physical aspects of racial harassment and is, therefore, a mechanism for focusing on the 'effects' of racism but not the 'cause'. The policy states that:

"The aim of the school is to influence behaviour and attitudes positively, not to suppress them by driving racism and sexism underground."

The mechanism specified for this exercise is to do with the
catching of the perpetrator, thus creating a policing situation with the onus on the victim. Based on this, the result can only be suppression without any meaningful change in attitude. Furthermore, it is intended to have the document:

"...reviewed each year and updated as our awareness of the subtleties of racism and sexism rises."

But the awareness that does exist at the point of preparation of the document is not made explicit and hence no dialogue could be held in terms of the awareness and understanding on which this policy is based. The validity of the policy must ultimately lie in the identification of the context in which it is located and the cause which it needs to counter. This kind of preoccupation with the 'effects' of racism and sexism, when neither of the -isms are defined with any rigour and when there is no reference or mechanism to counter the 'causes' of the phenomena, can only result in further tensions and more 'subtle' articulation of the same tensions which in turn will require more subtle 'policing' as projected.

LANGUAGE AND TRANSMISSION: structural location of the language provision, staffing and the uses of ELL funding

The fragmentation of the language issues into various compartments, makes the issue of "community languages" specific and special to black people, especially the Asian people. Additionally, the presence of black people triggers off provision for 'multiculturalism' and 'multi-ethnic studies'. Based on this paradigm, both the community languages and multicultural provision are located under Equal Opportunities. The Acting Chief Education Officer's report on "The Structure for the
Delivery of Race Equality" (Str D of RE 11/5/88) to the Race Education sub-committee on 11 May 1988, gives a breakdown of the Inspectorate and the MSS, which shows up the structural position of the provision under discussion very clearly.

"General Inspector (Co-ordination, Equal Opportunities)
Inspector (Multicultural Education)
Both posts include other areas of responsibility." (Str D of RE 5/88)

The Acting Chief Education further reports that the MSS structure exists in three sections:

### a) Administrative and Professional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hadley House</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional Assistant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Principal Officer - Curriculum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Senior Administrative Assistant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Senior Advisory Teacher - Race Equality</td>
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<td>Advisory Teacher - Language, High schools</td>
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<td>Advisory Teacher - Language, Primary schools</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advisory Teacher - Community languages</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advisory Teacher - Curriculum and Learning styles</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Co-ordinators - Resources, Information and Training</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2 Clerical Assistants</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 Resource Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanhope/Elthorne</td>
<td>Senior Advisory Teacher - Language, High schools</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Advisory Teacher - Language, Primary schools</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advisory Teacher - Community languages</td>
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<td>2 Clerical Assistants</td>
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<td>1 Resource Teacher</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### b) School-based Teachers

Ninety full or part-time staff permanently attached to schools on an individual or term basis, and providing additional support for English and/or community languages and multicultural curriculum development.

### c) Mobile Field Teachers

- 6 peripatetic teachers for Community Languages maintenance
- 6 peripatetic teachers for ESL/newly arrived pupils
- Co-ordinator and team of 3 Pupil Assessment and Progress
- Co-ordinator and team of 3 Afro-Caribbean Resources
- Co-ordinators and team of 6 Asian Music
- Organiser and team of 4 Community Education
- Co-ordinator and team of a Home/School Partnership." (ibid)

This very specific provision or "the Multi-Cultural Support Service is mainly Section 11 funded." (EALING'S DILEMMA March (1988)
The Borough provision is reflected in the school. Thus, all the five ESL staff are employed under S11. In addition there are four other posts under S11 as follows:

1. The post of one of the Deputy Heads, responsible for pedagogy with an additional special brief for EOP, is claimed under S11.
2. Head of Lower School with special responsibility for careers and life skill.
3. Head of Education Support (which has created some conflict between the school and the LEA as to whether this post is under S11 or not)
4. Head of Language Across the Curriculum.

The use, abuse and implications of the use of S11 funding have been discussed in chapter I of this study. Additionally, the school's total language provision is organised under three departments reflecting the fragmentation defined at the top.

1. English department - headed by a white male who has been recently appointed from the ESL department.
2. Modern languages department - headed by a white male, under whom the "community languages" (which basically means Indian languages) are organised and taught by one Indian woman who is also linked to the white female Deputy Head, who carries the special EOP brief, is a part of the Borough's MSS and is employed under S11.
3. Head of ESL department - headed by a white female.

As a result of the Education Act, 1986, the school has produced a booklet entitled, "A guide for new pupils and their parents", containing information in greater detail explaining "clearly the basic organisation, procedures and curriculum". In "A MESSAGE OF WELCOME FROM THE HEADMASTER", it states that the:

"...school is a mixed multi-ethnic ...committed to providing ...equal opportunity to develop their abilities to the full, regardless of race and social background."
The same guide provides information about the "Education Support Team" stating that the:

"...children with learning language and emotional problems who find it difficult to adjust to a Secondary school curriculum are withdrawn from some of their lessons and given more individual and specialist help."

The withdrawal of the children on the basis of "language problem" is a significant aspect of the school curriculum and is discussed at length in the following sections.

Since 1986/87, the school has consolidated the total language provision described in 1, 2 and 3 above, under a scale E Co-ordinator post. The title of this post is "Language across the curriculum" and the above mentioned departments are headed by this Co-ordinator. The ESL department, renamed as "Language Support" is included with its five members of staff, one of whom is also a Team Leader - EOP. All the five posts in this department, as pointed out earlier, are claimed under S11. The other two departments each have four members of staff, all of their posts are under mainstream provision. However, the Co-ordinator's scale E post is justified under S11. This is a new, high level, job-share post of which the Head of English is a participant.

It was explained that the "Language Across the Curriculum" designation is to do with the language of the classroom which allows pupils to have access to the curriculum. The role of the Co-ordinators is to study and assess "...cross use of languages - accessible within the pedagogy..." I was also informed that as this is a new post, it needs to be thought through.
The restructuring exercise, therefore, is mainly a consolidation and relocation of the existing provision under a Co-ordinator, creating a tighter management of the over-all provision while the new terminology, "Language Across the Curriculum" is a different name for essentially the same fundamental position (known as collaborative teaching in the school in ILEA) A crucial aspect of the new designation is about one "Language across the Curriculum" and from the explanation received, that language is English. Such a position does not take up multilingualism or "the enrichment of all" stated in the various documents, seriously.

LANGUAGE AND TRANSMISSION:
philosophical, ideological and theoretical position

As with the ILEA school, I conducted a similar investigation, on the question of language and transmission. One English teacher gave a fairly serious and thoughtful response. This teacher wrote back after I had presented him with the notes of our initial discussion. His position on the question of the way in which English Language teaching was organised was:

"to facilitate communication and register appropriate to a given linguistic context/social situation." (M12)

He went on to elaborate as follows:

"Implicit is the provision for opportunity for practice and development which must take place in the recognition that language-in-use is interactive..." (M13.1)

"The establishment of linguistic systems within the child which become 'cued' by recognition of the demands imposed by a given linguistic context." (M 13.2)
"...there is the onus of cultural transmission of literary value (implicitly that of the host culture in a m.c. community), but an onus which must recognise the input of other culturally defined literary values. Not withstanding content, grammar and interactions are in the main culturally defined by the host culture (and there is the expectation that it should be)." (M 13.3)

"Given the existence of the classroom culture, there arises the added problem of external assessment of teaching effectiveness, because it is the host culture which 'defines' the mode and the standard criterion for assessment. This is of course part of the reason for the move to GCSE, because it hopes to show what children can do rather than proving what they cannot. Mode 3 has been around for some time.... Ealing (LEA) had adopted 100% course work for English which...does provide an opportunity for providing material which is more culturally relevant while still maintaining the received criterion for assessment in English...(stressed)"

"This of course raises the question of relevance, because we still have to maintain criteria for 'literature'; the fact that material is written by a black writer does not of itself mean that it transmits literary values...... Material has to be found that children can relate to in an educationally meaningful way. Many short stories by Caribbean writers reach Asian children because the social world and its problems can be identified with. On the other hand stories such as Sumitra's Story (Rukhsana Smith) which use such images as Kali standing at the school gates, require a lot of input to make them accessible to English children."

I have quoted the responses of one teacher extensively to show the thought and seriousness applied to the question. This was a rare occurrence and the total responses received from all the interviewees in that school, when put together, do not offer the breadth and depth covered in the above responses. Secondly, and very importantly, the responses above reveal some significant realities as perceived by this individual, who as an English teacher was also involved in some collaborative work with an ESL teacher. The 'realities' are significant as argued below.
The above response (M 13.3) makes a direct statement about "cultural transmission" being "implicitly that of the host culture", just as much as the "context, grammar and interactions are in the main culturally defined by the host culture", with an "expectation that it should be."

The point about the host culture defining and imposing its values, is restated at the beginning in (M 15) with reference to "assessment". In (M 16), the interviewee's perceptions and standards for judgement are obvious though indirect and as a matter of interpretation.

The statement,

".... the fact that material is written by a black writer does not in itself mean that it transmits literary value" (M 16)

begs the question about the criteria that define "literary value" and a further question about how much the individual himself has internalised the criteria imposed by the "host culture". Similarly, there is again the question of criteria in his observation that:

".... for example Arabic distinctions between poetry and prose may not be the same as ours; the image used and the play of words one against the other may be unfamiliar. Response needs to be sensitive, and it may be more relevant to suspend criterion of form - as in the case of a poem, when the emotional meaning is direct and expressive."

(M 17.2a)

"There is a general parallel problem and that is the difficulty many children have in distinguishing story from essay."

(M 17.3)

Another point of interest here, is the discussion about the story about Kali which is seen to:
"... require a lot of input to make them accessible to English children."

and

"Tagore for example, might be intellectually too demanding; and stories about partition may not be relevant to the world in which the children live." (M 19.2)

Here the everyday cultural aspects of the Indians and indeed British-born Indians, are perceived as a constraint and are presented as an argument for not incorporating them in the normal curriculum. However, it is not stated that to teach Shakespeare also needs "... a lot of input" nor that it can be demanding. But, "In English, fiction is a way of reading the world;" (M 18.2). For me, it would be quite odious to draw an analogy between the treatment given to 'Kali' and figures of similar reverence and meaning from say Christianity.

This detailed study provides an illustration of the level of 'internalisation' of the 'value system' of the teacher and how it is reproduced despite a fairly critical awareness of 'transmission' through language teaching. A clear piece of evidence on this point is a comment made by this same interviewee in the staffroom on 9 June 1987, with reference to our earlier discussion, he said:

"One comment you made, and I thought about it afterwards, and said 'She is right about R.15'. Yes, there is nothing that reflects mother tongue, - neither does the school. It is a multicultural, multiracial school, but no affirmation."

(M 10.11)

When I asked:

"What will you do about R.15 ?" (M 10.2(G))

The response was:

"Well, it is the school really." (M 10.3)
On this question of affirmation and transmission of values, a pupil informed me during an interview, that he will be leaving this school as he was planning to

"..go to an Egyptian school in Shepherds Bush" (Tape A2 side A 195)

to learn his own language and about his own culture and religion. And earlier on he had stated that,

"There is no Arabic book in school." (Tape A2 side A 30)

When I asked him if he felt that was bad, he said, "I didn't feel bad."
I asked "Why not?"
He replied, "..because I want to learn English."

The "expectations" described by (M 13) are clearly reflected in the pupil's responses.

Overall, in addition to what is reported above, I did not get clear responses to the question of 'trasmission' nor the process of affirmation. The responses were either inadequate or deflected to a point of organisation - as evidenced below.

The head of the ESL section stated:

"There is to be a needs analysis week when procedures for integration/monitoring will be considered together with understanding of the role of ESL teachers. Also to consider tutorial set up - pastoral function/support to create a nice (stressed) feeling for bilingual children coming into the school. (E 4)

And on the question of the theoretical basis upon which ESL operates:

"Mainly experience and gut feelings of those involved. MSS does not have a formal position on racism. (E 6)

In effect, the issues under reference had not featured clearly in
any of the discussions and policy issues that I had read about and participated in. In this case of the above interviewee, I was asked to share my thinking on those issues with reference to ESL, which I did. (Tape A2 side B)

There was another ESL teacher with whom I had a few discussions and spent time with in class. This teacher, having read notes of our first discussion, had agreed to meet again to explain her views and thinking more fully. I have reproduced the response received when I put my question to the interviewee as follows:

"How do you, as a language teacher, see the process of affirmation for children who are, by definition, seen to be multicultural, multiracial, multi-ethnic.... really making reference to black children. How do you see their process of affirmation through their learning process that you are involved with?" (Tape A side 2)

"I am looking at the needs of the children, and the needs of the children are governed by the needs of the school and the needs of the school are: the children actually participate and can take part in mainstream lessons and take examinations at the end of their school life, which then shows what the school can actually do." (Tape A side 2)

"I feel that...that view that sees education in that way, then it is rather limited." (Tape A side2)

"...talking with parents - quite often their view of education is, their children need to get those results and the education process is seen as getting those results and unfortunately, and this is where I feel that my biggest threat is, that to get those results or to attain that level of achievement quite often means that you by pass or that you cannot in many ways actually achieve that for every child because of the nature of the examination system." 

"...the ways they have been set up have not changed and it has not changed with the GCSE either, and that in some ways governs the school."

"...My job as a teacher is to help these children get these exams but by doing that...I am also involved in the whole process of what the society is demanding and
that is the structure of the society at the moment."
(Tape A side 2)

However defensive the position may look, it confirms the point
made in 'M 13.3). Given this 'reality' the head of ESL can only
see one of the main functions of ESL teachers "..to consider
tutorial set up - pastoral function / support to create nice
(stressed) feeling for bilingual children.." (E 4)

LANGUAGE AND TRANSMISSION: Definitions and essential differences
in the process of language acquisition

I found that the terms 'multilingual' and 'monolingual' were not
generally used, but the term 'bilingual' was constantly used. It
was used by ESL practitioners and by others during discussions when
referring to children who were classified as ESL. Thus, within
the written "Aims of the Modern Languages Department", (Aims MLD)
there was no reference to differing linguistic expertise of
students, ie bilingual or multilingual as distinct from
monolingual.

Correspondingly, there was no reference to any Indian or African
languages but only European languages. As explained earlier, the
teacher teaching Indian languages was operating under this
department. Thus in the nine "Aims" stated by the department,
there was no reference to, or recognition of the fact that some
students in school would already be bi/multilingual. The
preamble to the "General Objectives" confirms this omission.

"All pupils studying a foreign language (stressed)
should be expected to achieve at least a satisfactory
standard each year in a common language core which
would include a variety of skills, topics, and language
registers. The three common-core language skills would

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be listening, reading and speaking. In addition, a large number of pupils would be expected to achieve a higher level in the common-core skills, and at least a satisfactory level in writing, interpreting and translating."  (Aims MLD)

However, in the objectives of the "Departmental Policy on Equal Opportunities, Special Needs and Multicultural Education", it is stated in parts:

"To cater within the limits of staffing resources, for the bilingual needs of those pupils whose mother tongue is not English"

"To examine the languages, cultures and experiences of appropriate ethnic groups in the world."  (Aims MLD)

This shows the 'awareness' of the existence of the differences present within the collective body of students and the intention to cater for this, but it is located under the Equal Opportunities provision and is also distanced as experience of "ethnic groups in the world" as something separate to the mainstream and relating to race relations. The omission within the mainstream of reference to bi/multilingual groups, shows how it is therefore organised to provide for the students who are monolingual English speakers. The provision described as 'modern/foreign languages' is a specific reference to European Languages – into which the bi/multilinguals have to 'fit in' – with the awareness that they can always do Indian Languages which are also available as options to all students with the same objectives as the European/foreign languages. For bi/multilingual children, the objective of learning the languages of their experience and environment is very different. Therefore, offering these languages to them, undifferentiated in their objectives, to fulfill some kind of
'equality' goal, is really a misuse of the resources; since the premise of this provision (quoted above) is not in keeping with the objectives of the target group.

The term bilingual is a very definite term used by the ESL department defined in "The Teaching of Bi-Lingual pupils in the Mainstream" (Bi-Ling pup/MS), as:

"Pupils speaking one or more languages other than English."

It is a very interesting definition as it means that if you speak one or more languages other than, say, Gujarati or Punjabi and including English, you would not be classified as bilingual. According to this definition of bilingual, it is a classification especially devised for those who do not have English in their repertoire of languages and who were previously classified as ESL. In this particular school, this category included some white children, but by and large, the ESL group included children of Asian and African origins. In the third year group of children defined as "2nd Phase", the breakdown of nine pupils was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No of Speakers</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lebanon/Libya/Beirut/Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason given for calling ESL children Bi-Lingual is:

"The label (stressed) English as a Second Language can convey negative, problematic images. Bi-Lingual presents more positive, aware approach," (Bi-Ling pup/MS)

This does not explain why a change of terms should provide a more "positive, aware approach". The paper then makes further points
explaining and arguing for 'integration' of bilingual pupils. Essentially, it is a physical shift from withdrawal groups to
"..integration of all Bi-Lingual pupils into mainstream classes with teacher support". (Bi-Ling pup/MS)
- a purely organisational initiative, deflecting from addressing the question of 'labelling' and additionally of negative image.

The arguments given in support of this shift are:

"Emphasis on withdrawal is:

(a) socially divisive;
(b) the Bi-Lingual pupils usually follow a curriculum which is disconnected from their peers;
(c) withdrawal can be demotivating for the pupils, the majority of whom respond eagerly to mainstream classes where they hear and use language in a normal (stressed) situation and so feel they are achieving;
(d) withdrawal can convey messages of deficiency or remedial;
(e) language awareness enabling learning for all is the responsibility of all teachers." (Bi-Ling pupil/MS)

These arguments show the de facto segregation that has existed. According to the above assertion, the segregation has been based on the fact that the groups were withdrawn. They also state how the "...messages of deficiency..." were conveyed. They do not argue about the theory or the approaches on which language teaching of "Bi-Linguals" is based. Point (e) in this series of arguments, moves onto a very fundamental issue which is the pivot on which the shift is organised, but is not discussed. Instead, based on this assertion, point 5 asks the teachers:

"What do I do?
And proceeds to give various tips such as:

"When a Bi-Lingual pupil, especially a beginner, joins a mainstream class s/he will probably be very quiet. Don't worry. S/he will be picking up a lot of information..."
However, in the long term, more exposure is not enough. Access needs to be deliberately organised. When a class and ESL teacher are working together this might mean, for example, the provision of specially adapted materials for pupils in early stages of learning English.

But, even when an ESL teacher is not timetabled to support a mainstream teacher, teachers can be aware of language demands being made and the needs of all the children.

Teachers can check the readability of the textbooks and work sheets. We can offer alternatives to purely verbal introduction through audio-visual aids etc. When marking, don't be dismayed because every spelling or tense is wrong, concentrate on correcting one language item at a time.

Until any pupil can formulate knowledge and information for themselves, in their own words, it is unlikely that they possess it or can use it." (Bi-Lig pup/MS)

The above statements indicate that the physical shift is from withdrawal group to physical 'integration' into mainstream with the 'specialist' ESL teacher support, but not the theoretical or ideological. There is no reference or mention of a relevant theory of language acquisition for children of bi/multilingual expertise and context.

Hence, the negotiations are about the whole ESL construct to move in with its functionalism into the mainstream to provide a "..positive, aware approach". To that end, the last section of the paper under reference, states:

"Since September all this has continued plus two new initiatives:

1. Integration of 1st phase Bi-Lingual pupils into the mainstream accompanied by an ESL teacher who collaborates with the class teacher. This is now happening in the second year in I.S., Science, Technology, English and Maths.
2. ESL teachers are now working in the mainstream with third, fourth and fifth year 2nd and 3rd phase pupils

Withdrawal is still taking place but now the emphasis is on supporting mainstream work.

The benefits are beginning to be reported. The class teachers involved are beginning to understand the language demands they and the curriculum make on the pupils and the ESL teachers are taking an active role in supporting pupils' learning and encouraging language development across the curriculum. Above all, the children are highly motivated and eager to succeed."

(Bi-Ling pup/MS)

While it is important to note the ESL department's assessment of its own work in the school, it is crucial to examine critically, the very basis of this work.

In the whole discussion in the paper under reference, the "positiveness" of "Bi-Lingualism" does not become apparent in any way. In fact it continues to down grade and "convey the messages of deficiency." (eg see tips given to mainstream teacher in the Bi-Ling pup/MS above) - the very premise on which the whole physical shift to the classroom is argued! Conclusively, therefore the invidious purpose of the discussion paper is:

1 to get the subject teachers to receive ESL pupils and teachers into the class room with a view that the ESL teachers will assist with the "Bi-Lingual" students and in the process "sensitise" the mainstream teachers;

2 to argue a further role and more high status job for ESL teachers by extending their role to other children as well as ESL /bilingual children, so as to cover up their specific involvement with the ESL/Bi-Lingual children - as defined and justified under S11;
3 (and thus) to promote their usefulness and 'advisory' capacity in teaching other teachers the functionalism of ESL.

The whole discussion revolves around ESL methodology and the change of terms for the children, from ESL to "Bi-Lingual." is only a change of terms and a new physical location for them and the ESL teachers (for they cannot very well call themselves "Bi-Lingual", can they?) Thus the de facto segregation, however invidious, remains in tact. Thus to riterate, in more details:

(1) the advice, "..marking ...one language item at a time.." with its specificity to the ESL/Bi-Lingual children, not only confirms the "messages of deficiency" and special approach but also assures the separate and segregatory style of marking. The only invention that can be claimed here is that it takes place within the mainstream classroom and in collaboration with two teachers;

(2) the advice, "Teachers should not be worried if pupils do not talk and remain fairly passive", formalizes the 'waiting period' and 'period of silence' as a sensible teaching strategy and in so doing ensures space and time period for the teachers.

In essence, it is a highly oppressive and suppressive model for the students. Oppressive, because, despite the 'awareness' of 'Bi-Lingualism', it assumes English to be the only legitimate language of expression, since the paper (Bi-Ling pup/MS) under reference states that:

"Until any pupil can formulate knowledge and information for themselves, in their own words, it is unlikely that they possess it or can use it."

Suppressive, because, the above advice would only provide a classroom environment where expression in any language other than English would be considered illegitimate. Thus the students
with their own language expertise and sophistication would have to recognise the enforced silence and passivity as this is built into teacher expectations of them.

Furthermore, the advice quoted in the second example, in fact, contradicts another piece of advice incorporated in the same paper which states, "..look for ways to maximise oral work.." thus creating pedagogical confusion.

Finally, this initiative (of promoting social integration), even as an exercise in race relations is not convincing as it totally ignores the ideological and historical message and totally avoids the question of power and power relationships. As an exercise in pedagogy and classroom practice it pays no regard to pupils' social contexts and likelihood of a variety of responses and perceptions they would have on this initiative and style of teaching. This omission or non-recognition of this very fundamental point in relation to teaching, illustrates a certain consensus of views from the ESL teachers, about how the students are 'expected' to behave ("periods of silence" etc) and consequently imply what would be deviant.

The contradictions and ideological assumptions illustrated here create not only pedagogical confusion resulting in frustrations but also undermine the 'professional' position of, especially, ESL teachers as teachers and mediators of race relations policies. Thus while the "messages of deficiency" remain, so does the marginalisation of provision, teachers and the pupils whether they are labelled ESL of "Bi-Lingual".

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Pedagogies and Practices

In this case study the best illustration of the thinking on this issue is one of the in-service sessions organised by the ESL department for teachers in the school which I attended. Here, "The Teaching of Bi-Lingual Pupils in the Mainstream" paper, was made available. The session was organised to show up the difference between a 'traditional' language lesson and another which was a more 'modern' and a 'simpler' method of teaching not just a language but also any subject in the curriculum. It was as follows:

Lesson in French - Demonstration 1
A picture and a paper with written text were given out. The text was read out by the teacher.

"OU VIVAIENT - ILS LES GENS PRIMITIFS
Voici une photo d'une colonie typique de gens primitifs. Il y avait beaucoup de raison pour lesquelles ils ont choisi d'y habiter. Ils etaient pres d'une riviere qui etait utile pour faire pêche et pour l'eau potable. La prairie fournissait un terrain pour construire leurs cabanes. La terre fertile etait bonne pour la cultivation et pour le paturage. Le marais etait trop humide pour celui-la. Ils habitaient pres des ferets ou ils ramassaient du bois pour le feu et ou ils pouvaient chasser des animaux sauvages pour la nourriture et s'en servir des peaux pour s'habiller. Les os d'animaux et le bois etait aussi utiles pour faire des outils et des armes. Les collines voisines etaient utiles comme protection d'ennemis."

The reading was followed by the Trainer asking:
"Any questions?" One person complained in English - "I can't understand what you are saying" - response: "Talk to your neighbour."

Questions were asked by the trainer to test comprehension of the text. Some who knew French responded. This was followed by
written work which was included on the initial handout as follows:

"Regardez la liste des besoins essentielles et choissisez ceux qui étaient la plus importante pour les gens primitifs. Dans vos cahier expliquer pourquoi.

les materieux des construction: les marais, un volcan, la terre fertile, le bois, l'eau, le sable nouvant, les roches,.." etc

Lesson in French - Demonstration 2

The same lesson was then taught differently. This time the picture was shown up on the OHP with some description in simple sentences and labelling main features on the visual images eg les fortes. The class was asked to work in pairs and to complete worksheet 1.

"WORKSHEET 1

A
Pres de la riviere
Pres de la foret
Pres de la prairie
Pres des collines
Loin des marais

B
Terre humide inutile pour la cultivation
Pour cultiver les ricotte at nourir les animaux
Protéger contre ennemis
Besoin d'eau potable
Besoin de bois pour le feu et les outils

A
Terrain
Pres de la riviere

B
Raison
Besoin d'eau potable"

This work was checked as a whole group activity - teacher asking/ student responding; accuracy of answers and pronunciation was corrected. Then the class was asked to do worksheet number 2 while the teacher went round to check and to help
**WORKSHEET 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrain</th>
<th>Pres de la</th>
<th>Pres de la</th>
<th>Pres des</th>
<th>Pres de la</th>
<th>Loin des</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>riviere</td>
<td>forêt</td>
<td>collines</td>
<td>prairie</td>
<td>marais</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A
B
C
D
E

Si vous étiez un génie primitif, dans quel terrain habiteriez-vous ?
Donnez vos raisons.
Si vous voulez, utilisez phrases suivantes :
Je choisirais terrain --------- .
Le terrain est pres du/de la ---------- .
Nous avons besoin de ---------- pour ---------- .

This demonstration was followed by a general discussion in which the Trainers made comments in English and French. Some of this is reproduced below when one of the Trainers asked:

- "What do you think?"
- "It was a good simulation of what it would be like to be an ESL kid."
- "I became disruptive. I can't do a thing. I started annoying B. This is totally alien to me. I actually now know two words in French. I learnt it from G."
- "This is often the case with the children, they learn from each other rather than the teacher."
- "I didn't understand even when I was being told I had done something well."
- "It is the assumptions."
- "As low-level language-users, we are engaged."
- "Some who knew the language well, could have been bored or found it tedious."
- "Chalking in a word would help an ESL kid."
- "More able children could move on and do other things."
- "This is a real nice eye-opener."
- "If no one took notice of me I would submit B's work as my own. I would be quite happy to do that."
- "We were looking at the language in our language and could talk to each other in our own language."
- "This demonstration was put on to make you aware of various ability groups that exist. You may be able to identify first phase pupils but not phase two pupils. If there are ESL teachers, they can go round and help the children."
- "Teaching bilingual children in the mainstream is not a mystery. Simple things can make language accessible. We are facilitating language learning across the school and across the curriculum."
- "Having three bilingual students in my maths group has been an advantage as it makes me slow down and write things more on the blackboard."
- "Body language - how you speak to them makes a lot of difference."

The description of this demonstration lesson, illustrates and substantiates the main points made earlier in Definitions and essential differences in the processes of language, which includes the critique of the ESL's main position paper mentioned above (Bi-Ling Pup/MS).

Subsequent to the process described in this section, the school has reorganised the language provision which has also been described earlier. One of the senior teachers/co-ordinators of this provision who was previously the Head of the ESL department in the same school, confirms that his expertise comes from that experience and that the present Head of the ESL department will be playing a major role in this 'new' initiative, together with other persons involved with EOP, incorporating gender issues. However, when I put the question:

".. is this initiative connected to ESL?" (PG 5(G))

the response was:

"No, the initiative is from the Head Teacher in designating new Senior Teacher post as Co-ordinator of LAC." (PG 5.1)

The response to the question:

"What does Language Across the Curriculum (LAC) mean?" (PG 1(G))

was:
"We have an on-going curriculum development Working Party in the English Department with education and language support. The bedrock is provided by the multicultural approach - vigilant on racist/sexist issues. This provides the parameters. Not looking into multiculturalism as something separate. This is on-going. Language Across the Curriculum shall be considering all aspects of learning through language. Emphasis on language demand by class course books and teachers' language. Improve on D.A.R.T.S worksheets/teaching strategies etc." (PG 1.1)

When I asked:

"What are the criteria for the change process envisaged?"
(PG 2(G))

I was informed that:

"We have invited a number of speakers from the ILEA Inspectorate who will be providing input on our LAC inset. A programme has been arranged from September, on: 1. Language Across the Curriculum 2. Life skills.

These will use 'Baker Days' and other directed hours as our two priority areas next year. Whole School Inset to introduce the concept of language across the curriculum. Not specific to 'bilingual'. For senior staff - role of coordinators etc department strategies - all our students' language needs.

A Coordinating committee will establish strategies and will look at: assessment/diagnostic matters, communication, race and gender.

It will be pragmatic-based approach to language across the curriculum. Individual departments will focus on the use and appropriacy of the text books (D.A.R. T.S)."
(PG 21)

and that:

"The above inset is our approach."
(PG 61)

The question I had asked on 'criteria' (PG 2) was a crucial question as the criteria generally state the fundamental position and give a clear direction as to WHY the initiative is being taken. It also makes it possible to assess the philosophical and theoretical position upon which the
The responses to this question was about the inset programme relating to 'approach' and some indication of WHAT but not the WHY, in the sense described above. There is a statement in response to my question:

"What has triggered this off?" (PG 3 (G))

which explains that:

"For fourteen years, 'Language Across the Curriculum' has been talked about - now open up in a practical way - to provide for learning environment and various language demands." (PG 13)

Though this in some ways indicates the reason WHY, it is not in any sense a critical or a rigorous discussion of what that means at a fundamental level on which any theoretical positions can be established. In fact, it declares quite clearly, its concern with "practical ways" and is thus not concerned with the redefinition of the premise for teaching but yet another exercise in reorganisation.

Class observation

At this school the opportunity to view lessons was initially through the Indian languages teacher. She was involved primarily in teaching the younger age group who had opted to take up one of the Indian languages - Hindi, Panjabi or Urdu which included pupils taking GCE/GCSE and A level. At times, she had a conglomeration of individuals, sometimes of mixed ages working on different languages within one class. On 29 January 1987, her class at 12 noon, in the first hour, included a sixth former
working on A level Hindi having passed her O level, and a third year Panjabi-speaking Muslim boy trying to learn Urdu. The teacher was hoping he would learn it well enough to attempt an O level examination in the summer.

During the second hour, four other students joined the class. Two of these were Urdu-speaking Muslims who were not very fluent and had to be taught from the start. There was one Arab, one Pole - both attempting to learn Urdu. The rationale for each pupil for learning Urdu was different and amongst them there was a broad variety of achievement targets.

Later on in the afternoon on the same day, there was a monolingual English pupil and a bilingual Punjabi/English-speaker wanting to learn Panjabi. Clearly, the teacher was having to cope with a variety of children, who between them covered a wide spectrum of age, ability, linguistic and cultural background, linguistic expertise/level, reasons for learning and so on. In addition to this, she was deeply concerned about the O-level and the new GCSE examination syllabuses.

She discussed one of the specimen papers at length and pointed out how all the Indian languages examined at O/GCSE level required a good standard in English and how none of the Indian languages were examined in their own right. At that point, the examination questions were required to be answered in English (this has altered since). Also, very importantly, the content of the papers was simplistic and aimed to examine basic functional skills (very similar to "Demonstration 2" in French,
reported in the previous section) irrespective of the high level of sophistication and expertise of some pupils in those languages and irrespective of their understanding of themselves and their world around them, conceptually in those languages.

However, it seemed that despite the gross inappropriateness of the examinations, teaching and putting forward candidates for these exams was 'good' for the school and of course it would give the relevant pupils an extra subject.

She quickly introduced me to the Equal Opportunities team leader and the Head of ESL. It was through this latter introduction that I gained some systematic observations including collaborative teaching and a certain amount of ESL withdrawal work with the third year children - described below. These substantiate and offer evidence towards the analysis presented under different sections of this study. Thus the presentation below (in the form of a commentary) is merely to illustrate the outcome of the 'policy' - as discussed throughout this study.
Class observations as per individual lessons:

Class: Withdrawal Group from 3rd year
Subject: ESL - follow-up to English lesson

Content: Work relating to a video they would be watching, on how a newscaster's video is made for presentation on the television. Previous work on 'Interviews' checked.

Approach: Handout "Making the News" containing a list of words. Some dictionary work as pupils required to: "Put in your own words what these words mean."

Language These included some technical words such as "newscaster" and others with wider implications, such as "authoritative", "speculative", "respectable", "selective" and so on. However, the wider conceptual and experiential aspects of these words, were not discussed. The meanings discussed, were from the dictionary and specific to "making the news". Some words were explained by the teacher as follows:

"'Predictable' - 'A' is predictable.
I know he will shout "miss, miss, miss".
It is not predictable that 'O' will forget his book."

Collaborative This ESL teacher worked with an English teacher in the mainstream. The withdrawal group was specific to the English lessons which were organised collaboratively.

Class: 3 'O' (the above withdrawal group joined the main class) Subject: English

Content: "Making the News".

Approach: The class was arranged ingroups. The children from the withdrawal group were split into twos and threes and placed with other groups. They were asked to work on the worksheet "Making the News" while the two teachers (ESL and English) went round assisting. Pupils were required to write their own answers. The whole group then went to view the video and was joined by a class timetabled to do 'life skills'. It became noisy and boisterous.

Language The English group was asked to write a piece on 'Journalism' for their newsletter. Those doing 'life skills' were explained how one gets "fed information" and they have to "learn to read between the lines". They were also given advice on applying for jobs. The general points made for both groups relating to the video presentations were factual and technical.
The information given: fixed length, studio set, job of the production team, behind the scenes, headlines, signature tunes, visual effects, entertainment.

Points made regarding the cultural norm: image of the newscaster - someone sitting at a desk, making sense of it all, same person speaking to you every day not moving around or talking to others, clean cut, responsible, speaking simply and quickly. The routine and the security of where it is coming from and the form it would take.

critical aspects presented: discussion on WHICH news, why/how?

Collaborative The main noticeable feature within the class was the presence of two members of staff.

Class: Withdrawal Group from 3rd year
Subject: ESL follow-up to English lesson

Content: Continuing discussion on journalism and writing - reference to an article.

Approach: Hand out - newspaper article an industry. Teacher introduced and explained position held e.g. Editor/Chief Editor of some one senior/principal.

Language How words such as "Blow"/"Boom" with reference to development: industry are used - for example -

T: "Give you a blow. What happens? You are hurt. What happens to a company? Gain money/lose money? Wind blows as well but we are not talking about that. Boom in industry - something getting more and more. New town boom, more jobs. What are we going to get, a blow or a boom?

St: Boom.

T: Read the next block. Cider made from apples in the West country. Cider boom? Cider boost? There is a difference between boom and boost but they are also interchangeable.

A student was asked to read aloud. Pronunciations corrected students were asked to explain "safety drive" / "control of tyres".

Teacher's comments: Drive a car.
                  Drive you to work hard.
                  Drive one round the bend.

What does it mean - to control people, to make them do something?

Then the students were asked to read a book quietly. Teacher went round to assist. Some discussion in pairs.

Page 191
Collaborative Preparing the withdrawn group for the whole class
Work: lesson as on previous occasions. During this
session, out of the six students, only two students
in the main responded to any of the question. Meanings of words,
messages and typical news headlines, were controlled by the
teacher, transmitting meanings and images without intervening
with possible racist/sexist connotations.

Class: 3 'O' as before (the above withdrawal group joined the
main class) Subject: English

Content: Introduction of an assignment.

Approach: Assignment explained, led by the ESL teacher while
the English teacher wrote the instructions on the
board:

T: The copy was taken from a news editor, you have to work out
the story. Look at the piece you are given, write out the first
2 paragraphs of the story. These are the most important
paragraphs - choose what page the story should go in and work out
a headline.

Language Key word PRESERVATION /FIRE /WARM etc Assignments
Development: handed out to each of the six groups - same
composition - as in the previous week. Teachers
went round to assist. Very little work was done in the group
nearest to me. In this group there was hardly any discussion
among the group members themselves. A few biros were broken
and one student painted a biro with tippex. They were quizzing
each other about what to write. I asked one ESL student what
he had written,

He replied, "Nothing miss."

I asked another and the response was,

"I wrote this, miss." - (half a page of work).

Books were collected.

Given the double staffing and S.11 funded ESL post, the necessary
serious and challenging work to extend the students into an area
of self affirmation and acquisition of the English language was
missing. The whole collaborative arrangement did not show any
additional real output. There was no clear process of monitoring
or evaluation of this process through which to judge or assess
the outcome.
Class: 3 'O' (including the withdrawal group)  Subject: English

Content: Continuation of the above.
Approach: Sitting and working in groups.

Language Development: The students were asked to work in pairs reading out stories and sharing with each other. Then each group was asked to select one person to read out a story. The group I had been following, selected the English boy. He asked to read one of the ESL students's story who objected to this.

Class: 3rd year (including ESL withdrawal group and an ESL teacher) Subject: Science - double lesson

Content: Experiment with starch and sucrose with an enzyme.
Approach: Teacher wrote the experiment on the board while the students copied it into their notebooks. Then the experiment was conducted. After the practical work, the teacher asked questions about what had happened and wrote up notes on the board for the students to copy.

Language Development: Mostly copying from the board. Some brief answers by some students when the teacher asked questions. Teachers went round and checked the work as the students copied the work.

Collaborative Work: The ESL teacher's and the Science teacher's roles were no different during this session, though the Science teacher did most of the input.

Class: 3rd years ESL Withdrawal Group
Subject: Science/ESL follow-up lesson

Content: Revision lesson due to the end of term exams.
Approach: Banda machine not working well - some simple notes handed out for the following work.

Language Development: Reference to the morning Science lesson.

Teacher illicited the details and wrote on the board.

Similar exercise on Vitamins A, B, C & D.

St: What about E?
T: We will only look at the four vitamins not E.

Went on to calcium and iron.
T: What is insulation - it keeps you warm
St: Why do you have seven skins?
T: You have two.
St: I learn in Arabic Science - when you cut, you do not bleed until you cut seven skins.

Biscuits has fat.
T: It has carbohydrate
St: But it has animal fat.
T: (No comment)

Collaborative Basically a simplified repetition of the morning
Work: Science lesson by the ESL teacher. There was a
clear avoidance to picking up and affirming or
even discussing students' different perceptions which reflected
their specific knowledge and which had to do with the reality of
their life eg: diet - animal fat in biscuits.

Class: 3rd year (including ESL Withdrawal Group)
Subject: Science - double lesson, revision

Content: Explanation about the exam and revision of various
topics i.e. alimentary canal etc.

Approach: Hand out - 1st worksheets - answers on the board.
2nd worksheet - answers to be looked up in notes
and written in.

Language Development: I checked the work of the ESL students, they had
got most of it but were a little mixed up with
carnivore and herbivore. The ESL teacher was
absent.

Class: 3rd year ESL Withdrawal Group
Subject: Science/ESL follow-up

Content: Science revision - carbohydrates, digestive
system, enzymes and teeth.

Approach: Simplified worksheets to revise.

At this point, I left this class. The children were bored, they
had done this repetitive work too many times. However, while I
was in the ESL classroom where the withdrawal groups generally
met, I observed and noted the display. This is listed below.
Door to wall: Pin-up board

1. 24 hour emergency phone leaflet - URGENT HELP re: racial attacks etc.
2. Postcard.
3. Sets of timetables:
   a) identifying withdrawal group and coloured dot for one of seven teachers
   b) support mainstream and coloured dot for one of seven teachers
   c) materials / skills and overall syllabus.
4. Sheet identifying exam / private study cover.
5. Large display of postcard-size photos entitled: TRIP TO ARUNDEL - not sure if they were ESL children though all of them were black.

Filing cabinet - shelf full of books.

Back wall

1. Cut out map of Canada - surrounded by small pictures of sites and writing.
2. Indian dancer.
3. Two pictures (small) of flowers in a vase.
4. Two bits of brief written work (student's)
5. Map of India/Iran - 2 Iranian flags and 2 pieces of written work.
6. Peru sites/excerpts from a magazine and two maps of Peru (by students).
7. Different pictures of cooked foods and recipes from: Lebanon, Afghanistan, Syria, Japan, Vietnam and Iran.
8. One small piece of calligraphy (Arabic / Urdu ?)
9. Some drawings e.g. Jaws, scene, car etc.
11. World map with different pictures around it with label of country, images of people, buildings.
12. Some poster-sized pictures and poster on Racial Harassment is a crime.
13. A chart saying "WELCOME" in different languages and scripts.

Window wall, Blackboard wall

Posters - tourism style - map of India showing people.

The display partly showed a commercial representation of the countries of the world some of which was stereotypical ie Indian Dancer. The students' work was in relation to that as on the Indian / Iran map.

Nearer to home, the main issue on display was about Racial Harassment but no written reflecting the students' understanding of their culture and experiences as British people / residents was displayed.
Class: 3rd year Option Group (5 students)  Subject: Urdu lesson

Content: Varied eg [Ye mera bhai hai] This is my brother.

Approach: Mostly copying - separate work.

Language Development: One student wrote about eight to ten lines, five times over. He asked what they meant. The teacher read out the translation and he copied it.

Collaborative Work: The teacher spoke different languages including English but the instructions were mainly in English.

The same group was observed the following week.

The content was varied and the approach was similar.

Language Development: I observed another student. He was copying a story in Urdu. His writing was beautiful. He had studied Urdu in Pakistan and was planning to take a GCSE/O level which required translation into English. He was also an ESL student but was confident that he would do well in the exam.

The rest of the group had to copy out sentences:

[Mere pas dho hath hein] I have two hands

[Mere pas ek sir hein] I have one head

Then they had a brief check on their vocabulary. For homework, they had to practice writing out each sentence five times.
Summary of main observations - Case study 2

The context and the background
The school's student population is 'diverse' incorporating about forty seven different languages. Over half the population is classified as European. The families are economically well-to-do though black families are subject to institutionalised racism in terms of housing and employment opportunities at borough and local authority level. In the results of an inquiry into LEA's recruitment practice, racism was pinpointed as a major issue by black teachers and students.

Policy issues
The issue of racism is diffused by the LEA as it ignores the definition of black in favour of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. Thus defined, it is marginalised under special borough level MSS (Multicultural Support Service), under which teachers are appointed to teach in the school to deal with mainly black students as ESL and Community Language teachers mostly funded through SLT, clearly related to race relations, some of whom carry a brief to participate in EOP. The school is involved in developing its own EOP - mainly a code of discipline - but is critical of the LEA's lack of support.

The discussion and provision on language and language development for bi/multilingual students is fragmented as in Swann with its accompanying confusion and contradictions. The black languages are referred to as community languages but are subsumed under the
modern languages department with the community language teacher holding dual brief from the Head of Department as well as MSS. This arrangement is now being superimposed with a scale E Co-ordinator post to introduce language across the curriculum in which ESL experts will play a key role and whose department is renamed as Language Support instead of ESL.

Language and transmission

Some evidence of the understanding of the issue of ideological transmission or racism was collected from one teacher, but the level of internalisation of the core value system showed his inability to make any real planned intervention with it in class or within the school environment. With another teacher, the question of affirmation was seen to be in competition with passing examinations.

The theoretical considerations of language acquisition for bi/multilingual students were articulated only in relation to language support through ESL and Community languages. The ESL teachers' position was being reorganised as collaborative teachers to remove the stigma of ESL and to promote the 'positiveness' of bilingualism as advisers to mainstream teachers though some withdrawal work was still continuing. However, the essential thinking on teaching approach and methodology was based on the premise of ESL which defines the ESL learners as deficient hence setting up the de facto segregation inside the classroom and defeating its aim to promote social integration.
The main concern here was to promote the ESL expertise to the mainstream class teachers - based on teaching French to English speakers - while not intervening with the overall deficiency oriented view of the bilinguals. This meant learning to simplify and dilute the substance of the material for teaching and concentrating on teaching functional English. There was no evidence of addressing issues of racism nor of taking up the specific experiences of students (i.e., those not inkeeping with the expected parameters of the topic under discussion). The classroom observations brought this out quite clearly.
CONCLUSION TO CASE STUDIES 1 & 2

The most important message from the case studies is the precision with which reproduction takes place. This study's main inquiry is about the transmission, reproduction and structuralisation of the ideological overview of black people. The purpose of the case studies was to explore how this happens and whether there is any direct intervention with this process. The detailed presentation of the case studies in this chapter following the analysis of policies, shows that while there is some understanding of the ideological transmission of racism specifically through the English language, there is no evidence of direct or systematic action at a fundamental level to intervene with this process (neither at individual nor institutional levels) in policy or curriculum matters. In fact what is overwhelmingly evident is the precision with which the definition is reproduced at classroom level - as described in the class observation sections of each of the case studies.

The case studies show that the definition of black people as deficient and, therefore, disadvantaged remains. There are some times different terms used but the meaning is unaltered. The definition of black people as a problem has remained though the term 'problem' is not generally used except unguardedly as revealed in some of the interviews.

Similarly, both the language of discourse about black people and the problematic definition of black people remain intact and are structuralised resulting in the defacto segregation of black
pupils especially on linguistic grounds - as seen in the case studies. The ESL and such other provisions are a manifestation of this reality.

The derogatory definition of black people, derived through the ideological transmission has been the significant CRITERION in the formulation and implementation of policies, the outcome of which was observed at classroom level in the form of SII funded staff and special provision of compensatory and supportive nature.

The case studies also show the frustration and confusion of professionals and the school bodies due to the contradictions built into the whole discourse about black people and the special provision created for them - which they are left to put into practice. The teachers and others who are employed specifically to work in this area find themselves in a marginalised position on the periphery of the mainstream provision engaged increasingly in a mediating role to control the 'diversity' element instead of operating clearly thought through and relevant educational strategy for the multicultural and multilingual population.

The evidence from the two case studies is interesting in its similarity on the language front as the ILEA school had all the makings of promoting 'bilingualism' because of the very large overall majority of one - Bangladeshi/Sylheti - language group, while the Ealing school had a very large variety of languages amongst its pupils. Despite the difference, both schools were in their own way reproducing the nationally defined discourse and as a result reproducing the same inevitable model of assimilation.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION - ANALYSIS OF ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This concluding chapter covers the policy analysis, the literature review as well as the case studies. Thus the conclusions are not limited to the empirical work only and are therefore more general. The chapter is organised as follows:

1 main conclusions based on evidence presented in this thesis;
2 analysis of issues in relation to the conclusions;
3 recommendations for change and intervention.

1 Main conclusions

In studying the policy responses and implementation generated in the education sector due to the black presence, I have shown the English Language and the ideological transmission through its use as the most crucial context. Chapter II (Literature Review) presents evidence of the ideological transmission of racism the distorted view of black inferior and white superior; and the resulting imbalanced and oppressive power relationships between black and white people. The analysis of policies in chapter IV (at mainly national level) and chapter V (at mainly local, school and classroom level) provides conclusive evidence of the continuing presence and transmission of the racist ideology mainly and essentially, through the English Language. It is through this crucial process that it provides a distorted and illusory definition of 'diversity' and multi-dimensions of the current British society. This is elaborated and analysed in the following section.

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This evidence, especially chapter IV and V show the role and power of the English Language to define and reproduce at an institutional level, the distorted and imbalanced power relationships between black and white people. This context creates the language of discourse which is structuralised. The structuralisation and institutionalisation of the discourse is of fundamental importance. The language of discourse has its powerful outcome in the building of structures which contain and maintain the definitions. The language of discourse provides the NORM and the CRITERIA for all policy responses in the education sector. The implementation and more importantly, the MEDIATION of these policies are based on these distorted criteria which inevitably produce contradictions, confusion and frustration at all levels but are felt deeply within the body of the school and in the classrooms where the teachers and managers feel de-skilled and incapable, on not only dealing/coping with black people, but also teaching them, as they are supposed to be professionally trained and paid to do.

The second most important conclusion arrived at from this research is the location and rooting of policy responses made to handle the black presence. These are primarily dictated by national politics defined by the Central Government and subsequently by the DES as argued in the study. They are based on the model of assimilation and activated with Race Relations Legislation and the industry that has grown around it. Also, very crucially, they are funded largely through special funding - Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 - which as it
is made available by the Home Office, reflects that the policies too are directly or indirectly governed by the Home Office, whose main function is to keep law and order in the country. The policies that are prepared and the resources that are provided to manage the black presence are thus primarily not related to educational or teaching strategies, but have political and social functions and, therefore, are peripheral to the mainstream within the education sector by their very nature and definition.

2 Analysis of major issues

The concept of diversity

Diversity or pluralism is a universal reality. The white response to this is generally not to consider the white ethnic diversity or its own white collective context but to see it on an individual basis in terms of personal likes and dislikes. However, the black presence triggers off the diversity dimension and references are made to diversity and pluralism through a variety of terms to describe the black presence. This is a racialised and distorted view of this concept. This is seen in the ambiguous way in which various terms such as multicultural, multi-ethnic, multiracial and so on, are used interchangeably and euphemistically to refer to black people. Furthermore, the definition of black people as encapsulated in the English Language gives the meanings of 'deficient' and therefore 'problematic' as well as 'abnormal'.

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Thus the definition ensures the location of black people on the periphery of the mainstream institutions and structures. The use of the English Language as the language of power, provides not only the base line upon which structures are created and maintained, but also the national consensus about black people and their position in British society.

Policy responses

Since the concept of diversity and pluralism is illusory, the policy responses to it are primarily modelled on the process of altering the reality of diversity to conform with the 'normality' of white linguistic/cultural norms and to be assimilated into the white panorama (though there are difficulties arising from the colour differences). However, the rhetoric about black people and policies in response to their presence have contradictions built into them which are transmitted down the line. The contradictions set in at the point of conceptualisation of policies when the purpose/function of the policies governed by ideological forces (inferior view of black people) contradict some fundamental universal (and Christian) principles such as 'all human beings are equal'. These contradictions are carried through to the process of formulation of policies which propagates a fundamental premise and uses the definitions and criteria established therein for constructing structures, and institutional practices and procedures which inevitably contain the meanings which are regenerated, maintained and reproduced in the process.
The mediation of these policies, therefore, becomes oppressive and almost impossible, resulting in confusion and frustration at the school and classroom levels, and the implementation of policies becomes a game of innovative reorganisation and management, reinforcing the existing imbalanced black and white relationship.

The Equal Opportunities Policy is the most important example of this process as it is the main response to the black presence and is used as a mechanism to control the position of black people (as well as white women and disabled people) in the society. On the one hand, it is argued that the Equal Opportunities Policy is everybody's concern and yet on the other hand, it is not integral to mainstream provision. The premise upon which efforts are made to provide EOP, precludes examination and alteration of what exists. In the absence of this clarity and proper mechanism for implementation, all the EOPs are 'tokenistic' on the basis that they have neither the rigour to examine the issue of 'inequality' at its very core, nor the necessary strategies to tackle the ideological cause of the inequalities.

A very popular argument in defence of this situation is that we cannot change everything at once and by putting on 'some' kind of provision, we begin to shift the debate, raise people's awareness and change their attitudes. Such defensive arguments are made basically to shift the premise of the discussion. It is not a questioning of the analysis or the fundamental position of the concept of equality.
Given the construct of the EOP, the arguments that are presented are almost automatic and mechanistic. The construct is also internalised by professionals guarding the EOP to a point whereby they put forward these arguments with strength and conviction to their colleagues who they have the brief to coordinate/advise. But they use the same arguments to establish their powerlessness within the structure. They are defensive and powerless because they do not, and in fact cannot, refute the analysis and the reality of racism which operates in the institutions despite the EOP.

It is clear that the premise upon which the EOP is formulated, is distorted and without rigour. The gender/race parallels are treated together and are incorporated in bland statements. It is not possible to combat the 'parallels' jointly as both 'sexism and racism' as phenomena, emanate from different CONTEXTS and ideologies. When the parallels are taken as 'common' issues to the discussion on gender and race, they do not distinguish the differences in the gender debate within different cultural groups and specifically the tension between white and black women or the white gender solidarity on the issue of racism.

Thus, statements that lack specificity on the CONTEXT, the IDEOLOGY, the historical legacy of sexism, classism and racism, are meaningless and ineffective in terms of creating an impact or FUNDAMENTAL change. Instead they create a series of temporary deflections via new 'projects', 'initiatives' and so on.
Whilst this takes up a lot of the financial and human resources for a stretch of time, the issues come back with greater intensity and create on-going aggravation, undermining professional confidence highlighting the lack of rigour showing up conflicts and inability to cope at the management level. This process was clearly evident at both schools but in its most degraded form in the school in Tower Hamlets. As a test for ILEA's highly acclaimed policy, this school proves its sheer lack of rigour and relevance in combatting racism, without which there cannot be the equality of opportunity or outcome as far as the black and white power relationship is concerned.

Race relations

Similarly, at national level, the Race Relations Legislation of 1976 is a major policy forming legislation in terms of the black and white power relationship. However, this too shows lack of rigour and the builtin contradictions which make this legislation a mockery as it is incapable of offering protection to black people or combatting racism at the ideological level. This is a direct result of the political strategy to deny black as a political colour. This denial is a powerful means of blocking any kind of meaningful and lasting shift in the power relationship. Equally, the definition of racism when attempted is universalised to incorporate all sorts of 'prejudices' and 'discriminatory' practices that may occur between various ethnic groups such as the English and the Welsh, without differentiating and without contextualising the origins of these various
prejudices and discriminations.

For instance, the CRE's definition of 'racial harassment' as a means of leading to "evidence of racism", refers to:

"individuals or groups because of their colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins, when the victim believes that the perpetrator was acting on racial grounds and/or there is evidence of racism."

CRE (1988)

This definition is a deflection from racism which is about WHITE power to define the BLACK reality in Britain. In any case, it does not define racism and is therefore unable to prove or prohibit racism. In law, what is not prohibited, is allowed. In the context of Britain therefore, by omitting to define it, RACISM IS DENIED. The law provides for action against DISCRIMINATION and RACIAL DISCRIMINATION based on a definition of 'racial' as above. Hence, while the social meaning of race and ethnic is colour-coded backed by a specific ideology and context, the universalised definition is 'free-for-all' and open to all kinds of interpretations without the reference to 'racism'. However, it is within Section 71 of this legislation that EOPs up and down the country are generated. It states that:

"...it shall be the duty of every local authority to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need a. to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination; and b. to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups"

CRE (1981)
Language provision

The cumulative effect of this distortion is only able to address assimilation as a method of dealing with the black presence. Hence they are constantly located on the periphery of the mainstream. The means of entry into the mainstream is facilitated through marginalised funding - Section 11 - and marginalised and buffer structures defined under ESL, bilingualism, multiculturalism, race relations advisers and specialist teachers, often black, or those whites who have had previous experiences of dealing with black people. This thrust is mainly felt at school and classroom levels and very crucially, through the language debate. The language debate is fragmented because it is a product of the same ideological reference point and, additionally, is defined mainly by monolingual white English speaking teachers and educationalists. The debate has neither rooting in a credible theory of multilingualism nor is it able to address the issue of the hierarchy of languages where black languages are especially concerned. The white linguists argue about ethnocentrism not recognising that:

"ethnocentrism is a principle of invidious group distinction whereas racism is a philosophy or ideology of racial exploitation." Wilson (1973)

Hence, the extreme confusion and disintegration at classroom level where the school in Tower Hamlets with 90% Bengali was trying to assimilate them into the white middle class oriented curriculum and core value system. It was operating, like other schools, a theory of exclusion. The illusory concept of diversity promoting the model of assimilation is at the root of this.
The assimilative model has placed teachers of ESL in a moral and educational dilemma. They are aware, as a result of massive protests by black people, that the assimilative model through ESL is unworkable and unteachable. It has become an oppressive code - both for the pupils and the teachers. One of the major components of an oppressive code is the whole issue of disguise. Teachers operating it through ESL consistently argue that pupils will have to learn English as a Second Language in order to fit in, but are unable to address the first language of the pupils. Thus the process can only result in contradictions and confusion - especially because the rhetoric surrounding this issue is about how ESL can be made integral to the mainstream. Hence, the mismatch between the basic definition of the premise which introduces the provision and the requirement (of integration into the mainstream) of its use by the teachers at classroom level.

In such a consistently confused and contradictory environment, both the teachers and students come under constant pressures and tensions. This is manifest clearly with ESL teachers. ESL and other related initiatives based on this model including community language teaching have, therefore, become highly oppressive. ESL's disguise as an essential educational stage for children from multilingual backgrounds is really an instrument of assimilation. The element of disguise is the evidence of it being oppressive. Equally, the provision resulting from policies defined on the premise of race relations, is irrelevant and unimplementable in educational terms and, therefore, both the input and the ensuing responses result in alienation.
The main outcome of all the 'busy-ness' in restructuring the provision, collaborative teaching and language across the curriculum has resulted in no significant changes in the life chances of the pupils, only different and better status for (mainly white and monolingual) ESL teachers. Thus, the language that defined this position at the point of its conceptualisation, has been powerfully transmitted to predetermine the language discourse and so the forces and challenges that have come into play during the later stages of implementation have created some variations and reorganisation but they have generally not been able to deviate from the original dictates that have defined, formulated and constructed the framework of the language policies. The fundamental defining force which gave birth to ESL and its subsequent process of reorganisation under 'bilingualism' and 'collaborative teaching' - discussed in the "CASE STUDIES", - illustrates this analysis. Equally, the definition of black people and their structural and institutional locations at a fundamental level is maintained, validated and disseminated. Hence, the claim that pre ERA 1988, there was decentralisation of the curriculum and post ERA 1988 there is to be a centrally controlled curriculum, is insignificant to this discussion as the ideological message has been transmitted with precision through the curriculum, research and policy responses even when the DES claimed to be decentralised. The main change, post ERA, is the omission of a policy on racism leaving local authorities and managers to tackle the issues or ignore them as they see fit.

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3 Recommendations

This study has discussed the meaning and importance of 'language' and established it as a crucial key to the development of the human psyche and its role in creating social context and power relationships. The ideological messages contained in the English Language have been analysed to show the role it plays as the most powerful language in Britain with a high level of international influence in defining the social and structural position of black and white people.

Given this evidence and the oppression that is suffered, there is a very clear direction that can be taken within the education sector to bring about change. However, this study has also shown that there is a lot of resistance to change at the ideological and fundamental levels. The resistance however, cannot be maintained because the price is too high for both white and black people, nationally and internationally. Incidents such as the terrible murder of 13 year old Ahmed Iqbal Ullah at Burnage High School mass discrimination of Asian pupils by Calderdale Local Education Authority as revealed by the CRE in 1986 and the disintegration of the ILEA school evidenced in CHAPTER V of this study clearly show the cost of not changing. In all the cases named above, there has been a policy specially formulated to handle the black presence and in each of these cases, they have precipitated great injustices. The cost, therefore, is not simply financial; it incorporates the disintegration of professional standards, human lives, the human psyche and principles of equality and justice.
As a result, change must be addressed at the fundamental and ideological levels so that the diversity of black and white and cultures within black and white, including gender, class, religion and so on, becomes a part of the NORMALITY. Failing this, all organisational efforts to incorporate or to assimilate the black presence will continue to be marginal, peripheral, cosmetic, tokenistic, grotesquely patronising and more invidiously and subtly racist. Bringing black studies and black languages without critically analysing contents of the existing white curriculum and language is only another method of perpetuating the old phenomenon of non-affirmation of black people and ignoring the power relationship and hierarchy of languages and cultures.

For any credible change, there must be INTERVENTION with the ideological transmission of racism which continues to dehumanise black people and distort the psyche of white people. The INTERVENTION needs to redefine the distorted view and question the power relationship. It needs to operate a model of diversity instead of a model of assimilation which is built on cultural racism dictated by the belief in the superiority of white culture. The PREMISE of change is all important. To intervene with the 'cause' of racism is the clear and simple but profound premise for change. It defines the philosophical and theoretical positions and provides the criteria and the parameters within which power relationships may be established and the mechanics of change addressed.
Based on such an intervention this premise, the pursuit of multilingualism and multiculturalism would mean creation of space to explore the diversity to establish a sense of unity but not uniformity or conformity, thus evolving a multiplicity of norms which inform the CRITERIA for institutional and structural policies and practices. In such a process, both the black and white professional educationalists would share a jointly negotiated platform from which mainstream curricula for language development and education can be defined and offered to a culturally and linguistically diverse population.
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APPENDIX A

Neighbourhood English Classes

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"CAN YOU SPEAK ENGLISH?"

NEIGHBOURHOOD ENGLISH CLASSES is . . .

an independent non-profit-making organisation founded in 1970 to meet a genuine need. We arrange classes in everyday English for adult immigrants, many of them parents, whose adjustment to life in England is hampered by their inability to communicate effectively.

THERE ARE NOW ABOUT 60 NEIGHBOURHOOD CLASSES in and around North London. Some are for women, some for men wishing to find suitable jobs, and many are mixed classes for working people. Our numbers increase every month, for the need is great and NEC feels it is a matter of urgency to respond.

HOW DO WE TEACH PEOPLE WHO SPEAK DIFFERENT LANGUAGES IN THE SAME CLASS? Our teachers are qualified in modern methods of language teaching. With the help of volunteer assistants we also teach people with differing standards in the same classroom. We use our own courses designed by our teachers to meet student needs, and revised regularly to incorporate current ideas. We adapt the course to the student. For men needing confidence in speaking we teach the special vocabulary for work-seeking. We also prepare and run language training courses for people working in industry or hospitals.

WHERE DO WE FIND OUR STUDENTS? Many are referred to us by health visitors, schools, or local branches of the Employment Service Agency. Students themselves are encouraged to enrol their non-English-speaking neighbours and friends. We visit all prospective class members in their homes to explain the service we offer and to escort new students to class on their first day.

WHERE DO NEC CLASSES MEET? In clinics, schools, church halls, wherever there is a neighbourhood need and a suitable and easily accessible place. But we do not confine our teaching to the classroom. Students need to be equipped for the complexities of everyday life and to play their part in the community. We go on bus, tube and train journeys with them, visit parks and palaces, go on picnics, give parties, go shopping, and in general give them as broad a spectrum of...
experiences as we can. They learn how to use the telephone, how to tell the doctor where it hurts, how to talk to their children's teachers and to their neighbours. Although many of our students are literate in their own languages, learning a new script is not easy. We give them practice in filling in forms, and in writing their own names and the names of their children.

Some mothers bring their pre-school children to class with them. We try to arrange creche facilities, and when we can, provide play-leader staff to help accustom these young children to pre-school play and materials.

WHO SUPPORTS NEC? We have received encouragement and financial support from the Community Relations Commission, from local Community Relations Councils and from several charitable trusts and foundations. Most of our classes are held under Local Authority auspices. Teachers are usually paid by the local authority and premises often provided. Students pay the usual L.E.A. adult education fees directly to the Authority. N.E.C. supplies the planning and organising expertise and the administrative skills. Our volunteers attend one class session a week, supporting the teacher by giving individual help where it is needed. In some areas, NEC volunteer home tutors visit house-bound students for regular individual English language practice as a stepping stone to joining a class.

THE SCOPE OF NEC WORK IS ALWAYS EXPANDING . . . We are always interested in new ideas and people to make them work. Underlying our work as language teachers is the appreciation that we are now a multi-ethnic society. We believe that in such a society the ability and skill to communicate with one another is of paramount importance.

DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO CONTRIBUTE? If so, write or telephone: NEC WANTS TO KNOW. We need people qualified to teach our students; to help voluntarily in classes and extra-murally, as home tutors; with organising skills, ideas, enthusiasm and enterprise . . . and the funds to make it all possible.

December 1974
APPENDIX B

Home Tutor Organiser - Job Description
HARROW HOME TUTOR ORGANISER/LANGUAGE CO-ORDINATOR

JOB DESCRIPTION: Home Tutoring involves the teaching of functional, every day English to immigrant families. The pupils, mostly Asian women, are taught on a one-to-one basis in their own homes and the lessons are free. The lessons usually last for about 1 to 1½ hours and are given once a week. Pupils are usually those who for one reason or another cannot leave their homes to attend classes but they are always encouraged to join classes as soon as possible.

This organiser is appointed on a full or part-time basis to Neighbourhood English Classes, a voluntary educational organisation teaching English to adult immigrants. (For more details see descriptive leaflet attached)

The rate of remuneration and conditions of service (annual leave, sick pay, notice, car allowance) are based on the Soulbury Scale for Assistant Educational Advisers (£2937 - £3171)

The post can be superannuable if required.

Hours of work: 35 hours per week (full time); not less than 25 hours per week part time. Flexible to include one/two evenings and/or week-ends.

The organiser will be responsible to B.E.C. and will also be required to work in close association with the Harrow College of F.E.

The work includes:

1. Recruiting, visiting and assessing new pupils. Referring them to B.E.C. or other suitable classes or matching them with suitable Home Tutors.

2. Recruiting new tutors, briefing them in personal interviews. Referring potential teachers, class room volunteers and other potential workers to B.E.C.

3. Allocating, matching pupils and home-tutors.

4. General supervision of tutors—personal contact, obtaining reports; handling enquiries from tutors and pupils; arranging informal meetings, sending out informative circulars.

5. Guidance/advice and support of tutors, including advice and supply of teaching materials, books. Organising training/refresher courses/seminars, etc., in consultation with B.E.C. and the Harrow College of F.E.

6. Liaison with agencies such as clinics, social workers and other likely sources of students for Home Tutoring or NEC classes.

7. Liaison with appropriate local organisations and agencies in connection with the general running of the scheme, the promotion and encouragement of classes and of other activities of the organisation.

cont.....2........
(viii) Keeping such records of Home Tutors, pupils, finances and other matters as may be required from time to time. Submit regular reports, accounts of expenditure etc.

(ix) Such co-ordinating, contact and similar work (including attendance at meetings) representing organisation on other bodies as the organisation may from time to time require you to do.

The appointment will be for 3 years subject to an initial trial period of 4 months.

(x) To work under the guidance of Harrow co-ordinating Committee and in close association with N.E.C. and H.C.F.E.
APPENDIX C

Questionnaire
QUESTIONNAIRE C1

Broad areas/questions - observation/interview.

POWER RELATIONSHIPS CONSIDERED IN ALL SECTIONS:

A. CONTEXT & B. INPUTS

1. Facts about the school:
   description of the setting, background, location, composition, structural, organisational etc.

2. Home/community/police links alternative education
   i.e. supplementary community initiative/support.


4. Timetabling - language provision
   - location

5. Materials and Environment - selection, images, cultural bias, content, language; multicultural/
   multilingual; mainstream or add on.

C. PROCESSES - Educational, pedagogy, curriculum.

1. Understanding/awareness:
   - language, transmission. English language (sexism/
     cultural racism/classism)
   - why we teach language/s
   - affirmation/non affirmation, what that means

2. Theoretical:
   - monolingual - multilingual, what it means
   - theory of language acquisition - essential differences?
   - language of instruction, which/why

D. PRODUCT

Examination - what is being examined
   - criteria for entry
   - choice of language/s
   - whose responsibility
QUESTIONNAIRE C2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Rationale for the policy
- educational concerns
- understanding of the issue
- why/compartmentalisation
- age groups - primary/secondary/further education
  - continuity

Specific target
- staffing
- curriculum

Resources

Budget - total education budget
- reallocation
- extra funding
- are policy issues funded through main budget or special funding
- MONITORING: re stated targets plus
  OUTCOME; account for "special funding"
- community involvement
- statutory/community initiatives

Implementation

- mechanics/structures
- special appointments
- INSET - certification
- how does the rationlae that dictates policy actually relate to
  practice in school
QUESTIONNAIRE C3

This questionnaire was piloted with one or two people before it was put to use.

What are the aims and objectives of the department you work in? What are your views about that?

Are there any school policies? Is there a school's policy on language? What is your involvement in it? Do you have any specific responsibility? How do you view this policy/ies in terms of its purpose and the way it operates?

Language is the most important tool in schools, as all subjects are taught using one or other aspect of language and through this, transmission takes place.

Have you any philosophical and/or theoretical position about it? What do you think is transmitted on the question of gender, race and class through English language? What part does English language play in the process of affirmation/nonaffirmation of students who come from a multiplicity of cultural and linguistic backgrounds?

How would you define: monolingual, bilingual and multilingual? What do you think are the essential differences in the process of language acquisition for students of this description?

Given the philosophical and theoretical positions about language, what in your judgement, is the most appropriate and relevant educational strategy for language development and education? i.e. methods/approaches. What dictates your choice of material for teaching?

Do you personally or the school, have links with the community, the police or the children's home? Do you personally or your department have any kind of connection, involvement or working relationship with supplementary education, community initiative in your area? Do you have any views on these that you can share with me?

What kind of process of assessment and/or examination do you have as an individual professional teacher and your department? What is the purpose and the rationale?
APPENDIX D

Summary of Interviews and Observations
SCHOOL IN ILEA

Interviews:

(A) Staff

Interviewee No of interviews

Head teacher 2
Head & teacher of foreign languages 1
Head of Bengali 3
Head of ESL 2
Black teacher representing black teachers 1
1st ESL teacher 1
2nd ESL teacher 1
Acting Head of English 2
Teacher representing black teachers 1
Resident artist from Whitechapel Gallery 2
Deputy Head of Mathematics 1
Science teacher 3

(B) Students

Interviewee No of interviews

1st 'fifth year' 1
2nd 'fifth year' 1
3rd 'fifth year' 1
4th 'fifth year' 1
5th 'fifth year' 1
5 'fifth years' 1 (group)
1st 'second year' 1
2nd 'second year' 1
3rd 'second year' 1
3 'second years' 1 (group)

Observations:

Details of class/subjects No of observations

English/ESL collaborative teaching 2
Bengali 1
Science/ESL collaborative teaching 3
Bengali (fifth year option) 2

Additionally, attended: 1 ESL meeting

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SCHOOL IN LONDON BOROUGH OF EALING

Interviews:

(A) Staff

Interviewee No of interviews
Headteacher 2
Head of foreign/community languages 1
Community language teacher 2
Head of ESL 2
Teacher with responsibility for EOP 2
1st ESL teacher 2
2nd ESL teacher 1
English teacher 2
PGCE student from Institute of Education involved with community languages 1
Deputy Head 1
Masters student from Institute of Education involved with ESL 1

(B) Students

Interviewee No of interviews
1st 'third year' 1
2nd 'third year' 1
3rd 'third year' 1
4th 'third year' 1
5th 'third year' 1
3 'fifth years' 1 (group)

Note: The five students referred to as 'third years' had in fact only spent two years at the school.

Observations:

Details of class/subject No of observations
English/ESL collaborative teaching 3
ESL withdrawal English 2
Science/ESL collaborative teaching 2
ESL withdrawal science 2
Community language teaching (2 separate groups) 4

Additionally, attended: 1 EOP meeting; 1 teaching clinic - ESL