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English as a Second Language in the United Kingdom

Linguistic and Educational Contexts

Edited by

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ELT Documents 121

Published in association with
THE BRITISH COUNCIL
by
PERGAMON PRESS
Oxford • New York • Toronto • Sydney • Frankfurt

U.K.	Pergamon Press Ltd., Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 0BW, England
U.S.A.	Pergamon Press Inc., Maxwell House, Fairview Park, Elmsford, New York 10523, U.S.A.
CANADA	Pergamon Press Canada Ltd., Suite 104, 150 Consumers Road, Willowdale, Ontario M2J 1P9, Canada
AUSTRALIA	Pergamon Press (Aust.) Pty. Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Potts Point, N.S.W. 2011, Australia
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	Pergamon Press GmbH, Hammerweg 6, D-6242 Kronberg-Taunus, Federal Republic of Germany

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First edition 1985

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:
English as a second language in United Kingdom.
(ELT documents: 121)
1. English language—Study and teaching—Foreign speakers—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Brumfit, Christopher. II. Ellis, Rod. III. Levine, Josie.
IV. Series: English language teaching documents; 121.
PE1128.A2E4723 1985 428′.007′1041 85-16778

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

English as a second language in the United Kingdom: linguistic and educational contexts.
— (ELT documents; 121)
1. English language—Study and teaching—Foreign speakers
I. Brumfit, C. J. II. Ellis, Rod. III. Levine, J.
IV. British Council V. Series
428.2′4′07 PE1128.A2

ISBN 0-08-031557-7

Printed in Great Britain by A. Wheaton & Co. Ltd., Exeter

Preface

This collection of papers is an attempt to provide an authoritative survey of current activity in work on English teaching to British residents who are non-English speakers. However, what used to be called confidently the teaching of English as a Second Language, ESL, is now seen by most practitioners as part of a much wider and more complex task, and few would defend the autonomy of ESL as an independent and identifiable activity. This is partly because attitudes to language teaching in general have changed, for it is now seen as essentially bound up with the social context and the personal beliefs and feelings of the learners. Much more, however, the change has been a response to perceptions by teachers, students, and members of communities from which most non-English-speaking learners come, that the acquisition of English is part of the development of capacities to participate fully in British society without losing essential communal and individual cultural preferences. In this context, learning English cannot be dissociated from attitudes to ethnicity, racism, social aspirations and concepts of the nature of multicultural societies. Particularly, it must relate closely to work in and through the languages of the communities from which learners come. These papers reflect this broadening of the scope of English teaching, as they must if they are to reflect current preoccupations within the profession.

Unfortunately, this issue is not quite as comprehensive as we hoped at the planning stage. We have been unable to include a paper on initial state teacher education, though we do discuss in-service work in some detail. Rather than hold up the whole book for this one area of omission, we have had, regretfully, to leave a space unfilled. Otherwise, though, we hope that all major areas have been covered.

This issue of ELT Documents goes to press soon after the publication of the Swann Committee's report *Education for All*, HMSO, 1985. Since a considerable amount of space in this report is devoted to language matters, a brief summary of relevant portions of the report (which is more than 800 pages long) is included.

This collection has been edited by Rod Ellis, Josie Levine and myself. I am most grateful to my fellow editors for their hard work on this issue, as well as to the contributors, most of whom do not come from the sectors in education in which time is allowed in busy work schedules for the writing of papers. All of them have given up time from hard-pressed working hours to provide material for this issue of ELT Documents.

CHRISTOPHER BRUMFIT

Acknowledgements

The publisher gratefully acknowledges the following sources of material quoted in the text:

Rosen and Burgess (1980), *Languages and Dialects of London School Children* (Table 15), Ward Lock Education. Times Educational Supplement, 8.3.80 (Report of the Bedford Mother-Tongue Project). Geoff Miller, Language in the Multilingual Primary Classroom, Broadsheet H, *Work in Progress* (1983); June Turner, Broadsheet B (1983); Stella Daley, Broadsheet D (1983), Drake International (1984). Jupp and Hodlin (1974), *Industrial English*, Heinemann Educational Books. Josie Levine, *Language for Learning — Investigating Talk*, Schools Council Programme Three Activity (1981). Department of Education and Science, *Education for All*, HMSO, 1985. NATFHE Journal, March/April 1983, *Getting an Education*. Royal Society of Arts, *Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools* (1983).

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CHRISTOPHER BRUMFIT

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Brian Robinson has been a Lecturer in linguistics and ELT at St Mary's College of Higher Education since 1979. He has taught EFL and ESL in Europe, the Middle East and Africa, and has carried out consultancy work in curriculum development for the British Council. He has published in the fields of theoretical and applied linguistics, and has a research interest in the developing relationship between ESL and bilingual education in Britain.

Sheila Rosenberg is Senior Lecturer in ESL at Southwark College. She was a founder member of NATESLA and Chair from 1979–81, and has since continued to play an active part in the association. She has published reports, articles and reviews in the field of ESL.

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Commonly Used Abbreviations

AIMER	Access to Information on Multicultural Educational Resources
ATEPO	Association of Teachers of English to Pupils of Overseas Origin (original name of NAME, q.v.)
BLISS	Bilingual Learners in Secondary Schools
BUF	Bilingual Under Fives
CALL	Computer-Assisted Language Learning
CCC	Committee for Cultural Co-operation (Council of Europe)
CET	Communication for Employment and Training Courses
CILT	Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research
CL	Community Language
CRC	Community Relations Commission
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CUES	Centre for Urban Educational Studies (ILEA)
DES	Department of Education and Science
E2L	English as a Second Language
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EC	European Communities
EEC	European Economic Community
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMT	English Mother-Tongue
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
FLT	Foreign Language Teaching
GLC	Greater London Council
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector(ate)
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ILT	Industrial Language Training
INSET	In-Service Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
LC	Language Centre
LINC	Language Information Network Co-ordination
LMP	Linguistic Minorities Project
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MOTET	Mother-Tongue and English Teaching Project
NAELS	National Association for English Language Schemes (original name of NATESLA, q.v.)
NAME	National Anti-racist Movement in Education (formerly National Association for Multiracial Education)

NATESLA	National Association for Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education
NCILT	National Centre for Industrial Language Training
NCLE	National Council on Languages in Education
NCMTT	National Council for Mother-Tongue Teaching
NEC	National Extension College
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
PE	Physical Education
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
RTU	Reading Through Understanding
SLIM	Second Language Learners in the Mainstream
SLIPP	Second Language Learners in the Primary Classroom Project
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TES	*Times Educational Supplement*
TESL	Teaching English as a Second Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TRG	Teachers' Research Group
WI	West Indian

I. General Policy Issues

Policy and Provision for ESL in Schools

Rod Ellis

Ealing College of Higher Education

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the Teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) in schools from the point of view of policy and types of provision. Although the focus is on schools, many of the points raised are applicable also to adult ESL. For the reader more interested in the latter, however, excellent surveys are available in the various reports of NATESLA (see References), Jupp (1981) and Nicholls (1984).

The Teaching of English as a Second Language differs from the teaching of other school subjects in two important ways. The first is that TESL is a relatively recent addition to the school curriculum, so that there is, as a result, little practical experience to draw upon. The second is that, unlike all other school subjects, "its general goal is to put itself out of business as soon as possible" (Donoghue and Kunkle, 1979, p. 126). These differences are important because they have repercussions for how TESL is practised.

The lack of accumulative practical experience in TESL has been manifested in a generally *ad hoc* approach to planning policy and provision for English as a second language (E2L) learners in British schools. There were no immediate answers to the language problems posed by the arrival of a substantial number of non-English-speaking immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s. What was the best way to help the children of these minorities learn English? How could the continuing language difficulties they experienced after they had acquired a basic competence be overcome? Initially the language problems of ethnic minority children were seen as distinct linguistic issues, but gradually it became recognized that language learning could not be separated from the broader issues concerning the nature of a multicultural society and how the children fitted into this. Thus, whereas the original response to the two questions cited above was to consider how to teach

the children English — "the maintenance-man approach", as Derrick (1977) calls it, later responses increasingly reflected the need to treat TESL within the wider, multicultural framework. This shift in response, however, has not been reflected in any clear policy statement from the Department of Education and Science (DES) or any other official body. Derrick's observation that "it is doubtful if in the early days anyone pursued the question of 'policy' very far" (p. 3) might be matched by a similar observation regarding the current position. In many respects, TESL in Britain is at a crossroads; the obvious difficulty of inculcating English language skills to a level where the ethnic minority child can participate in the school curriculum on a basis of equality with the indigenous, English-speaking child, together with the growing feeling that TESL may constitute little more than a placatory gesture while the real issues of bilingual education continue to be ignored, have combined to create both a policy vacuum and a failure to rationalize TESL provision at the local authority level.

These uncertainties have been compounded by the fact that TESL is designed to be self-eliminating. If the E2L learner can successfully be taught to speak, listen to, write and read English, then that learner will have no further need of TESL. ESL is not an examinable school subject[1]; it is a "servicing" subject. Its content is not defined by an examination syllabus but by the social and curricular needs of the pupils. As a result it has no obvious right to a place in the timetable except where it is acknowledged that there are pupils who, because of language difficulties which the subject teachers feel they poorly understand, are in need of special provision. The key word here is "special". It is this that often makes TESL "marginal" to the mainstream life of a school in the eyes of policy-makers, school administrators and even school staff themselves. Frequently, much TESL takes place on a makeshift basis in unsuitable spaces and for inadequate amounts of time (Townsend and Brittan, 1972). At its worst, the ephemeral nature of TESL, as reflected in its goal, results in the false belief that a little bit of special provision will solve the problems of the E2L learner, or at least absolve the school authority from further responsibility[2]. It is as a reaction to such attitudes that the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) has redefined its policy in recent years to make clear that TESL provision is not merely the domain of ESL specialists but of all other subject teachers as well (Wright, 1980). In general, however, the marginality of TESL is a continuing phenomenon. The observation made in the Bullock Report (1975) is probably still true today:

> It is clear from the available reports that comparatively little provision is made in some areas, that the education of children of overseas parentage is given low priority and that existing arrangements do little more than meet initial language and adjustment needs of new arrivals (pp. 284/5).

The Bullock Report emphasizes "the long-term nature of the issues involved". Thus, although TESL may aim to be self-eliminating, the process is a slow one that is not easily accomplished.

The overview of TESL in schools that follows begins with a general section on ethnic minority children. There follow accounts of the development of policy for TESL over the past 25 years and of the different types of provision that can be found. This leads into a discussion of TESL in the context of bilingual education. Finally, an attempt is made to identify the main strands of current TESL "policy".

Ethnic minority children

It is usual to distinguish two groups of ethnic minority children in Britain: the West Indians and the Asians. This is a useful distinction, supported by the linguistic distinction between speakers of a "second dialect" (i.e. the West Indians) and speakers of a "second language" (i.e. the Asians). In fact, however, there is far greater diversity in the ethnic make-up of present-day Britain than this generalization allows for. The ILEA survey (1979) found over 100 individual languages spoken as mother-tongue by 10% of the total pupils of inner London. There were nine languages that were each spoken by a 1000 pupils or more. Rosen and Burgess (1980), in a survey of schools in the London area, found a total of 55 different languages spoken. Many of these were not widely used, but in order to account for 82% of the population surveyed it was necessary to consider 18 languages. In many schools, therefore, E2L learners do not share a single mother-tongue, although because of a tendency for particular groups of the New Commonwealth and other immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s to settle in specific areas of the inner cities, there will be some schools that do have high densities of pupils with the same mother-tongue (e.g. Italians in Bedford, Spanish-speaking South Americans in Lambeth, Punjabi speakers in Bradford). The extent to which schools are characterized by extensive or limited linguistic diversity is important when considering the viability of bilingual education.

Another caveat regarding the generalization about the two major ethnic groups in Britain is that there is considerable heterogeneity within each of these groups. There is a strong and dangerous tendency to treat ethnic groups as homogeneous and so to ignore the considerable cultural and religious differences. Within the Asian community it is necessary to distinguish speakers of Gujerati, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali, among other languages, while within the West Indian community there is a further general distinction to be drawn between speakers of an English-based creole and a French-based one. Furthermore, even the notion of "language", in describing the mother-tongues of ethnic minorities, needs to be treated with circumspection. The

creoles spoken by the West Indian population are continua ranging from a vernacular (or "basilect") that differs substantially in phonology, grammar and lexis from Standard English to a variety (or an "acrolect") close to Standard English (see Edwards, 1979 for a detailed description of West Indian creoles). Similarly the "language" of an E2L speaker might be any one of a variety of dialects associated with the standard form of their mother tongue (see Tosi, 1982, for an account of the varieties of Italian spoken by the Bedford Italian community).

As well as within-group *linguistic* heterogeneity there is considerable *cultural* heterogeneity, which is reflected in differing attitudes to the role of education in the lives of the children in the groups. Ghuman and Gallop (1981), for instance, illustrate how, within the Bengali community in Cardiff, there are marked differences between the Hindus and Muslims. Whereas the former recognize the importance of family influence as a determinant of school performance, the latter tend to believe that formal education is the prerogative of the school alone. The Hindu Bengalis were more prepared to shift in their attitudes to education and society than were the Muslim Bengalis. Distinctions such as these are potentially of great importance for a full understanding of why some children appear to learn English so much more rapidly and successfully than others.

West Indian immigration was at its peak in the 1950s and Asian immigration in the 1960s. The majority of ethnic minority children, however, are no longer "immigrants" in the sense of "recent arrivals". It is for this reason that most policy documents discussing TESL provision have changed from using the term "immigrants" to using instead "ethnic minority children". The latter term gives recognition to the fact that the vast majority of children who speak a language other than English as their mother-tongue were, in fact, born in Britain and are permanent residents in the country. However, there have been other waves of immigrants since the 1960s. Notable amongst these are the East African Asians who were forced out of Uganda, and the Vietnamese refugees. Also, many of the inner-city areas with high densities of ethnic minorities continue to welcome newcomers among their numbers. But the changed pattern of the ethnic minorities in Britain is another factor that is important for TESL policy and provision.

Census estimates put the total number of immigrants at nearly 3 million, with an even split between white (Europe, Old Commonwealth and Ireland) and black (New Commonwealth). The immigrant population has tended to settle in specific areas — the urban centres of the West Midlands and London, in particular. As Derrick (1977) notes, these areas have tended to be designated "Educational Priority Areas". In addition to the 3 million immigrants, of course, there are also large

numbers of British-born ethnic minority children. Verma and Mallick (1981) suggest that the present-day Asian population, which constitutes the bulk of the E2L learners, is approximately 1 million.

There are no clear statistics on the number of E2L learners in British schools. From 1966 until January 1973 the DES required local education authorities (LEAs) to record figures for "immigrant children" in their schools. These figures were based on a definition of "immigrant" that was, in the eyes of many, useless for purposes of defining educational needs and certainly gave only a rough idea of the need for ESL provision. Since 1973 there has been no attempt to monitor this need centrally, although some LEAs have continued to keep their own statistics. In the past few years, even more than previously, the nature and extent of TESL provision has been determined by the individual responses of the LEAs to local needs as they arise. Among members of the various ethnic groups, only refugees are reliably monitored.

As a result of this lack of hard information about E2L speakers in Britain, there has been a general tendency at the official level to underestimate their needs. In an interesting study of ESL provision in Lambeth (NATESLA, 1982), the authors note that "teachers need educating in recognizing problems which result from studying in a Second Language" (p. 59). They note that in addition to the Asian E2L learners, who are fairly easily identifiable, there is an "invisible" white minority group who experience language difficulties. The same report also draws attention to another characteristic of minority group populations, which makes accurate information and effective provision difficult — namely, its migrant nature. This again is particularly the case with white minorities.

Ethnic minority groups experience difficulty with English in varying degrees. Schools typically do not consider that West Indian pupils have severe problems, although the high incidence of West Indian pupils in lower streams and remedial classes suggests that they may not have developed those verbal skills prized by teachers to the same extent as indigenous white children. The non-standard English spoken by some West Indian pupils has been called a "semi-foreign language" by Trudgill (1975). Asian pupils, whether newly arrived or born in Britain, will need to develop a knowledge of English as a second language before they can participate fully in the normal curriculum of their schools. Because in many cases these pupils live within a closely knit Asian community that caters to a large extent for its own social needs, they may not have the opportunity for much contact with English-speaking children outside schools, and this will slow down the rate at which they "pick up" English. For many children their first real contacts with English will be inside the schools, and this may continue for some time.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to assume that the only difficulties which ethnic children experience at school are linguistic ones. The educational disadvantage they suffer is the product both of language problems and of a range of other factors, many of which operate also with indigenous, disadvantaged white children. These factors include racial prejudice in both the white out-group and, more sadly, in teachers themselves (see Edwards, 1979, pp. 127ff., for a review of the literature on this issue), culture shock when faced with a set of values and attitudes at school which their home has not equipped them to understand and, in some instances, non-supportive parental attitudes. One of the major points of this paper is that the English language problems of ethnic children cannot be separated from the wider social and cultural issues that affect their lives.

It remains a sad fact that the vast bulk of studies of educational performance of ethnic minority children in Britain indicates that in most cases these children are less successful than indigenous white children. Tomlinson (1980) has reviewed these studies. In 33 studies of West Indian educational performance, 26 show that the children score lower than white children or are over-represented in ESN schools. In 19 studies of Asian educational performance, 12 indicate a lower score than that achieved by white children. However, there were some studies that indicated that in inner-city schools some Asian and West Indian children achieve examination results on a par with, or even better than, the white children in the same schools. Also ethnic minority children's test scores tend to improve with length of schooling in Britain. These findings suggest that Asian and West Indian children are not doomed to be less successful than indigenous white children. Townsend and Brittan's (1972) report also indicates that ethnic minority children frequently prize education highly.

In order to understand the issues involved in planning a policy for TESL it is necessary to maintain a complete picture of the ethnic minority pupil and to avoid falling into the trap of falsely separating linguistic issues from the wider social and cultural factors to which they relate. It was the failure to do this that limited the effectiveness of provision in the past by raising unrealistic expectations about what TESL could achieve. It is the current awareness of the interrelated nature of the relevant issues that raises doubts in the minds of some educationists about the worthwhileness of continued TESL provision.

The evolution of ESL policy in Britain

Britain differs from many other countries in possessing a highly decentralized education system. The function of the DES is advisory; it seeks to draw the attention of LEAs to important educational issues by means of circulars and surveys and, where appropriate, to indicate

possible courses of action. Its principal means of influencing policy at the local authority level, however, is through financial incentives. By making money available for specific purposes, such as TESL, it can motivate LEAs to pursue these purposes. Such was the case in the 1970s, when central funds were made available for TESL, and remains so today, as TESL is generally funded from Section 11 funds. In the case of TESL, however, the disadvantages of this decentralized system have been considerable. As Townsend (1971) notes, it has made it difficult for LEAs to share solutions to problems. All too often an LEA will be seen experimenting with a particular policy which another LEA has already found wanting and has abandoned. Perhaps even more damaging has been the failure to capitalize at the national level on locally produced teaching materials. There has been a reluctance on the part of publishers to publish materials aimed specifically at E2L learners in Britain.[3] Language centres and schools have produced their own materials, but there has been no basis for sharing and distributing these. In contrast to other school subjects, for which a wide practical and theoretical literature exists, TESL in Britain has produced little public literature with the exception of a few noteworthy projects (e.g. *Scope*). Given the immediacy of the need, this has proved and continues to prove a major problem. A more centralized system might have been able to obviate this.

Initial responses to the educational needs of ethnic minority children were based on the more or less unchallenged conviction that the children should and would be integrated into British society fairly rapidly. Integration was understood in terms of assimilation. Fitzgerald (1978) has documented these early attitudes. Both the Conservative and Labour Parties assumed that immigration would result in social and economic integration, and although by the end of the 1960s the reality of "cultural diversity" was acknowledged (e.g. by Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary, May 1966[4]), this did not become the official attitude of schools. Fitzgerald suggests that this was because schools regarded themselves as "the transmitting agent of social exchange", and so saw their task as that of effecting rapid assimilation of the immigrant population.

The obvious impediment to assimilation was the lack of English. Consequently the needs of the immigrant children were defined almost entirely in terms of their English language problems. Townsend (1971), for instance, concludes his report on LEA provision for immigrant pupils by emphasizing the centrality of ESL:

> If it were possible to detect a single criterion of involvement it would probably be found in English-teaching arrangements, for their influence seems to pervade all other aspects of immigrant education (p. 109).

It is therefore not surprising that the earliest published pamphlet dealing with the education of immigrants (*English for Immigrants*, HMSO, 1963) dealt with the language problem in isolation from social and cultural issues. Similarly, the 1970s began with a reaffirmation of language as the central problem:

> The most urgent single challenge facing the schools concerned is that of teaching English to immigrant children (DES, *Education Survey 13*, 1971, p. 9).

By this time, however, there was a growing awareness that the language problem was linked to other issues. Thus the *Education Survey 13* list of difficulties that faced language teachers included observations about the lack of a "normal phase of play and exploration" in the immigrant child's preschool experience, the continuing restricted opportunities for play and study at home and the vital role played by the immigrant communities' attitudes towards integration into the wider community. The main function of teaching, however, was still conceived as that of developing a mastery of basic English in the shortest possible time in order to overcome these other, non-linguistic issues. There was inadequate recognition of the role these issues played in themselves determining the success of language learning. The assumption remained that adequate TESL provision was the means by which to combat all difficulties. Once English was mastered, the children would be able to participate in ordinary lessons and become part of the English-speaking community.

The importance of making some kind of allowance for immigrant pupils was generally recognized in the schools. At the official level, however, there was "a strong temptation to 'play down' the challenge to our schools which immigrant pupils have posed" (Select Committee, 1973, p. 55). Townsend and Brittan's (1973) survey of the schools' own views of the important areas for curriculum development in multiracial classes stressed the high level of importance attached to TESL. The item that came first in the headmasters' assessment of importance both in primary and secondary schools was "the linguistic difficulty of newly arrived non-English speaking pupils". Primary school headmasters, however, found the "linguistic needs of deprived indigenous pupils" more important than the "continued linguistic needs of immigrants after completion of special language-teaching arrangements", whereas secondary school headmasters found the latter more important, perhaps as a result of the special language difficulties posed by the study of individual subjects. In general, therefore, it was the *initial* language difficulties that schools identified as the problem. It is also worth noting that the linguistic needs of West Indian pupils were not rated by either primary or secondary school headmasters as particularly worthy of attention. The language problem was seen as an *initial* problem that

affected the *second language* but not the second dialect learner. The notion of special allowances for immigrant children was not one that all schools were comfortable with. Townsend and Brittan (1972) quote the following headmaster's comment, which is probably representative of residual doubts about special provision:

> Some allowance may be made for any immigrant pupil with a language difficulty, but the whole aim of the school is gradually to treat all pupils alike, be they immigrant or non-immigrant. This is a preparation for leaving school and entry into employment and the adult world (p. 37).

It is perhaps because of conscious or subconscious resistance to special provision that schools have typically interpreted the immigrant pupil's needs as *linguistic* (rather than social and cultural) and as *initial* (rather than continuing).

The 1970s did bring official recognition that the language difficulties ethnic minority pupils experienced were not always overcome by initial TESL. DES *Education Survey 14* (1972) was concerned entirely with the continuing needs of immigrants. It began by quoting DES Circular 7/65:

> There is a danger that some children who quickly acquire fluency in the spoken language do not in fact understand as much as they appear to, and may find difficulty in absorbing new ideas expressed in English; it is therefore important that the progress of all pupils who have had to learn English as a second language should continue to be watched after they have joined an ordinary class. . . . This is particularly important with pupils in secondary schools. . . . Many children may require occasional special help throughout their school lives (p. 1).

This recognition gave birth to the distinction between *first-phase* and *second-phase* periods of development in the E2L learner. The second-phase period has the double objective of continuing to improve the pupils' linguistic competence and also facilitating their integration into the normal classes. The difficulties faced by the second-phase learner were seen as both linguistic (i.e. the problem of coping with the language of the various school subjects) and also non-linguistic (i.e. the lack of a firm basis of knowledge in the various subjects of the curriculum). The main problem was the transition from specialist ESL classes to the normal classes. This problem derived from a number of factors:

(1) Organizational difficulties, i.e. determining what was the most efficient way of helping the second-phase learner (see next section).

(2) The lack of special equipment and materials; all published materials for the E2L learner in Britain were designed for the first phase.

(3) The lack of collaboration between the ESL specialist teacher and subject teachers. If the ESL teacher is to help the second-phase learner to master the language of the school subjects, he has to be prepared to abandon his own classroom and gain access to the normal classrooms in order to diagnose the specific nature of the pupils' continuing language difficulties and so to design suitable materials. Ideally, he has to have the opportunity to plan in advance and in co-operation with the subject teachers. All too often the willingness and the ability to undertake these tasks has been lacking. There are also no clear guidelines to aid teachers in the process of diagnosis, syllabus design and lesson-planning for the second-phase E2L learner.

(4) The lack of any reliable means of assessing whether the E2L pupil has acquired adequate proficiency in English to enable him to participate meaningfully in the normal curriculum. The NFER tests of language proficiency (see McEwan *et al.*, 1975) provide information about the pupils' grammatical knowledge across the four skills but do not assess to what extent the pupils will be able to *use* this knowledge in the kinds of communicative tasks required by the school curriculum and public examinations.

(5) The failure of schools to modify schemes of work to suit the cultural background and linguistic abilities of E2L pupils. Teachers of other subjects have tended to assume that it is up to the pupil to fit in with their programme. Sadly, this has even proved to be the case with many English departments, which have continued to emphasize literary awareness and creative uses of language at the expense of literacy development (e.g. advanced reading skills) and study skills (DES *Education Survey 14*).

These obstacles in the way of efficient second-phase teaching, which were first noted at the beginning of the 1970s, continue to be observed in the 1980s.

Catering for the second-phase learner requires, in particular, a recognition that there is a substantial gap between the acquisition of English for basic social relations (i.e. "survival English") and the continued development of English for studying school subjects. As is frequently noted in the various research reports, the E2L learner finds it difficult to rise above "a certain plateau of achievement" (DES, *Education Survey 14*, 1972, p. 21).

By the end of the 1970s the conviction that provision for first-phase E2L learners was established and effective was evident. In contrast, it was

recognized that provision for second-phase learners was poorly developed. Willey (1982), for instance, comments:

> Generally authorities and schools have now had considerable experience of meeting the basic language needs of English as a second language learners, and have developed appropriate services. But less attention has been paid to language needs beyond the initial stages of second language learning . . . (p. 14).

Despite the Bullock Report's strongly worded advice to provide the E2L learner with linguistic help "right across the curriculum" by merging the language specialist's job with that of the subject specialists, initial provision has continued to occupy most of the resources, in terms both of finance and of trained staff (Little and Willey, 1981). This is partly the result of the continuing belief that, once initial problems are overcome, assimilation into the normal life of the school will be possible; but it is also the result of the lack of central guidance about how second-phase TESL should be organized and conducted. The Bullock Report stated the need. Fitzgerald (1978) emphasized the importance of conducting detailed needs analyses in order to determine the communicative tasks the E2L learner has to perform as a basis for designing second-phase programmes. Yet with only a few exceptions (e.g. Robson and McAllister, 1981; McEldowney, 1981) there have been no attempts to develop suitable teaching materials. The theory and practice of English for Specific Purposes and English for Academic Purposes, developed in the 1970s to cope with the difficulties that overseas students experienced when studying through the medium of English at the tertiary level, have been only weakly adapted to the school situation.[5] Fitzgerald's stricture remains true today:

> To sum up, ELT policy makers in England failed to carry out essential preliminary linguistic fact-finding before formulating policy. This resulted in an inadequate plan aimed at an unrealistic goal (p. 20).

A further shift in policy is reflected in the current importance attached to a multicultural curriculum over and above TESL provision. This is a corollary of the general recognition that the process of adaptation, which an ethnic minority child has to undergo when he enters school, is not merely a process of learning how to handle two languages or dialects but, in the words of the Bullock Report, "a process that consists primarily of learning to live in or between two cultures". This new perspective embraces not only the E2L learner but also the child who speaks English as his mother-tongue. Also, as Little and Willey (1981) insist, multicultural education is for *all* children, not just those in multicultural schools. This emphasis on multiculturalism is an attempt to grapple with the educational and social problems which have been

created to a large extent by the earlier assimilationist attitudes and which TESL has failed to resolve.

There are two major premises of this new emphasis (Khan, 1980a). The first is that minority children should be allowed to maintain and develop their own linguistic and cultural resources. The second is that English children should be given the opportunity to participate more fully in education for a multicultural society. These premises provide a more solid framework for educating ethnic minority children because they tackle the basic social and cultural issues that underlie the problems of adjustment that the children face. As the work of Schumann (1978) has made clear, the rate and success of second language learning is determined to a large extent by the "distance" between the learner and the social institutions of the wider community which speaks the target language as a mother-tongue. Thus, far from relying on TESL to integrate ethnic minority children into English-speaking society, it is necessary to take steps to eliminate social distance before language learning can take place. It is this that multicultural education seeks to achieve. Precisely how curriculum development is to reflect a multi-ethnic society, however, is uncertain — there has been little specific guidance from the DES (Little and Willey, 1981). Also, how multicultural education can incorporate the theory and practice of TESL, which in the eyes of some has been marred by assimilationist attitudes, has not been seriously faced, let alone tackled.

Provision for TESL in Britain

Provision for TESL can be considered at the levels of organization, of approach and of materials and methods. The focus of this section will be the first of these.

It should also be noted that the vast bulk of official reports, circulars and surveys have dealt with the organization of TESL rather than with classroom applications. This reflects the assumption that the problems of the E2L learner placed special administrative demands on schools which, if not solved, would destroy the effectiveness of any teaching that took place. It should also be noted that the discussion regarding the most effective way of providing for TESL has been directed at the first-phase rather than the second-phase learner. The procedure adopted in this paper will be to review the various types of organizational provision in terms of their advantages and disadvantages for both types of learner.

Figure 1, shows the various types of organizational provision. The basic distinction is between TESL *within* the school context and *outside* the school. Townsend's (1971) survey indicated that the majority of LEAs

preferred within-school provision. This is the type of provision generally recommended in official publications. The Bullock Report, for instance, states that:

> the best arrangement is usually one where the immigrant children are not cut off from the social and educational life of the school (p. 289).

Townsend (1971) puts it even more strongly:

> For a pupil who arrives in this country with a high measure of educational and cultural deprivation, every month spent in a language class gives his non-immigrant contemporaries a further month's start in the educational race (p. 36).

There was a strong consensus that the sooner the immigrant child could be placed full time in a school — and in the normal classroom, at that — the better it would be for that child. Townsend's survey, however, showed that there was considerable diversity in the arrangements that LEAs made for first-phase learners.

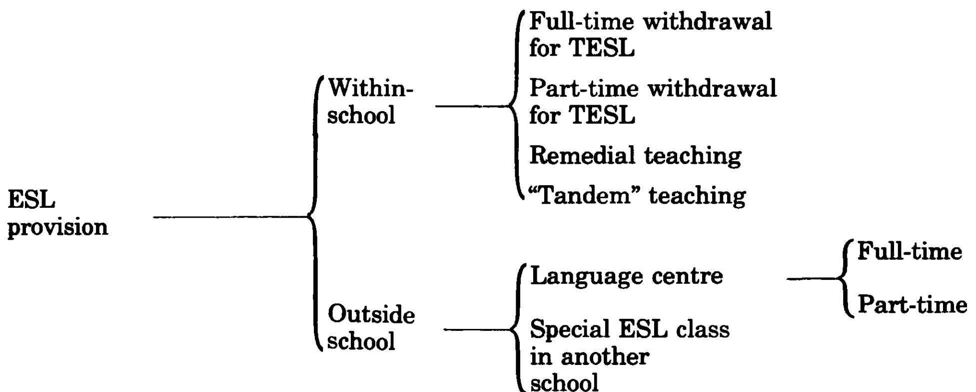

FIGURE 1 *Types of ESL provision in Britain*

LEAs also differed in their reception arrangements. Some established reception centres to which all new arrivals reported, together with their parents. These centres enable essential information regarding the children's educational background and English proficiency to be obtained, while also offering a short period of adjustment. Other LEAs, however, required parents to make direct contact with local schools, which were then left to make their own assessment of the children's linguistic needs and to decide whether to arrange full-time or part-time TESL, or immediate placement in normal classes.

Within-school provision can be very varied, reflecting the diverse levels of proficiency of E2L learners. Two aims underlie this provision; the

first is to achieve reasonable homogeneity in any one group of learners, and the second is to facilitate transfer from the ESL class to the normal subject class. The needs of E2L learners, however, are often so individual as to defeat both aims, no matter how thoughtful the provision. At one end of the spectrum is the recent arrival, with very little experience of education in his own country, zero English and zero literacy in his mother-tongue; and at the other end is the pupil who is more or less fluent in spoken English, which he may speak with a local accent, but whose written English is pitted with linguistic and stylistic errors, and whose reading is slow and inflexible. The latter type of learner can be found at all levels of education and clearly requires a different kind of teaching if he is on the verge of leaving school than if he still has several more years of education to run.

As an example of the range of provision that can exist within a single school in order to cope with different types of learner, consider the example of a comprehensive school in West London, where the following provision for TESL is offered:

(1) A full-time withdrawal class. This caters for pupils who would be lost in the normal curriculum. It offers a post-beginners course (complete beginners attend a language centre in the borough), with the emphasis on literacy skills, and also some training in basic maths and some project work relating to other school subjects. The pupils are taught by an ESL teacher but are taken for PE, art, cookery, woodwork and swimming by the respective subject teachers, in each case as a self-contained class. Pupils stay from 1 to 2 years in this class.
(2) Part-time withdrawal classes. These cater for the continuing needs of different pupils. They are often very small — sometimes as few as two pupils — and cover Form I to Form VI. The classes provide for literacy skills, study skills, vocabulary development, general spoken English, examination English and subject-based English.
(3) 'Tandem' teaching. ESL teachers in the school also enter the normal subject classrooms in order to provide back-up support for E2L learners. This type of provision is offered to pupils who have left the full-time withdrawal class, and also to other pupils who may be offered part-time withdrawal classes in addition. The usual pattern for "tandem" teaching is for the normal subject teacher to teach a lesson to the whole class, including the E2L speakers, and then for the ESL teacher to review the content of the lesson with the E2L learners as a special group, but inside the normal classroom.

Even such finely tuned provision as this, however, is insufficient to meet the variety of needs of different learners.

TABLE 1 *The advantages and disadvantages of different types of ESL provision*

Type of provision	*Advantages*	*Disadvantages*
A. Language centre (1) Full time	(1) Pupil is offered social and emotional security by learning with pupils in similar position to himself. (2) Pupil is offered special programme suited to his linguistic needs. (3) Resources and practical materials can be concentrated in a single setting. (4) Effective home–school liaison can be established	(1) Pupil falls behind in subjects on the normal timetable. (2) Pupil has no opportunity to mix with English-speaking pupils and so cannot "pick up" English. (3) It is not easy to monitor the pupil's continued progress once he joins his school. (4) The subject teachers in the schools are isolated from TESL methods.
(2) Part time	(1) Pupil can be offered specialist ESL course without separating him completely from the normal school curriculum. (2) Pupil has more opportunities for mixing with English-speaking pupils and so for "picking up" English. (3) Other advantages as for full time language centre.	(1) Pupil has divided loyalties between school and language centre and may not feel he "belongs" anywhere. (2) Pupil wastes time travelling from school to centre. (3) The subject teachers in the schools are isolated from TESL methods.
B. Special ESL classes outside the school	(1) Costs less to set up and administrate. (2) If part-time, the pupil is not entirely separated from the normal curriculum.	(1) It is not likely to be so well-equipped as a language centre. (2) Pastoral care is likely to be less developed than in a language centre. (3) Other disadvantages as in A(2) above.
C. Remedial classes	(1) No special provision is required; pupil fits into existing classes.	(1) It wrongly equates remedial problems of English-speaking pupils with E2L problems. Teacher has to deal with mixed problems. (2) It may confer a sense of failure on the ethnic minority child.
D. ESL provision within the school (1) Full time withdrawal	(1) Pupil can be provided with a special language programme suited to his needs.	(1) Pupils run the risk of functioning as a separate group, i.e. "an undesirable form of segregation"

	(2) Adequate pastoral care is easy to develop. (3) Pupil can use normal school facilities for practical subjects such as PE and cookery. (4) It is relatively easy to effect transfer to a normal curriculum and to monitor progress. (5) Pupil experiences no divided loyalties. (6) Pupil more likely to gain some exposure to English-speaking pupils and so to "pick up" English.	(DES *Education Survey 14*) (2) The ESL specialist is likely to be functioning in isolation from the rest of the school. (3) ESL expertise, resources and facilities spread more thinly. (4) The teaching offered pupils may be nothing more than a continuation of that offered at the language centre.
(2) Part-time withdrawal	(1) This encourages close links between TESL and the demands of the normal curriculum. (2) Provides a bridge to normal classes on a full-time basis. (3) Gives pupil experience of normal life in school. (4) Pupil receives substantial exposure to English-speaking pupils.	(1) Teachers of normal classes may have to accept pupils with inadequate English and as a result may ignore their special needs. (2) Pupils may become very passive in normal classes. (3) ESL instruction can be very piecemeal — inadequately planned and forced to use inadequate facilities ("odd corner teaching").
(3) "Tandem" teaching	(1) Pupil develops subject knowledge at the same time as language skills. (2) Provides in-service training by developing subject teachers' language awareness. (3) Obligates the development of materials to meet the language demands of the subjects, i.e. ESP/EAP becomes the obvious approach. (4) Pupil experiences normal class work. (5) Prevents pupils from becoming passive in normal classes. (6) Maximizes opportunities for social contact between E2L learner and English-speaking pupils.	(1) Places heavy demands on ESL staff's time and skills. (2) There are no clear guidelines for structuring co-operation between ESL teacher and normal subject teacher. (3) There are few suitable teaching materials available. (4) The intrusion of the ESL specialist can be resented by the normal subject teacher.

Table 1 attempts to summarize the main advantages and disadvantages of the different types of provision for TESL. Readers who wish to consider these in greater detail are referred to Townsend (1971), DES *Education Survey 13* (1971), DES *Education Survey 14* (1972), Townsend and Brittan (1972) and the NATESLA report (1982).

Table 1 gives some idea of how difficult it is to decide on any one type of provision. With the exception of placing the E2L learner in a remedial class, which has nothing to recommend it educationally, all the types of provision have positive and negative points. There is no single rationale that can guide the administrator in his decision-making. The main argument against language centres is that they segregate the E2L learner. However, as Hodgkinson (1968) noted, little social contact occurs in a school setting until the initial language barrier has been overcome. Language centres provide the non-English-speaking new arrival with a non-threatening, supportive atmosphere and so foster adjustment to the new country, which is essential if successful language learning is to take place. It could be argued, however, that the role of language centres should be that of providing social training ("life skills", as one centre puts it) rather than formal language teaching. The criterion for transfer to a school should not be linguistic but social, i.e. as soon as the pupil evidences satisfactory social adjustment he should begin to experience school life, at least on a part-time basis. If linguistic criteria are used it is likely that some learners will spend 2 years or longer before they obtain sufficient proficiency to join in the normal curriculum. In such cases the pupil may not receive adequate secondary school education to have even a chance of taking any public examinations. But rapid transfer from a language centre to a school can only be justified if the school is itself equipped to continue ESL support. *Education Survey 13* (1971) lists the conditions upon which success of withdrawal in schools depends — an adequate level of training for the ESL teacher(s), the continuity and frequency of the teaching offered (ideally at least one period per day, although some learners may require far more), satisfactory teaching spaces, a good supply of books and equipment, close liaison between class and subject teachers and homogeneity of groups. Today it is still a rarity that all these conditions are met in schools with E2L learners.

Writing of provision in further education the NATESLA report (1982) concludes:

> What is clear is that a single isolated course is worse than mere tokenism, serving everybody ill and nobody properly (p. 40).

This is equally true for schools. This means that a single E2L learner ought to experience a range of ESL provision during his education in this country. Consider the imaginary case of a new arrival aged 10 or 11

years. He might begin by entering a language centre, where his stay might last 2 to 3 years. After this he will be transferred to a secondary school, where his English might still be judged insufficient for a normal timetable so he will be placed in a full-time withdrawal class. At the age of 14–15 he might finally enter a normal class, probably Form III, but he will continue to be withdrawn for some periods every week (perhaps mother tongue English periods).[6] During Forms IV and V he may participate completely in the normal timetable but receive further ESL support in the form of "tandem" teaching for a limited number of periods. It is quite likely that he will not be entered for any public examinations because his written English is still considered too poor. On leaving school he may enrol at a college of further education, where once again ESL provision of one kind or another will be made available (see the NATESLA report). Such a learner, who is not a rarity, may spend the bulk of his formal education receiving TESL in one way or another. The thought is a provoking and worrying one. It suggests that TESL, far from putting itself out of business as soon as possible, can for some pupils become almost an entire education.

This section on TESL provision has dealt with the various kinds of arrangement for teaching E2L learners. It has had nothing to say about how teaching affects the course of learning a second language. On this vital issue the literature is silent. As Derrick (1977) has stated:

> It is perhaps easier to describe and tabulate teaching arrangements and patterns of organization than it is to explore what is really happening to the children and teachers for whom the arrangements are made (p. 8).

TESL and bilingual education

The case of the hypothetical E2L learner described above must inevitably cast some doubts on the efficacy of TESL to cater successfully for the needs of ethnic minority children. These doubts are reinforced by a number of studies of the overall effectiveness of TESL in helping E2L learners to acquire English. Krashen (1982) reviews these studies. Hale and Budar (1970) studied E2L adolescents in Hawaiian junior schools. They found that a group of pupils who did not receive ESL instruction but who had opportunities for mixing with indigenous English-speaking children progressed more rapidly in learning English than another group who did receive ESL instruction but had little social contact with English-speaking children. Fathman (1976) investigated 500 elementary and high-school pupils in the USA. Those pupils who received more ESL instruction improved less rapidly than those who received less. Although Fathman is careful not to conclude that ESL programmes are of no use (on the grounds that the study may not have revealed aspects of language proficiency which ESL instruction

did influence), she does suggest that it is more important to create environments where English is a genuine means of communication than it is to provide formal language instruction. Studies of adult learners (Upshur, 1968; Mason, 1971) also found that ESL instruction did not lead to improved scores on language tests. Although there have been no studies of the effectiveness of TESL in Britain, these American studies involve children and adults in similar learning situations to those found in Britain. Krashen concludes that where the E2L learner has opportunities for spontaneous communication with English speakers formal TESL provision will not be helpful.[7] While this may be too severe a comment on TESL, given that none of these studies investigated what went on in the name of ESL instruction (i.e. it could have been the quality of instruction that was at fault), it is clear that the assumption that TESL provision will hasten language learning may not be justified.

If TESL is not the answer to the educational problems of the ethnic minority child, what is? Increasingly, the need for "bilingual education" is becoming recognized, both as a means of counteracting the social and psychological tension that occurs when a child finds himself living in two cultures (Bullock, 1975, Fitzgerald, 1978; Tosi, 1982) and as a means of preventing the inevitable gap in content knowledge that occurs if a child's education is delayed until he has developed satisfactory skills in English. Furthermore, the evidence of bilingual education programmes in the North American context suggests that, far from inhibiting the acquisition of English, they actually foster it (Cummins, 1981). Therefore, the often-voiced fear — that time spent in teaching the ethnic minority pupil his mother-tongue, or teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue, will be time wasted, because it detracts from the real business of learning English and by so doing integrating the child into the mainstream school — does not seem warranted.

There have been few attempts in Britain to teach ethnic minority children their mother-tongue, let alone to institute full bilingual programmes, where the mother-tongue, together with English, becomes the medium of instruction. The EEC directive (1976) on the education of migrant workers, which instructed that their children should be given opportunities to study their own language, was opposed by the British government on the ground that LEAs and not the central government took decisions, that the notion of "migrant workers" did not apply to Britain (whose immigrants were settlers), and that the diversity of languages was too great for compliance. With the exception of projects in Bradford for Punjabi-speaking children, and in Bedford for Italian and Punjabi-speaking children, there have been no substantial attempts to carry out either mother-tongue teaching or full bilingual programmes.

The difficulties obstructing bilingual education projects are indeed great. Not least are the financial problems. The Chief Education Officer for Bedfordshire (*Times Educational Supplement*, 8 March 1980) priced the Bedford project on mother-tongue teaching, which reached 150 children (2% of the ethnic children in Bedfordshire schools) at £150,000 for 4 years. Nevertheless there does not appear to have been much willingness to experiment with projects where high concentrations of ethnic children speaking the same mother-tongue are to be found. The often-quoted comment of one headmaster is not untypical:

> The Community Relations Officer thinks we should be teaching Gujerati, but we couldn't start that caper. I've thought of starting French but we haven't enough space (Townsend, 1971 p. 60).

The attitudes of the Public Examination Boards has also not helped. Examinations in such languages as Punjabi and Hindi are modelled inappropriately on those for "foreign" languages such as German or French. The "unseen" paper, which requires translation into English, poses substantial problems of English that have nothing to do with a pupil's competence in his mother-tongue. The ILEA Bilingual Education Project (Wright, 1980) has shown that with imagination projects can be developed that are not hopelessly cost-ineffective, but which can go some way to meeting the educational and socio-psychological objectives of full programmes. The ILEA project involves providing materials with written texts both in the pupils' mother-tongues and in English. They have been used to overcome the linguistic difficulties of subject materials in English when E2L pupils first begin to study in the normal classroom, which, according to ILEA policy, occurs as soon as possible. The importance of providing some support for ethnic minority children's mother-tongues in the schools is forcibly stated by Khan (1980b); only in this way can a major resource be prevented from becoming an "educational liability".

The increasing demands for a wider perspective in order to tackle the deep-rooted problems that underlie second language learning in "ghetto"-type situations, has inevitably led to a disenchantment with ESL provision. In Britain today the position is embryonically that described by Nakano (1977) in the USA:

> Unwittingly, bilingual education and ESL practitioners have taken opposing sides in an imaginary battle, one that creates artificial impediments to effective student learning (p. 234).

There is a danger that because TESL has not succeeded in providing the ethnic minority child with equal educational opportunity it will be abandoned or reduced, perhaps with no alternative provision to take its place. As Derrick (1977) comments, it would be "tragic" if in the name of

multiculturalism or bilingualism the "basic" issue of effective English language learning and teaching were to be neglected. TESL has indeed been associated with an assimilationist position (Khan, 1980a), but it need not be. It can become an integral part of a wider, general policy which reflects the socio-psychological issues of identity and acculturation which are now recognized as so central in the process of second language learning (Giles and Byrne, 1982). ESL can become a part of a bilingual programme as easily as it has been a part of a monolingual programme.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is perhaps useful to try to identify the main strands of current ESL policy for schools, always bearing in mind that this "policy" is not officially sanctioned but rather the expression of opinion of those engaged in writing about ESL today. The strands are:

(1) The teaching of E2L learners takes place in a wider context than simply the solution of linguistic problems. As Nicholls (1984) puts it:

> Teachers of English as a Second Language can never ignore the social, economic and cultural reality, which is the context in which students are learning the English language (p. 30).

In particular, the wider context governs the learner's attitude to learning English and, therefore, how successful he is. More generally, the E2L learner is faced with a struggle to reconcile the culture and language of the school with the culture and language of the home.

(2) It follows, therefore, that teaching E2L learners English must also involve recognition both of the learner's home culture and of his home language. It should, therefore, be seen as part of a bilingual education programme. The learner's mother-tongue needs to be supported, both because it is valuable in itself and also because it serves as a resource for developing English language skills (Baynham, undated).

(3) It also follows that ESL teachers are not merely language teachers but also general counsellors to whom students can turn for help in the process of becoming bicultural and bilingual.

(4) There is a shift in emphasis away from withdrawal to the integration of ESL teaching with subject teaching in the mainstream classroom. This calls for team teaching and the identification of specific needs.

(5) ESL teaching should take place within the framework of a general language policy for all students, not just the E2L learners. One implication of such an approach is that language training should be directed at native speakers, as well as at E2L learners, in order to enable effective communication to take place. However, although such an approach is common in industrial language training, a less radical approach has been adopted in the schools. This has involved the attempts to develop language awareness in all students by making students explore, through questionnaires, the linguistic diversity of their classroom (see Robinson, this book).

It is clear that the scope of ESL is widening and the demands placed on the ESL teacher growing. ESL in the schools is having to end its isolationist stance (except perhaps in the case of complete beginners, and even here there are those who argue against withdrawal). Ideally the ability to teach ESL must become part of the repertoire of teaching skills that any teacher working in the multilingual classroom must possess. As about three-quarters of LEAs in England and Wales now have such classrooms (Tansley and Craft, 1984), this means that the majority of teachers will require these skills. If ESL teaching is to be seen as something more than a palliative, it must become integrated into mainstream curricular activity.

Notes

1. One Examination Board does provide an examination in English as a second language. In general, there is resistance to a separate ESL examination, because it is feared that this would take on a second-grade status. Most ESL teachers would prefer to see a reform of the present "O" Level and CSE English examinations to take account of the type of proficiency in English TESL seeks to develop, for instance, by separating creative or literary skills from functional language skills. It is ironic that E2L learners abroad are provided with such an examination by British Examination Boards, which is accepted as equivalent to "O" Level by tertiary educational institutions in Britain. As the NATESLA report indicates, the Examination Boards have in general refused to accept the need to adapt the format and content of their examinations — in English and in other subjects — to take account of a multicultural society.
2. There has been a marked contrast in the American and British response to the language problems of ethnic minorities. In America, as a result of a case brought by Lau against the San Francisco Board of Education, the Supreme Court found that the Board had denied students who did not speak English as their mother-tongue a meaningful opportunity to participate in public educational programmes and that this was illegal. This decision (known as the Lau vs. Nichols decision) had a startling effect on educational provision, leading to Federal money being made available for bilingual education programmes.
3. There has been a complete course for first-phase and second phase learners published by Longman — *Scope*. This is in many ways excellent, but it does not deal with the subject-based language required by the secondary school E2L learner.
4. Jenkins defined "integration" as follows:

   > integration is equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (quoted in Patterson, 1969, p. 113).

5. There have, however, been some very successful attempts to adapt English for specific/academic purposes for the adult ESL learner, particularly in the context of industrial language training.

6. There is considerable disagreement about what are the best subjects from which to withdraw E2L learners. One opinion is that it should be mother-tongue English, as this commonly does not cater for functional language needs, but some ESL teachers feel that *all* English teaching must have some value. In general, withdrawal from subjects which require extensive verbal skills (e.g. history) is to be preferred to withdrawal from subjects which do not (e.g. maths and science), although the latter subjects can also create their own special language problems.

7. Long (1983) reviewed a number of studies that have examined the effectiveness of instruction in language learning, including the studies mentioned in this paper. He reached a rather different conclusion from Krashen, arguing that the weight of the research evidence pointed to a positive contribution of instruction even in "acquisition-rich" environments. Long's review reconsidered many of the studies that reported negative effects and attempted to show that they could be reinterpreted in a more positive light.

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Bilingualism and Mother-tongue Maintenance in Britain

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Introduction

It is impossible to consider the position of minority ethnic groups within British society without a close analysis of their linguistic needs. Too often these language needs have been seen solely in terms of the acquisition of standard English. The fact that most of the children from ethnic minorities are bilingual or bidialectal has largely been ignored.

Recently, much interest has been expressed in the idea of multicultural education. The need to preserve cultural identity as a vital component of education has been stressed (Verma and Bagley, 1975). Much of this interest, however, may be rather superficial and confined to minor differences in, for example, dress, food and customs; the real issue of multicultural education, that of linguistic diversity, has been almost totally neglected.

> Multicultural has become popular jargon — providing a taxonomic escape from the reality of multilingualism (Perren, 1979).

Obviously, if one accepts the close relationship between language and culture, then any genuine multicultural educational programme must have a linguistic perspective.

> Much has already been said along the lines that multi-cultural education is to do with treating others' cultural values with the respect that we would normally expect to be shown towards our own. But so far we have not properly confronted the fact that it is not possible to respect the culture of any community without recognizing the significance of that community's own language, or, indeed, the characteristic ways in which people in that community speak English. More even than religious traditions, or social or domestic customs, it is language . . . which symbolizes and embodies a culture and its values (Twitchin and Demuth, 1981).

We are concerned then with the linguistic needs of bilingual children, both in terms of the acquisition and use of English and also in terms of the acquisition, use and maintenance of their mother-tongues.

Weinreich (1953) defined bilingualism as "The practice of alternately using two languages". As a working definition this has the advantage of not specifying the level of proficiency of the languages concerned. It covers the continuum from very limited proficiency in one language (or indeed both languages, see below) to the situation of equal proficiency in two languages. A community which has individuals who regularly use more than one language for communication within the community may be termed bilingual.

Fishman (1972) makes a useful distinction between different types of bilingual community. His main dichotomy is between those he classifies as "diglossic" and those he classifies as "non-diglossic".

The term diglossia, coined by Ferguson (1959) but subsequently extended, refers to the situation where a community recognizes more than one language for internal use. The use and maintenance of the languages is institutionalized, so that the functions which the languages perform are sanctioned either tacitly or formally by the whole community. The languages therefore have clearly defined roles, in terms of which language is to be used between which interlocuters, for what topic, in what place and to what purpose. In diglossic bilingual communities the languages are complementary to one another; they are not in conflict, and one language does not erode the position of the other with the passage of time.

Diglossic bilingual communities are linguistically stable and ensure the maintenance of both languages. Examples of diglossic bilingual communities documented in research on bilingualism include Switzerland (Weinreich, 1953) and Paraguay (Rubin, 1968). In Britain it has been suggested that some Welsh communities are becoming diglossic.

A bilingual society which is not characterized by diglossia is a society where the two languages do not have clearly defined roles. There is no widely accepted consensus as to which language to use in any particular situation. In a sense, therefore, each discourse must determine its own criteria for the choice of a language.

Such communities tend to be those undergoing rapid social change, such as immigrant communities, where there is an initial language of the home and a language of the school but where increasingly the children begin to use the school language at home because the home language has such a precarious position within the community as a whole. Formal institutions, in particular, tend to make individuals increasingly monolingual in practice and ultimately the home language is replaced entirely. When this occurs a language "shift" has taken place.

This, then, is a "transitional" bilingual community, and certainly there is evidence which points to the fact that immigrant bilingual groups are often in this position. Tosi (1982) has indicated that this is the case with the Italian community in Bedford. Bloomfield (1935) seemed to believe that this was a defining trait of all immigrant bilingual communities.

> Another more common case of shift of language occurs in the children of immigrants. Very often the parents speak their native language at home, and make it the native language of their children, but the children, as soon as they begin to play outdoors or attend school, refuse to speak the home language and in time succeed in forgetting all but a smattering of it and speak only English.

The distinction between these two types of bilingual community is an important one because recent research has indicated that "transitional" bilingual communities present minority group children with severe educational, social and psychological problems (Tosi, 1984).

In fact, many studies of bilingualism and school achievement have been conducted in just such communities (MacNamara, 1966), and it is felt that it is the choice of this rather limited context which has resulted in the negative results which have been achieved, and the belief that bilingual children are at an intellectual and educational disadvantage.

Lambert (1978) made a similar distinction when he labelled bilingual communities as either "additive" or "subtractive". The former is the situation where the individual is able to extend his language skills by the addition of a language; the latter is the case where an individual's first language is replaced by a second.

Most immigrant bilingual communities in Britain today could probably be fairly described as either "subtractive" or "transitional". The purpose of this chapter, then, is to suggest that if the British education system recognized the existence of bilingualism within British society, if the schools and indeed the society as a whole gave institutional support to the mother-tongues of minority groups, if bilingualism in Britain were seen as a national resource rather than as a problem, then immigrant communities would have the chance of becoming linguistically stable. The situation described by Tosi (1982), whereby children of minority groups become "semilingual" (for a fuller analysis of the notion of "semi-lingualism" see Hansegard, 1968 and Toukomaa, 1975), not fully proficient either in the language of the home or in English, with all the attendant educational social and psychological problems, could be avoided.

Linguistic diversity in Britain

"We are accustomed to thinking of most European Nations as monolingual" (Trudgill, 1974). Certainly the non-indigenous linguistic minorities in Britain have received scant attention. As Rosen and Burgess put it in 1980:

> The community of linguistic scholars in this country has shown remarkably little interest in the new linguistic profile which has emerged in the last twenty years. We have scholars who can tell us more about linguistic diversity in remote African and Asian Communities than they can about the diversity under their noses. That is perhaps not to be wondered at. The monolingual tradition dies hard . . . (p. 13).

The 1971 Census is still the main source of national information as regards minority groups. It can provide figures of the overseas-born population, but these figures, analysed by Campbell-Platt (1976), only give a very rough guide as to the linguistic diversity of Britain. The figures only relate to individuals born in overseas countries and do not include the children of such parents. They must be seen therefore, as a conservative estimate of the total size of the groups. Campbell-Platt's figures reveal, for example, that there were 321,995 individuals born in India, of which 106,380 were resident in the GLC area. There were 139,935 born in Pakistan, of which just over 30,000 lived in the GLC, and there were 108,980 born in Italy with, for example, 3785 of these resident in Bedford.

These figures, of course, do not necessarily tell us very much about the linguistic allegiance of these individuals. There are, for example, several major languages represented by the Indian group; Punjabi, Gujerati, Hindi, Bengali and Tamil. Furthermore, there is no socio-linguistic perspective. There is no information regarding the relationship between English and the minority languages, in terms either of individual or of community use. Nor is there any information regarding the maintenance of languages other than English in the British Isles.

Recently, however, there has been some interest in documenting the level and character of linguistic diversity within British schools in selected areas. Rosen and Burgess (1980) conducted a survey of schools in the inner London Education Authority. Their starting point was Fishman's (1965) question of "who speaks what language to whom and when" applied to London schools.

The survey covered 28 secondary schools, from which a representative sample of 4600 pupils between the ages of 11 and 12 were taken. This represented 14% of the total age-group. Of this sample, 750 or 14% of

the children had some facility in English and in another language or languages.

A total of 55 languages other than English was found to be spoken by the pupils surveyed. For 37 of these languages the number of speakers for each was less than 12 but the remaining 18 languages accounted for 82% of the bilingual population.

The survey also revealed high levels of linguistic diversity in terms of Great Britain-based dialects and overseas dialects of English. In fact, only 15% of the pupils were judged by their teachers to be speakers of standard English.

The survey was also concerned to indicate the extent to which bilingual pupils used their mother-tongues and the levels of maintenance of mother-tongues within certain communities. Roughly half of the bilingual children were considered regular users of both English and their other language in certain contexts. The rest were found to have only a very limited use and proficiency in their home language. Again, about a half of the bilingual pupils were literate in both their languages. Table 1 is adapted from Rosen and Burgess, *Languages and Dialects of London School Children*, Ward Lock Education, 1980, Table 15.

Table 1 *Comparison of amount of use of languages other than English, where spoken by more than 14 pupils (percentages of sub-groups speaking each language)*

	Bilingual: regularly speaks language	*Overseas language dominant*	*Other: speaks some phrases*
Gujerati	80	10	10
Punjabi	66	17	17
Greek	65	5	30
Turkish	61	0.2	39
Cantonese	60	27	13
Bengali	60	30	10
Arabic	56	25	19
Portuguese	54	14	32
Spanish	51	14	35
Hindi	53	—	47
French Creoles	39	3	57
Italian	39	2	59
French	35	—	65
Urdu	33	27	40
German	23	—	77
Yoruba	23	—	77

The table indicates that some of the linguistic minorities have a higher proportion of individuals who regularly use both English and their mother-tongue. Furthermore, some communities have more indi-

viduals whose dominant language is their home language. Finally, there are substantial numbers of individuals in all the minority groups who appear to be in the process of losing their mother-tongues and becoming increasingly monolingual.

The investigation by Rosen and Burgess has one major drawback – that the information was collected by teachers answering a questionnaire about their pupils' language use. This inevitably puts a heavy onus on the teachers and their knowledge of the pupils.

Obviously, such research repeated on a national scale would be very useful, if rather difficult to carry out. In practice, localized information might be the best which could be hoped for, and considering the distribution of linguistic minorities in certain, mainly urban, areas it would perhaps be sufficient.

The Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) based at the University of London Institute of Education had research of this nature as its brief (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1983). It aimed to establish the range of linguistic diversity in all the schools in selected LEAs (Cambridgeshire, Coventry, Bradford, Haringey and Waltham Forest):

> The overall aim of the Project is to provide an account and analysis of the changing patterns of bilingualism in several regions of England (LMP, *Second Progress Report*, 1981).

To this purpose the project developed three surveys. These surveys were implemented in the LEAs chosen by the project and the results are reported in the *LMP Report* (1983). The questionnaires used in the surveys are also available to other interested LEAs or schools. The principles of the LMP are of significance to all LEAs:

> The work of the LMP is based on the assumption that linguistic diversity among *all* children should be recognized and valued, and that the maintenance and development of the linguistic skills of bilingual and biliterate pupils should be encouraged. We see bilingualism as a positive resource for both individuals and society as a whole and so we aim to present bilingualism in a more positive light to counter-balance the widespread view that it is inherently problematic (LMP, *Second Progress Report*, 1981).

1. The schools language survey is designed to be used by the teacher, who is asked to put the question "Do you yourself ever speak any language at home apart from English?" to all his pupils. If the answer is "yes", then the teacher is asked to put three additional questions:

(a) What is the name of that language?

(b) Can you read that language?
(c) Can you write that language?

It is intended that this instrument may give a general picture of the range of linguistic diversity in a school and also an indication of the extent of literacy in the languages found.

2. *The secondary pupils' survey.* This questionnaire is designed to be completed by the pupils themselves. It is fairly detailed and well illustrated and has sections designed for monolingual as well as bilingual children. It has more of a sociolinguistic focus than the schools language survey; it tries to elicit information as to when, where and why children use a particular language and what their attitude to that language is.

> The emphasis is on the ways in which children actually use the languages they know; their language-learning experience; their own assessment of their language skills, understanding, speaking, reading and writing, their perceptions of their own and other languages spoken in their neighbourhood or learned at school (LMP *Second Progress Report*, 1981).

The project also developed a questionnaire to document adult language use in chosen communities.

3. *The adult language use survey* is designed to be completed with the help of local bilingual interviewers. It has a specifically sociolinguistic emphasis and aims to characterize bilingual communities in terms of individuals' language use and attitudes towards bilingualism, bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance. The questionnaire is extremely detailed and seeks to establish domains of language use and developing patterns of bilingualism in the communities: whether, for example, the community is linguistically fairly stable or whether a language shift is taking place and it might be labelled "transitional". The adult language use survey develops the tradition established by Fishman (1965) and others in America, whereby bilingual communities' language use and attitudes to language use are fully described and documented.

The Linguistic Minorities Project also contributed to a *Mother Tongue Teaching Directory*. This provides information on the existing provision for minority language teaching in bilingual communities in Britain. (See *LMP Report*, 1983).

Research into the linguistic diversity of British society is of fundamental importance to those who have the responsibility for educational planning and provision. It is also useful in finally destroying the myth

that Britain is a monolingual nation. The latest ILEA language census has indicated that one child in seven in the Authority's schools is bilingual (*Language Census RS811/82*, reported in ILEA, 1982). This census also documented 131 languages other than English spoken by children in inner-London schools. Furthermore, when these figures are compared to the previous language census figures of 1978 (*ILEA 9484*, reported in ILEA, 1982), it appears that bilingualism is on the increase in the ILEA. Figures such as these surely need further investigation and must ultimately provoke an educational response.

In fact, in the face of such obvious linguistic and cultural diversity in British schools, certain possible reactions might be imagined. The first, which we shall henceforth ignore, is perhaps to try and deny the situation and maintain the pretence that Britain is essentially a monolinguistic and monocultural society. The second might be to acknowledge the diversity but to see it as a problem; a problem which will be overcome when we return to the monolingual, monocultural state from which we have so unfortunately fallen. The third reaction might be to try to capitalize on the situation and to develop a stable multicultural and multilingual society.

Assimilation

The second reaction has been labelled the "assimilationist" solution. Here, compensatory education programmes are provided to try to assimilate the immigrant communities into what is perceived as the traditional, monocultural, monolinguistic heritage. This has been a very powerful trend in the British education system and it is only comparatively recently that it has begun to be questioned.

Most, if not all, ESL programmes in Britain are essentially compensatory programmes which are assimilationist in purpose. The argument is that children with different backgrounds, cultures and languages will not be able to benefit from the British education system as it stands; there is no inclination to change this system, so you must change the children. Lack of English is seen as a bar to assimilation, so remedial English is provided. As soon as the children have learnt English and have been assimilated, then the compensatory programme can finish (see Ellis's paper in this book). This attitude is well summed up in the Schools Council *Working paper No. 13* (1967), where immigrant group language needs are summed up:

> To communicate satisfactorily and adequately in an English speaking community. This need not be emphasized unduly. There is, however, a second function equally important: namely to provide through language the means whereby the child becomes part

of his community — to provide the key to cultural and social assimilation.

The "assimilationist" view can be very persuasive and has had many advocates in both the majority and minority groups. In terms of popular beliefs there are certain common justifications which are often put forward. These are summarized by Klos (1971) under four headings: the "tacit compact" argument, the "give-and-take" argument, the argument for "national unity" and the "anti-ghettoization" argument.

The "tacit compact" argument is that by coming to a new country immigrants make a sort of tacit agreement to adapt themselves to the new environment. Closely related to this is the "give-and-take" argument, which suggests that by coming to the new country immigrants become economically more prosperous and therefore owe it to their new community to conform. Why they should have to conform in this manner is usually not articulated, but if it is, it is often the argument for "national unity" which is called upon. This sees the existence of linguistic and cultural minorities as socially and nationally disruptive. If everybody were the same, the argument goes, there would be no such things as race riots.

The fourth argument is that by not assimilating with the majority group, immigrants lock themselves into a linguistic and cultural ghetto. This results in a lack of participation in, and a lack of benefit from, the wider community in terms of economic, political and cultural advancement. In particular, by not learning the language of the host community, they are caught in a vicious circle of social disadvantage. This is perhaps the most serious of the arguments for adopting an assimiliationist policy and one which has a very respectable heritage. Bull (1955), in answer to the Unesco monograph No. 8, *Fundamental Education* (1953) contention "that the best medium for teaching is the mother-tongue of the pupil" pointed out that "what is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically may not be what is best for the adult socially, economically or politically".

This is an argument that has also been put forward by members of minority groups and used as a criticism of multicultural education (Stone, 1981). There is certainly evidence which suggests that, in particular, the first generation of immigrants tends to put a high priority on the learning of English as a means to economic advancement, and that some parents may feel that time not spent on learning English is wasted. As Khan (1980) has pointed out, however, this feeling may be largely based on misplaced confidence as to the ability of their children to maintain their own language and culture without institutional support, rather than on any real desire by the parents that the children should assimilate to the host community.

> While the first generation minority members work for the structural incorporation of themselves and their children into British society, they rarely accept the prevailing notion of the host society of cultural incorporation or assimilation (Khan 1980).

The anti-ghettoization argument, then, particularly when put forward by the host community, tends to be based on a fundamental fallacy. That is, that to become an efficient member of the host society one must necessarily relinquish one's own culture and language. That assimilation is an all-or-nothing process, working one way — minority communities assimilating to, and becoming incorporated in, majority groups.

As the quotation from Khan (1980) above suggests, minority groups do not necessarily see it like this. Instead of working towards assimilation, they may be working towards integration. Too often these terms are used as if they were synonymous. In particular "integration" is often used when "assimilation" is intended.

> The Education system has so far not come to terms with the fact that Britain is a plural or multicultural society. Most teachers would seem to support the concept of "integration", yet in practice they are working towards a naive kind of "assimilation" (Verma and Mallick, 1981).

Integration

"Integration" implies accommodation by all sections of society (both minority and majority groups) but also implies maintenance of cultural and linguistic differences; it is the basis for a multicultural society. This, then, is the third possible reaction to the cultural and linguistic diversity within Britain today. Why is the idea of the plural or multicultural society worthy of support? Firstly, there appears to be a paradox inherent in the assimilationist policy. The paradox is that those groups or individuals who have assimilated are not accepted by the majority group. This refutes the claim that assimilation avoids trouble and prejudice between different communities; the policy, at least in this sense, seems to have failed. West Indians who share much of the culture of the dominant British society and who also share the language have still suffered from considerable discrimination in all spheres of life. Also young Asians who were born and educated in Britain, and who speak fluent English with local British accents, still suffer the effects of prejudice and discrimination (Ballard and Holden, 1975).

Furthermore, it is suggested that assimilationist policies create "non-stable" or "subtractive" bilingual communities. If a minority group's

language and culture is ignored or even suppressed in favour of the majority group, then it is likely to disappear. Individuals within the minority groups experience a crisis of self-identity and generally have a very low self-esteem. Many adults and children in this position internalize the devalued status of their own culture and language which is implied by its lack of status in the wider community.

Research into attitudes towards language, pioneered by Lambert in Canada using the "matched-guise" technique, has supplied some striking evidence of this fact. "Judges" evaluate, on a number of dimensions, a tape-recorded speaker's personality, after hearing his voice read a passage. In fact, the speaker reads the same passage twice, using different varieties of language, but the "judges" are not told this and believe they are listening to separate individuals (Lambert *et al.*, 1960).

The researchers discovered that mother-tongue English-speaking Canadians judged the English "guises" much more positively than the French "guises". More disturbingly, however, they also found that mother-tongue French-speaking "judges" were also much harder on the French "guises".

Similar research has been carried out in Britain by V. K. Edwards (1978) with reference to the West Indian community in Reading. Part of her research involved West Indian children who were asked to evaluate tape-recorded West Indian accents in terms of the following scale.

Valuable	–: –: –: –: –:	Worthless
bad		good
careful		careless
smooth		rough
negative		positive
sharp		dull
strong		weak
clever	–: –: –: –: –:	stupid

When the results were compared to the way in which these children had assessed native British accents, it was found that the West Indian children had given much higher status to the British accents. The children were also asked to use the voices on the tape recorder to assess the speakers' behaviour and educational potential. Once again, the West Indian 'judges' revealed negative attitudes towards their own variety of English.

Related research has been carried out by Milner and is reported in his book *Children and Race* (1975). Three hundred children aged 5 to 8 were shown dolls or pictures. The dolls represented the social groups

present in the children's immediate environment. The children were asked the question, "Which doll looks most like you?" Forty-eight per cent of West Indian children and 24% of the Asian children chose the white doll. Also 58% of the West Indian children and 45% of the Asian children felt that the doll that was actually supposed to represent their racial group was "bad".

Research such as this seems to underline the fact that minority groups share some of the prejudices of the majority or dominant group. The assimilationist policy undermines minority groups by giving their language and culture no status. This, in turn, may lead to lower educational expectation and potential, and a vicious circle of poverty and disadvantage. The very thing that it is often claimed an assimilationist policy works to avoid, social unrest, may in fact be the result.

There are also some indications that maintenance of the mother-tongue and culture may facilitate the learning of a second language. Research such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) in Sweden, and Lewis (1970) in Britain points to the fact that children who do have a solid grounding in their own language learn a second language more efficiently, and that those children who do not have this grounding experience difficulty in the learning of subsequent languages. (It is because of research such as this that some recent "assimilationist" education programmes, especially in the USA, have a mother-tongue teaching component. Teaching the mother-tongue, especially to the younger child, is seen as facilitating his acquisition of English and therefore of helping him to assimilate to the dominant culture.)

ESL in the multicultural society

I have suggested that traditionally there has been a close relationship between ESL provision in Britain and assimilationist policies; that in fact ESL programmes have been seen as facilitating the assimilation of minority groups into the host society. If such policies are called into question, then the role of ESL has to be re-examined. The close relationship that has existed between ESL and assimilationist policies is not a necessary or exclusive relationship, however. ESL may also be seen to have an important role to play in the establishment of a multicultural society. It is perhaps worth re-emphasizing that the linguistic needs of minority-group children should be seen in terms both of the acquisition of English and of the maintenance of their own mother-tongues. ESL, therefore, in such a situation, is to be seen as part of an integrated language teaching programme which includes mother-tongue teaching. The need for English in Britain cannot be overstated. As Malcolm Saunders put it in *Multicultural Teaching* (1982):

> In the first place, if we recognize the dispersal of power in the community and the most well worn routes for social and vocational mobility, the effective performance in standard English is essential for all children.

This may appear to remind us of the anti-ghettoization argument described by Klos (1971). There is, as I have already suggested, one essential difference, however, in that English is not seen as the only language which is taught and used in the schools. An educational system is established which fosters both English and the mother-tongues of minority groups. In such a system, ESL would not be "self-eliminating" or "marginal" but would become a permanent feature of a bilingual education programme in a stable, multilingual and multi-cultural society. It might be useful, in fact, to have a term to reflect this new emphasis. English as An Additional Language (EAL) could be used.

Bilingual education

"Bilingual education is instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part or all of the school curriculum" (Andersson and Boyer, 1970). Fishman (1976) defines four types of bilingual education programme and evaluates them in terms of their linguistic, educational and societal objectives:

I. *Transitional bilingualism.* In this type of programme the mother-tongue of the learners is used to facilitate the transition from the mother-tongue to the second language. As soon as the child has learnt the second language and has assimilated to the host community, the mother-tongue is dropped.

II. *Monoliterate bilingualism.* Here the aim of the programme is only to achieve literacy in the language of the host community. The mother-tongue is encouraged, but only in terms of aural–oral skills. The role of the mother-tongue is seen as supportive rather than as a truly acceptable medium of education.

Both these first two types of bilingual education programme may be seen as "transitional"; they encourage language shift. Fishman characterizes them as "compensatory programmes" which are essentially assimilationist in purpose. He makes the point that most American experiments into the setting up of bilingual education programmes have been of this nature, and indeed Kjolseth (1972) reported that over 80% of the bilingual projects he reviewed in the USA were of the "assimilation" type.

III. *Biliterate bilingualism (partial).* In this type of programme, literacy and fluency are encouraged in both languages but the roles

and functions which the languages have in the wider community are taken into consideration. There is an implication that the community should be linguistically fairly stable and diglossic. In practice, this will often mean that the dominant language is used as a medium in professional, scientific and work spheres whilst the minority language is seen as appropriate for family and home culture. This is the type of bilingual education programme that has been established in parts of Wales (Morgan, 1976).

IV. *Biliterate bilingualism (full).* In this type of programme, both languages are used throughout the school as medium of instruction in all domains and subject areas. The mother-tongue and the language of the host community are given absolute equality of status. This may mean, in effect, that the learners are taught biology through the medium of English, for example, and then again biology through the medium of another language.

Fishman suggests that it is these last two types of bilingual education programme which encourage stable bilingual communities, and he labels them "group maintenance" programmes. They are intended to assist in the establishment of an integrated or multicultural and multilingual society. For a summary of the above model in relation to the maintenance of the mother-tongue and the acquisition of English in bilingual communities, see Table 2.

Bilingual education in Britain

There have been very few bilingual education programmes in Britain other than those in Wales (see, for example, *Bilingualism and British Education: the dimensions of diversity*, CILT, 1976). There are, of course, compensatory ESL programmes but these do not usually include instruction in or through the students' mother-tongue. Recently, however, there has been some interest in the establishing of bilingual programmes, and the Bullock Report *A Language for Life* (DES, 1975) makes its commitment quite clear:

> No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart. The curriculum should reflect many elements of that part of his life which a child lives outside school.

Unfortunately, this commitment has not been followed up in any real practical sense and the LEAs, with some notable exceptions, have been slow to develop policies to implement bilingual programmes but have tended to put all their resources (allocated under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act, for example) into ESL programmes.

Table 2 *'Transitional' and 'group maintenance' bilingual education programmes*

Types of bilingual education programmes	*Role of languages*				*Associated types of bilingual community*
	Mother-tongue		*Host community language (English)*		
	In school	*In home*	*In school*	*In home*	
"Transitional" bilingual programmes for assimilation.	Used to facilitate acquisition of English and to facilitate induction into school. Dropped when English is acquired. Literacy not established.	Increasingly restricted to this domain of use. Receives no support from school: "under attack" even here.	Usually restricted to ESL compensatory programmes until acquisition of the language is seen as complete.	Begins to replace mother-tongue.	Non diglossic or "subtractive" (language shift taking place).
"Group maintenance" programmes for a multicultural society.	Taught as a subject and used as a medium throughout school system. Literacy established and maintained.	Encouraged and receives support from school.	Seen as an essential and permanent part of the bilingual programme EAL (see text) is not seen as compensatory.	May be used but does not replace mother-tongue.	Diglossic or "additive" (no language shift taking place).

Mother-tongue maintenance, therefore, has remained outside the mainstream school system and has become the responsibility of the minority groups themselves. Provision of mother-tongue teaching usually takes the form of evening or weekend classes. Some classes are organized by religious bodies, others by voluntary groups of interested parents, and still others by community organizations. Some of these "community schools" are entirely self-funding, others get some financial help from embassies or cultural institutes. The quality and methods of teaching vary widely, as does the suitability of the premises used. The subjects taught in the schools differ, but most concentrate on language maintenance and incorporate material on the culture, history and geography of the homeland. All the schools, however, reflect a community concern for mother-tongue and mother-culture preservation.

Information on the number and nature of these schools is limited but some indication is offered by Khan (1976).

> A startling number of children belonging to Britain's ethnic minorities attend classes outside the normal school system in which they maintain the use of their mother-tongue. Startling in the sense that no one seems aware either of the extent or the increasing demand for such provision.

Important as such schools undoubtedly are to the communities they serve, there remain some serious disadvantages. Some of these are practical problems such as the quality and amount of teaching involved. There is also the real concern that such additional teaching may overtax children who are already tired from the ordinary school day. Khan (1976) reports cases of children of 5 and 6 attending classes of 2 or 3 hours for 5 days a week. There is also the problem of lack of co-ordination between the two school systems, which may result in clashes of methodology or indeed of content.

The single most serious disadvantage, however, is that as long as the mother-tongue schools remain outside the mainstream school system there is an undoubted implication that these schools and the subjects they teach are not as important, not as worthy of consideration, as the subjects in the mainstream curriculum. The Bullock Report, quoted earlier, makes the point that children from ethnic minorities should not have to cast off the language and culture of the home when they come to school. This form of "double-school" system requires that they do so, and its rather *ad hoc* existence does not constitute a co-ordinated bilingual educational system. Rather, it underlines the need for such a system, which at present does not exist.

In 1977 some political impetus was given to bilingual education and to

the establishment of mother-tongue classes within the mainstream school systems in Britain.

The directive on the education of migrant workers' children (EEC, 1977)

This document originated in an action programme for migrant workers produced by the Commission of the European Communities in 1974. The initial concern was that the children of migrant workers from within the EEC should be taught both the language of the host community and their mother-tongues. The teaching of the mother-tongue was seen as important principally because it would enable the children to re-integrate into the education system of the homeland when and if they returned.

In 1976 a directive was issued. In its original form it proposed that there should be instruction in the language of the host community and also that there should be instruction in the language of the home, within the mainstream school system.

This latter point proved rather controversial. In Britain the DES resisted the adoption of this directive on several grounds:

1. The difficulty of implementation and legal enforcement of the directive in Britain because the British education system is decentralized.
2. The definition of "migrant" did not cover all the minority groups in Britain; indeed, there should be no distinction between migrants from within the EEC and other ethnic minorities. Also the idea of the migrant as somebody who would be likely to return home was challenged in the British context.
3. The statutory provision of mother-tongue teaching within the mainstream system would be difficult in view of the number of languages involved and the financial burden that this implied.
4. The teaching of mother-tongues was a low priority in comparison to other pressing educational needs.

There was also a negative response from the main teaching unions, who questioned any policy which called for additional resources, whilst other areas of education were facing financial cutbacks, and for the employment of extra teachers to teach mother-tongues, while many trained teachers were out of work.

In the light of such objections, the directive was modified. The revised directive did not make the provision of mother-tongue teaching obligatory but suggested that it should be promoted "according to national circumstances and legal systems". The clause in the original document which had given the individual the right to mother-tongue

instruction was deleted. The definition of "migrant" was extended to cover all ethnic minorities. This revised directive received the support of the DES and also of the teaching unions. It was issued in 1977 and came into force in 1981.

The spirit of the 1977 EEC directive seems to be directed towards the setting up of biliterate (partial) bilingual programmes in the member states. Both the language of the host community and the mother-tongues are maintained, but there is an implicit acknowledgement of the different roles they will play in the host society.

> Member states shall facilitate within their territory the gradual adaptation of the children of migrant workers to the education system and social life of the host country, whilst ensuring that linguistic and cultural links are maintained between the children and their country of origin.

In response to the 1977 directive, and as a result of the continuing pressure to make the British education system more sensitive to the needs of bilingual and bicultural children, experiments in bilingual education programmes have been undertaken by some LEAs. So far, all have been small-scale pilot projects, but the results are worth noting.

The Bradford Mother-Tongue and English Teaching project ("MOTET")

This was a DES-funded project which began in 1978 and ran for one school year. The children involved were rising 5-year-olds who were speakers of Punjabi and who lived in the Bradford area. The children were chosen because on entry to school they were judged to have little or no knowledge of English. Some 70 children were involved in both the bilingual education programme and in the control groups. Two schools were involved in the experiment.

In 1978 the usual pattern in Bradford for rising 5-year-olds with little or no English was that they were either sent to an infant centre, where they were given sufficient English to prepare them for the ordinary first school, or they were sent direct to first schools and were given special help in English.

In the case of the project, the control groups were treated in this way but the experimental groups were taught through the medium of Punjabi for half of the school day and in English for the rest.

Permission for the bilingual programme was obtained from the parents, who were also informed of the aims and methods of the project. The criteria for evaluating the project were based on the child's adaptation to school, his acquisition of English, his progress in his mother-tongue and his general cognitive development.

The results of the "MOTET" project were very encouraging. It was found that the experimental groups and the control groups had no significant difference in general cognitive development. The experimental groups had, as might be expected, developed their mother-tongues to a far greater degree than had the control groups. The researchers also found that the experimental groups' acquisition of English had not suffered; on the contrary, their skills in English had developed slightly faster than those of the control groups (Rees and Fitzpatrick, 1981). Both teachers and researchers also commented on the experimental groups' liveliness and confidence in the school situation (Chapman, 1980).

The "MOTET" project is significant because it reinforces the findings of researchers such as Cummins (1981) as to the positive effects of bilingual education on the cognitive and linguistic development of bilingual children. It also seems to reinforce the relationship between maintenance of mother-tongue and culture and levels of self-esteem and self-confidence. This latter hypothesis was not tested under experimental conditions, however, but was supported by the observations of the researchers and teachers.

Ultimately, the main aim of the project, however, was not to maintain the mother-tongue and to establish a stable bilingual community but to facilitate the children's induction into the British educational system, and in this sense the project may be seen as an example of a "transitional" bilingual programme.

The Bilingual project with under-5's at Hounslow Heath Infant School (1982)

This very small project took place in Hounslow during the school year of 1981/82. It was funded by the LEA. Sixteen rising 5-year-olds whose mother-tongue was Punjabi were split into control and experimental groups (four children to each group). All the groups were given the same curriculum, which was taught as an ESL programme, except for 20 minutes each day, when the experimental groups had a Punjabi teaching input. The actual teaching programme took place over a period of 5 months in 1982.

The stated objective of the project was to improve the children's English.

> Our expressed objective . . . was to improve the children's English language knowledge by using some mother-tongue with English in the learning situation (Butt and Carter, 1982).

Such an objective, as it stands would suggest that the project was a "transitional" bilingual programme. The project organizers, however,

made the point that if the pilot project was successful, then a long-term project could be initiated where this rather limited objective might be extended to incorporate mother-tongue maintenance.

All the children were pre-tested and post-tested in their knowledge of English. The results indicated that even with such a small bilingual component (20 minutes a day for 5 months) the experimental groups' English had developed faster than that of the control groups.

The children were also tested in their knowledge of Punjabi. Here the researchers found that over the 5-month period the Punjabi of both the control and the experimental groups had deteriorated surprisingly fast. The bilingual groups' Punjabi seemed to have faired slightly better, however, and the researchers speculated that with a greater bilingual input (such as in the "MOTET" project) the children's knowledge of Punjabi might have been retained or even increased. This rapid loss of the mother-tongue was considered highly significant by the researchers.

> The phenomenal rate of decay of the children's use of their mother-tongue was a disturbing and unexpected discovery. More research needs to be done in this area, especially as many Asian parents are concerned about the mother-tongue retention of the new generation born in Britain (Butt and Carter, 1982).

The EEC/Bedfordshire Mother-Tongue Project

Both the "MOTET" project and the Hounslow project were concerned with the educational and social advantages of bilingual education in the first year of schooling. The Bedford project, funded by the EEC, was concerned with children aged 5–9. The project ran from 1976 until 1980 and was set up to experiment in the teaching of mother-tongue to immigrant children within the mainstream school curriculum. The project was seen as a pilot, to anticipate the needs of the 1977 EEC Directive on mother-tongue teaching which was to come into force in 1981.

The town of Bedford has many different ethnic minority groups which make up about 30% of the entire population. It also has the largest Italian settlement in the United Kingdom outside London — some 9000 people, or over 10% of the population (Tosi, 1982). Bedford was chosen as a suitable place for an experiment in bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance. It was envisaged that the project would also serve as a model for other interested LEAs.

Punjabi and Italian were the two minority languages included in the experiment. Six schools were involved in the project; four lower schools,

one middle school and one upper school. One hundred Punjabi children (primary) and about 50 Italian children (primary, middle and upper) took part. They were taught Punjabi or Italian for 1 hour a day at the primary level and for five periods a week at the middle or upper levels.

A factor which is seen as significant in the Bedford project is that the children were taught the standard or national variety of Italian or Punjabi and not their own regional or local variety. In the case of Italian, in particular, there is often a considerable difference between the two (Tosi, 1984). In a strict sense, therefore, it might be claimed the children were not taught their mother-tongue but the national standard of the homeland. The Bedford project had a twofold objective:

1. To promote an interest in the issue at the administrative level and to increase provision for it.
2. To develop resources at the educational level (Tosi, 1980).

Certainly the project promoted interest at the administrative level, although many of the points of criticism directed at the 1976 EEC draft directive have been subsequently reiterated; that such provision is too expensive and only possible if funded by an outside body such as the EEC; that such provision is only relevant in terms of migrant/ immigrant repatriation and does not fit into the assimilationist model of society currently favoured in Britain. The administrative response seems generally to have been fairly negative. This report appeared in the *Times Educational Supplement* (8 March 1980):

> IMMIGRANT MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING "COSTING TOO MUCH". Doubts on the viability of mother-tongue teaching were expressed this week by the chief education officer of the only EEC-funded project in Britain to teach children in the language of their parents' home country. Mr. Peter Browning, the CEO of Bedford, asked if mother-tongue teaching was desirable or practical or could be afforded. He was speaking to 70 delegates from Britain and Europe at a colloquium at Cranfield Institute of Technology, Bedfordshire, organized by the EEC to evaluate the Bedford pilot project. This scheme was set up in 1976 following an EEC directive asking host countries to "promote" teaching of the mother-tongue. It ends in July, Mr. Browning said. So far the project has cost one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in four years to teach either Italian or Punjabi to 150 children — less than 2 per cent of the 9,000 immigrant children in the county. There are 70 nationalities in Bedford. "Quite bluntly, the county cannot afford to continue with the project once the EEC stops financing it", he said. Immigrants who come to Bedford usually intend to stay, yet the directive envisaged providing mother-tongue teaching "principally to facilitate the possible re-integration of the children into their country of origin", said Mr. Browning.

The second objective seems to have had more positive results. The teachers involved in the project were concerned with the improvement of existing teaching techniques and materials for use in the bilingual classroom. It was found, for example, that existing material for the teaching of Punjabi and Italian in the home country context was not suitable when transposed to the bilingual situation. New materials and techniques had to be devised. At the end of the project all such material was placed in a resources centre of the LEA.

The Bedford project did not have control groups; the results of the project were evaluated from a series of questionnaires designed to elicit teachers' assessment of pupils' progress in both English and their other language.

The children were assessed as having made good progress in the standard form of their mother-tongues, despite the rather small input, and it was felt that this developed facility in the standard language had reinforced the use of their mother-tongues, especially in the family and home situation. The project teachers also judged that the English of the children had not suffered in any way.

The Bedford project was not primarily concerned with helping the children to acquire English and to assimilate into British society. Italian and Punjabi were taught because it was felt that a knowledge of the language of the home country is desirable for social, psychological and educational reasons. In the final analysis it is perhaps this "group maintenance" nature of the project which is most significant.

These and other similar pilot projects have stimulated interest in bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance within the British educational system. The LEA which has probably gone furthest in terms of establishing an overall policy on bilingual education is the ILEA, which may serve as an example for our purposes.

Bilingual education in the ILEA

In 1982 the ILEA issued a report *Bilingualism in the ILEA — The Educational implications of the 1981 Language census* (ILEA 2321). This sets out very clearly the Authority's policy on bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance. It is worth looking at in some detail.

> The starting point for constructing a sound educational policy towards bilingualism must be neither the importance of English nor the significance of the mother-tongue but the role of language itself in the educational development of the children. Language is critical in fundamental educational processes like concept acquisition and inquiry, the understanding of cause and effect, inter-

> preting and evaluating evidence. The ability to do these things is developed in and through *all* languages (ILEA 2321).

The document goes on to commit the ILEA very firmly to the ideals represented in the Bullock Report *A Language for Life.*

> *A Language for Life* is a central statement about the role of language in learning in UK schools. It discussed bilingualism in this context and concluded (Ch. 20) that in a "linguistically conscious nation in the modern world" bilingualism should be seen as an asset, and mother tongues as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies that should nurture [them] is the school (ILEA 2321).

The report re-affirms the ILEA commitment to the teaching of English as a second language where it is needed.

> ILEA policy towards bilingual pupils must first be addressed to the learning of English. Both in schools and in linguistic minority communities, this is unambiguously recognised as a priority, both in order to control access to the curriculum in school and in order to equip pupils fully for life and work outside school (ILEA 2321).

The need for mother-tongue maintenance is also stressed, however, and the use of the mother-tongue is seen as an essential part of a bilingual child's education.

> The second, complementary, strand in the Authority's policy towards bilingual pupils concerns the promotion and development of mother-tongues (ILEA 2321).

Provision of mother-tongue teaching and the use of the mother-tongue as a medium in the mainstream curriculum is justified in the report by the statement of certain fundamental principles which may be summarized as follows:

1. Education is concerned with developing all the abilities and potential of all children.
2. The mother-tongue of a child is an important channel to support his or her education.
3. A child's mother-tongue is an important part of his or her cultural and ethnic identity. Maintenance of the mother-tongue is important to a person's self-image and self-confidence. It is also an important influence on the child's status with his or her peers.
4. Bilingual children need their mother-tongues to function within the family and home community.
5. Britain as a multilingual society obviously needs proficient bilinguals as part of that society.

The report also underlines the fact that the maintenance of mother-tongues does not hinder the acquisition of English — something that the report acknowledges is of real concern to many parents and teachers alike:

> a study of the relevant research leads "to the conclusion that there is no a priori reason to assume that the educational use of pupils' first language will impair the learning of English in the course of an efficiently organized educational programme; nor does the experimental evidence support such an assumption" (ILEA 2321, quoting from Gorman 1982).

Finally, the report contains a six-point policy statement on bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance which is given here in full:

1. It is the right of all bilingual children to know that their mother-tongue skills are recognized and valued in schools.
2. It is educationally desirable that bilingual children in primary schools should be given the chance to learn to read and write their mother-tongues and to extend their oral skills in these languages.
3. It is educationally desirable that bilingual children in secondary schools should be given the chance to study the language of their home as a subject on the school curriculum and to gain appropriate examination qualifications.
4. The mother tongue skills of bilingual children should be seen as a valuable potential channel for supporting their learning.
5. All children should have the opportunity to learn how other languages work and be encouraged to take an interest in and be informed about the languages spoken by their peers and neighbours.
6. In developing arrangements for teaching mother-tongue and in other ways promoting bilingualism, schools should consult with the parents concerned and seek to co-operate with mother-tongue classes organized by community groups and other agencies (ILEA 2321).

In order to implement this policy, the authority has taken a number of steps. Two inspectors for mother-tongue teaching have recently been appointed and there has also been an initial budget, the equivalent of 15 teaching posts, provided for the employment of mother-tongue teachers in primary and secondary schools. There was also a fund supplied to build up a collection of mother-tongue teaching resources and to produce new materials.

In the short term it was envisaged that funding for this provision would come from special allocations, but it was felt that there should be a commitment to use central funding in the long term.

	Name	*Status*	*Funding*	*Place*	*Languages*	*Age*	*Nature of Provision*
Outside mainstream	Community schools	Fairly permanent feature of most minority communities	Local community's voluntary contributions. Embassy funding, cultural institutes, etc.	Community premises, loan of maintained school classrooms, etc.	All major minority language groups represented.	All ages.	"Group maintenance"
Mainstream	ILEA policy on mother-tongue maintenance (ILEA 2321) 1982	Policy statement in the process of being implemented	ILEA special funding but commitment to central funding	All ILEA schools in theory	All	All ages	"Group maintenance"
	The Bradford Mother-Tongue and English Teaching project "MOTET"	Experimental pilot project; duration 1 school year	Bradford LEA	Two Bradford schools	Punjabi	Infants (5 years)	"Transitional"
	Bilingual project with Under-5s at Hounslow Heath Infants School.	Experimental pilot project; 5 months' duration	Hounslow LEA	Hounslow Heath Infant School	Punjabi	Infants (5 years')	"Transitional"
	The EEC Bedfordshire mother-tongue Project	Experimental pilot project; 4 years' duration	EEC	Six Bedford schools	Punjabi and Italian	Infants/ Juniors (5 to 9)	"Group maintenance"

> The development of mother-tongue teaching provision in primary and secondary schools will as much as possible be financed through main programme funding (ILEA).

Outside the mainstream school system the authority already gives active support to the community schools which hold mother-tongue classes outside normal school hours. In particular, the ILEA provide premises (usually classrooms in maintained schools) free of charge.

The Authority has also published bilingual learning material *The World in a City* by J. Wright (1981). This consists of a pack of 40 bilingual work-cards written for secondary-school children who are literate in their first language. The cards cover topics regularly included in the mainstream curriculum in the areas of the Humanities, Social Studies and integrated studies. It is intended that the cards are initially introduced to all the children in a class, whether they are bilingual or monolingual, but ultimately they are intended to be used by the bilingual children as an optional resource for learning. The bilingual texts are placed side by side on the card, and the children may read from either one or indeed both languages. So far, the material has been published using eight languages with English–Bengali, Chinese, Greek, Gujerati, Punjabi, Spanish, Turkish and Urdu.

Conclusion

Some Local Education Authorities have instigated pilot projects; others, such as the ILEA, have developed policies on bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance. There is an increasing awareness that Britain is a multicultural and multilingual society and that the linguistic diversity of some of our cities requires an educational response. The linguistic needs of minority group children are no longer seen solely in terms of the acquisition of English. The assimilationist policy, favoured for so long, whereby children are required to adapt to the monolingual monocultural system or fail, is being questioned. The need for bilingual education programmes, in particular group maintenance programmes, which foster integrated societies, is being recognized.

Nevertheless, it still remains to be seen if such policies and programmes can become a permanent feature of our education system. There are some very real difficulties which, with some possible solutions, are summarized below:

1. The British educational system is decentralized. It may therefore be more difficult than in some other countries to implement national policies and in particular, perhaps, there is a difficulty of liaison between different LEAs searching for answers to the same problems.

Experiments and pilot projects carried out in one LEA may not become known to others, for example. There is an obvious need for some co-ordinating body in the field of bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance. To a certain extent the *Linguistic Minorities Project* fulfilled this function from 1979 until 1983, when it came to a close.

2. The extent and level of linguistic diversity, especially in some, mainly urban, areas is in itself a real problem: the number of languages involved, the lack of resources in terms of money, materials and in particular of trained teachers. Those opposed to the idea of mother-tongue maintenance may point to the 131 languages spoken in the ILEA schools (ILEA, 1982) and say that the idea of providing teaching in all these languages is impossible. It may be impossible to provide teaching in all these languages, but it certainly is possible to provide it for the major language groups. The ILEA Language Census (ILEA, 1982) indicates very clearly the major language groups represented in the Inner London Area. Furthermore, if one in seven of the children in the ILEA speaks a language other than English as a mother-tongue (ILEA, 1982), then the parents of these children may expect some return, in terms of educational provision, for the taxes they pay. Materials and textbooks could also be developed and teachers can be trained. In 1983–84 the RSA started a course for the training of teachers for minority languages in Britain.
3. The response of the host or majority community to mother-tongue maintenance must also be taken into consideration. Assimilationist ideas are deeply ingrained in our society. It is argued by some that the fostering of minority-group mother-tongues will cause a "backlash", that the parents of indigenous children (and indeed some minority-group parents) do not want the maintenance of minority mother-tongues and will react strongly and even violently against it. Indeed, the more radical suggestion sometimes put forward (radical in a social rather than an educational sense) — that certain minority group languages should be taught to *all* children and not just to bilingual children — is sometimes cited as inflammatory. The answer here must be one of greater confidence and contact between parents and schools. Obviously, any change of policy on the part of an LEA should not be imposed from above, but should be the result of mutual explanation and consultation. Once again, experiments and pilot projects may be of use.
4. The final difficulty may be a lack of will on the part of politicians and educational planners. Here it is a matter of education in the need for, and the benefits of, bilingual education in a multilingual and multicultural society.

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II. The Education System

Learning from Children Learning

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ILEA Centre for Language in Primary Education

The Schools Council project Language in the Multilingual Primary Classroom was a national development of the ILEA Second Language Learners in the Primary Classroom Project.[1] In both projects, work with teachers and teachers' work on their own teaching have been an important strand in developing the central focus, namely that of an *educational* orientation for language development in multilingual primary classrooms. The examples cited here are of work undertaken and reported on by teachers taking part in the Schools Council Project, and published in limited editions during the life of the project in the Project's Broadsheets. The concept of interaction is developed in various ways to show the inter-relationship of learning, language learning, and learning about teaching, as well as a new conceptualization of ESL.

In all classrooms, conversations are going on among children and between children and adults. Conversations between adults and children are often assumed to be more important for children's learning and language development than those among children on their own. I would like to look at some examples of work in classrooms that for me reveal just how much children support each other through their conversations — evidence of the informal networks that link children in their schools and classrooms. It is these networks that can be tapped for more deliberately focused curriculum activities, by organizing contexts so that conversations between children become significant for them in their learning.

Children's informal networks

First, let us look at two 7-year-old girls talking to each other in the playground. The evidence is provided by their teacher, Geoff Miller, ILEA. In 1983[2] he wrote of them: ". . . the two children are very close friends and live together as neighbours . . . they can communicate only through English as neither speaks the other's first language . . ."

Overheard in a playground: a conversation between Child A and Child B

Child B	Child A	What A is doing
	Have you got your strong shoes?	
I have got on my shoes.	*Yes, but your shoes. The shoes that don't let . . . that don't get your feet wet.*	EXPLAINING the meaning of "strong" REPHRASING to make a phrase simpler
My feet not wet.	*Do you like to jump in puddles?*	FINDING ALTERNATIVE ways of putting over her idea
Puddles?	*Puddles — water on the floor.*	EXPLAINING "puddles"
No, I get wet. My feet wet.	*Your feet get wet? Not wet now? Have you got your . . . plimsolls?*	MATCHING the "telegraphese" of B. — not wet now/put plimsolls on
Plimsolls?	*If your feet get wet, you put plimsolls on . . . like in there — in the hall!*	
My feet?	*If your feet GET wet. Plimsolls on* (demonstrating wildly).	STRESSING WORDS USING GESTURE
I don't know.	*Ask Mrs. M.*	
Mrs. M.? Why?	*She's outside — the teacher outside.*	
What she say? (laughing)	*What WOULD she say* (correcting her) *She'd say not to jump in puddles.*	CORRECTING her directly
She tell the boys not fight.	*No, B. She tell the boys not TO fight.*	JUDGING how much to correct — one thing at a time!

> It was clear that A, with her greater experience of English, was acting as a guide to the language for B. The first thing I noticed in my first transcript was the way she corrected what B was saying. But when I looked more closely, I saw that she was in fact using a number of strategies for teaching her friend: explaining the meanings of words, rephrasing sentences so that their structure was as simple as she could make it, finding alternative ways of putting across her ideas to B when she realized she was not being understood, deliberately reducing her phrases to the telegraphese that B herself was using, stressing words she wanted B to understand, and using gestures, making decisions about how much correction to offer B at any one time.

That is a very clear example of one child deliberately supporting the language learning of another who, significantly, is also a close friend. There were many examples collected in both projects of children doing just that. Sometimes it was merely a question of helping another child with a word, or rephrasing, or repeating something that had been said. Sometimes the help was not deliberate like this, but sprang from ideas and ways of talking that were being negotiated round a topic — children giving each other *unconscious* support for thinking and talking.

There are two additional points to make in connection with this. First, that children, when they want to talk to each other, are tuned into each other's meanings and ways of thinking — as these two girls are. However, we should not get the idea that, because this example is of two *bilingual* pupils developing their use of English, it is only bi- and multilingual learners who have the kind of experience that enables them to offer this kind of support. For example, within the SLIPP project we had examples of native-speakers of English intuitively phrasing questions or statements when they were playing turn-taking games in such a way that the bilingual children or child in the group could also play. It was clear that they were analysing the questions and statements that the bilingual child was making and could adjust their own towards her so that she could take part. Secondly, I do not want to give the impression that we were only interested in those exchanges that took place through English. Language development in multilingual classrooms encompasses far more than support for bilingual children's learning of English — it must be concerned with the developing language of all children in the classroom. This will include providing continuity and support for bilingual children's first languages, and for building on all children's intellectual curiosity about languages other than the one(s) they know. It will mean creating the conditions in which minority-group children can feel confident to acknowledge their languages and happy to use them. In the right climate, classrooms could be environments which nourish children's interest in sharing and using each others' languages.

Creating contexts to encourage interaction between children

I want to give two examples here.[3] The first is of four girls, 10–11 years old, two whose first language is Urdu, one Gujerati-speaker, and one whose first language is English.[4] In both cases the teachers did not leave the interaction between children to chance. They thought hard about setting up contexts to encourage interaction — the process children would be involved in — and also about the language learning experience of the children involved. In the first classroom, support was needed by two particular girls, Waheeda and Farida, for using English. In the second classroom, the teacher wanted to change the attitudes of both native English-speakers and speakers of minority-group languages (albeit for different reasons) towards the use of minority-group languages in the classroom.

In the first (Bradford) classroom the whole class were involved in science investigations for half a term; the class was used to working in groups, and groups were used to working independently on activities, and on different activities from each other. What was new in the class, the teacher said, was that previously she had tended to think that the best thing for children learning English and for native speakers of English was for them to work separately, but with this activity she had deliberately set up a little group for the different competences they had in English and so that they could get to know each other.

To support what they were doing in the first stages of the activity, she drew up a matrix with them on which they could write down their observations. The matrix helped them to organize both their observations, as they made them, and their later, lengthier pieces of writing. Of course, the matrix was a support for all four of them. It is difficult for anyone to hold all the details of what they are observing in their head; it helped all of them to "hold" the words and phrases they would need to refer back to, like an aide-memoire — for example, describing the movements of the animals (glides, slips, scurries) — but it was of special benefit for the two girls who were less experienced in using English. A further strength came from the collaboration — collectively, they could gather more observations than anyone could on her own. Above all, working together was more *fun* than working alone! We can see on Matrix 1 some of the notes they made; and if we look at extracts from their conversation while they were working, we can see how it fed into their notes on the matrix and the kinds of decisions they were making together.

The importance of this kind of investigation for children's developing English is the way the language needed for talking about the topic (here mini-beasts) springs directly from the activity itself and flows

Matrix 1

	Number of legs	*Colour*	*Shape*	*How it moves*	*Eyes*	*Insect*
Woodlouse	*14 legs*	*white legs bluey brown back*	*oval*	*it scurries*	*top of its back*	✗
Snail	*no legs*	*shell light green black head lighter on the tail*	*the shell curled and its body is flat long feelers*	*slides and glides*	*at tip of feelers*	✗
Worm						✗
Beetle	*6 legs*	*shiny black*	*round head oval body*	*it scurries*	*at the point of its head*	✓
Centipede	*28 legs*	*reddy brown legs are lighter*	*long shape*	*moves fast scurries*	*feels its way*	✗
Ant						
Grasshopper	*6 legs*	*tanish colour with a long batch of white*	*it's pointed*	*hops leaps*	*side of its head*	✓
Stick insect	*6 legs*	*green and brown*	*long and thin*	*sways from side to side*	*side of its head*	✓

between them in a context they understand. The bonus here is the very clear structure of the activity itself and the visual support for understanding provided by both the beasts and the matrix. But above all, working together gives them the opportunity to check and extend each others' meanings. For example, about the snail, "(Farida): It has eyes under its feelers, (Hazel): No it's not actually under its feelers"; and this about the beetle, "(Hazel): Black . . ., (Manvinder): Shiny black, (Farida): . . . Shiny black". (See conversations over page.)

The second stage for each girl was to record their observations of the beasts in their notebooks, using the jotted notes on the matrix for their writing. The organization of the information on the matrix was reflected in the organization of the writing. This kind of structural support enabled Waheeda and Farida to write in English with more confidence than usual. We can see here in Waheeda's writing about the woodlouse both echoes from the girls' discussions, and the shape of the matrix (Figure 1).

Because the girls were so involved and such an empathy had grown between them, their teacher felt that their work could be developed further. She suggested that they produce a more public record for other children in the class to learn from. She suggested to the girls that they

Conversation

BEETLE

Farida	*It moves fast.*
Hazel	*So I'll put moves fast.*
Manvinder	*Yes.*
Hazel	*Black.*
Manvinder	*Shiny black.*
Farida	*Shiny black.*
Manvinder	*Where's the beetle disappeared to? Watch it kind of go 'd.d.d.d.d.'*
Waheeda	*It runs fast.*
Hazel	*It runs very fast.*
Manvinder	*Look at it.*
Farida	*It's got six legs.*
Hazel	*Who's got the pen? Farida, put down it scurries.*
Farida	*It scurries. How do you spell it? It moves fast.*
Waheeda	*I know it does. It can't stop.*
Hazel	*It's gone under the paper.*
Farida	*It's there.*
Waheeda	*Oh, it's gone again. It's running fast.*

SNAIL

Manvinder	*It glides down, doesn't it.*
Farida	*It slides down.*
Hazel	*It curves when it moves, doesn't it? Let Farida put something. Put slides and glides.*
Farida	*It has eyes under its feelers.*
Hazel	*No it's not actually under its feelers because that would be down there, wouldn't it?*
Manvinder	*The eyes are on the top of its feelers.*
Farida	*Yes, I'll put the eyes are on top of its feelers.*

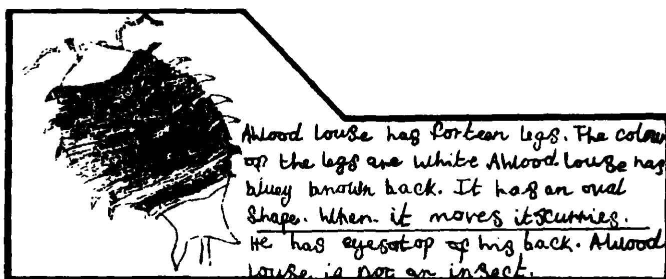

Figure 1

put together a very short tape–slide programme — which they did, very enthusiastically and with tremendous absorption. All credit to them, because it is a very hard thing to do: you have to learn how to draw on the slides, you have to learn how to project them, and you have to learn how to write a script.

In terms of the children learning English in the group, the further

development of an activity in this way gave them a chance to return to the vocabulary and structural elements they had used in their previous pieces of writing and their talking. But this work was important not only because of that. Since they were now going into production for an audience, they consulted quite a number of books on mini-beasts and wove the new information from the books into their tape–slide programme. Their teacher felt that because they were having to think about the information and the audience it was intended for, they made this new information part of themselves and "translated" it for themselves in the sense of putting the information into their own words. Significantly, she felt that the making of the programme led the children to making the information their own rather than merely copying words from books.

To turn to the second example in this section. It is included to make the point as strongly as I can that ESL must be seen not only from an educational perspective but also as a crucial part of the language development of bilingual children within a multilingual classroom. I want to see multilingualism being a reality in classrooms, not just the label we give to classes many of whose children are bilingual or multilingual, but who never get to use a language other than English in them. Here are some of the questions that project members round the country wanted to find answers to: How do children feel about using their first languages (other than English) in an English-speaking classroom? How can a monolingual teacher (English-speaking) demonstrate that languages other than English are valued and respected in the classroom? What do monolingual English-speaking children stand to gain from working with children who are bilingual?

Stella Daley writes of her own experience:

> I have previously taught in schools where over 90% of the children were bilingual and I saw the use of all children's first languages as a natural part of school life. In my present situation, over one-half to nearly two-thirds of my present class of vertically grouped 1st, 2nd and 3rd years are bilingual. I was naively surprised in September to find that children were reluctant and shy about using their first languages in the classroom. In the class, pupils from Bangladesh seemed to have low status and were seen as children who could not speak English properly rather than those who knew two languages.
>
> It was at this point that I decided I would have to work through the year to change the attitudes of all children in the class toward community languages. I saw my project as taking considerable time, because changing attitudes is a slow process. This is what I hoped to do over a period of time:

1. Create an atmosphere where all children could feel confident to choose to listen to, speak, read and write their own languages.
2. See community languages as languages for learning and not just for social communication.
3. Enable English mother-tongue speakers to value the mother-tongues of the other children.
4. Use the work to break down racist attitudes which were evident in the class.

She quickly discovered that her bilingual children were "not confident about the reactions they would get [about their first languages] from the other children and me". Gaining their confidence was a slow process, and it took several weeks of careful thought and planning before she began to see some signs of success. "I decided just before half term to see if I could get the children to feel confident in *writing* in their first languages . . .", and after an unexpectedly successful visit to the local library, which dazzled the children with its attractive display of Chinese and Bengali books, there was a breakthrough.

> This had the most amazing effect when we got back to school: one English-speaking girl picked up a Bengali book and asked if she could copy it. She started before lunch copying carefully and neatly.
>
> The afternoon was to contain a handwriting lesson. One of the Bengali speakers asked if she could do some Bengali writing. The English girl asked if she could continue with her Bengali writing and then try some Chinese writing. Another English-speaking child then became interested, which prompted me to tell the whole class that they were free to try writing in any language they wished. The English children chose Bengali and Chinese, the Chinese children chose Chinese and English, the Bangladeshi children chose Bengali and English.
>
> Some very interesting comments came out of that session with an English girl saying, "I never realized how difficult it was to write Bengali", after she had struggled to write two words. Then she said, "This is right". I asked her how she knew. She said, "Well, I asked Sonai and Shamima and they said it was right". There had never been much comment between these three children until then. Sonai was demonstrating his knowledge of written Bengali and Arabic for the first time in the classroom and one of the Bengali-speaking girls was trying to copy his Arabic writing. It would seem that the interest of the English children increased this boy's confidence (see Figures 2–4).

This was not the end of the story, and it continued to develop over the

Figure 2 *Yen (8 years) home language Vietnamese/writing Bengali*

Figure 3 *Shamina (8 years) home language Bengali/writing Bengali*

Figure 4 *Samantha (8 years) home language English/writing Chinese*

rest of the year. For this is a story about problem-solving and exploration and contradictions. There are still important issues to work on — the feelings of Bengali-speaking children who could not also *write* their first language, the racist name-calling that persisted — however, this was the first stage in tapping her children's informal networks and understandings, and of acting to bring them into the classroom. In this first stage Stella Daley had begun to create the right conditions for children to feel their classroom was a safe place for sharing what they knew.

Teachers learning from watching themselves and their children at work

In the three examples discussed above, teachers had collected evidence about children at work in their classrooms, to find out what children were actually doing as they talked and worked and to answer some questions they had posed for themselves. In observing their children they were, of course, observing themselves — examining their own behaviour and their own products. Of all the ways in which I have worked over the past few years, I think this notion of teachers acting as researchers in and out of their classrooms is one of the most powerful for providing in-service training and at the same time, promoting curriculum development. For it to work well needs time — time out of the classroom for reflection and exchange. This is where my own LEA has been far-sighted. Over the years we have moved away from *telling* teachers what ought to be done and what ought to be going on — particularly in terms of what language ought to be taught and how it ought to be taught — to something much more open-ended and exploratory, which mirrors the way in which many primary teachers are used to working with their children. This means taking as the starting point the teacher's own teaching and experience of children learning in classrooms. Through the projects people were looking at their classrooms in an investigative way — collecting evidence and bringing it back to a group of others engaged in the same kind of activity; through discussion — drawing conclusions about it and planning for future action. The existence of the projects was also important, since they were the catalysts for change and development. Because of them teachers were given time by their LEAs to work and meet in this way.

Just as it was important for the girls making their tape–slide programme to have an audience outside their small group, so for teachers it is also good at times to have the opportunity to make one's thinking and one's work public. This is why the Broadsheets were so important. In the beginning they were only meant to be a vehicle for sharing ideas between local groups; but as people wrote up their accounts it became clear that the writing itself was providing a

powerful means of analysing and appraising practice. Perhaps most important of all, those public accounts of classroom practice served to validate work which often in the past has been invisible or undervalued — curriculum development and innovation undertaken by teachers themselves in their own classrooms.

Notes

1. Since 1976 Hilary Hester has been the director of two projects: the ILEA Second Language Learners in the Primary Classroom Project (SLIPP), from 1976 to 1981, and the Schools Council Programme Four Activity, Language in the Multicultural Primary Classroom, from January 1982 to December 1983 (and until August 1984 under ILEA). Documentation in this article also appears in Hester, H. (1984) "Language and learning in multilingual classrooms", in *Alumnis*, No 3, August 1984, The Review of the Institute of Education Society, University of London; and in Hester, H. and Steedman, C. (forthcoming) *Language, culture and curriculum: children and teachers in multilingual classrooms*, Heinemann, London.
2. Geoff Miller (1983), in *Broadsheet H* (Work in progress), Language in the Multilingual Primary Classroom.
3. This work, a science investigation on "mini-beasts", is reported by June Turner (Bradford) in Project *Broadsheet B* (1983) ("When it moves it scurries . . . , curriculum support for writing"). The second example looks at ways of supporting the use of languages other than English in the classroom. It is reported by Stella Daley (ILEA) in Project *Broadsheet D* (1983) (Home languages in the primary classroom).
4. "When it moves it scurries: curriculum support for writing" is a tape–slide programme which includes the girls' work. It is one of three programmes showing aspects of the Project's work and is published by Drake Educational, 1984.

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ESL Teaching at North Westminster Community School

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The school and its pupils

North Westminster Community School draws its pupils from a cosmopolitan, inner-city area, close to the commercial and entertainment centres of London's West End. It is a new multi-site school, established in 1980 as an amalgamation of three comprehensive schools severely affected by falling rolls. Two of the sites contain the lower houses (Years 1 to 3), and the third brings together the older pupils (Years 4 to 6) in a unified upper school. The population of the school is both multilingual and multiracial, with large numbers of bilingual and Black British pupils. A language survey carried out in November 1980 indicated that 32% of the pupils (from a roll of 1750) came from homes where a language other than English was regularly spoken, and of these more than half received tuition from the ESL department. An astonishing degree of linguistic diversity was revealed, with nearly 70 different languages represented. Of these the five major languages were Arabic, Bengali, Cantonese, Spanish and Portuguese, which reflected the social fact that the main clientele of the ESL department are children of parents working in the catering trade. In the last 4 years the roll has fallen slightly, but the proportion of bilingual pupils has increased to about 48% and Bengali has overtaken Arabic as the language with the highest number of speakers after English.

In this area of London children are continuing to arrive from overseas throughout the year, and many of them are beginners in learning English. In particular the school is at present receiving a steady stream of Bangladeshi children, who have come to join their fathers in London. The linguistic diversity of our bilingual pupils is matched by great diversity in their social and educational backgrounds. A minority of them come from business or embassy families whose stay here is only temporary, but most belong to families who have settled in this country. Some have attended high-status academic institutions in their own countries and are fully literate in their own language, while others may have had only a couple of years primary education in village schools and so can barely read or write in their mother-tongue. Despite this lack of formal schooling, such children will have acquired a range

of skills appropriate to life in their own community, but unfortunately their knowledge based on an agricultural environment may have little relevance in the centre of a western, industrialized city.

Our pupils who are fully bilingual (or even trilingual) and fully literate in two languages often gain good academic qualifications. But a major concern of the ESL department has been with pupils who have limited literacy skills in their mother-tongue, because such pupils have always formed a high proportion of ESL learners in the school and because they consistently fail in conventional educational terms. These pupils fall into two main groups. Firstly there are those who arrive in England from overseas with a minimal education in their own language. Secondly there are the bilingual pupils who have spent some years in local primary schools and have gained a fairly fluent grasp of spoken English, but have failed to acquire a comparable competence in the skills of reading and writing.

Policies

The school's policies on ESL provision and bilingual education have been formulated in response to the needs of its pupils and within the framework of the ILEA's commitment to anti-racism. Despite the work of the multi-ethnic inspectorate, the authority has been slower to respond to linguistic diversity than to cultural diversity, and the provision for ESL and mother-tongue teaching falls far short of the ideal suggested by the current policy on equality. However, the biennial language census has charted the increase of bilingualism since 1978, and there are encouraging signs that the ILEA is seriously exploring the implications of this and formulating more appropriate and better co-ordinated policies for the education of bilingual pupils.[1]

At North Westminster Community School we recognize that language is the key to educational and economic opportunity. If students from non-English-speaking backgrounds are to achieve success in our society, they must have not only a fluent grasp of spoken English but also a firm mastery of reading and writing skills. Thus the school is committed to providing "adequate, appropriate and sufficient teaching of English to all those who require it".[2] Its aim in teaching ESL is to give all bilingual pupils access to the curriculum and to enable them to reach their full educational potential in English. However, it is also recognized that such an aim cannot be achieved by specialized ESL tuition alone, but demands a high degree of language awareness among all staff and the development of appropriate strategies and materials in all subject teaching.

At the same time the school has attempted to develop positive attitudes to bilingualism. Our anti-racist policy states that:

1. All pupils should feel their languages are valued.[3] They should be confident to speak, hear and read their home languages in school.
2. Bilingualism should be regarded as advantageous. The school must ensure the availability of mother-tongue classes and reading materials in mother-tongue languages.
3. Staff should have access to a variety of other language speakers in the community for the purposes of translation and interpretation. Communications should be written in the appropriate languages.[4]

Organization of ESL teaching

The North Westminster area, like other divisions of the ILEA, is served by a language centre, and some of the ESL teaching in the constituent schools prior to the amalgamation had been done by the centre's staff. The new ESL department has maintained close links with the centre, but it has been our aim from the outset to be self-sufficient in providing ESL tuition on site. Only at times of emergency have ESL learners been sent to the centre for their lessons. The department is strongly committed to locating the ESL teaching within the school, for two main reasons. Firstly it is important that children from bilingual homes should not be cut off either socially or educationally from the life of the school. Secondly ESL teachers need to co-operate closely with other teachers and to monitor the progress of their pupils in mainstream classes. At North Westminster Community School the ESL department is quite distinct from the remedial department, and both have full status in the curriculum structure of the school.

At a time of educational contraction there has been a startling expansion in our ESL department, which has increased from six teachers in 1980 to 15 in 1985. This expansion has been piecemeal and often painful, because the authority has lacked an efficient means of predicting ESL needs in schools and of allocating specialized teachers quickly as new pupils arrive. The practice has been to assess staffing requirements retrospectively on the basis of figures which have often been a couple of years out of date, rather than to forecast the probable numbers of bilingual pupils in the future. As a result, the pressure of continually accommodating more pupils from overseas without adequate resourcing has militated against stability within the department and the orderly development of our work. However, the authority has now recognized the notion that ESL staffing is a "needs-based" requirement unrelated to roll, and we have persuaded the inspectorate to reconsider its criteria for establishing ESL needs which were previously geared to the pupils' command of spoken English. Our argument has been that literacy should also be taken into account, since ESL learners with low-level literacy skills need more specialized tuition for longer than their literate peers.

In setting up a new department the ESL teachers were agreed on the following basic principles:

1. The school should establish clear and effective anti-racist strategies, because the practice of racism could hinder the ability of pupils from ethnic minority groups to learn.
2. The school's response to the learning needs of its bilingual pupils should be characterized by flexibility, because of their varied linguistic and educational experience.
3. The ESL department should not be expected to take sole responsibility for the language development of ESL learners and a whole school policy would be essential.
4. Bilingual pupils should have access as soon as possible to the mainstream curriculum, and this curriculum should not only value their languages but also reflect their cultures.
5. Bilingual pupils should not be "segregated", but enabled to participate in the social and educational life of the school. The placing of pupils in ESL withdrawal classes should have no political or racial overtones except in the positive sense of giving pupils greater competence in English and the chance of more complete integration at a later stage.[5]
6. Language learning should not be separated from using the language to learn. Thus the emphasis of the ESL teaching should be on subject-based language work, so that bilingual pupils become able to communicate effectively within the school curriculum.

There was less agreement on the organization of the ESL teaching and throughout the past 4 years a lively debate has been simmering about how far ESL learners should be withdrawn and how far they should be supported in mainstream lessons. Initially the department opted for teaching through a system of withdrawal for three main reasons. When we began none of our ESL teachers had experience of working collaboratively with subject teachers in their classrooms, and there seemed enough pressures in the early days of setting up a new school without embarking on a whole new way of working. Also, with ESL learners scattered in different tutor groups through the years, it seemed more cost-effective to teach them in withdrawal groups according to their linguistic level. The final reason was the bewilderment of the majority of the ESL teachers at facing so many pupils with low-level literacy skills. At the start it seemed more urgent to develop materials and techniques for literacy teaching, because we could hardly advise colleagues in an area of work where we ourselves lacked both experience and expertise. However, from the beginning the need for the ESL department to work in close co-operation with other departments has been stressed, and there is now a movement towards tandem teaching in mainstream lessons.

Withdrawal groups

As a general rule the ILEA is opposed to the full-time withdrawal of ESL learners and staffing constraints have ruled out this option, although periodically the possibility of setting up a reception class for the beginners literacy pupils has been discussed. Instead the department operates a system of partial withdrawal, dividing pupils into groups according to their linguistic and literacy levels. The first-stage learners (i.e. beginners, elementary and literacy) attend approximately ten to seven lessons in the ESL department out of 25 periods in the school week. Since these groups are often made up of pupils from different years, it is accepted that their timetables in the main school will inevitably be disrupted, but attempts are made wherever possible to avoid withdrawing them from maths, games and practical subjects. Second-stage learners (i.e. intermediate and advanced pupils who can cope quite confidently in main school lessons) are withdrawn for four to two lessons at the lower houses. The original intention was that these should be year groups, withdrawn on a rational basis from particular subject lessons such as English or humanities. At the upper school the department has had the choice of either withdrawing pupils from English lessons or making up special ESL groups within the option scheme.

Nobody would claim that this system has been an unqualified success. Timetabling at the lower houses has been an annual nightmare, and partial withdrawal always creates tension by leaving some pupils and subject teachers dissatisfied about main school lessons that are missed. Most members of the department remain in favour of substantial withdrawal for beginners literacy pupils in their first year at the school, because of the security and intensive teaching that can be offered. However, the difficulties of timetabling on a three-site school have made it impossible to block either English or humanities across the whole of any year on the lower sites, and so the intention of withdrawing from a particular subject and linking the work of the ESL group to that subject has never been achieved. At the upper school, where there have been few beginners in the past four years, the system has worked better just because it is geared into the mainstream timetable and random withdrawal has been avoided.

ESL literacy

A major preoccupation of the ESL department at North Westminster Community School has been developing teaching strategies and materials for bilingual pupils with low-level literacy skills. It is a constant worry that a child who does not read or write confidently in Year 1 may still have literacy problems in Year 5. The ESL teachers firmly believe this need not be so, if the problem is clearly recognized

and resources are made available to meet the special needs of these pupils. However, at present bilingual pupils with low-level literacy skills often gain little from the school curriculum even when they can speak English, because in most classes, although the pupils are of mixed ability, a certain standard in reading and writing is required. Many of these pupils fall increasingly behind their literate peers week by week, and they frequently end up in Year 5 with no exam passes and no hope of getting qualifications. As they continue through school, their failure may breed disillusionment and resentment against a system that has let them down, and the problems resulting from their under-achievement are likely to be social as well as educational.

Various factors hinder the progress of these pupils, not least the inadequacy of the training which teachers have received. Most ESL teachers are not trained to teach literacy skills and most remedial teachers are not trained in ESL, while the majority of subject teachers are not trained in either area! Moreover the authority does not offer adequate or appropriate in-service programmes to alleviate all these deficiencies. So the department has largely been left to its own devices and has tackled the issue on a variety of fronts, in the first place campaigning for improved resources from the ILEA. As the department has expanded our aim has been to recruit teachers with experience of primary or literacy work in addition to their ESL qualification; and we have developed a beginners' course that takes into account the learning needs of both literate and illiterate pupils. We have also established a close working relationship with the remedial department, who have not only shared with us their expertise in teaching literacy, but have also shared the tuition of bilingual pupils with low-level literacy skills where that seemed beneficial. Finally, we have campaigned for the appointment of full-time mother-tongue teachers, especially of Bengali and Arabic, in the belief that — among other benefits — learning to read and write in the mother-tongue will facilitate the process of learning literacy skills in English, and support from these teachers could give the pupils earlier access to parts of the curriculum.

Mainstream support

Despite opting initially for a system of ESL withdrawal groups, the department has been aware of the Bullock Report's recommendation that the language teacher should be "a consultant and adviser across the curriculum",[6] and ESL teachers have attempted to fulfil this role through co-operating with colleagues in other departments. General guidelines have been issued for supporting bilingual pupils in main-stream classrooms, joint department meetings have been held and some collaborative teaching has taken place. The school has also benefited from outside ESL advisers (for example from the local Language Centre) working with the maths, home studies and humanities

departments, with a view to producing more accessible materials for ESL learners. However, there has been increasing pressure both outside and inside the ESL department to devote more time to supporting bilingual pupils in mainstream classes. The ILEA has advocated that the ESL teacher should "provide direct support for bilingual pupils, through working collaboratively with subject teacher colleagues in mainstream classes".[7] Dissatisfaction with the withdrawal system, and frustration at the lack of time available for working with colleagues in subject departments, has finally resulted in a decision to reduce the number of withdrawal lessons in order to release ESL teachers for closer collaboration with subject teachers.

The main aim of this collaboration is to help colleagues to evolve more appropriate teaching methods and more suitable materials, so that bilingual pupils can have greater access to the curriculum and can participate more fully in mainstream lessons. This long-term aim is regarded as more important than supporting individual ESL learners, and it is recognized that until the desired changes are substantially effected in the curriculum some second-stage learners may receive less attention than previously from the ESL teachers. Initially the collaborative teaching is taking place with the humanities and science departments in the lower school, and with the English department at the upper school. During the experimental stage, ESL teachers are committed to attend all the lessons which are jointly timetabled in order to familiarize themselves with the content and methodology of the subject and to monitor the use of new materials with bilingual pupils. It is recognized that in order for the collaborative work to be effective it is essential for the ESL teachers to be involved in the planning of the subject work and to attend selected departmental meetings of the humanities, science and English teams. It is hoped that in the future sufficient priority will be given to this collaboration for joint discussion and preparation time to be timetabled into the school day.

Materials

Our ESL department suffers along with others from the lack of commercially produced materials in our field and the lack of a co-ordinated programme for developing ESL materials within the ILEA. Although a couple of teachers still rely on published EFL resources, the majority of the department is committed to producing its own, materials. However, the department only inherited teacher-made worksheets on one of the three sites, and these were based on a structural scheme which to a large extent seems outdated, in view of the changing needs within the school and our increasing pre-occupation with literacy teaching. So we were forced to start almost from scratch in planning a new syllabus and developing materials for teaching it. First some basic principles were established through a series of papers

written by members of the department on different aspects of our work, such as reading, writing, literacy and study skills. Then a complete beginners' course was produced, using a topic-based approach rather than a structural framework, because this could more easily accommodate the mixed linguistic and literacy levels within our ESL groups. One of the main innovations in this course was the extensive use of educational games, especially for the teaching of literacy. Now the department is writing an elementary course for the lower sites, besides adapting humanities and science materials in the lower school.

Although individual members of the department have extended their skills and knowledge by producing these materials, and although it has been stimulating to co-operate in the writing of our own course, the time and energy involved have detracted from efficiency in other areas of our work. Much of our beginners' course could be taught in other schools in the authority and the reduplication of work involved in each ESL team making its own materials appears to be a monumental waste of resources.[8]

Pastoral care

At present one of the ESL teachers at North Westminster co-ordinates the school's liaison with the local Bangladeshi community, but otherwise members of the department do not have a specific responsibility for pastoral care among bilingual pupils. However, the nature of their teaching inevitably results in a concern for their pupils which extends beyond academic matters, so that ESL teachers find themselves responding to the social and emotional needs of their pupils, as well as teaching them English. Because they meet their pupils in small groups and get to know them well, they can gain a good understanding of their backgrounds and establish trusting relationships with them. The school has set itself to be a family and community school,[9] and the ESL department has contributed to this ideal by making links with the families and communities of its bilingual pupils, and where necessary interpreting their wishes and concerns to other staff. ESL teachers at the upper school have also taken responsibility for advising pupils on courses and opportunities available to them at the end of Year 5. The department has taken seriously this aspect of its work, though it is recognized that ideally the liaison with the large Bangladeshi community and the counselling of Bengali pupils should be carried out by a speaker of their dialect, Sylheti.

Future developments

Much work remains to be done at North Westminster Community School in implementing the anti-racist policy, in building up the ESL department's stock of resources and in extending the resource base of

different subject departments. In addition to providing simplified worksheets and materials for ESL learners and literacy pupils, teachers need to explore a range of strategies for utilizing the main community languages in their classrooms. It is envisaged that the ESL teachers will devote more of their time in the future to collaborative work with mainstream teachers, with a view to opening up more fully all areas of the curriculum for our bilingual pupils. Still the most urgent and daunting task is to devise an educational programme for our bilingual pupils with low-level literacy skills, in order to break the vicious circle of frustration and failure in which so many of them are trapped.

One hopeful development in relation to this has been the appointment of our first full-time teacher of Bengali. The main priority in planning her teaching programme will be to integrate her efforts with those of the ESL teachers in developing literacy skills among pupils from Bangladesh, and in giving them access to the curriculum. Two more teachers of community languages (Arabic and Bengali) have been applied for, and when they are appointed the school will no doubt experiment with different approaches to learning in the mother-tongue in order to fulfil its aim of providing equal educational opportunity for its bilingual pupils. A special committee has now been set up to evolve comprehensive strategies for the education of bilingual pupils in the school.

Another recent initiative has been liaison between local schools, the adult education institute and Paddington College to discuss how they can co-operate in meeting the educational needs of bilingual families in the area. Consultation with community groups is taking place on such issues as ESL and mother-tongue teaching, and ways are being explored of co-ordinating efforts in order to provide a service for the whole family.

Many of the problems the ESL department has faced since the new school was established have been caused by the lack of co-ordination for ESL in the authority, resulting in the absence of clear procedures for the admission of bilingual pupils and the allocation of ESL teachers to schools. The effect has been to reinforce the low status of bilingual pupils and to perpetuate a form of institutional racism. Consequently the ESL department, along with the headmaster, local community workers and other ESL teachers in the division, has had a campaigning role in exposing present weaknesses and working towards improved procedures and provision. A direct result of this was the formation of a divisional working party, representing a variety of educational and community interests, which has drawn up a draft policy for bilingual education in the division's schools. The policy covers admission to schools and community links, as well as learning and resources. If it is

approved by the authority and implemented, it would constitute a major breakthrough in providing an improved education for all our pupils, but in particular it would benefit the bilingual pupils in our schools.

Notes and References

1. E.g., see "Bilingualism in the ILEA — the educational implications of the 1981 language census", ILEA 2321, 1982
2. *Towards a Multi-cultural Philosophy*, North Westminster Community School, 1982, p. 3.
3. One impressive contribution to carrying out this policy in the lower school has been the Languages Foundation Course, in which all pupils are given a taster of several different world languages.
4. *Towards a Multi-cultural Philosophy*, North Westminster Community School, 1982, p. 3.
5. Derrick, J., *Teaching English to Immigrants*, Longman, London, 1966, p. 19.
6. Bullock, A., *A Language for Life*, HMSO, London, 1975, p. 291.
7. *Learning English as a Second Language: Guidelines for Provision in Secondary Schools*, ILEA, 1983, p. 2.
8. *ESL Provision for Children and Adults in Division 2*, ILEA Division 2 ESL Liaison Group, 1983, p. 2.
9. See *The Idea of a Community School*, North Westminster Community School, 1980.

Three Moves in the Initiating of Mainstreaming at Secondary Level

Sylvia Riley and Jean Bleach

ILEA Second Language Learning and Mainstream Classroom Project

The project was established in January 1983 as part of the Inner London Education Authority's anti-racist policy: a move to establish better provision for bilingual pupils within the mainstream of schooling. We are a team of two: a mainstream English teacher and an ESL teacher. Our original brief was to identify, develop and disseminate ideas and good practice about ESL in secondary schools in Hackney and Islington. In effect, our brief broadened. Here we report on three initiatives we have been involved with, and describe their progress in the first year of what is an on-going process. The three are: a whole school policy for responsibility for bilingual students developing a use of English; a schedule to help classroom teachers monitor progress; and the spelling out of a role for the newly appointed ESL teachers in ILEA schools. Because of the growing number of second language learners, ILEA has recently decided to recruit ESL specialists directly to schools — where two-thirds of these teachers are now based — rather than, as in the past, to the Authority's Unified Language Service. We end, not surprisingly, with a new set of starting points.

First steps in the development of a whole-school policy for responsibility for bilingual students developing a use of English

(a) The project's thinking

There are many ways in which the presence of bilingual pupils challenges a school's general qualities, in particular, its willingness to change. We have encountered teachers in a number of schools who still expect a recently arrived beginner user of English to "fit in" with the class without any change in their teaching, without making any practical accommodation towards the newcomer. Wanting to help pupils in such situations, ESL teachers find themselves writing supplementary worksheets — often an impossible task, and one which in the end changes nothing. With such little job satisfaction it is not surprising that work in withdrawal classes — on or off the school site — remains attractive to ESL teachers in both language centres and schools.

However, in some schools, ESL teachers have begun to work well with a department or group of teachers making materials, discussing the needs and progress of bilingual students and working alongside subject teachers in classes. Thus there have been some significant individual moves towards the needed collaboration between ESL and subject teachers, though very often, still, the ESL teacher is in a secondary role and not an equal partner in the classroom. (It needs to be pointed out that this is not always the "fault" of the subject teacher; the phrase "support teacher" has conditioned the structure to a large extent, and many ESL teachers are content to play this minor role.)

If writing parallel worksheets and working with one department or a small group of teachers are two kinds (two stages of development, perhaps?) of provision for bilingual learners within the mainstream, then we were seeking to investigate the possibility of a third kind of support, namely that of a whole staff taking joint responsibility[1] for bilingual learners and trying to establish the kind of school environment which would promote successful learning and language-learning. We were supported in our wish to develop this third, whole-school, model for ESL provision in schools by the experience in other whole-school projects in the ILEA. This experience showed that the training of individuals (even, for example, through the prestigious Royal Society of Arts Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools) and returning them to an unchanged institutional setting all too often prevents them applying what they have learned in their classrooms, let alone in the rest of the school; showing too, that working with one department, no matter now successfully, does not ensure that ideas spread: schools organized on tight departmental lines seldom admit osmosis of ideas.

(b) School policy

With all this in mind, and thinking about the provision of a good environment for developing bilinguals to learn in school, we took the following as axiomatic:

1. the school would take account of cultural diversity, with its social *and* curricula implications;
2. mixed ability teaching would be held as an essential philosophy, and teachers would operate flexible and sensitive classroom organizations;
3. teachers would have a basic understanding of language and its role in learning and would cultivate language development in its four modes;
4. teachers would be aware of the positive role of the mother-tongue in bilingual learning development;
5. the school would be sensitive to, and take action against, the racism

which bilingual learners meet from both black and white speakers of English inside and outside the school.

In other words, we were looking for a school which was at just such a point in its thinking, so that together we could test out the sound anti-racist and pedagogic precepts of keeping ESL pupils, at whatever level of English, within the framework of "normal" classes all the time. Such a school was Hackney Downs School, a boys' comprehensive in North East London, with 900 pupils.

There were, too, other more specific factors which increased the school's potential for developing a whole-school policy regarding ESL:

1. The school has been sensitive to its changing population. From between the world wars it had had a high percentage, about 50%, of Jewish boys. Then, in the early 1960s, Afro-Caribbean pupils came to form — and still do — the majority population. More recently, they have been joined by smaller groups of pupils, mostly from Cyprus (Greek- and Turkish-speakers) and Asia (pupils from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Vietnam). Reflecting the changes, the school has moved from a bicultural to a multicultural, multilingual position; the contemporary ethos of the school is one of hospitality: that is to say, there is both a conscious fostering of cultural and linguistic awareness in the pupils and of the need to help each other; the English Department has played a central role in creating this ethos, and in helping to change the content and organization of the humanities syllabus — taught across Years 1–3; and in that department's teaching style great emphasis is placed on oral work, group work and experiential learning.
2. The school has a curriculum study group, a forum for discussion, sharing information, and innovation. Its membership is by open invitation. Thus we were able to join in with the work of an already existing, facilitative group.
3. In relation to an already identified need in the school, the Head of English had used extra INSET time in summer term 1983 to investigate all first-year bilingual pupils. Issues to do with language/s spoken, language level and literacy, perceptions about languages and their usability in school contexts, supplementary school attendance and, especially, previous schooling histories — including unsuspected periods of earlier attendance in schools in England — had been elicited in interviews and reported to colleagues on the staff, who had begun to have some notion of their implications.
4. Concerned teachers from maths, modern languages, humanities and English formed an ESL working party to keep consciousness of bilingual pupils' needs on the whole-staff agenda. The working party included two teachers from the modern languages department who,

> by their communicative, collaborative, "language-making" approach to their teaching, and through their work for the working party (using the 1983 ILEA Census, they had drawn up a survey of bilingual pupils and their languages in the form of a booklet which, because of its form, became a reference book for both administrative and teaching staff) and their making case studies of individual pupils, had been able: (a) to inspire confidence in their colleagues that languages could be learned in a "natural" way — that is that it would be possible for bilingual students to learn in their subject classes; (b) to open up a way of monitoring progress of bilingual pupils; and (c) to help concerned teachers to see where provision needed to be improved.

The bilingual population of Hackney Downs is small compared with that of many London schools. A survey undertaken by the working party mentioned above showed that about half a dozen boys per class were bilingual (average class size is about 23) and that the majority of those were advanced learners of English or of second generation, with all or most of their schooling in Britain. There were few recently arrived pupils in the early stages of learning English, but during the school year 1983–84 there was an increase in their numbers as more arrived, from Vietnam, Bangladesh and Hong Kong.

At the point where we joined them (September 1983), the ESL working party had already decided that they would recommend to their colleagues at a full staff meeting that pupils obviously having little or no English should not, as in the past, automatically be sent to the local language centre — although those who had come onto the school's roll in the previous year and had already begun to attend the centre would be given the option of continuing. Members felt that the only way for the whole school to learn about ESL was for them to be totally responsible for the children within the school. The proposal was accepted. One English teacher had been given responsibility for ESL within the English Department, but the school had not yet a full-time ESL teacher appointed to their staffing. So, the site for learning now being changed, two staff from the language centre were invited to work in the school. This, including ourselves, brought to four the number of persons with a cross-curricula ESL brief working part-time in the school.

If the ESL aspect of team teaching was new in the school, team teaching itself was not. The school already had a strong tradition of working in this style. Remedial teachers worked co-operatively in maths and humanities, and the humanities teachers themselves often taught in pairs. In addition, the maths teacher was aware of the importance of exploiting the inter-active activities in the SMILE system (largely games and quizzes) to develop the social conditions within which ESL

learners could gain support, and to give them opportunities to hear and produce language related to mathematical concepts and operations. With the two language centre staff, we extended the co-operative teaching system, planning lessons with mainstream teachers, working alongside them in their classrooms, taking part in departmental meetings. Wherever possible we tried to plan whole-class activities in such a way that a pupil with only a little English could join in the work of a collaborative peer group. Where this was not possible, we had to think of particular work for a bilingual learner which would help him approach what the others were doing. Sometimes a pupil wrote a story in his mother-tongue and another pupil translated so that it could be shared with the class. Another example occurred in a third year biology class, where two inexperienced users of English, well able to make sense of the activity part of the lesson, experienced a massive disjunction between these learning opportunities and the freshly prepared worksheets intended for the whole mixed ability class to record their findings and speculate on the implications. In this case, modified methods of recording proved to be much less productive than the attempt to use a range of books produced for infant and junior age[2] for them to:

1. hear the text and use the illustrations, diagrams, etc, to clarify and extend understanding (i.e. the support teacher was able to "show" them what they had learned);
2. begin to relate words heard and understood in context to how they looked in the written system;
3. use the meaning they had got from their experiences and subsequent re-explorations as an approach to taking meaning from print (i.e. reading back to the support teacher);
4. meet some early, fairly unspecialized models for "writing" biology;
5. begin to record some of the experiences, with appropriate help from the support teacher.

In these small ways we tried to extend the repertoire of classroom strategies.

In these new circumstances the feeling of many of the school's teachers encountering beginner users of English for the first time was one of anxiety. Skilled communicators, it came as a shock to them not to be able to interact with the newcomers, and the pupils' apparent lack of response in the first place worried them on behalf of the pupils. Reassured that the children were following a natural process (claiming time to acclimatize) and that there is a positive role in learning in being a silent but active listener, the same teachers were soon reporting, instead of anxiety, small indications of early progress: their delight in being greeted by one of the newcomers, the fact of a conversation overheard in the classroom in which a new boy had participated.

There was also the question of getting appropriate background information from the pupils and their families and interpreters when they first came to the school (previously, this had been in the hands of the language centre teachers). Fresh thought was given to gathering information about new boys by the pastoral staff of the school who observed the methods of the language centre teachers, encouraging boys to chat about pictures they were showing them, and to write if they could. The basic question "For what purposes was information needed?" gave more point to the whole exercise. It was important to know whether boys came from rural or urban backgrounds, and other kinds of information were needed to assist them and their families with welfare claims, as well as information about their mother-tongues, length of schooling, degree of literacy and the religion they practised. The meaning of the information, because of the acceptance of responsibility, was now more real to everyone, and following interview, information sheets on new arrivals were distributed to all staff.

During the year more case studies were undertaken by members of the ESL working party. Below we quote from one of them, which, like others done at this time, included interviews with all the teachers of a particular child. To maintain anonymity names have been omitted.

Extracts from a Case Study

'I talked to as many of T's teachers as possible — usually at times when our free periods coincided, during lunch-time or after school. Those people I did not get to talk to wrote notes for me. I then summarized the conversations which I had had with teachers, returned them to be amended or added to and then typed up. The basis of the discussions I had were the following questions:

1. Is he involved with the rest of the class in the work in your lesson? If not, what does he do?
2. How well does he get on with any group or individual? (General social adjustment)
3. Does he seem to have any interest in learning? Motivation? Sense of purpose? Homework?
4. Please provide a copy of his recent written work.
5. What have you learned about him since he arrived four months ago?

This report hopefully serves two purposes:

(a) It allows T's teachers a chance to see his progress across the whole curriculum. There are certain common concerns expressed by his teachers.
(b) It is a chance to abstract from the specifics of T's experience and look at more general, but equally important, issues about the way in which the school caters for the needs of bilingual learners who are late arrivals at the school.'

'It is difficult for T to participate in maths games, due partly to the reluctance of the class to involve him and also because the games/investigations in maths are too structured — not open enough for him to join in. . . . The teacher felt he had made a mistake when T first joined the group by asking another bilingual pupil to work with him. The assumption was that such a pupil would be more sympathetic to T's situation and needs. However, the other pupil was reluctant to help, obviously not wanting to be put in "a bracket". The teacher has found that the pupils who work with T best are those for whom English is the first language. . . . T works hard and makes good progress.'

'In drama, T is particularly involved in a small, supportive group . . . [which] is very patient and understanding and in their last lesson they were involved in reading a play script which they were going to put onto tape. T participated well in this activity. The teacher was asked how T came to work in that particular group and she explained that she had spoken to the boys about the kind of help that T would need from them in drama. One boy in particular, himself a second language learner, responded very well to the situation. The way in which he has worked with T has also been very positive for the former and increased his status in the group. The teacher remarked on T's growing confidence; he has become slightly more mischievious and relaxed. She described a lesson where the boys were working on something which involved disco dancing and T joined in, very relaxed and without embarrassment.'

'The teacher maintained that history is a subject which many of the boys find difficult, since it entails the use of a formal language and a good level of literacy is required. The writing of formal essays can be very difficult for a bilingual learner. . . . He sees no hope of T being able to take the exam: he does not possess a way of looking at things or of writing which are necessary for the exam . . . The teacher was unclear about the kind of support which would help him as a teacher. He referred to the linguistic sophistication of history books and felt that what T needed is something which is broken down into very simple language units with lots of underlining words/gap filling/diagrams. He does not have the time nor the expertise to do this. . . . Ms J came into the class on Tuesday and spent a double period working with both S and T. She went through the book we were using and underlined the relevant parts of the text that were needed to answer questions. The history teacher read the finished product and, though technically inaccurate, they were fluent answers that made sense.'

'T works individually at practical lessons in science and does not show any real integration with the group, although he is now slowly being drawn in. His written work is still very hampered by poor English, but he tries very hard. The teacher describes T as having a delightful sense of humour and fun; he enjoys a joke.'

Staff found case studies informative and became committed to using them as a form of monitoring progress.[3] This is indeed an illuminative, if time-consuming, form of monitoring and is especially useful for those engaged in action research of their own classrooms and teaching. Not everyone will develop such a commitment; nor should it be expected of them. Teachers in secondary schools have many educational issues to engage with on a very crowded agenda. Responsibility for ESL is but one of them. Nevertheless, monitoring progress is essential and working with teachers from other schools in Hackney we have begun to develop a schedule for monitoring progress which can be used by all classroom teachers without it taking up a disproportionate amount of time (see next section).

At the beginning of the second term, the teachers most actively involved in the ESL working party ran with us a whole-staff meeting on the subject of English as a Second Language, which included small-group discussions and workshops on issues that had arisen during the first term. These included: providing for older pupils on entry; a maths lesson in Hindi for the staff; classroom strategies; interviewing new entrants and their induction into the school; language awareness; activity-based learning; ESL case studies and what they can reveal. The school's conference on its anti-racist policy also included discussion of ESL, as the staff had come to recognize bilingual pupils as a particular focus of racism.

Let us, since we have said that its existence is axiomatic for a good learning environment for bilingual pupils, end this section by making three fairly sober points about one particular issue: mixed ability. We will move on to others in subsequent sections.

First, not all schools have the same starting point in relation to mixed ability as Hackney Downs. There are, of course, many teachers in secondary schools not practising mixed ability teaching, who use an "academic" style which does not allow interaction among pupils and is based on teacher-talk without visual support, and which presupposes in the students much background knowledge. Such classes will always be a problem for bilingual students who are learning to use English. They need more than this from their teachers — and so do their English-speaking peers.

Secondly, within a mixed ability commitment, bilingual students do not always gain the support they might. Consciousness about ESL still needs to be raised, and support offered to teachers while they build up their confidence in what is for them, too, a new dimension in their teaching. (And in the first instance it often is just that, a question of confidence. One teacher we had worked with told us at the end of the year: "My first reaction was one of panic. I didn't really know where to

begin . . . Once we started, my confidence grew and I didn't feel it was a problem. But initially . . . it was a feeling of inadequacy, that 'I'm not an expert'.")

Thirdly, let us remind ourselves that this detailed description has been the narrative of a school's starting point in relation to a whole-school policy for mainstreaming ESL. The ground base is successfully prepared now and a considerable number of issues arise from it, such as monitoring progress, what the role of a specialist ESL teacher might be, what kinds of knowledge teachers need to build pedagogies for multicultural, multilingual classes.

A schedule to help classroom teachers monitor the progress of their bilingual pupils

If mainstreaming is to be achieved, mainstream teachers need to know what progress can look like. As mentioned above, we introduced a schedule for monitoring progress to other teachers in Hackney and are working with them and some others to develop it. At present there are six sections which, when completed, are intended to show over the period of a year (ideally in each area of the curriculum) what an individual student has begun to be able to do and what s/he can now do in all four language modes. The sections cover information about personal details and class/subject context, initial interview information, notes on the language modes being monitored, a grid for assessing spoken language — reception and production, a grid for assessing reading — behaviour and comprehension, a grid for assessing features of the pupil's writing. The spoken language section is reproduced in Figure 1.[4]

ESL teachers and their role in schools

Many teachers have been newly appointed as ESL teachers on to school staffing (i.e., they are not visiting teachers from a language centre) and together we have spelled out the following aspects to their role. Note that the job they are being asked to do is more than being a departmental teacher. On the project, therefore, we have adopted the term "ESL co-ordinator" as a better description of their role. In guidelines issued by the Authority in 1984,[5] we find the following:

> Responsibility for the language development of bilingual learners rests with all staff, not just those appointed as ESL teachers. Therefore there is a need for a school policy on teaching bilingual pupils.

On the role of ESL staff or staff with ESL responsibility, the guidelines state that the role is:

SPOKEN LANGUAGE – RECEPTION AND PRODUCTION

(Understanding) (Spoken Language or Classroom Interaction)

Name: .... Home language: ....

Observation year: .... Language stage: ....

CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING SPOKEN LANGUAGE

Stage 1

a Not successful
b Limited (few words only)
c Simple responses
d Joins in conversation/ beginning to tell or understand story, etc.
e Understanding equal to familiar, concrete task in supportive situation. Able to make oral contribution.

Stage 2

f Is *beginning* to question, disagree, hypothesize, etc. in supportive situation
g ... to make personal meaning plain in extended utterance with sympathetic listener/s
h Conversational ability; negotiate turn / respond appropriately / participate actively.
j Understanding and production equal to task (which may have unfamiliar, abstract aspects) in supportive situation.

Stage 3

k Is *able** to question, disagree, hypothesize etc. in supportive situation.
l Able to make personal meaning plain in extended utterance with sympathetic listener/s.
Conversational ability (negotiate turn / respond appropriately / participate actively.
*not necessarily.
n Understanding and production equal to task, even unfamiliar and abstract task / with some support.

Grouping	Class name		Subject: Current topic: 1 2 3													Grades a e	
	Observation date	ESL as proportion of group	Topic	Task being addressed	Familiar aspects (state)	Unfamiliar aspects (state)	With support: Visual	With support: Practical	With support: Oral prep	With support: From teacher	With support: From other pupil	No support	Concrete/ close to child's experience	Concrete/ leading to abstract general	Abstract	Understanding	Oral production
Pairs																	
Small groups																	
Pupil teacher																	
Pair teacher																	
Small-group teacher																	
Whole-class teacher																	
Teacher whole-class																	

Figure 1

(a) to liaise with subject teacher colleagues and be involved in relevant in-service activities for supporting bilingual pupils in their mainstream classes; (b) to provide direct support for bilingual pupils, preferably through working collaboratively with subject teacher colleagues in mainstream classrooms or through the

establishment of withdrawal teaching to give specific support; (c) to monitor the English language development of bilingual pupils.

The outcome of discussions we have had accords with the Authority's guidelines.

1. The ESL teacher's place in the school structure needs to be spelled out, since s/he needs to be in a position to inform, suggest changes and support teachers across both departmental and pastoral structures. The ESL co-ordinator should therefore work to the deputy head in charge of curriculum and to the teacher with overall responsibility for the pastoral system.
2. The ESL enterprise in the school will also need a structure for identifying bilingual pupils and their level of competence in English as recognized by subject teachers; for monitoring their long-term language development; for ensuring adequate support which will include developing teachers' awareness of pupils' mother-tongue competence and the desirability of recognizing and using this competence where possible.
3. The ESL co-ordinator's role includes influencing change, collaboration with subject teachers, INSET for ESL work in school, ensuring that ESL staff have time to prepare curriculum content material with mainstream teachers, attending departmental curriculum planning meetings, ensuring that ESL teachers in the school are not marginalized by encouraging them to be form tutors or do some mainstream teaching.
4. Find ways of becoming more than "support" teachers who are expected — often by themselves as well as by others — to concentrate on bilingual pupils only.

Writing this down helps one to realize what a complicated and difficult role has been given to ESL teachers, and how necessary it therefore is that they have the support of the school and that they are formally part of a school's systems and structures.

Implications for the future

Now that the move towards supporting bilingual pupils within normal classes for most of their time (i.e. the possibility is never ruled out of working in flexibly arranged small group tutorials at times) is becoming established, we naturally find ourselves with a new set of observations to work with:

1. We need clear images of what good practice looks like. This is as true for teachers doing good work for ESL pupils, but who do not realize it, as it is for those of their colleagues who could learn from their practice. It is also true for pairs of teachers working out patterns of

team teaching, and for those who would like to try this for the first time. This has profound implications for all teachers' notions of how to develop learning and literacy in mixed ability classrooms. ESL highlights a need that is already there for everyone (for example, the gap identified by Lunzer and Gardner, 1979, in connection with learning and reading in the secondary curriculum).

2. From the point of view of mainstream teachers, they are beginning to find that good mixed ability teaching plus some knowledge of the role of language in learning is not all bilingual pupils need. On the other hand, it is also not enough for mainstream teachers to introduce into their classroom learning methods and styles from specialist language teaching. All these things are necessary, but they are not sufficient. Observing learners in their learning is also necessary (witness the generative power of the Hackney Downs case studies) and analysing tasks to see how pupils can come to their learning *before* analysing the linguistic aspects of the task also seems necessary.
3. The development of co-operative teaching looks to be central. It is more stimulating and a good learning situation both for teachers and for the children. No matter how gifted the class teachers are, how much language knowledge they have, or how good their initial training has been, the full responsibility for the language learning and total education of developing bilingual pupils should not rest with classroom teachers unsupported. If responsibility is taken away from them, they can never begin to develop their classrooms as places where bilingual pupils have an equal right to learning and being. The same is true of ESL specialists operating in a separatist structure. Co-operative teaching is not the sticking together of two pedagogies, but the development of something new. Co-operative teaching and the taking of responsibility for developing bilingual pupils by the whole school means that from reception stage onwards pupils can be supported over much longer phases of their learning and across all language modes. Literacy can be developed earlier and more consistently, and the students will then have this, as well as spoken means, as an impetus for further language development. If ESL specialists could be unhooked from a structure which causes them to have sole responsibility for beginners, we might in the future see fewer problems experienced by the so-called Stage Three learner.

Notes

1. In using the term "taking joint responsibility" as we have, we do not wish to imply that there has been large-scale, *willful* negligence of bilingual pupils' needs in London schools. That is not the case. What there has been, as a result of the historical separation of ESL provision from the mainstream, is a de-skilling of mainstream teachers who, generally speaking, have till now received the notion that ESL cannot be practised except by specialists away from the main site of learning. Thus, even when there have been bilingual pupils in their classes for some

years (if only part-time because of their attendance at a language centre for half of every day each week) teachers have often remained unaware of these students' backgrounds and needs. Nor is this a one-way process. ESL teachers have, of course, also been de-skilled by being isolated from a wider range of classroom strategies and content knowledge.

2. We list here a selection of such books:
   Allington, R., Krull, K. and Thrun, R. (1980) *Beginning to Learn about Smelling*, Oxford.
   Baldwin, D. and Lister, C. (1984) *You and Your Body: Your Senses*, Wayland.
   Catherall, E. (1981) *Sight*, Wayland.
   Finifter, G. (1983) *My Body and How it Works*, Collins.
   Hindley, J. and Rawson, C. (1975) *How Your Body Works*, Usborne.
   Ward, B. R. (1981) *The Eye and Seeing*, Watts.
3. Also, as a senior teacher in the school pointed out, the commitment may well stem from the fact that teachers' understanding about what is involved in mainstreaming second language learning was carried forward by doing the case studies.
4. A suggested modification for secondary use of a grid developed by Silvaine Wiles and Pauline France for the *Bilingual Under Fives Project* at CUES.
5. *Learning English as a second language: guidelines for provision in secondary schools* was issued by the ILEA Multi-ethnic Inspectorate in May 1984.

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Opportunities in Mainstream English

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In English, as in other curriculum areas, there is no single view on the kind of response that is needed to the changing composition of British society and the challenge of educating all children for life in a multicultural society. Some teachers, especially in all-white schools, still see changes in the curriculum as being needed only where there are significant numbers of students whose parents were immigrants in the period since 1945. This was clearly signalled by Little and Willey (1981) and has recently been confirmed in surveys conducted by Matthews and Fallows for The Swann Report, *Education for All* (DES, 1985). In a more extreme form it is expressed in the statements of independent school heads, collected by Cashmore and Bagley (1984).

It is also important to recognize that there is no single view on what constitutes a good English teacher. Practices which some teachers take for granted, including many which will be referred to below, fill others with anxiety or are seen as diversionary from the main concerns of the English teacher. Additionally, other practices, which have held on with a surprising tenacity, given the poor return they produce, occupy many teachers' and students' time to the exclusion of more constructive activities. The HMI noted in their survey of secondary schools (DES, 1979) that alongside much to commend, there was also much uninspired classroom activity: exercise-bound language work, laborious writing assignments which had little intellectual or expressive purpose, unstimulating approaches to reading, and few opportunities for talk which could contribute to learning.

This account does not attempt closer analysis of the factors which constitute the perspectives and practices sketched out above, but it is important to recognize that they provide the backcloth against which changes being proposed and implemented elsewhere should be judged.

By contrast with those who do not see any need for change, some Local Education Authorities and many inner-city teachers have argued forcefully for a curriculum which takes fully into account the multicultural and changing nature of society. In these contexts attempts have been made, with varying degrees of commitment, to re-shape the curriculum in relation to the historical, and continuing, diversity of

British society. This has included efforts to come to terms with Eurocentric perspectives and an imperial past, as well as to address the inequality, racism, and conflicts of interest which characterize the present situation. It has crucially included attempts to tackle the monolingual insularity of the English and the sense of cultural superiority which has informed many of our previous contacts with other cultures.

Most proponents of these perspectives would probably agree that having to come to terms with multilingual and intercultural relations with other people on the basis of reciprocity has been a vital experience for teachers in general and for English teachers in particular, and has led to the development of a view which sees the diversity of UK society as an assertion of its adaptability rather than a threat to its unity.

Such activities have also had two further consequences. First, as languages and cultures do not confine themselves within nationalisms but break free and are re-formed and reinterpreted in different contexts, teachers who have taken the opportunity of learning from the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the students they teach, have been drawn into contact with languages, dialects, and literatures different from their own. Second, but of critical importance, contact with those students who experience the full force of the persistent racism of British society has obliged many teachers to face up to the complex problems involved in getting rid of it. Many would now insist, with full support in some local education authorities, that racism has to be tackled in all its forms — in institutional arrangements, in the ideology of the curriculum, and in people's attitudes and actions — as a priority which should guide all the other activities of the English teacher.

Such perspectives have usually been associated with imaginative approaches to English teaching and high expectations of what children and young people can achieve. They are generally to be found in classrooms where value is placed on what the students bring in terms of experience and skills, and where the students are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning. Language learning is seen to require a range of situations and opportunities for purposeful talk, reading and writing. This stance towards the subject makes it relatively easy for teachers to respond to students' knowledge of languages and dialects other than English and to give space for the expression of experiences which might otherwise be ignored. It also provides, through the use of carefully chosen and contexted reading opportunities, for extending the understanding and knowledge of monolingual and monocultural classes to experiences which they do not directly encounter themselves in their daily lives, and can offer the climate of learning in which a critical awareness of the world and society of which the students are a part can be developed.

Conflicting messages

That there are very different viewpoints as to what should go on in English classes must, to some extent, be seen as a consequence of the conflicting messages which teachers receive from above. There is as yet no commitment from central government which matches that of the more radical Local Education Authorities. While, on the political right, it is clearly the current view that traditional, "British" values should predominate in the curriculum, on the left there is a determination that the curriculum should be re-framed to become enabling for all children whatever their race, class or gender. For English teachers the predicament may be posed as to whether they should look to the Department of Education and Science for guidance and accept such advice as is offered in the HMI discussion paper, *English from 5 to 16* (DES, 1984), or whether to look to the Inner London Education Authority for ideas framed within the ILEA's *Policy and Equality* (ILEA, 1983) and suggestions emanating from such sources as the ILEA English Centre.

At a time when the facts of international and local community life might have been expected to have made a significant impact on national thinking, the publication of the HMI discussion paper, *English from 5 to 16*, demonstrates, by what is absent from its pages as much as by what it says, the narrowness of that national thinking.[1] A response by ILEA English Advisory teachers points to the omissions;

> Teachers of language have a particular responsibility, as agencies in a position to affect the young, to promote an informed respect among children for the diversity of race, culture and language in our society, and to oppose the racism which divides our society and which thrives on ignorance and fear. The document's one reference [. . . children . . . for whom English is not the language of the home . . . may need special provision 1.5] to the whole complex topic of multi-racial schools, and of multicultural education in multi-racial and mono-racial schools, is eloquent by default.[2]

It is perhaps also worth pointing out that the sole paragraph referring to languages other than English does so in order to emphasize the deficiency in spoken English likely to be characteristic of "those Welsh children and those from ethnic minorities for whom English is not the language of the home". It is almost as if news of what is known about the support of bilingualism in other national contexts (and even in Wales) has not reached the DES. Nowhere in the document is there discussion of how the teaching of language in mainstream classrooms may need to change to give recognition to the importance of children's first languages, especially in their early learning. There is no mention of the potential benefits for all students in recognizing the range of

linguistic and cultural knowledge available within the multilingual classroom, nor any consideration of what it is involved in becoming a bilingual in a country in which people often express a low regard for languages and dialects other than Standard English. It is as if the HMI think that even to discuss other languages and cultures may act as a diversion from the central activity, which is to ensure that everyone learns Standard English.

Developments in the classroom

It is at classroom level, and particularly in the cities, that the agenda of English teachers, and language teachers in the primary classroom, has been subject to most change. Students whose first language is not English, and who are still in the process of becoming fully bilingual, have, by their presence in significant numbers, forced teachers of English to find ways of providing them with support which is specific to second language learning but which helps them to participate as fully as possible in all the activities that the other students are undertaking. Jean Bleach (1984) describes some of the ways in which collaborative work in small groups has a key role to play in this development, because of the help which students can give each other in their learning, and describes how the use of an appropriate selection of stories and novels from different cultures, which the whole class can share, can give inexperienced users of English a strong feeling of being part of a mainstream activity. She also emphasizes the importance of writing personal narratives in enabling second language learners to operate confidently in English, while at the same time taking on tasks similar to those being carried out by other students. An English classroom where such attention is being given to the needs of students who are becoming bilingual may be less recognizable by writing and signs around the walls in languages other than English — though these may be present — than in terms of the ability of students, whose command of English is incomplete, to share in most, if not all, the reading, writing, talking and acting things out that is going on. These arguments are supported by Hester and Steedman (forthcoming), whose project for the Schools Council, 'Language in the Multicultural Primary Classroom', provides many examples of the rich variety of activities in the primary classroom where the possibilities for supporting second language learning can be exploited and multicultural perspective developed.

Classrooms where support is given to second language learners give one model for the support which can be given to those who speak, and sometimes will wish to write, in a dialect rather than in Standard English. Many teachers are now attempting to change their stance to dialect as being an incorrect form of English which they must eradicate, and to recognize that, as with those who are developing skills in

operating between two (or more) languages, the many students in the UK who use Afro-Caribbean creoles in their day-to-day activities, are similarly in the process of extending a linguistic repertoire, using different language varieties according to the situation. Drama and role-play have been found to offer many opportunities for this process to be supported in the school context, and teachers have also found ways of helping students see how the systematic differences between dialects can be exploited creatively in writing. Richmond *et al.* (1982) argue that the contrastive use of dialects and Standard in spoken and written forms not only opens up a range of new possibilities for English and drama teachers, but also deepens students' understanding of, and competence in, Standard English.

On the importance of Standard English, and in particular of Standard written English, there appears to be agreement on a broad front, which includes black parents, the political left, and the political right. It is, of course, perceived differently. Black community pressure has been to ensure that black students are not fobbed off with low-status courses and inadequate qualifications. Left wing political pressure has been to ensure that all working-class people have a fair chance of getting into higher education and positions of power and responsibility.

In both cases high levels of literacy are seen as central to giving people the means to control over their own lives and become as well-equipped as possible to face life after school. By contrast, right wing pressure has often been expressed in terms of the claim that standards of literacy are falling and that the "needs" of employers are not being met.

Inside education, there is similarly agreement between, say, the HMI and the ILEA Advisory English teachers referred to above, that Standard is important. They differ with respect to the ends to which attention to Standard is necessary; and the uses to which speech and writing can be deployed. Thus the HMI emphasize that 16-year-olds need to "use the grammar and vocabulary" of Standard *Spoken* English where necessary and appropriate, while for the ILEA Advisory English teachers language variety, culture and identity are of central importance as is, in their view, the HMI's omission of reference to

> the much more reasonable argument that most 16 year-olds should have access to and control over *written* Standard English in the much wider range of contexts where it is necessary and appropriate[3] (my italics).

The former conjures up preparation for the competitive job interview, while the latter suggests students acting in society by writing letters, manifestoes, poems — even books.

A similar difference of opinion to that described in relation to Standard English exists in relation to the study of language. There has been much development of ways of studying language. Some of these have a long history and have their origins either in the study of literature or in the learning of prescriptive grammar. Some are of more recent origin and derive from the descriptive linguistics of the past 30 years. Yet others derive their emphasis from the interest that has been generated in the languages and dialects of the community and have links with "language awareness" work in Modern Languages.[4]

In *English from 5 to 16* (DES, 1984) the HMI make a great deal of the study of language but it seems that they may have in mind a narrower and more traditional form of study than the best of current practice indicated above. In the HMI view, "a working knowledge of its structure and the variety of ways in which meaning is made" is chiefly to be acquired through being able to identify grammatical and literary features. More radical proponents of language study argue that it is a key means whereby students are able to come to terms with the language of those who control the media, the government, and the other institutions which play a major part in their lives (Goldenberg *et al.*, 1983). There are also suggestions that studying languages and dialects in relation to society and culture may assist in the dismantling of racism.

The study of literature, like that of language, is in a major state of change and re-appraisal. In part this is because the category "literature" itself is in the process of shifting its boundaries to include a wider and wider range of what people read. However, at the same time as this shift away from "literature" defined purely in terms of high culture, there has also been a response by teachers to the availability of a world literature written in, or translated into, English in anthologies and editions designed for school use. As with the developing awareness of languages and dialects, teachers have often in the first instance responded to the interests of their students. They have gone on to extend their reading out of their own developing fascination.[5]

There is also a growing literature of writing which describes the experiences of groups who write, from outside the mainstream of British language and culture and who are in the process of shaping a new set of cultural experiences out of two, or more, cultural backgrounds. Some of these writers describe very forcefully the racism which oppresses them in British society. Significantly, an increasing number of young people are contributing to this literature, some of which has been written while the writers are still at school or have just left.[6]

Holmstrom (forthcoming) argues persuasively that extending the

cultural range of books available in schools is as important in an all-white school in Norfolk as in the centre of London or Liverpool. Bleach (1984) makes the point equally powerfully,

> Literature is a most potent force in allowing us to enter a world of experience imagined by another person. These imaginary worlds will be shaped in part by the immediate social and cultural experiences of the writers, and will bear the imprint of the historical time and circumstances in which they are written. The work of writers with dual vision created by their experience of Western cultures *and* of another non-Western culture needs to be related to, not separated from, writers who inform and reflect the dominant culture. In every sense George Eliot, Dickens, Conrad, Faulkner, Achebe, Walcott, and Evelyn Waugh need to be read and studied together.

It may well be that the most powerful possibilities for re-thinking the English curriculum are located just here in the content and approaches within the literature taken into the classroom, and in the writing that the students are encouraged to take on themselves. Readers and writers who range widely in what they undertake — even within a single language — cannot but become aware of the diverse nature of their own society and the cultural variety which is the product of its history and contacts with others. The satisfactions that readers get from living with the world created in a text, and that writers get from trying to express the complexities of their ideas and experience, incline them towards learning about other cultures and broadening their world-views. The best English teaching at present appears to be conducted in this spirit.

Conclusion

Despite the caveat expressed in the opening paragraphs of this paper, that there are teachers who ignore multicultural and anti-racist perspectives and who do not adopt imaginative practices in relation to language learning, English, and language-related work in the primary classroom, appear to offer fertile ground for the encouragement of bilingual skills (though only for "linguistic minorities") and the development of genuine cross-cultural knowledge and understanding.

Even in the absence of more comprehensive models of bilingual education, English classes (especially where support teachers are available to assist second language learners) offer many opportunities for accommodating translations, exploration of concepts between languages, comparison of structure of languages, discussion of dialects and languages, and examination of the operation of language in society.

Reciprocal learning between students and between student and teacher

are possible not only in the context of language study but within the activities of talking, reading and writing which make up the stock-in-trade of the English teacher. The value of drama and literature has great potential for developing intercultural understanding, and not only where there are students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Holmstrom (forthcoming) puts this well,

> . . . we who are teachers of English ought to be much more aware of English as a world language and that it is used not only politically but *creatively* in many parts of the world; used moreover in new and exciting ways. My idea therefore in offering this material (S.E. Asian literature) for use in schools is not by way of advocating separatism, nor do I wish to provide for closed groups that exist side by side; rather I should like to see more options available for all children within the normal school curriculum.

This 'normal school curriculum' is at this moment poised between opposing tendencies. The first has been characterized above in discussion of the HMI's *English from 5 to 16*. It leads towards a centrally specified English curriculum which resurrects traditional conceptions of grammar teaching and is bound within narrow cultural limits. *English from 5 to 16* is significant as much for its omissions and assumptions as for its inclusions and what is made explicit (Shakespeare, the only writer to be mentioned by name, by implication stands for quality and all that is best in "English" culture).[7]

The second tendency is indicated at the level of new practices and is signalled schematically in the notes and references to this paper.' (A typical example might be *The English Curriculum: race; material for discussion*, produced at the ILEA English Centre.[8]) It takes the difficult route towards a dynamic curriculum, responsive to local situations and the demands of students and parents as well as the intentions of central government and LEAs. It builds from the students' existing linguistic and cultural knowledge and on their experience of society. It places great importance on the negotiation of knowledge and the choice of content.

In making a choice between those directions, teachers, it would appear, have to decide on a stance towards society and a stance towards change. National languages and the literatures written in them can be used to create a straight-jacket of nationalistic thinking or to open up intercultural understanding. Students can be taught to use language within a narrow set of limits or be given access to modes of analysis and expression which give them power to act upon the world. English, like other subjects, can support the status quo or help to open up possibilities for constructive change.

Notes

1. At the time of writing it is not possible to say how far the philosophy of "education for all" which informs the *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups* (DES, 1985) will be taken up at the various levels where its recommendations are applicable. It is notably different in its perspectives from *English from 5 to 16*.
2. Taken from the response made to *English from 5 to 16* by the ILEA English Advisory Team, the ILEA English Centre, the ILEA Centre for Language in Primary Education, and the Language Division of the ILEA Centre for Urban Educational Studies. It is published in *The English Magazine* No. 14, ILEA.
3. *Ibid.*
4. See for example:
   Doughty, P. *et al.* (1971) *Language in Use*, Edward Arnold, London.
   Forsyth, I. and Wood, K. (1980 *et seq.*) *Language and Communication*, (1-3), Longman, London.
   Goldenberg, S. *et al.* (1983) *Language*, Hutchinson, London.
   Hawkins, E. (ed.) (1984) *How do we Learn Languages?* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
   Healy, M. (1981) *Your Language*, (1-3), Macmillan, London.
   Raleigh, M. (1981) *The Languages Book*, ILEA English Centre.
   Richmond, J. and Savva, H. (1983) *Investigating our Language*, Edward Arnold, London.
5. For examples of reviews which encourage teachers to read for themselves, as well as with a view to using a wider range of texts with their school students, see: Goody, 'World fiction in English: the Caribbean", in *The English Magazine*, No. 12.
   Alam, Manuel, Welch, "World fiction in English: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh", in *The English Magazine*, No. 13
   Reid, "World Fiction in English: Africa", in *The English Magazine*, No. 14.

   See also:
   Gunner, E. (1984) *A Handbook for Teaching African Literature*, Heinemann, London.
   Association for the Teaching of Caribbean, African, Asian and Associated Literatures, *Reading Guidelines*, available from ATCAL, 8 Tylecroft Road, London SW16.
   Stones, R. (1983) *A Penguin Multi-ethnic Book List*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
   Elkin, J. (1985): *Children's Books for a Multicultural Society*, 8-12 Books for Keeps.
   English Language Service, London Borough of Waltham Forest, *Literature from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*
   See also the publishers' lists, for example: Longmans: Imprint, Knockout, Drumbeat; Penguin: Puffin, Peacock; Heinemann: African Writers; Oxford University Press; Fontana.
6. See for example:
   Elbaja, M. *et al.* (1979) *Our Lives*, ILEA English Centre, London.
   O'Connor, E. (1978) *Jamaican Child*, ILEA English Centre, London.
   Herbert, C. (1977) *In the Melting Pot*, ILEA English Centre, London.
   Huntley, A. (1977) *At School Today*, Bogle — L'Ouverture, London.
   George, P. (1977) *Memories*, Commonplace Workshop.
7. Cf. Dollimore, J. and Sinfield, A. (1985) *Political Shakespeare*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
8. The booklet is a collection of articles, materials and policy statements gathered together by a group of practising teachers. It has sections on "Anti-racist multicultural English", "Language Issues", "Literature", "Media study", "Teaching about racism", "Assessment" and "Whole school policy".

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ESL Provision in the Post-school Sector: developments and dilemmas

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Twenty years ago there was virtually no ESL provision in the post-school education sector. There were, of course, some language classes for foreign students visiting Britain, and there were a substantial number of English and general Education courses for native speakers — and, no doubt, these courses were attended by adult immigrants.[1] However, the notion of a need for specific and specialized provision did not really exist. Even as little as 10 years ago the majority of ESL provision was *ad hoc* and taught either by volunteers or part-time teachers. There was very little professional training available and those working in the field certainly had no professional voice. In 1985 the picture is dramatically different. ESL provision for adults is firmly established in the post-school sector. There are two nationally recognized in-service training qualifications and a flourishing national organization, and even more importantly, there is a high level of political consciousness and concern within the field. You could say ESL has found its voice.

From the 60's to the 80's

What, then, has happened across the intervening years to bring about such a radical change? To answer this question it is necessary to delve back into the conscious beginnings of ESL in the post-school sector. I use the word "conscious" advisedly and in a national sense, because, although Britain has always had non-indigenous second language speakers, it was not until the forced migration of large numbers of East African Asians started to arrive in the 1960s that the need for language provision for adults was officially recognized and ESL schemes came into existence.

The general belief in *the late sixties* was that once the immigrants had acquired English they would be quickly assimilated into British society at large. It was also presumed that the men would pick up the language at work, that the children would absorb it at school, and that it was only the women, isolated in the home, who might require formal English language tuition — and even then, it would probably only be a temporary need, for 6 months or so.

The organization and content of tuition was, of necessity, extremely pragmatic. Volunteers and part-time teachers taught women (and some men) English for day-to-day interactions. The lessons took place either in the students' homes or in locally convenient centres, such as primary schools, community centres and clinics. There was little, if any, specialist training for the teachers, and apart from home-produced materials the only materials available for adults were those commercially devised for the newly burgeoning EFL market — the contents of which had little relevance to the lives of bilingual British citizens working and bringing up their families in the UK.

By *the first half of the seventies* the assimilationist "melting pot" theory had been replaced by the longer-term view of integration. It was recognized that acquiring English for the workplace, the school curriculum and day-to-day needs was both more complex and required greater time than had at first been thought. ESL was obviously not the temporary band-aid that had initially been envisaged. Nor was it only the women who had need of English language tuition.

In 1974, money was made available to establish a national industrial language training scheme which was to concentrate on providing English language tuition and management training in the workplace. At the same time, the post-school sector, particularly adult education, began to make a more structured offer to second-language speakers of English. This was done both through "graded" classes at adult education centres and through a more complex network of classes in the community. Diversification was beginning to take place — although the concern at that time was more to do with the extent than with the nature of ESL provision. ESL literacy classes were becoming more commonplace and there was a growth in specific-purpose classes for groups such as those seeking employment or attending ante-natal clinics. This additional provision did not replace the volunteer home-tuition schemes; indeed, they were still seen as an essential link between the community and the educational establishments. The new provision complemented and extended what already existed. A national training scheme, specifically designed for teachers of ESL to adults, began in 1975 when the Inner London Education Authority piloted the Royal Society of Art's Certificate in the Teaching of English to Adult Immigrants. Before then, the little training that had existed had been mainly for volunteers — a situation reflected by the publication of a home-tutor kit in the early seventies by the Community Relations Commission. A second publication appeared in 1978.

During *the second half of the seventies*, ESL received a new impetus largely through statistics revealed in the 1977 *PEP Report*[2] — stark figures like those shown in Table 1, about the amount of English spoken by Asian adults.

Table 1 Speaking English only slightly or not at all

	%
African Asian men	19
Indian men	26
Pakistani men	43
African Asian women	41
Indian women	60
Pakistani women	77

These revelations prompted the BBC to produce its first series aimed at the "non-English-speaking" community. *Parosi*, a soap opera, actively encouraged Asian women to learn English, either through home-tuition or by joining an ESL class. Many local education authorities, anticipating the same flood of requests for tuition that had followed the BBC Adult Literacy series *On the move*, looked seriously at their local *ad hoc* provision, and began to make contingency plans.

Unfortunately, central government did not set aside the one million pounds which had been made available for staffing during the Adult Literacy Campaign — although some money was earmarked for new equipment and materials in the Urban Aid Programme. In the event, the *Parosi* campaign did not bring forth the number of requests that had been anticipated. What it did do, however, was put the language needs of adults firmly on local and national education agendas, and by bringing ESL teachers and organizers across the country into a network for the first time, it sowed the seeds of what was to become the national professional organization, The National Association for Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults (NATESLA).

People in this field were still very much concerned with the availability and accessibility of ESL provision for all who needed it and desired it. Among other ventures, a caravan was used to provide mobile ESL in Bradford and a double-decker bus was fitted out as both classroom space and creche in South London. Information leaflets were produced in as many local languages as possible and libraries displayed the national logo to signal the availability of ESL tuition in their area.

As far as the curriculum was concerned, the cornerstones were still the day-to-day language and literacy needs of adult migrants "adjusting" to life in Britain, although there was emerging a concern about the relevance of what was being taught. This concern was, of course, to grow, but meanwhile the overwhelming belief held by most ESL providers was that a greater command of the English language would inevitably lead to better education and employment prospects which in their turn would, again inevitably, enhance the quality of life of the migrant communities. Looking back, we can shudder at the naivety of this view and realize that it was based on an extreme deficit model of the ethnic minority communities. Despite the approach to ESL

teaching being grounded in the best traditions of adult education, we had neither thrown off its monocultural yoke nor come to terms with the wider and far more reaching issues affecting Britain's ethnic communities.

By *the late seventies and the beginning of the eighties*, the belief in integration had been replaced by the reality of cultural pluralism. Britain was having to recognize and try to accept that it was now a multilingual, multicultural, multiracial and multifaith society and that this diversity was not temporary — it was here to stay. Statements made at the time about the aims of ESL provision reflected this new climate of opinion:[3]

> English as a second language provision is designed for people living, working and bringing up families in this country. Like all adults, second language speakers need to:
> — make informed choices about their own lives and the lives of their children
> — be able to take advantage of the opportunities for further education and training
> — understand the institutions and structures of the society in which they live so that they can play an active part if they so wish.

This was the period when local education authorities began producing multicultural policy statements, and when school curricula were called into question over their cultural bias. It was also the time when major changes began to take place in ESL — changes which were brought about by a combination of three sets of factors — content and pedagogy, the changing economic situation, and racism.

Content and teaching methods

Firstly, the earlier battles to establish ESL provision for adults had to a great extent been won. No-one now questioned that ESL should be made available as part of the post-school education offer for bilingual adults. This situation was reinforced by the arrival of the Vietnamese "boat people" and by the subsequent government funding of English language tuition in the reception centre and, later, as part of the resettlement programme. The recognition I have already mentioned released ESL organizers from their earlier preoccupations with the funding and quantity of provision, and enabled them instead to focus more on the quality and relevance of what was on offer. Questions were raised about the linear progression of ESL provision. Did such a step-by-step model help or hinder adult bilinguals? Was the implied goal of "native-speaker competence" either realistic or even desirable? How could ESL teachers best establish realistic goals — goals which would

include not only language and literacy, but also access study skills etc. — and how could they demonstrate the transferability of these skills and thereby increase the students' confidence and autonomy? Other questions were raised concerning the adult nature of the ESL offer. How far were the life experiences of students attending ESL classes really being taken into account? To what extent were their skills and interests being tapped in the language learning process? How could the ESL classroom acquire a more democratic base, and how could the ESL teacher create a more equal learning partnership?

These, and other questions like them, led to various developments, the most influential of which has been the creation of what are now known as linked-skill courses. These are courses where the acquisition of communication skills is integrated with the learning or expression of practical skills (e.g. dressmaking, car maintenance, computer programming). This form of provision has proved extremely successful, both in terms of providing students with a realistic and stimulating language learning environment and, more importantly, by enabling them to recognize their own linguistic abilities and potential, and thus increasing their confidence. Again, these new courses did not replace the existing courses; they simply contributed to the growing diversification of the ESL offer and provided adult bilinguals with a greater choice of learning styles.

Another area that ESL organisers focused on at the time was that most challenging of teaching situations — the mixed level community class. It remained true, and indeed remains true to this day, that despite all the difficulties that these classes presented, they were for logistical and very good community reasons, the mainstay of provision in many areas. In this situation how could the isolation of the lone teacher be overcome? What was the most appropriate and most possible form of syllabus design for groups which might include a newly arrived graduate bride learning alongside a recently widowed woman who had no experience of formal education but who had lived in Britain for many years? There were no ready answers then, and there are still few today, but the use of more team teaching was explored, and greater effort was put into the development of suitable resource materials.

Meanwhile, the seventies closed with the second BBC series designed for bilingual adults, *Speak for Yourself*, and the accompanying radio programmes for teachers of ESL. This series not only focused on the language and access information required for day-to-day situations, but also explored the issues of cross-cultural awareness, underlining the fact that communication is a two-way process with the onus for effective communication lying with both non-native and native speaker of English alike. This refinement reflected the changing focus of the ESL curriculum at the time.

The changing economic situation

Another major factor that affected ESL at the time was the dramatically changing economic situation. The recession was now deepening and in its wake came the high growth in unemployment — a situation which often hit ethnic minority communities earliest and hardest. The government response to growing unemployment overall was to use the Manpower Services Commission to fund "up-skilling" and retraining courses for adults, and vocational preparation courses for young people. The majority of these courses were based in colleges of further education, and although initially the particular needs of bilingual adults and young people were overlooked, eventually some special programmes were evolved. These included ESL preparation courses for adults, skills training for particular minority groups and work experience courses for bilingual school-leavers. These courses had an important, if indirect, effect on the development and growth of ESL provision and language support for bilingual students in the further education sector. However, at this time energies were mainly focused on obtaining a greater number of preparatory courses for bilingual adults, on establishing study skill courses for those wishing to gain access to academic programmes, and on providing more foundation courses for those school-leavers who had not had sufficient time within the school system to acquire the language and the general education that would enable them to enter further education "mainstream" provision.

Growing awareness of racism

The third factor, one which caused a shift in our perspective in ESL, was the increasing national awareness and concern among teachers about the growth of racism, particularly in the urban areas. In ESL we began to question our provision in terms of racism. We asked what we were actually achieving through what were, by now, our traditional language programmes. Were we contributing to the educational offer to bilingual adults, or were we, in fact, by not challenging the monolingual entry requirements of both mainstream education and the market place, hindering people's chances? Questions like these also caused us to look at our own steadily increasing ranks of language teachers and to note the very obvious lack of ethnic minority teachers in our own area of work. Were we as guilty of institutional racism as those establishments which we were so quick to criticize? It was, however, not until we were well into the eighties that practical steps began to be taken on these matters.

With *the eighties* came an expansion in specialist in-service training which signalled the increasing professionalism in the field. The original RSA Certificate, Teaching English to Adult Immigrants, now more

appropriately renamed the Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Further, Adult and Community Education, continues to be offered in various parts of the country. Materials developed by teachers as part of their course work make an important contribution to local ESL resource banks, as well as sometimes being published more widely. In 1981 the RSA launched a new certificate — the Initial Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language to Adults[4] — which has had far-reaching effects. It is popular, it is contributing to raising the overall standards of ESL classroom teaching, and it has proved an important access route for minority group teachers.

Continuing concerns

In the past decade the debate on ESL diversified, and it is now taking place at a variety of levels within a wide range of educational provision. However, two overriding matters of concern remain for everyone involved in the teaching of bilingual adults:

Cultural and linguistic diversity

The first of these is the importance of recognizing and utilizing the linguistic and cultural resources that bilingual and multilingual adults bring with them to both language acquisition and other areas of learning. The ILEA (1983) discussion document *Mother tongue and ESL*[5] has led to some important developments. In the classroom, teachers are starting to include the various languages spoken by their students as part of the lesson; in some local teacher-training programmes, bilingual methodologies are being developed as an alternative approach to language teaching and learning; the recruitment of more teachers from ethnic minority groups is making it possible to extend the scope and nature of provision and to provide more appropriate counselling services. ESL organizers have also been turning their attention to the world outside the educational establishments, and following the example set by Industrial Language Training,[6] have been working with professional agencies on language and cross-cultural awareness programmes for groups such as health visitors and staff at job centres. Similar work is also taking place within the adult education service, though at present it is still on a small scale.

Institutionalized racism

The second concern is more complex and relates to the problems teachers face in confidently discussing the need for equality of opportunity for all, while operating in a climate which seems to do little to combat institutionalized racism and in an education system in which it is difficult to get made the changes necessary to actively encourage

and support bilingual adults within mainstream provision. Here we are facing two dilemmas. On the one hand we recognize that no real progress can be made until fundamental structural and attitudinal changes take place, both within the educational service and outside. On the other hand, we are aware of the needs of bilingual adults who at present are having to function in a system which equates less than total native-speaker fluency in English (which is, after all, just *one* of the languages used by bilingual or multilingual adults in this country) with a general deficiency in all other areas of learning. These are dilemmas which leave us at best in a state of educational ambivalence, and at worst wondering whether we should be directing our energies elsewhere. Actions that have been taken to try and redress the balance for bilingual students at present within the system include the setting up of specific training courses — such as ESL and Electrical Engineering and ESL and Motor Vehicle Maintenance — which are jointly planned and run by a language specialist and a skill specialist, and which lead to nationally recognized vocational qualifications. Another approach has been to provide language support for bilinguals attending mainstream courses. This support is sometimes specific to the subject being studied and is seen as an integral part of the course, or sometimes more generalized and provided in language workshops. Yet another approach has been the creation of alternative access routes for bilingual adults who do not possess the traditional entry qualifications, but who wish to enrol in professional training programmes. The B.Ed. Access course for Bengalis is an example of this kind of provision.

These developments obviously represent an important shift away from the view that it is merely language which impedes the bilingual adult from participating fully in the education system. However, such provision must be perceived as only an interim measure, and continuing efforts must be made to bring about fundamental changes within the education service and society as a whole.

This, then, is our long-term aim. Our immediate objective must be to put our own house in order. The need for broad-based language provision and support will continue for some adults for the foreseeable future.[7] We must be certain, however, that value is always given to the students' linguistic and cultural diversity, and that all our teaching is built on the knowledge and skills that they already possess. We must also continue to challenge the deficit image of the bilingual adult and to ensure that any provision we ourselves make is firmly located within an anti-racist perspective. Most important of all, we must work with others to achieve a post-school service where no bilingual adult is impeded in their progress through the system because of racial, cultural and linguistic bias.

Notes and References

1. Students who do not speak English as their first language have been variously characterized in the education service as immigrants, second-language speakers, ESL students and bilingual students. These terms are used throughout this article in order to reflect the particular perspective of the period under discussion. Currently we are using the term "bilingual" because it most accurately describes an adult who has to operate in two or more languages. Its use, however, does not denote any specific level of attainment or fluency.
2. Smith, D. J. (1977) *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
3. Nicholls, S. and Naish, J. (1981) *Teaching English as a Second Language*, BBC, London.
4. This part-time course was designed to meet the growing need for an introductory level qualification which could be taken by experienced volunteers, trained language teachers wishing to move into ESL from other areas, and less experienced ESL teachers.
5. ILEA (1983) *Mother Tongue and ESL*, National Extension College, London.
6. Information about Industrial Language Training is available from the National Centre for Industrial Language Training, The Havelock Centre, Havelock Road, Southall, Middlesex, UB2 4NZ, United Kingdom. Phone 01-571 2241.
7. Brown, C. (1985) *Black and White Britain: The third PSI Survey*, Heinemann, London.

   Report of the Home Affairs Committee (1985) *Chinese Community in Britain*, HMSO, London.

"No Five Fingers Are All Alike": managing change and difference in the multi-ethnic workplace

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This Punjabi saying illustrates the differences, both subtle and less subtle, that are the reality of multi-ethnic workplaces in Britain today. This paper describes the work of the Industrial Language Training (ILT) service over the past decade. It examines the differences and changes that characterize this period, and looks at how individual change and development in communicative abilities must be set in the wider context of organizational change.

ILT: A decade in summary

In the early 1970s a number of companies were persuaded that it was worth making an effort to improve communications in situations where a significant number of their workforce did not have English as their first language. The problem seemed simple — the employees' poor command of English, and the solution straightforward — employ English language teachers to teach "Industrial" English geared to the specific functional language needs of the company. A number of advantages would accrue. Communications would improve, the workforce would become more integrated and the management could "do their bit" to understand the situation by finding out more about the employees' culture. Thus the original industrial language training solution took shape. Short courses, 50–60 hours on an hour-a-day basis, were put into operation and the syllabuses were rigorously related to the company's situation and perceived needs. This line of thinking produced the textbook *Industrial English*, (Jupp and Hodlin, 1974). In addition, courses for managers, supervisors and trade unionists on cultural background information and ways of overcoming communications difficulties were run (Davies and Jupp, 1974).

As soon as this initial solution became widely accepted, changes began

to occur and, in particular, the scheme expanded. With hindsight, the history of industrial language training can be described as a continuing but creative critique of the initial solution. Since the mid-1970s there have been three significant shifts of emphasis in the scheme:

1. There has been a shift of *perspective*, from one of multiculturalism to anti-racism.
2. There has been a shift of *context*, from a narrow base of in-company language work to one embracing many different areas.
3. There has been a shift in *methodology*, from a narrow view of functionalism to a concept that incorporates a much more flexible view of student needs and wants.

The shift in perspective

ILT is influenced by the prevailing winds in race relations which affect society at large. The principal reason for the move towards a more prominent anti-racist perspective was the fact that in the late 1970s and early 1980s many more black staff entered the scheme. Like a number of white colleagues, not all came from a language teaching background. Issues that were once designated communications issues or language deficiency issues began to be seen more in terms of aspects of racism and disadvantage in the works context. There was a questioning of whose needs were being met and whose needs should be met. The contents of the syllabuses were questioned in terms of the role into which the language trainee is put. The use of mother-tongue in the training and the authenticity of the trainees' experience began to influence classroom management.

The shift in context

It was not only the language teaching that began to be questioned. Over the past few years many organizations, especially in the public sector, have called on ILT to run training sessions on cross-cultural communications. Alerting people to the nature of language difficulties and helping them use English more effectively is one aspect of this development, but it is becoming more and more obvious that examining language and cultures in a superficial way is no real answer to getting staff in public services to give a better service. Issues of racism have to be confronted.

The previous paragraph exemplifies one road ILT has gone, down, but in the language teaching aspect of its role the context is much more varied. The recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s in Britain led to an increasing number of ESL speakers without work, as the manufacturing sector declined. The Industrial Language Service moved into "skill centres" to try and ensure that retraining opportunities were

available to people who had English language difficulties. Courses which focus on procedure and negotiating skills have been run for trade union officials, and training has also been run at a level which embraces native speakers and near bilinguals, for example white-collar workers in the civil service.

The shift in methodology

With such a short time at the lecturers' disposal it is easy to see why it was felt courses had to be severely functional. The changing perspective and context led to experiments in other approaches. If time was so limited, it was essential that trainees be given tools with which to learn rather than just rehearsal of a highly controlled nature. Methods for increasing student autonomy were developed, and the result was a much greater focus on strategies for learning and strategies for communications — reflecting work in mainstream language teaching/ learning developments. In addition, taking account of the wider context of the workplace has led to experiments in workplace problem-solving and team development. In mixed ethnic groups the second-language speakers develop their communication skills as part of the process of working in structured discussion sessions.

Constant features of the ILT approach

Despite, or perhaps because of, the critical dynamic which has kept ILT responsive to change, there are certain constant features of the ILT approach:

1. An action-research methodology leading to specific advice and training outcomes.
2. An in-depth survey into the needs of the workplace using ethnographic techniques of observation, participant observation and ethnographic and more structured interviews;
3. An analysis of training needs in terms of working relationships and styles, communication practices and workplace systems and procedures.
4. Training which actively uses the context in which it takes place: the workplace, not the classroom, is taken as the communicative context. So managers, supervisors, trade unionists and co-workers may all participate at certain points — the training and trainers will follow up the training back on the shopfloor, in the office, etc.
5. Training is evaluated in terms of effectiveness to the organization but, most importantly, by eliciting reactions to changes in communicative relationships and perceptions of individuals.

In this paper we will trace some of the changes that have taken place in ILT since its beginnings. These changes, in a small way, document

some of the developments that have taken place in the past decade on a number of different fronts: the changes in the social and economic context in which minority ethnic groups are placed, the heightened awareness of racism in the public sector, the increasing interest in a multidisciplinary approach to issues such as language acquisition, social disadvantage and ethnicity, and the changes in language teaching theory and methodology.

Section One

The beginnings

When companies in Southall, West London, were first visited in the late 1960s, it soon became clear that very large numbers of minority ethnic group workers were quite unable to participate in the workplace. In fact, they were hardly seen as people at all. Despite the enormous changes that had taken place in the workforce, companies had not changed. They had very low expectations of their minority ethnic group workers but assumed that nothing could be done to make changes.

> They [the companies] saw Asian workers as they were — and that they would stay the same for ever. They were very much "hands wanted". We've always had "hands wanted" as a way of advertising for English people but it was an absolute reality in relation to these people. That was all that was employed there. Their minds, spirits and personalities were not engaged in the situation at all.[1]

Until companies were prepared and able to see their minority ethnic employees as people, they could not begin to tackle the fundamental but complex issues of communication. Conversely, until there was a level of interaction between first- and second-language speakers of English, there was little motivation to treat their workers as much more than a convenient "pair of hands".

Only by offering a service to employers and being prepared to work on terms and conditions other than the traditional college ones could education persuade industry to invest in training for unskilled shopfloor workers, and train managers, supervisors and trade unionists to break down the negative stereotypes which had surrounded a group with whom they had little or no real contact. The key initial factors in the approach were:

1. The need to work with both minority ethnic group workers and white majority management and unions.
2. Rejecting a simple solution of adult education classes or day release in colleges. Seeking, instead, paid release for training at the workplace.

3. This meant establishing a different *contract* between ILT trainers and client companies from that found in either adult education or industrial consultants. We were accountable to industry, as consultants are, but we were primarily committed to enhancing the opportunities of individuals in the context of employment.
4. Accepting that this contract meant achieving results which could be perceived as useful by everyone who had invested time and money in training.

It would be misleading to suggest that this contract has always been a comfortable or easy one to maintain. The inherent tension in being both a service to minority ethnic workers and a service to industry has put trainers on the spot in terms of creating trust and, pedagogically, in terms of needs analysis, selection of participants and syllabus design. Industry usually wants to deal with very specific problems. ILT's orientation is equal opportunities. For example, this can mean that management only wants those with very limited language abilities to be offered training, whereas ILT might be aware of the lack of opportunity to move into more skilled work, or be promoted, among many black workers concentrated in certain sections of the company.

In the early and mid-1970s this tension was less apparent. This was partly because there was such a clear need to tackle the fact that large numbers of workers spoke little or no English[2] and partly because the deficit model of language teaching for minority groups was widely accepted. The approach and design of courses was, therefore, for elementary learners. The ILT functional approach arose out of, and was eminently suited to, the short, focused courses for beginners. It concentrated on speaker intention and therefore took account of the context of situation and speaker/listener relationships; it simulated the kinds of communicative task relevant to workers on the shop floor; it based language exercises on real language data collected on site; it led to the selection of language items which were most frequent and critical for trainees but which were, as far as possible, transferable to other situations.

A close analysis of one item from *Industrial English* reveals that, in embryo, the expanded view of language which has now come to dominate communicative language teaching was present in these early dialogues.

Request a Change in Shift

Narrator:	Fred went to the Supervisor's office at five o'clock.	
Fred:	Hullo, Mr Carr. Can you spare a moment now?	Social/cultural knowledge
Mr Carr:	Yes, Come in, Fred, and sit down.	
Fred:	Thanks.	
Mr Carr:	Now, what's the problem?	
Fred:	I'd like to talk to you about my shift time.	Appropriate sequence of functions, starting with A FOCUS.
Mr Carr:	What about it?	
Fred:	Is it possible to go on the morning shift?	Linguistic form transferable to many other situations where polite request required.
Mr Carr:	Why?	
Fred:	Because my wife has a new job. She's working in the afternoon.	Graded language form.
Mr Carr:	What am I going to do when everyone wants to change their shift?	
Fred:	My children come home at 4 o'clock.	Awareness of the need to negotiate. Awareness that listener cannot control interlocutor's use of language.
Mr Carr:	Leave it with me, Fred, I'll tell you tomorrow.	
Fred:	Thanks a lot.	

Jupp and Hodlin, 1974, Item 172.

As far as possible, courses were geared to the needs and interests of participants, although considerably less effort in these early stages was put into eliciting perceptions of minority ethnic workers than into analysing needs as perceived by supervisors and trade unionists. We can categorize the perceptions of minority ethnic workers as elicited by white trainers in the following ways:

1. A general desire to improve English but little realization of how they were prevented from participating fully in the workplace.
2. Certain very specific needs, some of them job-related, but more generally how to cope with encounters concerning wages, sickness and overtime. Needs outside work such as filling in forms and

discussing their children's progress with teachers were equally important.

3. General anxiety, lack of confidence and withdrawal. Many workers felt inadequate, could not explain themselves, felt isolated and fearful of supervisor reaction. As one man put it, "I walked around like a deaf and dumb person".
4. Anger and frustration. They felt let down, discriminated against and suspicious. This was the result often of not being informed enough — "We would like management to tell us more. We are often not told why. Why do management not take more interest in us?"

Short functional courses achieved results for those with little or no English. What appeared to be a dramatic change in ability and perception was recorded by both supervisors and individual trainees. Positive reactions usually fell into four categories:

(i) Recognition of the other group as individuals

Supervisor:

"I mean if they can talk English, people can see they're human beings like us."

"Behind a lot of silence and what appears on the face of it, hostility, really is a cry for help."

Minority ethnic trainee:

"I suppose they've been nervous of us as well you see."

(ii) Recognition of general improvement

Supervisor:

"I think I've got a calmer attitude to dealing with them now. If one of them comes in here shouting his head off, I try and get him quiet *before* I find out what the problem is."

"The general atmosphere is more reassuring for us all in a sense."

Minority ethnic trainee:

"I feel more confident."

"Before I talk, you know and manager not listen. Now I talk and he say 'Good morning, how are you?'"

(iii) Uncertainty in job language minimised

Supervisor:

"It's become so much easier for our Asian operatives to express problems to engineers."

Minority ethnic trainee:

"If I asked the engineer that he could come and help me if a machine not working, he used to tell me he was busy and asked me to go to the manager. But now if I ask him, he leaves his job and comes to help me."

(iv) Able to explain simple personal problems

Supervisor/trade union:
"They come to me now with their problems." (Shop steward)

Minority ethnic trainee:
"Now I understand my wages. Before I give to my husband and he check it. If I got a problem now I can ask the wages clerk for myself."

The limits to the approach

The recognition, on both sides, that useful personal contact could be made brought a sense of release, reassurance and a rise in expectations. However, it soon became apparent that there were severe limits to the approach. These related to:

1. How far did any training have a long-term effect on individual life chances and workplace relations?
2. How far could the elementary, functional approach be extended to those with more communicative ability?
3. How far could those with least communicative ability be expected to change the communicative environment in which they worked?
4. How far could such short courses provide a genuine opportunity to upgrade skills?
5. How could racism and discrimination, both real and perceived, be more explicitly tackled?

In attempting to answer these questions, the shift in perspective, context and methodology began.

Extensions

During the mid- and late 1970s there were attempts to answer some of these questions. The client group was extended to include those with a wide range of communicative abilities, and courses for specific groups such as shop stewards and supervisors were set up. The methodology of language training for these groups was developed. In *Industrial English*, the theory of language which informed the training was highly innovative but the classroom methods were still largely dependent on situational drills. During this period new methodologies were devised based on practical, if somewhat inexpert, discourse analysis and on growing attention to relationships, rather than language as the focus for training.[3]

The complexity of the human environment that makes up a workplace also had to be acknowledged. It was clear that the quality of contact between majority and minority groups had to be addressed. Where there are different assumptions about goals, different strategies for

conveying and interpreting information and so different judgements made about intent and attitude, contact between different groups may reinforce rather then alleviate inequality and perpetuate poor working relationships. In addition, learning basic English did not automatically lead to an understanding of grievance procedures, leave systems or bonus schemes, many of which were only imperfectly understood by English-born workers. Much of this information is picked up on the grapevine or acquired through other informal methods which rely on frequent social contact or ready access to the best informants – supervisors, personnel and stewards.

Programmes in practice and procedure tackled language development by targeting on company information. Communicative tasks did not have to be invented. Discussions and information-giving sessions were significant events in themselves. These courses also tackled wider issues concerning informal practice, levels of discretion in decision-making and different notions of hierarchy and authority which can lead to the exclusion of minority group workers. In this way, training began to explore the complex relationship between indirect discrimination, mis-evaluation of individuals based on a lack of shared interactive styles and different cultural assumptions about the way things work.

In the 1980s

By the early 1980s ILT defined itself explicitly as a practical training service in equal opportunities. It has (in 1984) two main and overlapping priorities. One is the organizational dimension, which looks at working practices and working relationships within multi-racial organizations and those predominantly white organizations serving a multi-racial public. The second is the upgrading of the skills of individuals for re-training, for promotion or in a particular skills area such as telephone skills or negotiating. These two priorities arise directly out of two critical changes in British social and economic life. These are the increased awareness, predominantly in the public sector, of the need to tackle institutional discrimination and the disproportionately negative effects of the recession on minority ethnic workers.

It is no accident that issues of racial equality are being more explicitly tackled. Not only is there the increasing danger of minority groups becoming scapegoats in an ever more competitive job market. Cuts in service are, effectively, marginalizing the most disadvantaged. And this is happening at a time when British-born minority groups are challenging the assumptions that their parents had to live with. As the results of years of direct and indirect discrimination are better known and acknowledged, so perceived discrimination is likely to increase; and perceived discrimination is as damaging as real discrimination.[4]

The challenge to ILT has been to explore creatively how experience and expertise in language and communications in organizations, combined with the direct experiences and perceptions of discrimination of black trainers, could be used to help dismantle the racial inequalities which so patently still exist. Our perspective has been informed by a number of different sources. Anthropologists and sociologists in the USA and Britain have begun to document the relationship between interactive processes in institutional settings and the decisions made by those working in and representing these institutions (see in particular Gumperz, 1982a; Erickson and Shultz, 1984; and the summary by John Heritage of the work of Conversation Analysts, 1984). These studies have shown that there is a linguistic dimension to discrimination which acts in largely hidden ways (Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz, in Gumperz, 1982b).[5] There is a negative cycle in which the low social position of minority group workers, racism and discrimination in society, and less communicative power and flexibility among minority group workers operate to reinforce each other.

Our training approach with organizations is now informed by a deeper understanding of the structured experiences of discrimination which are the reality for most black people in Britain. It is now possible to go further than an understanding of language and cultural differences to explore in the training room with minority ethnic and white trainees how these language and cultural differences account for some of the structural realities of inequality.

We have developed this approach predominantly in the public services sector, in the form of awareness and skills training for those representing such institutions as housing departments, job centres and social services. These are the so-called "gatekeepers" (Erickson and Shultz, 1982) who evaluate individuals' worth on the basis of face-to-face encounters, and whose evaluation affects the quality of the service offered.

One of the most important methodologies for this training is the analysis of real, naturally occurring, video-recorded interviews and the subsequent video recording of participants in simulated interviews. This methodology is also now widely used on courses for more fluent or bilingual minority ethnic group workers. Here, real and role-played video material is used to raise awareness of factors which influence communication and the students' own communicative practice, and to stimulate the production of language which can be examined in a methodical way. Establishing shared concepts and a metalanguage for analysis, as in training for white staff, is a major aim of the initial sessions on such courses.[6]

Discrimination in employment, both real and perceived, has increased

as the full impact of the recession has been felt throughout the job market. The virtual collapse of some industries and the retrenchment of most others has had a number of effects. As a result of cluster of factors, Asian workers were particularly hard-hit by the failure of the textile, foundry and engineering industries. Re-training for entirely new areas of work has offered the only hope for re-employment. The recession has also made it much more difficult to persuade the private manufacturing sector to agree to training. When training budgets are frozen, niggling problems are overlooked and a social conscience is no longer an affordable luxury.

This has meant, particularly with the larger and more sophisticated companies, extending ILT services to an analysis of the wider context in which companies are seeking to respond to change because of new technology, changes in work practice and the increasing attention given to forms of employee participation. This wider context includes looking at the relationship between information systems on the one hand and attitudes to shop-floor workers, management and shop stewards on the other; and improving these for everyone before any more specific communications training is offered. In large companies these changes could not come about by training second-language speakers to be better communicators if existing systems and practices debarred them, in effect, from speaking out.

The wider impact of the recession has also meant an increasing focus on the need to help workers to become more flexible and to upgrade their skills now if they are to avoid redundancy or to increase their chances of re-employment. The need for job flexibility has come at a time when it was clear that ILT needed to compensate for short focused courses by helping the learners to develop independent learning strategies. Between 1980 and 1982 the Student Autonomy Project formed part of a Council of Europe Modern Languages Project.[7] This project extended the concept of needs analysis beyond the needs of the workplace and re-focused it on the needs and perceptions of the learners. It also paid considerably more attention to the learners' pragmatic abilities in developing their own styles and strategies for learning. A number of empirical procedures were devised for eliciting learner motivation and contact with English, and a series of materials developed on active listening to radio and television, on appropriacy in language, using contrastive analysis with the mother-tongue, and on developing independent strategies for form-filling and letter-writing.[8]

Independent learning has also become a central part of the thinking for re-training courses for redundant Asian workers. Such re-training represents enormous changes in terms of skills, self-perception, procedural knowledge and expectations. Formal courses integrating

vocational skills and language are now supported by a period of structured independent learning for the trainees.[9]

Re-training courses for redundant workers

The fact that these courses are full-time for a 6-month period has allowed ILT approaches to be extended and deepened. The essential ILT elements remain, adapted to the environments of skillcentres and trade departments of colleges. *Communication for Employment and Training Courses* (CET)[10] aim to:

1. affect the environment well beyond the communications classroom;
2. focus on relationships between the ILT trainer, the trade tutors and the ESL trainees;
3. manage the conditions under which all learning takes place.

The triangular relationship between the two sets of trainers and the trainees is at the heart of CET courses. Each group has a different set of expectations and backgrounds and the communications tutor acts as a broker between them.

The syllabus becomes the point of contact for this triangular relationship.[11] It is based on a form of task analysis, familiar to instructors, which is used for both vocational skills and communication skills. It is designed so that strategies and skills are transferable to other trade areas. In this way, communications trainers do not get bogged down in becoming experts in a particular trade and trainees keep open options for future skills training in other areas. Finally, it is a means of planning the course and making sense of individual tasks for trade and communications tutors and for trainees.

The syllabus is divided into four core processes which are essential to any trade or communicative task. These operate at three levels: learning strategies; communicative strategies; and linguistic skills. In addition, there is a cross-cultural awareness component which concentrates on awareness and methodology suitable for cross-cultural learning situations.

Section Two

Case study

In this section we shall try and draw together some of the major threads of our argument by placing them in the framework of a case study. We shall show how, in one particular workplace, the constant features of the approach, together with the need to adapt and change, constantly influence the decisions we have to make. We shall also point out how

these decisions create certain tensions which are directly related to the context of the workplace.

Background

The particular project to be described took place in a foundry in the West Midlands in 1984. The pattern of immigration in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in workers from the Indian subcontinent moving into particular geographical areas and particular industries in Britain such as textiles, engineering, foundries and food processing.[12] The foundry industry was very keen to seek the services of minority ethnic group workers because there was a shortage of labour and an unwillingness to invest heavily in new plant. A vacuum had to be filled. As far as the West Midlands was concerned this led to the employment of people from the Punjab state of India and from the Mirpur district of Pakistan.

Like many other parts of the manufacturing industry in Britain the foundry industry went into decline in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Asian workers were disproportionately affected by redundancy and unemployment (training responses to this situation have been described above). Indeed, the foundry we approached had gone through a very bad period from 1982 to 1983 but had survived, unlike many of its competitors. It was extremely difficult initially to persuade the managing director that ILT could benefit his company, but we were allowed to conduct a pilot project.

There are many reasons why companies support ILT projects. Sometimes they wish to improve the health and safety standards; sometimes it is to improve the quality control situation. An industrial dispute may prompt their interest. In this particular case the factors that led to our being invited to run a project were more vague. It was felt by the company that communications could be improved and that greater flexibility between jobs might result from an ILT programme.

A predictable situation?

Our experience of working in the foundry industry allowed us to predict that certain factors might be important in this situation and that the following factors would probably influence our thinking on training:

1. The standard of English of non-native English-speaking black workers would be very variable. It could not be assumed that someone who had been in Britain for many years would have a good command of spoken and written English. The converse was also true.
2. Jobs were actually being done, so some sort of effective communication was in operation. It may have been that people had learnt

enough English required to do their job in a routine way, or perhaps an informal interpreting network had been developed. It was very likely that a combination of these two factors would exist.
3. In management terms, communications might be rather a hazy notion. We suspected that they might have a limited view of what they meant by the term in a multilingual workplace. Communications would be seen very much in one-way terms, i.e. giving instructions and ensuring that they had been received and acted on.
4. The network of social interaction would be both complex and subtle. It would be difficult for outsiders, especially those not trained as anthropologists, to grasp all the dynamic factors of the power relationships within the company.

Identifying needs and choosing trainees

Against this general background we had to identify specific needs and wants. At first our investigations seemed to suggest that both management's and employees' perceptions of their needs were impossibly vague. On the management side there was a constant recourse to the term "communications", and on the employees' side there was talk of "more English". The works manager saw improved communications in terms of time saving, as he was constantly under pressure. He supported the project, although some of the foremen were more sceptical. We had therefore to accept that in the initial stages management objectives would be imprecise and difficult to pin down. Nevertheless, we felt that when the language training was under way we could help them be more explicit about what they generally called communications. Choosing people for the language training course was no easy task because it was not simply a question of language level. A short linguistic survey suggested that those who could benefit from an ILT course fell into two ability ranges — roughly elementary and intermediate.

We decided to run a programme for the elementary range first, as this was perceived to be the most pressing need both by the management and the two trade union officials, both of whom were from the Punjab. Our intended group was modified by two other factors:

1. *Release problems.* All furnacemen, for example, cannot be released when metal is being melted, even if all of them fall into one target training group.
2. *The desire to attend.* There is no absolute reason why people who have survived linguistically for many years in Britain should necessarily want to improve their English further. So one candidate trainee never attended the course.

The size of the foundry and the linguistic criteria we applied meant that

the final group came from many different sections of the works. We had two furnacemen, a core-shop worker, a grinder, a shot-blast operator and four general-purpose workers. The precise jobs are unimportant. What is important was the range of jobs. It would be impossible to cover all the linguistic items related to different jobs.

Criteria for a syllabus

The first task was to establish a set of criteria which would form the basis of the syllabus selection. These criteria were as follows:

1. We had to presume that trainees were able to communicate at a routine level in their particular jobs, but we were uncertain how transferable their communication skills were to other jobs.
2. If management saw increased flexibility as an important objective then the range of jobs, their functions and their special terminology would have to be covered at some time in the course.
3. The trainee's definition of the workplace situation had to be the one with which we worked, since they were the ones going through the language training. We must accept that management and employees' perspectives might differ, perhaps clash.
4. The trainees would probably have linguistic wants outside the workplace and these must not merely be accommodated but focused on.
5. The syllabus was obviously going to be wide-ranging, but it needed to be bound together by a few general principles.

Features of the course

Every industrial language training course is different, even though the principles underlying them are similar. In this particular course certain features are worthy of comment:

1. One of the management's objectives was to ensure greater flexibility. They were particularly keen that the four general-purpose workers could easily move to other jobs. It transpired early on in the course that they could already perform a wide range of jobs. What was more important was the question whether the industrial language trainers should be encouraging the trainees, through the medium of a language class, to move from one section to another if they were already firmly established in their particular section. In other words, should the ILT class be a forum for refereeing disputes about job flexibility? The tutors could not avoid this issue. They elected, therefore, to focus very much on the language needed to give their trainees the confidence to negotiate the issue of job flexibility themselves or through the union. This meant that talking about jobs, which seemed in the first instance to be a high priority on the

course, became subsumed under a more important heading to do with assertiveness and negotiating.

2. In many ILT courses great emphasis is placed by the trainees on acquiring greater reading and writing skills. This course was no exception. The interesting development was that after about 15 sessions the group as a whole renegotiated their contract with the tutors, arguing that although they wished to improve their reading and writing skills, the time available to them was so limited that they wanted to focus on certain other issues, and that reading would be confined to handouts related to issues raised on the course, such as skills for controlling discussions.
3. After a dozen sessions the group put it to the tutors that they wished to focus on certain grammatical points, even though it was suggested to them that a comprehensive knowledge of English grammar could not be achieved in the limited time available. A compromise was reached, when it was agreed that certain aspects of grammar be included in strategies for learning from the media.[13]

Tensions

This description of one particular ILT course has highlighted a number of the tensions that are involved.

1. *Accountability*. ILT aims to change organizations, and organizations comprise people. In this particular case there was a genuine clash between the organization's demands and the wishes of the trainees. This conflict could not be avoided. The tutors decided that their responsibilities in this case lay with the trainees, although they did point out to management that the flexibility which they wanted already existed, and that particular disputes about job flexibility were outside the domain of the ILT classroom.
2. *Syllabus balance*. Many adult ESL courses are very short. Time shortage is not unique to ILT. Nevertheless it is exacerbated if we are in the position of serving two masters, whose interests and perceptions of the problem are very different. It forces us to take decisions which meet the perceived wants of trainees but which would also empower them to communicate with management in a way which was valued by both sides, as real contact.
3. At the outset of a course such as the one described, the trainees' expectations on how the course should proceed may differ from those of the tutors. Courses are not merely the negotiation of syllabuses; they are also the negotiation of methodology. Trainees may be coming to a relatively formal study situation for the first time for many years, or in some cases for the first time in their lives. Traditional notions of educational practice have to be accommodated, if necessary.

Evaluation

At the end of the training there was an attempt to evaluate what had been achieved. On the management side there was less emphasis on the question of job flexibility and there was a feeling that the trainees were more able and willing to communicate with them. This could be interpreted as the management's changed view of what was meant by communications. They were enthusiastic that another course should be run for the second group. The trainees evaluated the course very much in terms of improving their confidence and their knowledge. They said not merely that they knew more things but that they were able to act in key industrial and social situations in a more effective way than before.

One incident, two-thirds of the way through the course, suggested to the tutors that progress was being made. Some trainees acquired the confidence to negotiate a higher rate of pay for a particular job. They attributed their success directly to the course, even though they had not been taught directly to negotiate about pay.

What they had been taught were a range of transferable strategies. These included: controlling a discussion; ordering ideas; describing things precisely. These skills, together with the confidence to use them, meant that they were successful in the arena of stress and conflict of a typical industrial relations dispute.

Changing perceptions

If the project outlined above had been run 5 or 6 years ago there is no doubt that in some ways it would have been significantly different.

1. There would probably have been more emphasis on industrial terminology and less on strategies for effective communication.
2. There is now more sensitivity in the negotiating process with the trainees. The validity of their experiences of life and work is expressly acknowledged.
3. There is much more emphasis on learning to learn and developing transferable skills.

Conclusion

The prospects for employment and promotion for minority ethnic groups are as bleak as, and in many cases bleaker than, the prospects for the white majority. New employment and training initiatives promoted by the Manpower Services Commission continue to marginalize second-language speakers. Formal job interviews, which inevitably put great linguistic demands on the job seeker, are becoming an inevitable process for even the most unskilled jobs. All this means two things. Firstly, that employment-related language education

should be a life-long process offered to all ESL workers. Secondly, that new types of provision will continually need to be developed as employment and training priorities shift, if second-language speakers are not to remain locked in the vicious cycle of low communicative power, low social position and racism, all reacting on and reinforcing each other.

Notes

1. Personal communication from Evelyn Davies, Head of the Pathway Centre 1967–84 and responsible for setting up the first ILT unit, the Pathway Industrial Unit.
2. In 1977, NCILT estimated that about 200,000 minority ethnic workers would benefit from some form of language training.
3. ILT materials published by NCILT which particularly illustrate these developments are:
   D. Gubbay, *Role-Play*
   S. Cogill, *Report Writing*
   Language and Communication Skills in the Workplace for Post-Elementary Learners. Unit Three: *Content, Analysis and Methodology for the Teaching of Discourse Skills*, 1978.
4. The latest Policy Studies Institute Survey: *Black and White Britain*, Colin Brown (1984), shows that 40% of respondents considered there was more discrimination in 1984 than in the 1970s.
5. In *Language and Disadvantage: the hidden process*, Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz describe how differences in speaking practices create a social identity for minority group workers which often serve to justify, in the eyes of the white majority group, the low social and economic position of minority group workers.
6. See, in particular, S. Dodderidge, *Using Video Role-plays*: extracts from the courses run for West Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive, NCILT Working Paper 38, 1983.
7. The Council of Europe Modern Languages Project (Teaching the Language of the Host Country to Migrant Workers) included research undertaken in Britain, France, Germany and Sweden.
8. The student autonomy materials are published by NCILT: *Listening, Requests, Form-Filling, Letter-Writing, Pay Dictionary*, and NCILT Working Papers nos. 14, 16, 19 and 20.
9. The ALBSU funded Independent Learning Project based at Lancashire ILT Unit is developing materials specifically geared to trainees aiming for vocational skills courses.
10. CET courses were pioneered in the Lancashire ILT Unit and have now also been run in Yorkshire and the Midlands.
11. See CET: *Course Design, Course Syllabus, Course Programme* (Lancashire ILT Unit, n.d.), and *Back to Work* — materials in progress to be published by NCILT.
12. For a more detailed description of the types of industries which employed minority ethnic group workers, see Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz, in Gumperz (ed.), 1982b.
13. This compromise was reached by helping trainees to develop accuracy in key grammatical functions for themselves. The student autonomy materials mentioned in note 8 were used here.

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III. Support and Teacher Education

The National Association for Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults (NATESLA): its history and work

Sheila Rosenberg and Katherine Hallgarten

A narrow, dictionary definition of the word *history*, such as "a continuous methodical record of important or public events" cannot accurately describe and account for the organization, NATESLA, which initially arose through a series of *ad hoc* responses to the changing educational needs of a group seen as being on the periphery of all existing formal structures. This group comprised the large numbers of non-English-speakers who settled in the UK in the late 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s. First responses to their language needs were made, not within the broad sweep of national education provision, but in its most impoverished sector — adult education — and in the voluntary sector. The forms of those responses were affected by changing attitudes to language teaching and learning in the EFL classroom, by the growth of an Adult Basic Education methodology and philosophy, and by developments nationally in the evolution of policies for multi-ethnic education and language "across the curriculum", especially in schools and colleges of further education.

At the same time, especially in the period from the mid-1970s onward, the language needs of the learners were themselves affected by changing patterns in employment. The reduction in semi- or unskilled work, and the increasing unemployment, meant that they were increasingly penalized for language difficulties.

Finally, both learners and teachers have had to face the new reality of a multiracial, culturally complex society, with the resulting conflicts and challenges to previous ideas and beliefs and, particularly, overt and institutionalized racism. This account, therefore, will attempt to describe the essentially organic and complex nature of the development of a new field of teaching for adults in Britain, that of English as a Second Language (ESL), and its national organization.

The origins of NATESLA

In the autumn of 1977 the BBC, with money from the EEC to produce a series of English-language programmes for Asian women, *Parosi*, organized two regional conferences to pilot the series. They invited the national network of local organizers of ESL tuition to take part.

At this time, tuition was provided largely in industrial areas of high immigrant settlement, and operated out of adult education institutes, Community Relations Commissions (CRCs) and voluntary organizations, with the emphasis on teaching women. This emphasis was justified by a general assumption that men would "pick up" English at work, and children at school — so no formal intervention was needed for them. On both counts this assumption has since been disproved. In 1971, however, the emphasis on teaching women was very widely accepted and was supported by the PEP Report *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*,[1] published in 1977, which noted that 82% of Asian women over the age of 44 had little or no English. The range of provision for women nationally merited the separate publication by the CRC, also in 1977, of *Meeting Their Needs*,[2] an account of language tuition schemes for ethnic-minority women. The BBC was therefore picking up what was seen nationally as the major need for ESL tuition.

The two BBC conferences to discuss *Parosi* provided the first major opportunity for large numbers of teachers and organizers to meet and share views and problems. Both groups decided unanimously in that meeting that discussing in this way was invaluable, and that we should set up a national framework for this to happen in the future.

To understand why there was such an immediate and enthusiastic response to this proposal, and why NATESLA has been so successful despite its poverty (it is still largely supported by modest membership fees and has no paid officers), it is necessary to look back at the situation facing classroom teachers and volunteer home-tutors at that time.

Teachers in the UK had never before had to face the demands of a very large number of newly arrived English language learners working, living and bringing up their children in Britain, having come from social, economic and educational backgrounds which ranged from the illiteracy of rural poverty to urban, educated affluence. Teachers had to accept that whatever their background and language aptitude, their students were all under a similar pressure to acquire or improve their English. In addition, since the majority came from non-European cultures, they presented a new challenge to local and national understanding in which teachers found themselves increasingly involved. Finally, the illusion that it was only older women who were in

need had already begun to break down as men in work and out of work, and young people of both sexes, presented themselves for help.

To cope with this new set of demands, teachers could, of course, draw on existing EFL materials and methodologies, but these were only partially useful. By and large, EFL course books assumed a common literacy and culture, predicated on a certain educational background and, above all, represented the English learners in the UK as transient residents, drawing on services, rather than as regular members of the workforce, contributing to the economy. A typical EFL dialogue set in a restaurant, for example, would present the learner in the role of the patron. In ESL classes it would be more often appropriate to present him in the role of the waiter. Above all, with the exception of specific EAP and ESP texts, EFL courses represented the learner as someone mastering a subject rather than acquiring a tool for immediate use in the urgent business of day-to-day living. Finally, EFL courses rarely assumed responsibility for the students' acquisition of those information and access skills which were essential if they were to be able to make use of their new linguistic competence as settlers in the UK.

Some few suitable materials were available to teachers. The establishment of the Industrial Language Training service in 1974–75 and the pioneering work at the Pathway Centre in Ealing had begun to provide ideas and materials for use in the workplace. These began to be developed as employers became convinced that "picking up" English was far more complex than had been envisaged, and that both efficiency and good industrial relations were benefiting from providing on-site English classes and communications training for management. Individual language schemes had also begun to work together at the CRC to produce packs for home tuition. However, there was no central forum for displaying and discussing even these materials or exchanging ideas. And for the largest part of the new student group, new approaches in language teaching and learning, and new materials and methodologies, had to be created in the context of a growing understanding of the wider social and economic context in which second language speakers lived.

The triple role of NATESLA

From the very outset NATESLA had to perform a triple role. The first task was to disseminate new ideas, set up in-service training locally and nationally, and promote the publication of materials. The second was to ensure that the narrow focus of language teaching was placed constantly within the broader perspective of the changing economic and social reality of the UK, constantly relating the work to other areas of concern and activity — health, employment, access to education and training, community relations. And the third was to represent second-

language speakers and their educational needs to and on national bodies.

This triple role was clear right from the founding conference in Birmingham in February 1978. The conference was hosted by the BBC, the main speakers being Eric Bolton, then HMI with special responsibility for educational disadvantage, and Sandra Nicholls, recently appointed Director of the ILEA ESL schemes. The impeccable credentials of the main speakers, the widely representative nature of the conference, and the unanimous agreement on the professional need to improve teaching and materials, all guaranteed from the outset the reputability and seriousness of the new organization. They could not, however, guarantee the achievement of a credible national voice. That would need the considerable effort and determination already signified in the appropriately doughty acronym of our first title, NAELS — The National Association for English Language Schemes. This had to be relinquished, reluctantly, as we changed (rightly as we now see) to an organization based on individual rather than group membership.

Eric Bolton spelled out the difficulty of the task that lay ahead in a speech which still remains remarkably apposite. After commenting on adult education's poverty and vulnerability, he presented a clear challenge.

> The battle is about the establishment of priorities. The debate is about the redistribution of resources within the limits of a financial cake . . . Within education, the priority of English schemes for adults must be judged alongside demand and need for more provision for adult illiterates, the under fives, special schemes for the school leaver, the need for curricular change to better reflect the needs of technological, multi-racial Britain and very specifically, the growing pressure for mother-tongue development and maintenance. The National Association for English Schemes, if it comes into existence this weekend, will have to address itself to these questions of relative priority as well as drawing together the knowledge and experience of the schemes that are scattered across the country. In effect your new association will have to present a well-reasoned case as well as be a reservoir of experience and expertise if you hope to bring about the developments and changes many of you believe necessary and desirable.

The speed with which the basic structures and policies of the new organization were created in the period following this conference, drawing on the skills and energies of pioneering organizers like Ruth Hayman, testifies to the consensus on which it was founded. It set out to meet the immediate and urgent needs of teachers in isolated, impoverished language schemes where the major resource was often only

the strength of their commitment. By the next conference, in October 1978, there was a collection of appropriate books and materials, setting a precedent for all future conferences and travelling exhibitions. The national catalogue of useful materials was soon to follow, and the first issue of *NATESLA News* appeared in the spring of 1979.

The resolutions at the two conferences, and the articles in the first newsletter, indicate the wide range of issues that was already concerning the new organization. Resolutions on the need to support and train part-time and voluntary teachers were agreed alongside those to establish positive links with NAME, the CRE and other national bodies. Articles in the newsletter not only suggested ways of improving classroom practices but reviewed and welcomed the courageous Thames TV programme on the history of multi-racial Britain, *Our People*. The organization, based as it was on individual members with equal status, whether they gave one hour a week as volunteers or were full-time, paid organizers or directors of multiple schemes, had assumed a major national role in the development of a new field of language teaching to meet the needs of a new and large group of learners living in and contributing to a changing Britain.

Materials development

The local and national in-service training, the newsletter, the exhibition and the catalogue were soon augmented, as the work of members became known, by new publications and radio and TV series. The National Extension College (NEC) began to build up a substantial list, and commercial publishers have now begun to take heart and follow. Two of NEC's earliest ventures illustrate the particular needs of the ESL learner. *At Home in Britain*[3] in a series of four resource packs in which real day-to-day situations are explored within the linguistic range of the basic learner; *Coping With The System*[4] provides a succinct account of the structure of national bodies and services, to increase the language learners' information and access skills. The BBC followed *Parosi* with a more ambitious series, *Speak For Yourself*, the choice of title deliberately suggesting that its aim was language autonomy in the learner and so was in line with new thinking in adult education. The BBC also commissioned a series for Study on Four called *Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults*, and this resulted in a teachers' handbook.[5] All these ventures were the result of innovatory work by NATESLA members which still continues with a new TV series and a range of articles and books.

The wider representation of the needs of second-language speakers

In all these areas of work, NATESLA members have not only

contributed to a growing corpus of ESL theory and practice but have also undertaken the further representation of the needs of second-language speakers in the wider community. Our authority to do this has depended on our ability to call on the experience of teachers and organizers working across the UK, in a range of institutions. This was what we drew on for the *National Survey of ESL Provision*[6] launched at our next conference. The statistics it presented, showing that 50% of the provision was concentrated in the GLC area, were not and have not been challenged, and were used by both local and national government, especially when it came to making provision for refugees from Vietnam as they were settled across the UK. Similarly, our responses to new national initiatives such as the Rampton/Swann Committee of Inquiry[7] or the MSC consultative document on the Adult Training Strategy[8] drew on the particular experience of our members in further and adult education separately. The recommendations in these documents and the responses show a remarkable similarity, reflecting the concerns of teachers and students whose needs were often seen by both politicians and educators as peripheral to mainstream programmes. The urgent need for the resources they called for from central government seemed at one point to have been recognized. The 5th Report of the Home Affairs Committee, 1980–81, acknowledged that not having a sufficient command of necessary English was a primary disadvantage and the one "which could most readily be affected by Government action".[9]

In January 1982, speaking on the needs of refugees from Vietnam in particular, the then Minister of State for Adult Education, reaffirmed:

> ESL work is not a separate service but an integral part of adult education. It is part of the concept of education as a process which does not suddenly stop when one leaves school, college or university but continues throughout life. People should be able to return to education at intervals for personal or vocational reasons, whenever they need or wish to. ESL work itself is not a short-term expedient for which there is a rapidly decreasing need as the number of new immigrants falls.[10]

But however clearly needs have begun to be recognized at government level, it has remained essential for NATESLA to maintain pressure. The case of 16–19-year-old bilinguals is a good illustration. The NATESLA response to the Swann Committee used a number of case studies from across the UK to analyse the specific language and education needs of this group. Many of their language disadvantages are compounded by issues of cross-cultural communication and by not having been exposed to the full secondary school curriculum. The comprehensive recommendations in the NATESLA response are directed at the MSC for the rigidity of their criteria, the LEAs for the gaps in their 16–19 provision for second-language speakers, the

Examining Boards for their assumptions of cultural uniformity, and HM Inspectorate for their historical failure to give a clear lead, especially in curriculum development.

Nearly three years on, the provision for 16–19-year-olds has not materially changed. As a former chairperson of NATESLA pointed out in *NATFHE Journal* (March/April 1983), the dice remain loaded against second-language speakers in the further education sector. The boardgame *Getting an Education*, in the same issue, reinforces the point (Figure 1).

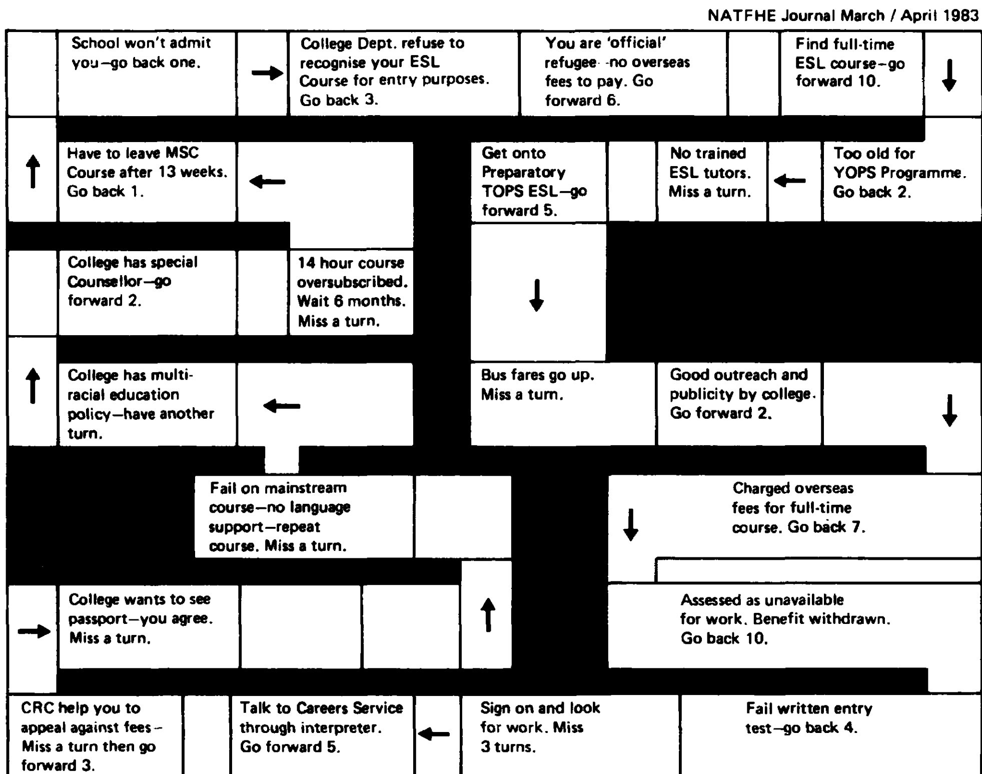

Figure 1 This game is called "*Getting an Education*". Players must decide where to start (and finish/give up) *No* English (or *only* English) must be spoken throughout. The rules may change while the game is in progress. Any numbers of players may participate (from *NATFHE Journal*, March/April 1983).

The political dimension

The title of the TES article, *Is ESL a ghetto in your college?*, brings us back again to that other dimension of NATESLA's work, the placing of TESL within the political, social and economic reality of the UK today. It is this political reality that presents the greatest challenge to us now,

and a political reality, not as narrowly defined in factional terms, but in terms of the power to make choices and affect policy, and of racism and anti-racism. Not for ESL teachers the balanced neutrality of their EFL colleagues, particularly abroad, where detachment from the political struggles of Ibo and Hausa, Iraqi and Kurd that lie behind their students' classroom attentiveness is *de rigeur*. As ESL teachers we are presenting language tuition to students whose prime aim is not to learn the language as a subject, but to acquire it as a means to study, work, bringing up their families in the UK. But the context in which the learning and teaching take place is a society which rewards us as largely white, English, mother-tongue teachers, in direct proportion to the way it penalizes our students. We are the providers in institutions that are for the most part inimical to their needs; we are paid to remedy deficiences which underwrite their unemployment; and we move freely in streets where they meet a hostility that is frequent and overt.

That is why the theme of the 1984–85 annual conference was anti-racism and the main speaker was Peter Newsam, Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality. It is why the current chairperson of the organization led in *NATESLA News 17* with a hard-hitting article analysing the implicit racism of the organization itself, as well as of the institutions in which its members work.

Our perceived order is changing. With the emergence of strong, confident voices from ethnic minority communities settled in the UK, we are challenged to question assumptions of our own infallibility in deciding what our students' needs are and how to provide for them. We must examine any claims to linguistic and cultural imperialism which take no account of the richness of bilingualism and biculturalism in Britain today. We must scrutinize our structures to see how clearly they can represent our student's perceptions and experience.

This does not mean that, however uneasy we may be in what many of us now see has been an essentially hierarchical role, we should abdicate our professional responsibility.

It is essential, however, for an organization like NATESLA, to heed Freire's warning that educational institutions are by their very nature "organized enterprises designed to reproduce the established order", and to provide for growth and change by examining continuously and rigorously both the educational and the political assumptions on which it is itself based.

Notes and References

1. David J. Smith (1977) *Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
2. Michael Mobbs (1977) *Meeting their Needs*, Community Relations Commission.

3. *At Home in Britain* (4 resource packs), National Extension College, 1980–82.
4. Robert Leach 1980, 1981, 1983 *Coping with the System; Communicating with the System*, National Extension College.
5. Sandra Nicholls and Julia Naish (1979) *Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults*, BBC, London.
6. NATESLA Survey Report, 1981. Available from Ruth Nuttall, 155 Almond Street, Derby DE3 6LY, UK.
7. Further Education and Adult/Community Education, NATESLA, January 1982. Available as note 6 (above).
8. *An Adult Training Strategy. The Needs of English as a Second Language Speakers*, NATESLA, July 1983. Available as note 6 (above).
9. Fifth Report from the Home Affairs Committee Session 1980–81, HC 424, Racial Disadvantage.
10. Joint Committee for Refugees from Vietnam. English Language to Adults Tutor Training Project. Final Report, 1982. VSU Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, SW1. Appendix VII f.

On the "Training" of Teachers

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It should be very plain to readers that the papers in this volume which address themselves to practice are describing the work of learning-teachers, of creative people, taking risks, sharing their thinking and experience, and learning as they go: they are developing the curriculum in the face of resistance to change, on many sides and at many levels, and in the face of a daunting lack of resources. They are the flexible, sensitive arm of the teaching profession that Swann (1985, p.397) is calling for — though they were there before Swann and have come up by various routes, not only via ESL. Their work in moving towards meeting the linguistic and educational needs of young people and adults in our multicultural, multilingual society is in advance of what is normally to be found in schools and colleges of further and adult education; it is certainly a long way ahead, both in content and style, of what is generally to be found in teacher-education, especially at the initial level. In this paper I want to examine what kind of course it is that can best support teachers in their learning and in the role currently required of them: that of being agents of change. What do they need to know? From what processes and experiences can they best gain the confidence to take informed risks? What kinds of on-going networks need to be established? In-service work must ask these questions and others like them so that the kind of work that is reported elsewhere in this volume can become accessible as practice to more than the individuals who currently lead the way. But let me not misrepresent. It is beginning to sound as though there are no process-concerned courses for teachers relating to the role of language in education; no courses that help teachers to understand and analyse their contexts in order to develop practices for successful learning and teaching in multilingual, multicultural schools; no anti-racist perspectives; no courses in the teaching of English as a Second Language in multicultural schools. That, of course, is not true. Although by no means all of the pioneering work relating to language and learning in a multicultural society has been so, some of that described in papers in this volume has been developed in projects or conceived on in-service courses which are themselves pioneering. Nevertheless, we are few on the ground, and written discussion of our work is to be found even less often than that of teachers' curriculum work.

Training and learning

I have several times in the past written for private or limited circulation on teacher training. On each occasion, without making explicit my reasoning, I have spoken of teachers' learning rather than teachers being trained. But in not pointing up the paradox of calling something as broad and on-going as *learning* by a term as narrow and precise as *training* I have nicely contributed to preserving ambiguity in respect of people's understanding of what teacher-education should be. I have not said what I have meant in the past, so those who understand "training" *as* training are open to construe the notion "learning" as narrowly as they do the notion "training", and can continue to think that we are talking about the same thing. Let me, therefore, be entirely plain. I act upon the belief that teacher-training is best conceptualized as teacher-learning; that those things we call courses are best seen by clients and tutors as on-going education for both parties; that initial courses are a kind of start to this on-going educative process; that the process continues in the experience of teaching and in combination with those variety of courses and activities we call "in-service".

I move now into the particular: a 1-year, full-time course for seconded teachers which, with the support of the Department of Education and Science and in collaboration with Local Education Authorities, we introduced into my department as a parallel course to the already well-established Diploma in the Role of Language in Education. This new course, which is currently in its second year, bears the subtitle "Language in Multicultural Education". The course has twin foci, the core (taught) course — some, but not all, of which is shared with the sister course — and field work, normally undertaken by the seconded teachers in their own schools. The core course (2 days a week) is organized thematically,[1] with central texts and support reading; small groups of students prepare presentations in consultation with tutors and are responsible jointly with the tutor for initiating discussion of the topic in hand; lectures, small group discussions and practical tasks are the basic forms of working through to understanding and analysis. The purpose of field work (1 day a week) is to gain some new or further understanding or practical experience which will serve the individual and/or their institution in initiating change and developing practices. The workshops and seminars related to field work (another day each week) are open to members of the sister course who are free to, and wish to, participate as working members of the group. In these seminars the emphasis is on ourselves as researchers at work intent on understanding our findings. Information necessary for continuing the research is built in as we come to need it. Sometimes it is new to all of us. Students undertake four pieces of writing (in all about 35,000 words) which can, if they like, address separate issues or be conceived of as a whole work addressing one issue in depth. Topics can be taken from

the tutors' prepared list of suggestions or be self-selected in consultation with tutors. Students are encouraged to regard the writing as working papers.

Both courses regard themselves as agencies for change and attract a wide range of teachers from pre-school to tertiary; class teachers, subject teachers or other kinds of specialists (e.g. ESL); they come from different class and community backgrounds and are "placed" differently by professional and life experience. Many students are acknowledged experts in their own right. Not all have equal confidence. All have something to learn and something to offer. Nearly everyone, because of the educational history we all share, comes to the course having little personal experience (as learners) in collaborative, negotiated learning (even though many practise it in their classroom); and, again, because of the history of its establishment and hence the mystique which has grown up around specialist ESL teaching, quite a few teachers who have developed mixed ability teaching on the foundations of Language and Learning and who have no need to have such fears, believe that they do not know how to work with their developing bilingual students.

Historically, on the Role of Language in Education course, we have worked as we do so that students can bring theory and practice together, so they can learn from each others' experience and knowledge, and so that they can learn from, but are not tied to, the range of interests, experience and knowledge of their tutors. We focus on interactive learning, not only because in a general way it fosters learning, but because we have seen so often the role it plays in coming to understand — although not necessarily to agree with — another's point of view. This surely is a general way to the broader perspectives we all must gain if we are — as teachers, at the very least — to build a fairer curriculum. Bilingual learners are not our only concern, but of course they must be part of our concern. In relation to them, everyone is asked to bring to bear the development language and learning principles met through course content and through increased understanding of their own learning; and those undertaking special study in this area consider ways in which tasks can be staged to allow their pupils a real place in the mainstream classroom.

Let me stay with this aspect a while longer and offer an extract and an observation relating to this work. The first is a description of the starting point for some teachers who are not specialist ESL teachers[2]; it can also act as an example of one of the ways we might choose to work on the course.

> 'This is a group of experienced teachers (thirteen in all; six in one school) who are working on an individual or small group basis with students across the age range, infant to adult. . . .

'Everyone who has undertaken the longitudinal study has done so because s/he wants to find out how to work with the second-language/bi-lingual speakers in their classes. The organization of the whole diploma course allows them to do so in a practical way and under collaborative supervision. . . .

'All of the people who work in a school have had to sort out whether to work with their selected student(s) within the social framework of the students' normal lesson, within the intellectual and content framework of the students' normal lesson but socially withdrawn from it, or to withdraw students socially and create independent lesson content. I would not expect these arrangements to remain fixed as they are now for the whole period of the study.

'All the course members engaged on this longitudinal study are required to keep a detailed log of their work and will also be encouraged to use audio- and video-tape, both for recording events for later analysis and also as part of the material they use for teaching. . . .

'At the time of writing, group members have met their students four times and had one group meeting. . . .

'As organizer of the group, I found myself with our first discussion meeting almost on us, asking myself how best to conduct the session so that my group could *share* their fears, experiences, observations, and hopes about the work they were undertaking (as experienced teachers but inexperienced in this field) so that the sharing could *be supportive* in their learning of new skills; *raise questions* which were currently on their minds so that I could respond to their actual needs and not to what they might be; and begin to *think reflectively* about their own learning.

'Plainly, fourteen people talking round a circle, would be much too formal an organization (despite opposite intentions) for the initially egocentric talk that each group member needed to be doing. So, following informal consultation with a colleague, we devised a simple procedure which seemed to us to have the greatest possibility of taking the heat out of expressing doubt and uncertainty, of enabling them to share good ideas, and of talking a lot. I decided not to be in the role of group member, so leaving myself available for consultation.

'For the record, this was the assignment.

1. Work in 3s. Take about an hour — longer if you like.
2. Tell each other what you have been doing. Show work you have planned and outcomes, if you have got them.
3. Spend three-quarters of your allotted time on the things that have been working for you.

4. Towards the end of your time, write down what it is that is at the front of your mind that you want answered.
5. Give me what you have written down, so I can plan a session.

'The range of concerns, as handed in, was enormously varied:

— how to teach tenses, articles, prepositions, plurals
— how to share your experience with the class teacher (of your student(s)) in a helpful way
— are my children really second-language learners?
— should one follow up spelling problems?
— how do you deal with a wide range of fluency in the second-language among pupils in one class?
— what if the teacher in charge of the class is an inexperienced teacher and you are working in with the class?
— contemporary experience, especially among Bengali boys, is very different from that of the first-language learners in the same class, possibly due to inter-racial problems in the neighbourhood
— which language problems are developmental and which second-language learning?
— which problems are naming ones and which conceptual?
— younger children have problems of concentration (?)
— pronunciation; how this affects written work; it tends to 'distort' their use of language
— problems of tense
— how formal should our approach be if kids have expectations of working within an established pattern?
— problems of ability to read aloud with expression
— problem of ability to comprehend what is read

'Those members of the group who had the opportunity said that they had enjoyed having had the chance to discuss in this small group way. The following benefits were cited (not all, of course, happening in one person nor to all people; no-one reported having had an awful experience, either, but that doesn't exclude the possibility):

— the way the talk itself lowered some of the emotional pressure
— the realization that one wasn't necessarily the only person having a difficulty
— the realization that a strategy tried out and described could be helpful elsewhere, to another person, and could spark off in that person his/her own (somewhat) different strategy
— that saying something to someone else can make clear to oneself a puzzling matter . . .'

By the end of the course, the students' orientation to these questions had shifted; they were understanding their pupil's way into their learning and language development; and of course, many of the 'problems' they had were no longer seen as such.

The observation is this. The staging of tasks relates to more than language (see Levine, 1981). Many subject and class teachers of mixed ability classes know very well how to do most of this. What is shared by language specialists and teachers who have a development view of learning *and* a knowledge of their area of specialism is a sense of "how to let the learner in". In multilingual classrooms, each needs to bring his/her knowledge to bear in co-operation. Whether they start from ESL or from understanding "mixed ability" processes, Language and Learning is what, in the end, must be a core concept.

In short, our language and learning theory is our practice. We think we should work in teacher-education in the ways so many teachers believe is good for *their* pupils and students: offering food for thought, supporting, drawing out, telling, teaching, saying when we don't know, letting other people in with their expertise, sharing our research; providing different learning experiences and communicative contexts, spaces for people to do their own thing; giving time for information to become understanding that can be acted upon; helping people do their work no matter what their starting point; staging it when necessary; letting be, when that seems right. To return to my starting point: we all have a personality which we want to see continue developing, a dignity to maintain, a capacity for responsibility towards our own learning, and our individual contribution to make to the learning situation and the knowledge of our colleagues. We all learn best when the learning takes place according to our needs and interests and the external demands of the situation. And we all know, deep down, that "learning by doing" has greater possibilities than "learning about" ever has on its own. There is always a "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978).

Interestingly, this mode of teaching/learning is like "real" teaching in another sense: except in a general way, there is no prescription about *when* to do what. Your day-to-day experience and the day-to-day responses of the teachers "tell" you. We get to know "where each other is". It is a flexible creative operation and you have to dare to do it to reap the benefits. Like the teachers.

Courses cannot be all, though — not if they are established with the purposes I have described, and not if one is making a case for on-going learning which, of necessity, one must. No course can ever offer to its clients all that they will ever need to know, nor can they each take on all that is offered to an equal extent. In healthy recognition of this we have to fix it so that part of what is learned is how to go on learning.

Some teachers from our courses join the Teachers' Research Group (TRG)[3] and/or work in groups in their own authorities, continuing the investigative mode and contributing through materials-making and the writing-up of case studies to curriculum development beyond their own classrooms. I can see a time when, for example, some of the work they engage in will result in much better understanding of how to make that currently much-needed collaboration of ESL specialists and mainstream teachers come out as true co-operative teaching. We are with Swann (1985, p.771) in being:

> wholly in favour of a change from the provision of ESL by withdrawal, whether this has been to language centres or to separate units within schools.
>
> The needs of learners of English as a second language should be met by provision within the mainstream as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for *all* children'.

However this should *not* be understood as meaning no special small group help of any kind.

We are against the general feeling of Swann's (1985, p.427) recommendations on mother-tongue provision — an interpretation of which, at most, could take us back to the days when pupils were told not to use their first languages as they were "here to learn English", and at best, to a view of "other" languages as bridges, but only bridges to learning English, to be put aside once English was known. We need better than this. More than the learning of English needs to be mainstreamed. A supportive network of teachers *for* teachers can do some of this work. Such a network would be more than aftercare. It certainly has no role connected with "training" — nearly all of which can be said to be done to a person, and often needs powering from the outside. On the other hand, developmental learning is much more self-motivated; people are much freer to act with independence and rigour.

Notes

1. Course themes this year include: Multicultural education: Underlying controversies; Race, children and cities; Language, society and culture; Language variation, Language diversity; Language in schools and classrooms; Language and thought; Literacy and its consequences; Syntax, semantics and phonetics; Cultural reproduction; Cultural layering; Critical inspection of anti-racism; Writing and learning; Reading and learning; First and second language development; Pidgins, creoles and nation language; Swann; Literature and literatures; Gender; Race; Media; Assessment systems; ESL and monitoring progress; The position and role of community teachers; The structure of change.
2. The extract is taken from a working paper I wrote for the Schools Council Programmes Three Activity, *Language for Learning — Investigating Talk.*
3. The Teachers' Research Group was first instituted at the 5 March, 1983 Final Conference of the Schools' Council Programme Three Language for Learning

Project, which had been co-ordinated by Jean Bleach and directed by Professor Harold Rosen of the University of London Institute of Education.

The brief of the Project was to look at the relationship between talk and learning. The method of investigation was necessarily classroom-based teachers' action research, whereby teachers individually or in a team teaching situation investigated the relationship between teaching materials, pupil talk, teacher roles, learning and development. The Project afforded many teachers insights into what children learn, or do not learn, and why. Similarly, it allowed teachers to meet and discuss good practice and the conditions necessary for good practice in terms of pedagogy, content and the sorts of interventions and inter-relationships necessary for an environment "hospitable" to positive learning and development.

Through the Project, many teachers and teacher groups became involved in what they considered to be valuable teachers' action research. Therefore, when the Secretary of State for Education disbanded the Schools' Council, some of these same teachers and educationists urged that there should be some means of allowing such work to continue. The result was the setting up of Teachers' Research Group.

The Group is affiliated with the English and Media Studies Department of the University of London Institute of Education. The Group's Convenor is Josie Levine, of that Department.

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Developments in ESL INSET: one centre's experience

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"It's so difficult to cope with her in my class, she hardly speaks any English. It's wasting her time and mine, she needs special help with English. Once she's reasonably fluent, there'll be no problem." A typical comment in the late 1960s, through the 1970s and not unknown even today. Indeed, it seemed a common-sense argument and was the rationale for the creation of many kinds of withdrawal units for bilingual children and the training of English as a Second Language (ESL) specialists. It has taken us a long time to question the effectiveness of the structures we created for supporting bilingual children, and the way that courses and curriculum development work has evolved in the Language Division of the Centre for Urban Educational Studies (CUES) mirrors very well the development of thinking and teaching approaches in this field over the past 15 years.

CUES, an ILEA specialist teachers' centre, was set up in the late 1960s to focus on the education of children in the inner area of London. Its major in-service role at that time was the training of specialist teachers to work with bilingual children (more commonly referred to then as "second-language learners" or, worse, "non-English-speakers" which so easily could and on occasion did become "non-speakers"). After an intensive course, ILEA ESL specialists went forth to work with bilingual children in language centres (secondary, half-time withdrawal units), in ESL departments in schools or, most commonly at primary level, as peripatetic language teachers serving groups of schools. Working often in highly unsatisfactory situations and referred to frequently as "the broom-cupboard force", these ESL specialists usually operated a withdrawal system, pulling bilingual children out of a range of classes according to age or language level. The way their work was organized tended to marginalize their potential contribution to bilingual children's education and this is turn served to marginalize even further the children they were there to help.

An additional and complicating factor was that in the 1960s the only teachers who had experience of teaching English to children who spoke another first language were teachers who had taught English as a Foreign (sometimes second) Language abroad. The teaching/learning

context for children learning English in Britain was obviously very different. To take just two crucial examples; firstly, abroad the teacher had virtually absolute control over the English the children were exposed to and could grade and stage this as s/he felt fit. Here the children were exposed to English all the time from other sources (radio, TV, school, peers, etc.) so it was impossible to approach the task from the same standpoint (e.g. carefully sequenced structures, present continuous tense first, then the past, etc.) To do so would almost certainly lead to teaching that was pitched below the level of English language attainment of the children, and this was a commonly observed phenomenon of ESL classes in the early days. Secondly, the use to which language would be put was in nearly all cases very different. Learning English abroad (as one might learn French here) is not the same as needing English to participate fully in the total school curriculum, and this latter was and is the only legitimate language goal. Anything less represents inequality of opportunity for bilingual children in Britain and is unacceptable.

Another group of teachers who often became involved in teaching ESL in the early days were mainstream modern language teachers. Such teachers, interested as they were in the teaching of language, nevertheless came from a similar background in terms of training. Their model of language teaching/learning was close to that of EFL and indeed a problem for all teachers who have moved into the ESL field has been to throw off their own childhood experiences of language learning.

To switch from EFL to ESL was not an easy process, and it is something that teachers have grappled with over the years. There is the added problem that if you are primarily a language teacher, your knowledge of specialist areas of the curriculum may be very limited. The solution seems blindingly obvious now, that the mainstream class should become the learning arena, with ESL teachers supporting and sharing their knowledge of the language learning process with class and subject teachers. In addition, all teachers must recognize the responsibility they have for bilingual children's learning. But this approach was not obvious in the early days, nor is it necessarily easy to implement. However, it remains the only logical goal.

Problems with the specialist/withdrawal model became obvious very early on, but solutions were a long time coming. Courses training ESL specialists continued throughout the 1970s at CUES, but at the same time curriculum development projects funded by ILEA started to tackle some of the thornier issues. To return to the opening paragraph, what constitutes "reasonable fluency"? What sort of English are we aiming at, for what purposes, for use in which contexts and to what level of proficiency? And what is proficiency? That language centres and mainstream teachers found this difficult both to define and agree on

was obvious. After a certain period of withdrawal, bilingual children would be returned full-time to the mainstream class, only to be considered in many instances ill-equipped to deal with the full range of linguistic and cognitive demands of the syllabus. But it worked in the other direction, too. Bilingual children were withdrawn for special English, much to the irritation of the subject or class teacher, when they were considered to be coping well with the demands of the class. There was never enough time for the ESL specialists and class teachers to talk this through. Indeed, in many cases they might never meet and the rule of the timetable became absolute, the needs of the children only secondary.

It is not surprising that ESL specialists and class teachers found it difficult to define and assess the language development needs of the bilingual children, since the views of academics were at considerable variance at this period on language development issues in general. Research findings in the field of first language development were conflicting, with Bernstein's notions (see Bernstein, 1971–75) of restricted and elaborated codes rapidly being interpreted in terms of language disadvantage linked closely to social class. Such views were then strongly countered by Labov (1970) and others (and more recently by researchers such as Edwards, 1976; Wells, 1981; Tizard and Hughes, 1984), who argued that what we were dealing with was difference and not deficit, and that additionally, context was all-important. In the Bernstein era teacher accounts of non-verbal and linguistically disadvantaged children increased dramatically until other sociolinguists argued forcefully that some children's apparent lack of knowledge might have more to do with the school context, the organization of the learning and the teachers' attitudes and expectations than with the children's real linguistic resources. This applies even more powerfully, of course, to bilingual children, not only in terms of the organization of the teaching/learning context but crucially in the all-pervasive influence of racism in our schools, ranging from covert hostility to blatant acts of violence.

Our earliest curriculum development project in the Language Division at CUES addressed itself to the set of issues concerned with language and context. Later projects were to address linguistic issues more firmly from an anti-racist perspective, but such approaches became more clearly articulated only in the 1980s. It is impossible not to see the development work of CUES as a central part of our in-service work in general, for although it is tempting to see the projects, with their materials production, as one aspect of our work and the courses as another, in practice they were all part of the same process. The development work fed into the courses and indeed fuelled much of their content. But gradually an even more exciting process developed. The courses became the development work, as a result of the active

participation of the class teachers. Instead of simply trying out, commenting on and helping us to refine our materials, as happened with the two earliest projects (Language for Learning and Reading Through Understanding; see below) with the work of SLIPP, BUF and BLISS (see below) the teachers themselves became the researchers. In terms of genuine and sustained curriculum change (a major aspect of INSET work), this is clearly a powerful model. Brief descriptions of the projects will therefore serve to give a flavour of the content of the courses.

Curriculum development projects

The "Language for Learning" project (1971) started from the premise that all children, by the time they come to school, have developed a wide range of linguistic skills. However, because of the way learning is often organized at school, not all children are enabled to draw on and develop this range in the most productive way. Materials were therefore developed that recognized the importance of context when helping children develop their language. Emphasis is put on the children as initiators and controllers of their learning. They take on the major responsibility for the activity, collaborating as equals, while the teacher's role is that of manager and facilitator. In such a situation, children are more able to call upon the full range of their linguistic resources. Small group work is very supportive to less confident children. It is also very helpful to bilingual children, enabling them to try out new language in an un-threatening situation, use and practise their developing English in real situations with native speakers of the language, and where the task is clearly defined, provides them with excellent linguistic support, even in the very earliest stage of learning a second language. This was an exciting spin-off from the first curriculum development project. It alerted us to ways in which good classroom practice made it possible for bilingual children to be actively involved and supported in mainstream class activities, and to the vital importance of collaboration and small group work across the curriculum in multilingual classrooms.

The second project, "Reading Through Understanding" (RTU, 1974), was set up to investigate the teaching of reading in urban multi-ethnic schools with particular reference to children of Caribbean origin. The project had as its main concerns: understanding the reading process, understanding the classroom as a context for learning to read and, most important of all, understanding the impact of attitudes to race and culture on the teaching/learning process. The project team initially examined the theory that there were important dialect differences in the classroom English of black and white children which might interfere with the process of learning to read. Investigations in infant classrooms revealed few differences. The majority (four-fifths) of

children of Caribbean origin displayed the same sort of grammatical usage as their white peers and the speech of the remaining fifth was not dramatically different. It did not appear on the basis of this evidence that dialect variation between children's classroom speech and the text of early reading books should create special difficulties of understanding for the children, over and above those created for all children by the unnatural language of some early readers.

Central to the RTU project was a belief in the importance of the child's own culture and in the need to promote in all children a deeper awareness of their own culture and respect for the culture of others. Three sets of materials were produced by the project team, with a good deal of help from children and their teachers: *Make a Story, Share a Story* and *Explore a Story* (CUES, 1978). The stories make use of a range of accents and varieties of English and, as in the Language for Learning project, emphasis is placed on children working with and supporting their peers rather than always looking to the teacher for help.

While the work of these first two projects was disseminated, both through the availability of the materials to schools and also through courses run at CUES throughout the development period, the major courses for training ESL specialists continued (a one-term full-time course and a part-time course leading to Royal Society of Arts Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language). Typically, these courses spent a considerable amount of time on the analysis of the English language. Course slots entitled "the noun clause" or "the verb" were central, although cultural and curriculum aspects were also featured. Such a framework served to increase the notion that only specialists could properly teach English to bilingual children, and that class and subject teachers should not dabble in it. But the irony was that for most of the bilingual children, the mainstream class was where they spent the majority of their time. ILEA never supported full reception or withdrawal models, and although some secondary-age children spent half their time in language centres, the majority only received quite limited periods of special help. This structural separation of responsibility gave rise, at its worst, to children sitting at the back of the mainstream class drawing and colouring in pictures, waiting to be called to the Special English class which might only last for 20 minutes a day.

It became clear, therefore, that the needs of teachers and bilingual pupils in mainstream classes could no longer be ignored, and a major new initiative was set up at CUES in 1975. The aim of the project Second Language Learners in the Primary School (SLIPP), was to identify aspects of good primary practice that were supportive to bilingual children and to explore additional ways of supporting them

and their teachers in the mainstream class. The most important approaches identified and developed by the project were:

1. The need to support children's learning of English through their involvement in learning tasks. This entails teachers thinking very hard about what language they will use when a child is in the early stages of learning English, but approaching this through the phasing of learning tasks rather than the grading of linguistic items.
2. Organizing group work so that children learning English and competent speakers of English work together on an appropriate learning activity with the aim of giving bilingual children opportunities to learn language through interaction with their peers.
3. The importance of providing maximum support for understanding (visual, oral, aural) and clear models for ways of working so that children's ability to draw meaning from the context they are working in is built on.

Although the project focused on the language and learning needs of bilingual children, the approaches and materials developed have implications for the learning needs of all children. (SLIPP Videos, 1980). To enable children to become effective users of language, opportunities for communication need to be organized within the classroom, and a careful analysis of the cognitive and linguistic demands of activities is of benefit to all children. As the initial work of the project was disseminated through courses, class teachers took on a good deal of development of materials and approaches themselves. The major significance of the project was further recognized by the development into a national Schools Council-funded project entitled "Language in the Multilingual Primary Classroom". The work of this project is described elsewhere in this volume.

The shift from separate towards classroom support for bilingual children was now firmly on the agenda of the ESL debate. Other factors that helped to speed this process were worries about the divisive nature of withdrawal models and the recognition that if bilingual children only have the teacher as their model of English, they lack the opportunity for peer group interaction with fluent speakers of English that is one of the major motivational forces. Also, did separating out bilingual children constitute a subtle form of institutional racism? If the children were out of the mainstream for considerable periods of time, were they not getting a very reduced and unbalanced curriculum diet which would almost inevitably lead to under-achievement in terms of qualifications in the long run?

An attempt to consider the relevance of the SLIPP approaches for different age levels resulted in three further projects, of which the two

secondary ones are still in process. The "Bilingual Under Fives" (BUF) project (1978) considered the needs of very young bilinguals, and the "Second Language Learners in the Mainstream" (SLIM) project (1983 on-going) and the "Bilingual Learners in Secondary Schools" (BLISS) project (1984 on-going) look at how the language and learning needs of secondary-age children might be met when the children's access to the curriculum was seen as every bit as important as, and influential in, their development of English.

Language across the curriculum (after Bullock) was always a good idea, if rarely implemented, so we should not under-estimate the difficulty of changing people's perceptions about the needs of bilingual children and their and the school's role in the process. Some are willing but find it difficult to see the way, others are not even willing.

The SLIM project (reported on elsewhere in this volume) concentrated in its first year on how large and complex institutions like secondary schools can attempt to engage in a process of change in terms of organization, attitudes and practices.

The BLISS project is trying to concentrate on the "how" in terms of classroom practice in specific subject areas — science, English, history and geography. The BLISS project runs formally as a course conducted through workshops, the invited members of which (subject teachers, ESL specialist/advisory teachers) are released for one day a week and form, with the course tutors, a development group for the production of materials. This collaborative model of working, established for the subject and ESL teachers by the structure of the project itself, is a notion that is fundamental both to the way we work at CUES and to the approaches we encourage for children in the classroom.

The Bilingual Under Fives project predates the two secondary projects but will be discussed separately because of the more explicit way it focused on the children's home languages in addition to their development of English. It set out, like SLIPP, to consider those aspects of current good practice in nursery education that were most supportive to children's learning of English, and to develop additional approaches that could be incorporated into existing patterns of work. But given the underlying principle of nursery education, which is to recognize and build on the children's early learning experiences, the issue of mother-tongue could not be ignored. Nursery staff usually enjoy close contact with parents and therefore the wider community, something that often decreases very rapidly as the children move up through the primary school and beyond. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that very many nursery teachers had already devised imaginative ways of helping children to settle in by engaging parents, bilingual teachers and helpers and members of the community to share in the children's

early learning experiences. This was something it was possible to draw on and extend in the making of the video programmes and materials which, amongst other things, showed the importance of developing both languages where possible, countering the popularly held myth that more of one would mean less of the other. This is an issue about which many people still feel unsure. It needs to be stressed to all concerned with bilingual children's welfare that the development of the children's first language can only enhance the learning of the second. For an excellent review of the research and a very readable discussion of the issues, see George Saunders' book *Bilingual Children: guidance for the family*' (Multilingual Matters 3).

Withdrawal was barely an issue at nursery level; the notion of separating children out at this stage being largely rejected. This meant that the project was able to spend a lot of time investigating ways of building on the crucial support and influence of the peer group and extending the range of available materials that reflected the culturally varied nature of most nurseries in inner-city areas. It also examined in some detail the role of the teacher in organizing an appropriate learning environment for bilingual children.

One other project should be mentioned here, the Bilingual Education Project (1977). This was an attempt to help schools adopt a positive attitude to their students' bilingualism. The specific brief of the project was to produce material in a variety of languages for use in secondary schools. The material was to enable students newly arrived in Britain to continue learning in their first language until their knowledge of English was sufficiently developed for them to profit from mainstream curriculum materials. The materials were designed for use within the subject classroom, not in a withdrawal situation, to avoid the remedial connotations strongly associated with withdrawal at secondary level. Because the materials are in English and a range of other languages, it was hoped that on occasion all the children would use them, and some of the work-cards were specifically designed for use with the whole class.

Because this project was part-time and the project tutor was not a permanent member of the Language Division, the bilingual materials were not disseminated through courses at CUES in the way that had become the norm for other development work. This almost certainly slowed down the dissemination and development of these excellent materials, which is to be regretted. This example highlights the power of the curriculum development/course dissemination model for INSET outlined in this paper.

The courses

Over the years the courses at CUES have gradually absorbed and

reflected the wide range of curriculum work that was undertaken through the projects. Interestingly, in the early days different courses reflected different aspects of our work. We had our specialists ESL course and this carried on even when we established other courses to disseminate the work of the SLIPP project, reflecting to a certain extent the withdrawal/mainstream structural divide. Sometimes the clientele was different, those wanting to go into language centre or primary ESL work going to the ESL course, primary language post-holders and mainstream primary teachers coming to the SLIPP courses. But over time such divisions as these have disappeared and it is now the norm to find mainstream and subject teachers represented on all the courses we run.

Another important development is that the courses focusing mainly on the work of RTU or SLIPP have disappeared, and we now incorporate aspects of all the projects into courses which see the multilingual classroom as the fundamental unit. This enables teachers to see the language development needs of all children, whatever their first language or variety of English, as overlapping, and likely to be supported by approaches developed across the different projects. A brief glance at the way course titles have changed over the years is fascinating and reflects the way our thinking has changed and developed. Terminology is very significant:

1978 The education of children whose mother-tongue is not English.
1980 Collaboration and learning in the multilingual classroom (with a special focus on second-language learners).
1984 Language issues in the multicultural classroom: supporting children's first and second language development.

In the early days the significant factor about the children, as the 1978 course title implies, was that they did not have something that we wished they had — English. The current attitude, seeking to support the full range of the children's linguistic ability in both first and second languages in the context of the mainstream class and curriculum values, builds on their strengths and is thus more positive and, it is to be hoped, more likely to succeed. Anti-racist, anti-sexist and community perspectives have also been recognized as fundamental to all our courses. Part of our stated "guidance principles" in the 1970s, they are now — in the 1980s — seen not just as necessary course components but as prerequisites or starting points for any genuine development and change in schools that is likely to support bilingual children.

Course models

In-service education is ultimately about improving the quality of children's learning by providing opportunities for teachers to enhance

their professional skills. How best to do this is an issue of constant debate. It has been traditional to provide courses varying in length from one session to one year in a range of institutions such as teachers' centres, universities, colleges and polytechnics. More recently, school-focused INSET has been seen as a model likely to be more productive. Instead of courses drawn up and served up by individuals outside schools, staff of a particular school identify their needs and priorities and set about addressing them in the school context itself. The latter model, where it works well, had great potential for genuine and sustained change; but there are many constraints on it as a model, for example time, existing staff relationships and hierarchies, and the value of considering good practice in other schools. Another model of in-service is the sending in of additional staff to schools to work alongside teachers in some form of advisory capacity for varying periods of time.

In the Language Division we use all of these models of INSET. We run substantial, centrally organized courses which range from one term full-time to part-time release over one year. Some of our courses lead to nationally recognized diplomas of the Royal Society of Arts (see the example detailed in the Appendix), following personal teaching assessments and examinations. We also support school-focused work when requested by individual schools, and our Bilingual Under Fives team works alongside nursery staff, sharing approaches and strategies for set periods of time, negotiated in advance with schools. Here the aim is not to provide another pair of hands but to investigate and establish models of working with class teachers who will carry these on once the extra support has been removed.

All the models have their excitement and drawbacks. It is immensely rewarding to be invited to take part in whole school staff explorations and share in the beginnings of major attitudinal or structural change (for example, where a school decides to abandon withdrawal ESL teaching and integrate support within the mainstream). Also productive, we find, are the courses where teachers come one day a week over a year. This really allows for sustained discussion and change, and enables the teachers to become part of the investigative and developmental process. It must, however, also be accompanied by course tutor visits to the schools. Teachers need the support of their tutors, once back in their familiar environment, as they try to implement the changes that appeared so easy in the course atmosphere of like minds but seem considerably less obvious to others.

Going on courses can be an isolating experience and we have found it valuable to encourage more than one teacher from a school to attend. Another model currently being explored at CUES is for schools to commit themselves to sending three members of staff for a term each, rather than one member of staff for a year. Although it is not possible to

cover so much ground, the benefits of having several members of staff in one school involved in curriculum development work are enormous and increase the chance that significant and more permanent change might be achieved.

But none of these models will work unless cover is provided for the classes of the teachers released to come on the courses. Where such a team of support teachers can be aware of and be part of the development process, involved in the particular INSET objectives themselves, the beginnings of a genuine model for change exist. Yet even all this, without the support of the head teacher and other senior members of staff in the school, will be of little lasting value. It is therefore crucial to involve the head teacher in the course as much as possible. Regular briefing and discussion sessions with senior members of staff have become more and more a feature of our total INSET package. Apart from sharing course priorities and programmes and inviting comment, we attempt to elicit from head teachers a commitment to use the experience gained by the course participants for the benefit of the whole school. Many head teachers already have procedures for this kind of information exchange within their schools, but some have to be encouraged not only to create space for such reporting-back sessions but to establish the importance of sharing INSET experiences across the staff and, if appropriate, to take steps to bring about structural or organizational change resulting from that learning experience. Establishing genuine change and evaluating its effectiveness in terms of teachers' attitudes and children's learning is immensely complex. There is certainly insufficient evaluation of the different models of teacher in-service.

Conclusion

As far as INSET in the field of ESL is concerned, the directions seem fairly clear. We are moving firmly away from the training of specialist teachers towards a situation where all teachers will be encouraged to see language issues, including those of bilingualism and language variety, as of fundamental relevance to themselves and their classes. The context for language development (whether first or second) will be the mainstream curriculum and thus, at secondary level, subject-based. As teachers, for example, of science, history and geography work with language co-ordinators revamping their syllabuses to make them appropriate for multilingual classrooms, exciting new possibilities are opening up — not least the hope that equal opportunities for all children will become more of a reality.

Issues that remain as yet largely unresolved are to do with the relationship between ESL, bilingualism and community language teaching. It is to be hoped that community language teaching, very

much in its infancy within mainstream schools, will not follow the now largely discredited modes of early ESL teaching (separate decontextualized language teaching). In a few schools, collaborative team teaching ventures, with class ESL and bilingual teachers working together to further their children's bilingualism, are beginning to be explored; but there is still a long way to go.

One thing is certain, however. The quality of the children's involvement and the standard of the work they produce is greatly enhanced when genuine attempts are made to draw on the full range of their linguistic and cultural resources. Perhaps most important of all is the effect that this change in emphasis has on teachers' attitudes and expectations. Deficit models are receding as children are being encouraged and enabled to speak with their own voices.

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Appendix: Royal Society of Arts Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language in Multicultural schools

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Although some colleges and institutes of education now offer initial training courses, these are frequently designed for students intending to teach in Britain *and* abroad, and many are closely aligned to English as a Foreign Language needs.

Historically, of course, English as a Foreign Language training provided the basis for much of the early English as a Second Language work. Teachers returning from a period teaching English abroad found a ready market for their skills and experience in the schools sector in Britain, where the numbers of children needing support in English as a Second Language increased dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s.

The theory underlying much of the work done at that time was that the pupils should be given as much English as possible in a short time, after which they would be able to fit into the mainstream classroom. The in-service training for teachers was also based on this principle. The RSA Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools concentrated on the dissection of the English language into its component parts, so that the teachers could compile their own language syllabuses based on a step-by-step approach.

Teachers' language and pupils' language were seen as separate (teachers asking questions, pupils giving answers — see *Scope 1*, Schools Council, 1969, 1978) and the main aim was to encourage pupils to produce accurate English structures as soon as possible. The English as a Second Language training stressed contextualization for school purposes, and teachers hunted around to find areas of the curriculum that could be adapted and used as a medium for their chosen language structure. For example, the simple present was often presented through such topics as "Myself", "My daily routine", "The life cycle of the butterfly/frog", etc; the simple past drew heavily on history; science experiments were certain to contain many examples of the passive voice; and many English as a Foreign Language techniques, such as drills and repetition, were widely used. The following practical work from an RSA course of the early 1970s exemplifies this approach:

Choose an error from this sample:

"One day I went to the shop.When I come home, and I can see are a thief stand by my house. When I look on his said he say I was just look your house. I say you you look my house. When I say that ward I can go in said my house".

1. Write the correct version of the pattern you intend to teach, and write five further sentences which fit the same pattern.
2. Suggest an initial presentation and practice of this language pattern, showing *exactly* what you expect the pupils to say.
3. Choose *at least two* of the following ways of giving further practice in the pattern:
   (a) a story: write out the story. Underline and list all the other language the pupils would need to know to understand the story. Suggest the aids you would use for telling the story.
   (b) a language game: make a sketch of the apparatus you need. Explain how the game is to be played. Write down exactly what the pupil will be expected to *say*.
   (c) a picture: ready-made or teacher-made will allow for practice of the pattern.

The *ad hoc* ways in which many Local Education Authorities set up their English as a Second Language service ensured that most English as a Second Language teachers were isolated from the mainstream curriculum, being marginalized in their school or even physically isolated where off-site language centres were established. Such were the teaching situations of the majority of teachers following courses in the 1970s that the certificate reflected the only approach that the teachers could take; i.e. to follow a language syllabus.

During the 1970s it became obvious that the syllabuses did not reflect current thinking or the best practice. More and more English as a Second Language teachers were beginning to work in the mainstream classroom alongside subject and class teachers. It was here that the language input could be more meaningful and directly relevant to the pupils' learning — not simply a "useful" piece of language which *might be* generalizable to the curriculum. It was at this stage that the RSA subcommittee decided that a new syllabus was needed — a syllabus that took account of the new research and allowed teachers who were mainstream subject and class teachers to remain in those roles using the knowledge and expertise gained from such an in-service course to the benefit of *all* the children in their class.

The new syllabus, which came into operation in 1981, demands that teachers consider more carefully the learning needs of the pupils in the context of the whole curriculum — no longer simply focusing on their language needs and development. The emphasis is now clearly on

language through learning rather than learning language *per se.*

In addition, factors such as attitudes to racism and teacher expectation are now seen as crucial elements in language learning, though in the early 1970s racism was rarely mentioned as an inhibitory factor to language learning.

The syllabus of the course now recognized that the English as a Second Language teacher was now much more a consultant in the school, dealing with a range of issues including mother-tongue teaching and language across the curriculum. This latter area is now becoming increasingly important. Many of the teachers who attend RSA Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language courses are not and have no intention of ever becoming English as a Second Language teachers. They see their role in the school as a subject or class teacher developing extra skills and expertise to enable them to support the language development of *all* the children in their classes — bilingual and native English speakers alike. As this trend continues, the interpretation of the RSA syllabus will have to broaden to respond to what is now current practice. Ten years after the Bullock Report we are still awaiting the implementation of "every teacher a language teacher". The RSA Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools allows course tutors to bring this ideal a little closer.

Reference

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From the Swann Report (DES, 1985)

ANNEX C

RSA Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools: Syllabus (Autumn 1983)

1. Factors Affecting Language Learning

Cultural Context of Education in a Multicultural Society

— Migration as a social phenomenon and historical and political causes of recent migration to this country.

— Socio-economic, cultural and linguistic consequences of migration for communities.

— Host community responses to immigration and their implications:

i. attitudes, racism, teacher expectation, etc.

ii. LEA provision, central government educational funding, central government legislation, school responses, etc.

Individual Differences of Children

— Range of knowledge and experience outside school (including home culture community beliefs and values, etc).
— Previous school learning experience.
— Languages known and to what extent, including degree of literacy.
— Experience of and opportunities for communicating through English.
— Age, sex, status in family.
— Interests and motivation.
— Responses to cultures in contact.

2. Theory

Ways of Looking at Language and Languages

Some knowledge of formal properties of English with contrastive references to other languages: (See 4.3 below)
— Phonology.
— Lexical and grammatical systems.
— Discourse.
— Language in context (Who speaks what, to whom, when, where and how?).

Social and psychological aspects of:
— Language development (including early language development).
— Language and thinking (relativism/universals, concept development, etc).
— Bi-lingualism/bi-culturalism.
— Development of literacy.

Theory Underlying Second Language and Teaching

— Historical development of EF/SL theory reflected by syllabus design.
— Styles of learning and modes of teaching: individual/collaborative aspects of learning.
— The home language(s) and other known languages in relation to ESL learning.
— The integration of skills in language development.
— Theory underlying assessment procedures.

3 Practical Application

Analysis

— Analysing cognitive, linguistic and study skills demands of school work across the curriculum and through the age ranges.
— Analysing (for example, through the use of error analysis) children's developing use of English in order to plan future action: the construction and design of materials, the selection of appropriate published material etc (See 2 above).

Action

Ways of making meanings accessible:
— Building on known cultural experience.
— Aural/Visual support.
— Editing and simplifying texts.

— Use of children's home languages.
— Organisation of learning groups.
— Staging, structure and presentation of tasks.
— Involvement of children in activities.
Learning activities for the development of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. Construction, design and evaluation of materials for teaching and testing. Assessment of commercially produced teaching and testing materials. Monitoring and recording progress and achievement.

4 The Role of the Teacher
As a Classroom Manager:
Planning for purposeful communication in the classroom.

Devising learning contexts inside and outside school to meet varying needs, ages and previous experience of learners.

Organising classroom resources for independent learning, eg materials, AV aids etc.
As Consultant in the School Context:
In relation to:
— Language across the curriculum.
— Multicultural Education.
— Mother Tongue teaching and bi-lingual education.
— Local and school policy towards ESL provision and organisation.
— Colleagues.
— Forging home–school links.

ESL, Teacher Education and the Uses of Information: a view from CILT

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Enquiries and approaches about ESL can come heavily disguised these days, and reflect a shift in the attitude of teachers towards their charges. No longer are pupils seen merely as English-learning machines divorced from their home and cultural background. In practice, few ESL teachers with a grasp of the demands of their profession would think it possible to teach English in isolation from the linguistic and cultural background of the learner. The compartmentalized approach is no longer feasible or desirable, and the terms which are in vogue are boundary-leaping ones like bilingualism or multicultural. (Both these are now so indiscriminately used that they are in danger of becoming non-terms and need to be re-defined.) Another favoured term, mother-tongue, often on the lips of ESL teachers, is witness to the image now being projected of the day-to-day language concerns of the substantial part of the population for whom English is not a mother-tongue: every ESL learner is backed by skills in at least one other language, with its associated cultural and social accretions. The approach to language teaching is multi-layered, incorporating the so-called "bilingual approach" as it has become increasingly accepted that at the very least recognition and support of a pupil's home language can enhance his school learning and ease the way to the use of English as the dominant language of the school curriculum. For the student, on the other hand, partial self-teaching is being developed through collaborative learning techniques designed to enable the pupil to acquire the language needed while allowing the pupil to keep pace with others as they advance through the curriculum.[1] This taking of ESL and the curriculum in tandem represents a shift from language alone to language for a purpose — more rewarding and therefore more motivating for the learner.

The professional development of ESL teachers has been more complex: there is the need, in the cause of efficient learning and teaching, to increase teacher sensitivity to the linguistic, social and cultural needs of the learners. The logical progression is then to learn something of community languages and community mores — all this as a basis for TESL.

Successive assemblies of the National Congress on Languages in Education have documented the shift of interest in the approach of ESL teachers to their responsibilities. At the time of the first report the profession was feeling its way towards a method of acknowledging bilingualism in the classroom. This represented a psychological, post-Bullock shift in thinking about the nature of the linguistic skills brought to school by the pupils. The report from the second NCLE assembly attempted to indicate some lines along which thinking and practice could progress. The term "immigrant" was already out of favour, since it was recognized that teaching English as a second language was applicable to some children who were born in Britain, and not only to new arrivals, and that it set up unfortunate connotations in the host country. The social and educational implications of this have been far-reaching, although the terminology has yet to settle down, and we think in terms of language for minority communities, a concept which has paved the way not only for TESL, but for mother-tongue teaching (a fraught term which does not convey the complexity of maintaining a mother-tongue other than English in Britain today, and whose meaning is indeed not agreed by those most closely involved), language awareness programmes and experiments in approaches to bilingualism in the classroom.

A line put forward in the second NCLE report, which it would be interesting to pursue, is that of the working party on methodologies and materials for language teaching, which looked at these across the "traditional" divides of English Mother-Tongue Teaching (EMT), Foreign Language Teaching (FLT), English for Foreign Students in the UK (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL), with a view to establishing what each could learn from and contribute to the other. The Schools Council Mother-Tongue Project is at present exploring a restricted application of "transferability" between community languages.[2]

The Third Assembly looked at the other side of the equation (i.e. mother-tongues of minority communities in Britain), and the report on language awareness from the Fourth Assembly includes both sides. Nonetheless, despite these efforts and initiatives, there is still an information gap to be filled. It is likely that much activity — perhaps substantial — remains undiscovered and unlocated, despite the best efforts of various information-gathering agencies. News about projects, publications and activities continues to elude the information net for processing and dissemination, for a number of reasons; among them the fact that potential users are uninformed about what sources exist, about how to use them, or about their usefulness in furthering progress in a given educational area. As the users are also potential contributors to a service they do not understand how to use, the possibilities for misdirection or non-direction of information are obvious.

Special problems in servicing enquiries arise from the still fragmented and isolated ESL population, which makes the purveying of information time-consuming, and the audience difficult to locate, particularly in rural communities. In this field, too, as with mother-tongue teachers, users' needs are social as well as educational across ESL, bilingual, multicultural, literacy-focused concerns, and those of the educationally disadvantaged. The need is to fight on all fronts at once, although resources are limited. A perennial problem is how to engage the interest of publishers, who are wary of committing substantial resources to service a field which they perceive as too fragmented — and impecunious — to warrant the financial outlay required to establish a flourishing ESL or CL list.

A prime need is therefore for ESL teachers — or any teachers — to develop their skills for knowing what information sources exist, how to use them and how to appreciate the value of information.

Two attitudes among potential users of information are drearily familiar to professional information-providers. One is that information should not be freely available, for fear of misuse — i.e. by "undesirable" types. The other is that the potential provider's activities are too insignificant to be made known. Both these attitudes are the despair of those attempting to provide an information service, and they constitute a serious blockage in the two-way flow through the channel provided by organizations such as CILT.

A third block — less concrete but more insidious — is the unconscious denigrating of information as of no importance, which means that information officers are not highly valued in contemporary society, which means that new information-gathering activities are not always taken seriously, which reinforces the attitudes outlined above, which leads to blockage. . . . We may conclude that there is no lack of information, but rather a mis-direction or non-direction of it. People see themselves as information-users or, often, as information-providers, not always as both, as they should. At its most extreme, users think they have nothing to contribute; providers think they have nothing to learn. The latter is the more dangerous assumption, because development stops early, and stunted knowledge is passed on. The implications for teacher trainers are obvious. Further, those protecting their work from "undesirables" — (i.e. those they do not approve of) and those who think their work too unimportant to mention bring about a blockage in the free flow of information in a rapidly expanding field. The consequence: wasteful duplication of effort and materials.

Information does not — cannot — exist in a vacuum. An enquiry is made for a purpose; if the enquiry and its purpose are clearly stated, the reply can be more or less precisely tailored, depending on the state of

knowledge and the efficiency and resources of the information-provider. Selection, arrangement and presentation of material is informative in itself, but full transfer takes place only when the enquirer receives the reply, understands it, and *acts upon it*. Information is dynamic, and the evidence of whether it has been conveyed is seen in the way it affects the behaviour of the receiver. The value of an information base and the enquiry service it underlies is in its potential to provide the reason and logic of a plan of behaviour (individual or corporate) which advances the theoretical or practical concerns of a subject.

There will always be a gap between what we know and what we want to know, aggravated by inability to trace what we feel should exist, or actually "know" (in some cases) does exist — if only we could pin down that half-remembered reference which occurred in passing in conversation with a neighbour at a conference dinner, or where we heard this reference, or who was talking.

The shortfall may occur partly because enquirers are not aware of gaps in their knowledge, or where they are aware of gaps, are unimaginative in filling them. So there will always be a need to be informed on how to inform oneself, and in an article in the *Times Educational Supplement* (29 October 1982), I mentioned some basic sources as a contribution to this self-help ideal.

Some years ago, as an information exercise for a group visiting the library at CILT from a college of education, CILT staff devised questions based on the interests of the group and designed to help them familiarize themselves with the library in particular, and with some search techniques in general, after an introductory lecture, and using the aide-mémoire below:

A. STRATEGIES OF SEARCH

Information may be sought under various headings. The following are suggested as means of acquaintance with basic techniques of information retrieval with particular reference to the teaching of modern languages.

1. theoretical basis
2. curricular basis
3. materials basis
4. developmental basis
5. organizational basis

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1. *Theoretical basis*

What are the linguistic etc. problems underlying the topic?
What work has been done to investigate/solve these problems?

Sources: (a) bibliographies
(b) catalogue (library)

(c) journals (incl. abstracts)
(d) anthologies and monographs
(e) theses

2. *Curricular basis*
What role is assigned to the topic in modern language syllabuses?
How does it relate to the rest of the curriculum?
Sources: (a) professional handbooks
(b) official publications (Schools Council, etc.)
(c) prospectuses and syllabuses
(d) examination schemes/papers/reports
(e) surveys/reports

3. *Materials basis*
What materials are available for teaching this topic?
What different solutions of the theoretical problems do they offer?
Sources: (a) bibliographies
(b) catalogues (publishers and suppliers)
(c) journals
(d) resource banks

4. *Developmental basis*
What research is in progress concerning this topic?
What new materials are being developed for teaching this topic?
Sources: (a) research registers
(b) index of research in progress
(c) theses

5. *Organizational basis*
What professional associations are primarily concerned with this topic?
What other institutions, centres etc. may provide further sources of information?
(i) national; (ii) international
Sources: (a) official publications (e.g. DES/EEC/CCC)
(b) information guides

Each task was designed so that it was possible to identify main sources of information in a reasonable length of time; staff had previously tested feasibility, and each had a list of sources ranging from basic to more recondite against which to check the students' efficiency. An introductory talk on use of the catalogue and other library resources was given.

The object was to fill in the categories with publications appropriate to the enquiry, as identified in the course of search and, perhaps more important, to alert the searchers to possibilities which they had not

previously thought of. The results were dispiriting, and would probably be so today, judging by the quality of the formulation of some enquiries coming into CILT. It seems that some tutors have not been successful in persuading their students to use the resources at hand in their own institution. Yet this is a crucial time for the trainees. The Jesuits say "Give me a child until he is seven . . .". Perhaps in teacher training terms this can be translated into "Give me the chance to develop an enquiring mind and the professional skills to satisfy it and I can guarantee a habit formed to carry throughout professional life."

For language teachers — any language teachers — use of information bodies like CILT should be a habit formed early and continued throughout their career. The service they need could atrophy without the constant flow of the life blood of information through their channels.

Users might then make more sophisticated, pointed use of specialized centres like CILT and other, more general services.[3]

The ultimate value of the whole information process for an organization like CILT is that we are as good as our sources, and we learn as much from the nature of the enquiries put to us, and the answers we find to them, as we do from our other information-gathering activities. Our enquirers thus both learn from us and inform us. Their willingness to offer information to bodies like CILT is a significant factor in a successful information operation.

For the future, the way is perhaps open to a more sophisticated look at the realities of language education, which is now, particularly for ESL and mother-tongues other than English, in a consolidation phase in which various implications of the multilingual nature of British society are being clarified. Post-Bullock, post-EEC directive and the impetus they have been partly responsible for giving to the development of the multicultural ideal, we see Local Education Authorities examining the form of their commitment to this ideal; a collection of policy papers issued by LEAs in this connection is held at CILT. Although recognition of this need has been growing, it has in part been brought into focus by the DES consultative document on the place of foreign languages in the curriculum. The need is for co-operation across languages, leading to a concept of language in education within which the different parts can co-exist, and a new meaning for "modern" language teaching be developed which would encompass the "traditional" foreign languages, ESL and mother-tongues other than English.

There are a number of ways to bring this about: in the blurring of boundaries, which should lead to increased co-operation between ESL

and teachers of community languages; in co-operation within a given part of the language field (should CL teachers ignore ESL or the activities of other CLs? Should the other foreign languages traditionally taught in schools not be forging closer links with both?) at a time when all language education is under pressure. There is some evidence that this is already happening — the most recent National Council for Mother-Tongue Teaching annual meeting addressed just this concept.[4] The language awareness movement could have a unifying effect, looking as it does at what underlies language education and language understanding.

Other concerns common to all are teacher-training, teacher establishment and recognition and, recently, CALL (computer-assisted language learning).

For ESL and community languages, in particular, classification of the terms "bilingualism" and "multiculturalism" is overdue. They are in danger of becoming non-terms because used too indiscriminately to be clearly focused; the disadvantage of this imprecision when attempts are made to influence local authority thinking is clear — and it is apparent from LEA papers that the authorities are in danger of dissipating their resources on partially understood issues.

The need is for flexibility within unity and the drawing together of the fragments of a complex field for their mutual benefit. Ultimately, the way forward does not depend on outside agencies such as EC money, but on the recognition within the whole language community in Britain of the practicalities of action and influence. In this, information has a major part to play as a basis for planning, and information organizations are prepared to give maximum co-operation based on the willingness of their users to offer information on people, events, publications and programmes and to indicate, by the terms of their enquiries, the direction of their thinking and needs, and thus the kinds of support and publicity needed.

Notes

1. Research projects along these lines have been notified to the research register maintained at CILT, and may indicate something of a shift away from pure language work to exploration of ways of learning.
2. The Schools Council Mother-Tongue Project (1981–84) developed teaching materials and methods for maintaining Greek and Bengali as home languages, and for enabling bilingual and monolingual teachers to improve their classroom support for bilingual pupils. The project has been extended for a further year to investigate how far methods and materials developed for one language community may be applied to the needs of other language communities.
3. For example, AIMER (Access to Information on Multi-cultural Educational Resources) gives enquirers access to information on small-scale, non-commercial publications and materials. Services like this will remain a good but not fully

exploited idea if potential users fail to recognize their usefulness as a two-way channel for user and contributor.

4. In the title of their annual meeting (1 December 1984): "Mother-tongue, foreign language or community language?", and in the resolution affirming support for "a coherent policy for languages in education at all levels . . . across the traditional divides . . .". Conference report to be published.

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IV. Discussion and Research

Multicultural Education, Educational Principles and Second-Language Learning

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It is clear from much of the discussion in this collection that few people see the teaching of English as a Second Language as an independent activity. Indeed, the shift away from language towards general political and social issues can be documented in the history of what started as ATEPO (Association of Teachers of English to Pupils of Overseas Origin) and is now NAME (first National Association for Multiracial Education and later National Anti-racist Movement in Education). There can be no question that this shift was necessary, for the model based on EFL teaching found in Derrick (1966) has only limited value once the subtleties of interaction between language, self-perception and culture are appreciated.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that a language issue cannot be turned into a general social concern without losing some focus. However much we acknowledge that language acquisition is closely bound up with our deepest motivations and aspirations, there is still a technical aspect to it. Many learners have successfully acquired languages through extremely decontextualized and arid procedures, and some highly motivated and highly proficient learners actually prefer to get to grips with a new language in its starkest form. Certainly, the process of language teaching requires an expertise and an understanding of the nature of language which will not be available to the well-intentioned amateur. The miracles which have been performed by dedicated volunteers without much official support do not provide arguments for continuing to treat second-language work as something which teachers should be able to pick up on the side, or which can be mastered with goodwill and a few sessions on a short in-service course. Not only will many beginners require specific language teaching if they are not to minimize their chances of success in normal schools, but co-operative work with teachers of all subjects on matters relating to language requires advice from people who really understand the structure of language and the principles governing it, as well as the

ways in which it operates in society and in which users acquire and develop its capacities.

Nonetheless, language work of this kind is only part of the total educational spectrum. It seems sensible, therefore, to start by examining some of the major conceptual problems in multicultural education, in order to see how language work fits into a framework of multiculturalism.

The first point to emphasize is that although language is not in itself a sufficient basis for multicultural education, it is undoubtedly necessary. For many people in Britain linguistic isolation creates possibilities of disfranchisement and exploitation which should be unacceptable in a democratic society.

There is an important sense in which a phrase like "multicultural education" is tautologous, for it is impossible to conceive of an education which does not involve extending the cultural horizons of students by introducing them to other "cultures", whether these are conceived of as national, or economic, or religious, or intellectual. For we are all members of many cultures, and one person may speak at times making the shared assumptions of British people (or English–, or Scottish–, or Polish– or Jamaican–British), or of the industrialized world's people, or of Christians or Hindus (or Catholics or Baptists), or of physicists, art critics or composers. Each of these groups represents a set of shared beliefs, some wide-ranging, some more narrowly focused, some transcending national boundaries, others more local: but all are cultures, interacting with each other, and all reflect their beliefs through the linguistic and other behaviour choices made by individual human beings. Of course these "cultures" are idealizations, imposed by observers on the varying individuals who compose each group; and of course each "culture" interacts with other cultures, so that the boundaries are never absolute. But still, they represent identifiable groupings with which all of us are willing to associate ourselves in our social activities.

Now education cannot avoid being based on a tension between the individual and local on the one hand, and the communal and metropolitan on the other, for it has to reconcile the unique and valuable experience brought by each student with the shared assumptions and cultural knowledge without which we are unable to operate in intellectual and aesthetic development. Consequently, the process of education must change as the clientele changes, not only because the starting point, the knowledge and assumptions of the learners, has changed, but because the end point, the nature of our communally shared knowledge and assumptions, has also changed. For a shared or common culture is only shared when it responds to the contributions of

all its members. Education cannot avoid leading people towards a common culture because it is about communication, about creating the ability for all members of society to interact at the highest levels of human development as efficiently as possible. To this extent the nature of the interaction, as in any human relationship, is dependent on the skill with which members of the group can reach agreement on what they share (in knowledge of the world, of conventional procedures for argument or analysis, or in common goals for the outcomes of the process of human interaction). This whole activity is complex and many-sided, of course, but its essential feature is that it is negotiated between those who participate in education, in serious discussion, or in any kind of co-operative human endeavour. It cannot be a process in which members of one group impose their views on all others, unless the others willingly accede to the cultural domination, which happens only in exceptional circumstances. Clearly, to be unable to operate the language of most negotiation is to be severely disfranchised.

It might be felt that this argument is unnecessarily abstract for a discussion of second-language provision — but it is important to stress at the outset the central position in education of the notion of a shared language. This is not simply in the sense of a common language, but also in the uses to which the language can be put for establishing what student and student, teacher and student, and students, teachers and society can take for granted with each other if the activity of education can proceed. Unless it exploits each student's intellectual curiosity, aesthetic awareness and emotional capacity, education simply will not be making itself available to many people. This is not by any means a problem only for non-native speakers of English, though they do represent an identifiable group with specific and urgent needs.

All education, then, can be seen as multicultural by its nature, and it is primarily about creating a common means of communication for those who participate in it. In Britain its function should be to enable members of British society (defined as those who happen to be living in Britain at any given moment) to interact together most productively for the development of the highest form of civilization of which they are capable.

This discussion so far has been about education in general, but this has not been related specifically to students who belong to communities with other language interests than English. Before we can do that, however, we should consider the issue of minority groups in general (or indeed of groups which may in fact be in the majority but which are marginalized in relation to the educational system, for example women, and the working class).

First, it is necessary to insist that the concept of civilization that has

just been referred to implies a value judgement. Education cannot be concerned with a totally relative definition of culture, nor with a head-counting acceptance of whatever is preferred by the majority. Indeed, there is no illogicality in recognizing that the majority of the population may believe in immoral courses of action — racist ones for example — or in incorrect facts, or in the attractiveness of simplistic art forms or theories of action. This is not a discussion about how to respond to the immediate wishes of the majority, whether of the population as a whole, or of a particular catchment area, or of a particular school or class. It may well be the case — indeed it probably will be the case — that there are substantial groups of beliefs held by the majority which it is particularly the concern of the school to counter ("the majority" in these instances varies in composition, of course, from belief to belief).

It is necessary to stress this point when we think about the school system and any notion of excellence. There are, of course, important systems in society — democratic procedures, for example — which are concerned primarily with workability. We cannot necessarily defend democratic procedures on the grounds that they produce the best decisions, but we can on the grounds that they produce workable decisions, for politics is concerned with enabling society to function with as little as possible risk to its members; but education, while it must take into account what can and cannot be done, is not primarily concerned with the art of the possible. If we want to create the social conditions for human advancement, our education must provide the conceptual tools for human argument, experimentation and evaluation. The provision of such tools requires certain linguistic and mathematical capacities, as well as a social and political climate that will allow these capacities to be exercised freely. The development of such capacities and the creation of an appropriate climate are two of the prime responsibilities of the education system. The issue then becomes, not an argument about the "best" content for education, but an argument about how best to promote a shared set of beliefs in procedures which will enable members of various groups to talk to each other maximally effectively. Such groups will include politicians, teachers, industrialists, trades unionists, artists — whatever groups have interests in common with others for any of their needs. The development of an ability to operate within and across a range of cultural settings, using shared procedures for communication and shared knowledge of relevant information, becomes the prime concern of education. The communality of the understanding achieved is essential for advance in any sphere, whether academic or practical, mundane or lofty in aspiration.

Now it can of course be argued that particular belief systems characteristic of particular groups need to be given more prominence in our common British culture than is encouraged by the educational

process. Different pressure groups may argue for greater emphasis on qualities which are allegedly feminine, or on respect for family tradition which is claimed to exist more strongly among, for example, communities of Indian origin than among some other communities. Such a constant process of argument and reassessment is inevitable and desirable. However, an educational system must emphasize communality between different cultural groups, for only on a basis of shared procedures can argument, refinement and development take place, even if the argument involves questioning the system and ultimately modifying it. We can only question and modify systematically something which is defined clearly enough to be recognized by all parties to the argument.

We have now reached a position where we can define some part of the role of education for members of linguistic minorities. Education must take into account what sort of cultural presuppositions members of such minorities bring as their contribution to British society. This is partly because education, to be effective, must recognize divergence from existing norms; more important, though, it is because the variations from traditional norms indicate possible directions of change and modification of the norms themselves. The presence of people with different expectations and values, whether a new generation of schoolchildren or learners from previously unrepresented cultural groups, inevitably causes the norm to change. But there is still a value issue, for education cannot simply receive passively the values of its clients. It is a common, liberal cliché that we have much to gain from the presence of minority groups, but if we have, we certainly need to be able to define at least some of the features of what is to be gained, and also to define our stance over features that we may be less happy about. In exactly the same way we should expect to have both positive and negative attitudes to features in the common culture which reflect majority assumptions. Education must socialize students from minority groups to the extent that they can have a genuine option whether to participate or not with the dominant cultural group. There can be no democratically responsible education which condones ghettoization on the basis of a belief in the inviolate nature of the values of a particular group: presence in Britain implies a relationship with a core British culture, at least a sufficiently strong relationship to enable members of the minority group to reject effectively those features of the dominant culture to which they object. But rejection must be based on informed understanding.

The most obvious feature of social life that may be treated in this way is language. It is unwise to ignore the very major difficulties, but we have to start from the premise that if the education system sends out substantial numbers of initially non-native speakers incapable of using the English language for all normal purposes of human activity, at

least to the extent that they would happily use their mother-tongues, then the education system is failing disgracefully in its responsibilities. For a major linguistic disability prevents even the most minimal self-defence, and experience in many parts of the world in second-language teaching shows that effective teaching of English to a high level of competence is entirely possible. There will always, of course, be individuals who arrive late and do not fit neatly into the system. Nor can we expect the education system alone to make up for social attitudes which may be as important as the quality of teaching in creating or preventing learning difficulties; but, in general, any mass failure must be seen as a failure to provide something which is both essential and possible.

Until recently, actually obtaining information to enable us to determine whether the education system was or was not failing to provide for second-language learners was extremely difficult. Fortunately, some of the work related to the Swann Committee report (*Education for All*, HMSO, 1985) has provided data in this area, and it does seem apparent that second-language learners are being provided for less well than most native speakers of English. Why this is so is the subject of much argument, but it makes the concerns of this issue of ELT Documents particularly important.

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Can ESL Teaching be Racist?

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Racism in schools occurs in subtle and indirect forms more than in deliberately discriminatory practices. It is a sobering and intimidating thought that we can, even with the best of intentions, be acting in ways which may not coincide with the best interests of some of our pupils. The purpose of this paper is to look at problems in the "special help", traditionally withdrawal classes, offered by schools in terms of ESL provision and to suggest ways in which we might ensure a kind of provision which is anti-racist in character.

To go straight to the point: under what circumstances can ESL withdrawal groups and special classes have racist implications? The answer to that question is seldom clear-cut — certainly it is not as simple as saying that withdrawal is racist and integration is not — but I put forward the following checkpoints for consideration.

ESL withdrawal into groups and special classes has racist implications where:

1. It is an easy option compared with working out a problem which has been with us a long time, namely, the development of pedagogies capable of meeting the needs of all children in multilingual classrooms.
2. Inappropriate forms of assessment are used (e.g. standardized tests of various kinds, but including the discrete item variety) as a guide to attainment in an overall skill or to ability in general; we need to remember that tests were not standardized for a multicultural, multilingual population.
3. There is a confusion about the needs of children who are developing bilinguals or multilinguals and those with special learning difficulties; statements about schools in multilingual, multicultural areas like "Fifty per cent of our first year intake is remedial" are both misinformed and demeaning.
4. A permanent ESL stream exists in parallel to normal classes; these are arguably the optimum conditions under which low teacher expectation, brought about by labelling, can depress attainment through the setting of undemanding work and the lowering of pupils' self-esteem.

5. The work of withdrawal groups is considerably less demanding that that of the mainstream.
6. Withdrawal is haphazard, pupils missing subjects in which they could participate on more equal terms, or missing some — but not all — lessons in a particular subject so that continuity is disrupted and they must inevitably fall behind.
7. The kind of help offered is inappropriate (e.g. a heavy diet of phonic work, or books appropriate for much younger children, or books of grammar exercises).
8. Facilities are inferior or teaching takes place in a building clearly separated from the rest of the school (we have known this lead both to stigma, and in extreme cases, to racial attacks);.
9. Pupils' bi- or multilingualism is treated as an obstacle to learning or ignored completely.

Two points must be made clear. First, I am not suggesting that there is no need for teachers specializing in ESL. Indeed, I would argue strongly that they have a special role, and that attempts to push them into the classroom willy-nilly, or to abolish them altogether, are racist in the extreme, since the restoration of the status quo (i.e. no support at all) cannot possibly be in the interests of bilingual children learning to use English.

Secondly, I am not suggesting that there is no case whatever for withdrawal from the mainstream. Withdrawal may well be necessary for children at the very early stages, but this should be mutually agreed and short-term, and should go hand in hand with efforts to develop effective teaching in the classroom — not as a substitute for it. A failure to establish a working relationship between the class teacher and support teacher may also make this a pragmatic, though unsatisfactory, necessity.

The main effort should be directed towards enhancing the collaboration between ESL teacher and subject specialist in the same classroom. This does not simply mean the second teacher teaching the "ESL" and "remedial" children at a table at the back. Such an approach is essentially no different from withdrawal teaching. Nor does it mean that either the support teacher or the class teacher takes over and relegates the other to the role of classroom assistant.

What it does mean is a willingness to enter into a partnership in which both teachers bring their insights, perspectives and experiences to bear on the problem of how best to cater for different stages of language development within the same classroom, and how to create and maintain an environment which is hospitable to other languages (than English) and cultures. An analysis of the task prior to the lesson is likely to show where support is both necessary and possible for different

pupils, and decisions can be taken as to what form this is to take, what kinds of adaptations of materials and approaches would be useful, and finally, how roles are to be defined for that particular lesson.

I want now to give a real example of the kind of partnership I have in mind — one which will illustrate the context-specific nature of such work and therefore also, while the same general principles can be maintained as a basis, of the need for adaptability.

The setting is a secondary, mixed ability class of 28 first-year girls whose mother-tongue is predominantly Mirpuri, although there are three native English-speakers and one Gujerati-speaker. The focus of the collaboration is the unpicking of a problem which presents itself to the science teacher: two girls are at the early stage of learning English and their experience is inadequate to cope with the language demands of the science lesson as it is currently presented, while a third girl, who has been in the school for only three weeks and who does not appear to have spoken at all either in Mirpuri or English, simply looks dazed, or sits smiling, or playing with a pencil. Lengthy explanations by the science teacher have been of no avail. The science teacher wants to know how to cope, not only in the one lesson when an ESL teacher is available, but during the other two lessons when the science teacher is alone. She wants to know also how to cope with the literacy problems of the girls who are much more competent orally.

Both science teacher and ESL teacher agree that these are important problems which affect the learning of a large number of girls in the school, and about which most of their colleagues are very concerned.

They agree to work on the principle of shared roles in the classroom, to pool their different sets of knowledge, and to ensure that they always have time to discuss the lesson afterwards. The head of science is consulted and agrees, since this is crucial to the success of the collaboration, to the science teacher not being asked to cover during this consultation time.

Since language difficulties effectively exclude the three children, who are the main focus of concern, from learning, and since this may be subjecting them to unnecessary stress and is certainly causing them to miss out on conceptual development related to science, the teachers wondered about the possibility of using Mirpuri and English in the same lesson. Might not use of both languages not only break down isolation and increase motivation but also assist, simultaneously, in the development of a use of English and in maintenance of the mother-tongue?

They draw up a list of favourable circumstances. Three are immediately

apparent: the children are already grouped in fours because of the furniture; the science lessons are based on practical experiments, giving an ideal opportunity for speech to accompany concrete action, a real focus for talk and a genuine opportunity to talk to other children. In addition, the sixth-form common room is next door to the science lab so it might be that one of the young women in the sixth form would like to be involved in the practical use of her first language in school.

On the basis of this thinking, a sixth-former is involved for one double lesson a week, and in two different ways. First, they try a situation where the science teacher demonstrates an experiment prior to the girls doing it themselves and the sixth-former follows the teacher's English commentary on the experiment with one in Mirpuri. Both ESL and science teachers feel that this is beneficial for both beginner and the other girls who are at a later stage of bilingual development. Second, when group experiments begin, the sixth-former helps the group of early-stage bilingual pupils by encouraging them to conduct their work through the medium of Mirpuri.

The teachers feel that the results of this are encouraging. All the pupils seem pleased that their home language has been brought into the classroom. It also becomes clear that most are coming to grips with the language of science as the term progresses — perhaps aided by the extra emphasis being given to language development in the lessons: the teacher-led experiment has had the necessary language as carefully considered beforehand as the steps of the experiment; both teachers have taken the opportunities which present themselves naturally as the girls are carrying out the experiment themselves to practise and reinforce the language; they have also tried to form pupil groups which contain different levels of oral fluency so that developing bilinguals are able to model after peers who are more experienced users of English than themselves in natural, communicative situations; importantly, though, their mother-tongue is granted the same status — at least, that is, theoretically (but more of that below).

The most striking effect is that the dazed look disappears from the face of the new arrival. She seems to look forward to the science lessons and obviously enjoys working with the sixth-former. She also begins to use more English, mainly words and phrases related to the work being covered. A further interesting development takes place in her group; that is, the experiment is conducted in the language the girls choose. The sixth-former simply responds in the language in which she is addressed. Thus, these early bilinguals hear and may use both Mirpuri and English as well as the specialist language of science and its planned scientific content. In the lessons in which the sixth-former is not present, the girls join other groups — which are also encouraged to use both languages.

To return to literacy, the second of the science teacher's original questions about how to cope. The teachers link talk with reading and writing in supportive ways. The strategies are all well known in modern language teaching and early writing contexts, but here they were adopted for the purpose of recording science learning:

1. dictating to a teacher, who writes down a child's words and then listens to them being read back;
2. pupils tape-record reports, which teachers or other pupils transcribe and which the original pupil again reads back;
3. new scientific vocabulary, in meaningful contexts, is displayed on the classroom wall as it occurs;
4. a text can be sequenced according to the steps of an experiment;
5. students can tick columns in a tabulation;
6. diagrams are labelled;
7. a series of sketches of the experiment is captioned.

In addition, although they have not taken action on this yet, the teachers have been discussing whether science can offer any alternatives to using writing simply as recording events and processes; and they are edging up to reconsidering the content of what is being taught.

Though there can be no universally applicable blueprint, it seems likely that work of this kind, although often made difficult through time constraints and the heavy demands made on interpersonal skills and flexibility, can not only be profitable for pupils but also be a mutually enriching professional experience for the teachers involved; particularly so, given that they are both exploring new territory. Such teacher partnerships hold out the possibility of bringing about changes not only in teaching method and curriculum orientation but also in the way in which the role and function of both teachers has, until recently, been conceptualized.

It also suggests that the most effective way of making curriculum development for a multicultural society a reality for a whole school may lie not in increasing exhortation from above, but in encouraging the development of experimental teaching and attempting to respond to the issues this raises.

Such an approach requires a fundamental shift in emphasis within an education system in which curriculum development initiated by teachers at classroom level is, in general, still largely ignored. We will also find, I venture to suggest, that in this context, ESL (if that is what we want still to call it) will make a shaping contribution to anti-racist pedagogy.

A Critique of some Educational Attitudes to the English of British Asian Schoolchildren, and their Implications[1]

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This paper criticizes three notions common in the 1970s in educational writing on the English of schoolchildren of south Asian extraction. The first represented their English as unstructured; the second proposed a home vs school language divide (English being spoken only at school, and the mother-tongue being used exclusively at home); the third described their use of English as "deceptively fluent". The pedagogic implications of each are drawn out and criticized from a more contemporary perspective. Then, some of their ideological ramifications are considered and some data are cited to illustrate how, contrary to the gist of these three notions, non-standard second-language speech can have a cultural integrity of its own. An awareness of this need not lead to linguistic ghettoization, and the final section indicates a way to avoid this while allowing learners a degree of linguistic autonomy. In this paper I refer mainly to British Asians, but much of what follows could also apply to other bilingual groups.

Three assertions on offer in the 1970s[2]

It is difficult to say how far writing on education actually affects the attitudes of practitioners. However, if it is influential, then it is reasonable to contend that during the 1970s teachers were steered towards fairly unconstructive attitudes as far as the English of Asian schoolchildren is concerned. I base my case on three arguments.

Beginning with the least salient of these, my first criticism concerns the references one finds to "de-structured, makeshift forms of pidgin English", and "ungrammatical jargon" (e.g. James, 1974; Brown, 1979). This kind of non-technical use of the word "pidgin" has connotations of deprecation, and assertions that Asian children's English is "de-structured and makeshift" overlook quite a lot of applied linguistic evidence that the speech of even the most basic second-language learners is structured and systematic. I am thinking here of writings, on Interlanguage (e.g. Richards, 1974; Corder, 1981).[3] Of course, the speech of basic L2 learners does not conform to the norms of the standard

language, but this is not the same as saying that it is broken, ungrammatical, unsystematic and not governed by rule. This is an important distinction — comments about de-structured, makeshift language imply deficit; research literature on Interlanguage implies difference — albeit a difference one may hope to minimize as soon as possible (but see below, p. 193).

A second factor likely to encourage negative attitudes to British Asian children's English was the putative home/school language divide. A number of fairly influential writers ignored evidence available as early as 1970 that many Asian children spoke English at home. For example Garvie (1976), Butterworth and Kinnibrugh (1970) and DES (1975) all asserted rather blandly that English was the language of school, and that it was the ethnic languages only that were used at home. For instance, the Bullock Report stated, "the Indian child virtually goes home to India every night".[4] This not only shows a rather surprising ignorance of NFER research reports, several of which at an early date indicated a need for caution in making such statements (e.g. Dickinson *et al.*, 1975; Haynes, 1971.) It has also some quite clear and regrettable educational consequences. Bullock was, of course, keen on fostering linguistic security and he recommended that schools should be open to the language that children bring from home, partly because language is closely tied to social identity. Since, for Bullock, the home languages of Asian children were their ethnic languages, this opened up greater possibilities for the acceptance of ethnic languages at school. However, in failing to perceive that in reality Asian children might be speaking English at home a great deal, the unfortunate implication is that, though Asian mother-tongues deserve consideration in terms of respecting the links between language and social identity, what might actually be these children's primary language — their English — can be disregarded.

The third factor likely to have generated negative attitudes to Asian children's English was the notion of "deceptive fluency" which occurs with great frequency in the ESL literature, (see Derrick, 1973, p. 28, 1977, p. 25; Schools Council, 1970, p. 42; DES, 1972, p. 1, 1975, p. 290; Peace, 1971, p. 26; James, 1974, p. 71; Garvie, 1976; Brown, 1979, p. 94). Obviously it is possible, for example, to be communicatively efficient in a language without precise mastery of its standard grammatical forms, but this could be called "fluency without absolute grammatical accuracy" rather than "deceptive fluency". As it is, accounts of how the English of Asians "deceived" asserted weaknesses in language ranging from pronunciation to discourse, from one skill area to another, and across a variety of language activities. No Asian subgroups were exempted from these sweeping and impressionistic generalizations and, by the same token, there were no accounts in the literature of real eloquence among Asian children that might have

challenged the negative stereotyping, or have given some currency to the notion of genuine fluency. If "deceptive fluency" entered people's general view of Asian children's English and contaminated their attitudes towards it, it is likely that when it came to assessing these youngsters' use of English the overarching ethos would not have been "innocent until proven guilty"; rather it would have been "guilty until proven innocent". This is arguably the wrong way to go about any evaluation of human behaviour. Certainly, it is not very promising as far as encouraging Bullock-style linguistic security is concerned.

To emphasize the negativeness of these attitudes to the English of British Asian schoolchildren in the educational literature, it is instructive to compare them with what was being written at the time in the UK about British West Indian children's English. Three points are worth making here. First, in the discussion of WI English, very early on a veto was placed on describing their non-standard language as "broken", "unstructured", etc. (e.g. Wight and Norris, 1970). Indeed, stretches of WI English were closely examined in order to identify its own intrinsic qualities and regularities. People did not just make lists of errors (compare Peace, 1971 with Sutcliffe, 1978 and Edwards, 1976, 1979). Secondly, people were aware of the links between social identity and the language used at school (e.g. Wight, 1971, p. 2; Trudgill, 1975, p. 87). Thirdly, teachers were not merely recommended to approach non-standard language hospitably and to give "deviant" constructions the benefit of the doubt; it was also suggested that any language difficulties West Indian children actually had were the fault of the school system and of negative teacher attitudes (e.g. DES, 1975, p. 287). This approach is in striking contrast with what the notion of "deceptive fluency" entails, for not only does this locate the problem in the child; it may also half imply an element of "deceitfulness". This may be overstating it a little; even so, there is clear contrast, and it may be interesting to speculate on how this came about.

These assertions from a contemporary perspective, and some alternative approaches

It is hard to know whether an idea has really had its final day, and it is also quite difficult to say whether ideas, that with hindsight seem misconceived, could have been contradicted from the start. Indeed, the chronology of ideas and emphases over a period as short as 15 years is bound to be a bit arbitrary. However, I think we can now identify the ways that the pedagogic consequences of these "received widsoms" may have been unconstructive, at least for those Asian children who can with any degree of justification[5] be considered ESL learners.

Firstly, references to grammatical and de-structured pidgins suggest a somewhat strict attitude to error, or at least an approach in which

language work is carefully controlled so that the learner has very few opportunities to make mistakes. This may in fact be counter-productive. One of the key implications of Interlanguage research is that error is often a sign of progress in learning, rather than being an indication of failure. If you acknowledge that language-learner language does have systematicity and structure, and allow learners a degree of freedom in using it, then you are in a position to get a rough idea of the grammatical system that a particular learner is using at a particular time. Such observations enable you to begin to judge when to leave things to run their natural course and when to intervene.

Similarly, simply in terms of language teaching effectiveness, the practical consequences of the phrase "deceptive fluency" are likely to be fairly unproductive. There is an increasingly orthodox and uncontroversial view in discussion of language learning and teaching, and this view attaches considerable importance to interactions between learners and native speakers, in which each concentrates on the *meaning* of what is being said rather than on its linguistic *form* (e.g. Krashen, 1981; Cummins, 1984; Brumfit, 1984). Learning is believed to occur when they struggle together as partners to achieve mutual understanding, and this view is closely related to acquisition theories drawn from the evidence of natural conversations between mothers and children (Wells, 1981).

It seems to me that the currency of "deceptive fluency" in the educational literature is at odds with this "learning through interaction", since it emphasizes the need for teachers to watch out for ways in which the English of Asian children may be deceiving them, and in so doing, it can be read as an injunction to teachers telling them to hold back in interaction and stick to role of analyst rather than participant. If people actually obey this line, then children in their classes may be denied the experience of proper two-way reciprocity in interaction, and, ironically, the notion of "deceptive fluency" could end up as a self-fulfilling prophecy, actually impeding the development of real fluency.

These more recent themes, Interlanguage and the natural interaction idea, have a methodological implication in common. Both imply a methodology in which the learner has quite a good deal of freedom of expression, and a degree of autonomy from — or at least parity with — the teacher. Both themes entail a shift away from the carefully controlled and closely monitored language work that arguably the two earlier notions about language learning and teaching called for.

In saying this, I have so far only referred to control and freedom within the fairly technical context of teaching methodology; but there are, I think, social/political/ideological elements latent within the use of these terms, and these dimensions become clearer when one looks at

the adverse consequences of Bullock's assumption that British Asians speak English at school but not at home.

As I have already suggested, if Bullock and others are taken at their word, Asian children end up worse off than English and West Indian children. In the logic of Bullock there are not the same grounds for giving British Asians space in the curriculum for the expression of home-based, out-of-school meanings in English. For the fully competent Asian bilinguals who use English at school *and* at home, and for Asian children whose dominant language is English, all this is clearly a disenfranchisement. With the notion of deceptive fluency also in the air, youngsters such as these can expect much less acceptance for the ways they choose to use English, and any innovations they introduce into the language are more likely to be construed as mistakes.

That may be relatively obvious in the case of children whose English is very good. I think, however, that this argument also extends to youngsters more reasonably classified as ESL learners. It seems to me that for this group, too, there is an element of unnecessary and forced disenfranchisement in the carefully controlled and closely supervised language work that tends to go with the broken language idea, "deceptive fluency" and the Bullock assertion. In 1975 Levine wrote about the importance of letting such children "have their own voice" in the classroom, and she justified this by saying that this made a powerful contribution to the learning process, in terms of learning English and in terms of learning to make and manage social relationships. Levine's argument was I think fairly innovative within the TESL literature at the time, and part of its innovation lay in its emphasis on the culture generated within the classroom. According to Levine, successful and *relatively independent* participation in this culture is itself an important factor in language learning.

In my view an even stronger case can be made for the validity of this classroom culture and for the autonomy which is part of it, and this goes beyond the issue of whether they aid learning or not. I have a small quantity of data which illustrates how quite early learners of English use deviant linguistic structures which show quite subtle and accomplished language use when looked at within a specific classroom culture. Pedagogically speaking, I might have discouraged the development of an important communicative strategy if I had corrected these "mistakes". At a deeper level I would simply have missed the point of instances of language use that have their own cultural integrity.

"Me no like it"

When I was working as an ESL teacher I collected quite a lot of data from schoolchildren, and one of the things I noted down as it occurred

was the use of "me" for "I" at the start of sentences ("Me no like it", "Me on nineteen"). I do not have enough examples of this to amount to a study, but I did get enough to make a tentative point. In the course of about 9 months, I noted down 24 instances of the use this construction in the speech of about 13 ESL learners, all of whom usually used "I". At the same time I tried to make a note of the topic, the setting, the people involved and the general tone (see Appendix). When I put all these instances together, several things emerged:

1. The tone was normally friendly.
2. The speech function in which the "me" structure occurred usually involved either *rejection/refusal* ("Me no shower", "Me no like it", "Me no do it", "Me no play gym", "Me got pencil already", "Me no want to draw myself, man", "No sir, me not out"), or it involved *boasting* ("Me just done it", "Me too clever", "Me go to London", "Me on nineteen", "Me lucky", "Me finished", "Me know everything"). Seven items were harder to classify ("Me no lose it", "Me new there", "Me got it", "Sir, me no pencil, sir", "Me know nothing", "Me no like Pakistan . . . see I can't speak English language"), but in spite of this it is possible to go on and suggest that:
3. The relationship between speaker and listener involved in the use of this structure was usually unequal in one of two ways. Either the listener was in a position of permanent superiority (the teacher) or the speakers themselves were, through the act of boasting, claiming a temporary superiority over their friends.
4. Along with these three points, I also considered what social connotations this "me" construction had in these utterances. It is possible that in one or two cases, the connotations were West Indian (e.g. "Me no want to draw myself, man"). On the whole, however, the youngsters were still quite early learners of English and were probably unaware of West Indian speech varieties. Furthermore, in a number of cases this "me" construction was accompanied by a much heavier Asian accent than usual. So, all in all, it looks as if the social connotation is one of incompetence in ESL ("Me know nothing", ". . . see I can't speak English language"). In using this construction, children were pretending they could hardly speak English.

What does all this add up to? Drawing all these things together — tone, speech act type, relationship between speaker and hearer, and social connotation — it looks as though this "me" construction is often functioning to tone down the force of speech acts which either challenge the authority of a superior or claim superiority over an equal; and it achieves this precisely because the construction denotes linguistic incompetence, and hence, by implication, low status. If you reject something the teacher says, you make the challenge much less grave if your syntax is also saying "but look, I'm only little" or "I can't do much".

Equally, you are less likely to offend a mate when you tell him that you are seven sums ahead, if the grammar of your sentence signals "But never mind, I'm still a fool".

To conclude, I am suggesting — of this "me" construction — that:

1. It represents the development of an important linguistic skill-function, that of toning down boasts and refusals.
2. It is not just a mistake or a lapse; it is rule-governed, possibly conscious, and it draws its resources from within a specific classroom culture, one in which ESL is a salient feature.
3. It is complex in a socio-psychological sort of way; it shows people *aware* of their relatively low social status as ESL learners in England. Arguably, at the same time, it shows them sufficiently confident to refer to and exploit this low status.
4. Finally, "Me no like it" and similar constructions are in tune with a friendly, self-deprecatory and humorous style that may be quite widespread within particular bilingual ethnic communities. Strategic mimicking of ESL incompetence may not be uncommon amongst very proficient bilinguals and, if this is true, than at this point the case for the autonomy and cultural integrity of "me" constructions becomes even stronger.

Non-standard cultural integrity and equality of opportunity

To recap my argument, I am advocating greater learner freedom of expression and more limited teacher control, not simply because they are likely to be developmentally beneficial, but also because they accord with an ideal of cultural pluralism. In relation to language learning, the development argument for relaxing teacher control could be reconciled with a notion of different and inferior, whereas the argument here for acceptance of structures like "Me no . . ." relates to an idea of different and equal.

This is very tricky ground and if it is seen as leading to an "anything goes" position, then there are good reasons for treating it sceptically. It would certainly be fair to call it irresponsible (and more?) if the argument that TESL has been too normative and teacher-centred meant that teachers should stop assessing language, that they should ignore the norms of the standard language and that they should, in effect, allow ESL learners to become linguistically ghettoized.

Paradoxically, perhaps, in the light of the preceding argument, though obviously enough in terms of general educational practice, the answer is to try to identify fairly precisely what it is that learners need to aim at, and to specify curricular objectives for teaching as clearly as is

practicable. With a notion of what kinds of things are needed, and where, teachers have a way of knowing when they can stand down, leaving their pupils with the opportunity to develop uses of language on their own. (On this repertoire approach *within* ESL with regard to West Indian children, cf. DES, 1981, pp. 22ff.)

This balance between teacher control and learner autonomy may not be so easy to achieve in practice, but it hardly represents a radical or novel objective. Group work and informal conversation are quite standard parts of classroom procedure and these obviously provide some opportunity for developing English autonomously, often simultaneously with the pursuit of fairly normative school knowledge. Identifying the types of curricular knowledge that learners need to engage in is also nothing new. In practical terms, at its strongest, my case is that even for the very earliest learners there should be lessons set aside for something such as "creative language", in which learners would be free to use English, their mother-tongue, or a mixture, according to what suited their own and their peers' expressive interests.

The emergent uses of language might well be transient or they might last longer; some might stabilize. The crucial point is that the teachers would be in no position to assess the developmental value of such activity directly (though they might well manage to identify indirect benefits in other spheres). What assessment there was would be the responsibility of the peer group.

"Creative language" lessons amidst more closely supervised periods devoted to ordinary school subjects are one way, at least, of trying to ensure that second language learners:

1. get the language they need to get on in a society dominated by white standards; and
2. have the chance inside school to develop oral and literate varieties of English that articulate, in and on their own terms, thoughts and feelings derived from, among other things, different cultural orders and intercultural contact.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper given to the Harrow ESL and Multicultural Service in December 1984. I am particularly grateful to Peter Skehan for a number of helpful comments. The misconceptions remain mine.
2. The argument in this section is more fully developed in Rampton (1983).
3. Very crudely, in Interlanguage study, language learning is seen as a cognitive activity which involves continually reformulating rules and hypotheses about the language being learned. This is seen as being at the heart of language learning, and learners move through a series of approximative grammars, at first a long way off but then gradually drawing closer to the grammar of the standard language.
4. In a more contemporary and disturbing context see also, for example, Honeyford, R.

The Times Educational Supplement, 13 March 1984, p. 11, and also a reply by Norman Bonnet, *TES* 4 May 1984.

5. It would be continuing one of the shortcomings of the 1970s if I did not emphasize that the majority of British Asian youngsters cannot now be classified as ESL learners — similarly, a substantial proportion should not have been in the past.

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APPENDIX: "Me" constructions used by children (Asian) in TESL-related settings

Utterance	Addresser	Addressee	Setting	Topic
me no shower me no like it	Three or four 11–13-year-old Pakistani boys	male white teacher	football touchline	teacher instruction to watch match; need to shower after
me got pencil already	9-year-old Pakistani boy, Az.	teacher	lesson	instruction to get a pencil
me no want to draw myself, man	Az.	teacher	lesson	self-portrait requested by teacher
me no do it — I won't be able to do it	Az.	teacher	lesson	maths
me just done it	9-year-old Sikh girl, J.G.	9-year-old Sikh girl, S.K.	lesson	dictionary work
me no do it	J.G.	teacher	lesson	classroom task
me too clever	S.K.	J.G.	lesson	dictionary work
me going to London	S.K.	teacher	lesson	weekend plans
me no lose it	Az.	14-year-old Bengali boy, S.	lesson	
me new there	Az.	teacher	lesson	referring to first visit to language centre in England
me no play gym	12-year-old Pakistani boy, F.	teacher	after school	soccer game
me go to Biddenham	F.	teacher	after school	showing letter of acceptance to upper school
me got it	13-year-old Sikh girl	teacher	lesson	
me on nineteen	11-year-old boy	12-year-old Bengali boy	lesson	maths textbook work
me lucky	9-year-old Pakistani girl, Y.	J.G.	lesson	
me got it	Y.	J.G.	lesson	
Sir, me no pencil, Sir.	11-year-old Bengali boy, Mb.	teacher	lesson	teacher's question about where his pencil is
me finished	Mb.	11-year-old Bengali boy, Mz.	lesson	classwork

me know nothing	Mb.	Mz.	lesson	classwork
me know every-thing	Mb.	Mz.	lesson	classwork
me finished	Mb. and Mz.	Mz. and Mb.	lesson	reading books
no, sir, me not out	Mb.	teacher	lesson	instruction to get out of class-room
me no like Pakistan . . . see, I can't speak English lan-guage	Mb.	12-year-old Pakistani girl	lesson	

Summary of Comments on Language in *Education for All*, the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups

(The Committee was chaired by Lord Swann, who presented the Report to the Secretary of State for Education and Science on 19 February 1985.)

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Introductory comments

Although language is an important issue in what is referred to as the "Swann Report", the terms of reference when the committee was set up in 1979 were in fact much wider, so the summary offered here should be seen in the context of these wider aims. The whole report is nearly 850 pages long and of these about 170 contain some reference to language, of which about 80 are a chapter called "Language and Language Education". The terms of reference were to:

> review in relation to schools the educational needs and attainments of children from ethnic minority groups taking account, as necessary, of factors outside the formal education system relevant to school performance, including influences in early childhood and prospects for school leavers;
>
> consider the potential value of instituting arrangements for keeping under review the educational performance of different ethnic minority groups, and what those arrangements might be;
>
> consider the most effective use of resources for these purposes; and to make recommendations (p. vii).

These terms of reference are in the context of a recognition that schools should contribute to preparing all pupils for life in "a society which is both multiracial and culturally diverse", and the committee was asked particularly to consider "the educational needs and attainments of pupils of West Indian origin". It is also noted that the committee's terms of reference relate only to England (p. vii).

(A problem in summarizing this report is that the terminology in this field constantly changes, or is potentially misleading. To avoid too much confusion, I have generally followed the usage of the report itself, even when I disagree with, for example, referring to some British-born blacks as West Indians.)

Language of children with West Indian backgrounds

The committee's interim report, published in June 1981, concentrated on West Indian children in schools, and this is summarized at the beginning of the final report. The only points about language worth mentioning from this summary are the statement that only 9% of West Indians obtained higher grades in CSE English and GCE English "O" level English Language compared with 21% of Asians and 29% of other leavers in six LEAs that were surveyed, and the later claim that "for the majority of West Indian children in our schools, who were born and brought up in this country, linguistic factors play [no] part in underachievement", though attitudes towards language held by some teachers might influence motivation and achievement (pp. xviii and xx).

The main report

The comments on language in the main body of the report are widely scattered and vary in importance. Only the major points will be mentioned here. Inevitably they will appear to be somewhat random as they are plucked from a lengthy discussion which is largely on other matters, but page references will be given to facilitate access to the original text for those who wish to pursue the argument further.

In Chapter 2, on racism, the provision of separate language centres for children whose first language is not English is cited as an example of a practice which is racist in effect, if not in intention (because it removes such children from access to the full range of educational facilities) (pp. 28–9).

Annex A to Chapter 3, on achievement and underachievement, consists of a range of quotations from the oral evidence of 18 students of Caribbean and African origin. Several of these comments refer to racist language and to attitudes to home dialects (99–100).

Annex B to the same chapter is a survey of comparative statistics on performance based on 1981–82, and compared with the results of the earlier survey in the interim report (based on 1978–79). In 1981–82 15% of West Indians achieved higher grades in English language examinations, compared with the 9% in 1978–79. Asian and all other candidate results remained about the same as they had been in 1978–79 (114–15).

Annex C, on the education of Bangladeshi children in Tower Hamlets, has a detailed summary of linguistic issues, both in relation to language use in Sylheti and provision for ESL (120, and 122–3).

Annex G, on research, has a brief section on language which refers to the need for dissemination of research findings, particularly mentioning LINC (Language Information Network Co-ordination) which emerged from the DES-funded Linguistic Minorities Project based on London University Institute of Education. This attempt to maintain the impetus of the original project and publicize its findings is recommended for imitation. There is also a criticism of the DES consultative paper, *Foreign Languages in the School Curriculum*, for being insensitive to the gains offered by bilingualism in British society. In the same Annex, figures are cited from the Survey of British Social Attitudes, 1984, indicating that 77% of people interviewed thought that schools should provide classes in English for those that require them, but only 16% thought that children should be allowed to study non-English mother tongues in schools (180).

Chapter 4 provides a historical perspective. It points out (192) that in the 1960s the major educational issue was seen to be simply providing English for non-native speakers, and that consequently children from the West Indies were not perceived to have any special educational needs, since they were not usually native speakers of another language. Later (202–3) there is a brief reference to the matter of support for the mother-tongues of those who do not have English as a mother-tongue.

Chapter 5, dealing with further research studies on multicultural education, comments on the out-of-date views of Britain and the world found in much reading matter presented in "English" in schools without substantial ethnic minority populations (234). Annex A to this chapter, extracts from a paper by Professor John Rex, raises several language issues. On p. 239 equality of opportunity for the minority child is held to include instruction in the mother-tongue at entry to school to facilitate adaptation to the new environment, language maintenance, and options in minority languages to give them equal status with, e.g. French; and also provision of ESL not merely for beginners but as adequate second-stage instruction. The *ad hoc* nature of ESL provision is criticized on pp. 240–1. Annex B outlines a survey of some schools with "few or no ethnic minorities" to see how they have responded to "the multiracial nature of Britain today". English and modern language teaching is discussed in several places in the two summaries of findings (Annexes C and D), but these accounts give a generally depressing picture of libraries making little or no adaptation to multicultural perspectives, teachers testifying to widespread intolerance of outsiders by their pupils, and attitudes by teachers of varying degrees of suspicion of the concept of multicultural education. The main

objection seems to be that the pupils or their parents will not accept a less ethnocentric perspective, or that there is some conflict between liberal values and too directive a concern for particular outsider groups. There are, of course, some honourable exceptions to this sad picture, but they are not conspicuous.

Chapter 6 is called "Education for All: a New Approach". This outlines the views of the committee. On language, they stress (325) that ethnic minority pupils will not necessarily have language difficulties, but that they may have particular needs if their dialect or language is different from standard English. They may share these needs with some ethnic majority children. Beyond this, Annex A gives some policy papers from Berkshire which refer to language needs (373 and 377–8).

Chapter 7, on "Language and Language Education", will be dealt with separately.

Annex A of Chapter 9, on teacher education, contains a report of a survey on multicultural aspects of teacher training. Courses in multicultural education are listed, and several of these have a language orientation, but they are a very small proportion of the total number listed (618–19).

Chapters 10–16 look at the educational needs of other ethnic minority groups: Chinese, Cypriot, Italian, Ukranian, Vietnamese, "Liverpool Blacks" and Travellers' children respectively. Language is prominent in the concerns of all non-native English-speaking groups: Chinese (656–659 and 663–666, and an Annex on Chinese schools, 669–70), Cypriot (680–5), Italian (699–707 and a brief outline of the Bedford project, 709), Ukrainian (713–16) and Vietnamese (723–5 and an Annex on the Vietnamese alphabet and pronunciation, 730–1). All of these groups are concerned about access to English and support for the community language. The summary of this section of the report stresses that "the major educational issue for all groups, except the Travellers, was language — both E2L provision and 'mother-tongue' maintenance and teaching" (762). It also highlights the concern of ESL teachers for a language across the curriculum policy, and the worry of ethnic minority group members about attitudes to their languages by some teachers.

Chapter 7, on "Language and Language Education"

This starts by emphasizing the linguistic diversity of contemporary Britain, but makes it very clear in the first paragraph that the teaching of school subjects in languages other than English is not being recommended. However, the committee does recommend a broad approach to language issues, and points out how ESL has broadened its

concerns as it has developed. A DES 1983 survey is quoted as indicating that 104,000 school-age children receive special help with ESL from "the equivalent of 1900 full-time specialists together with a large number of ordinary class teachers" (388). Types of ESL provision are then discussed, and separate language centres and withdrawal within schools are both opposed, though it is conceded that some separate provision within school may be necessary for beginners. The responsibility of all teachers for language is emphasized, at both primary and secondary levels, though a role for specialist language teachers and consultants is allowed. Team teaching approaches are therefore recommended. Further, similarities are perceived between second-stage ESL work and some of the needs of native speakers of English. Thus there is scope for much more collaboration on language than hitherto.

On mother-tongue provision, three different types are distinguished: bilingual education with some of the instruction through the medium of mother-tongue, mother-tongue maintenance, and the teaching of the languages of ethnic minorities as part of the modern languages curriculum (399). Extensive discussion of alleged misunderstandings of the 1977 European Community Directive on the Education of Children of Migrant Workers leads to a brief discussion of the ambiguities of research findings on the benefits or otherwise of mother-tongue teaching. Finally, the position of the committee is outlined: ". . . we cannot support the arguments put forward for the introduction of programmes of bilingual education in maintained schools in this country . . . we would regard mother-tongue maintenance . . . as best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves" (406). Some concessions are made to the notions of educational value and government assistance to ethnic minority support, but the basic position is unequivocal. However, support is expressed for the idea that minority languages should be included in the modern languages curriculum.

Subsequent sections of the chapter express support for the principles of language across the curriculum, with a language co-ordinator to develop policy in schools, and for increased language awareness work in schools. Finally, there is a brief discussion of teacher training provision in this area, which is held to be inadequate.

Annexes to this chapter include reports of experiences in various schools, the syllabus of the RSA Diploma in Teaching ESL in Multicultural Schools, extracts from the linguistic minorities research report, the EC Directive of 1977 (referred to above), a summary of the findings of the Nottingham research project on the training of teachers of ethnic minority community languages, and material on West Indian language and language awareness.

Main conclusions and recommendations relating to language

At the end of the report come the major recommendations. Those referring to language appear on pp. 771–2, and are quoted below. It is notable that the following items from the recommendations in Chapter 7 (426–9) have been omitted from the general ones:

1. the need for language specialists to work in team teaching with subject specialists;
2. the need for in-service training to acquaint all teachers with some understanding of minority languages;
3. "bilingual resource" persons to work alongside mainstream teachers;
4. educational publishers should consider producing modern language materials in ethnic minority languages;
5. several statements in support of language across the curriculum and language awareness teaching.

Extract from the Swann Report

Language and Language Education — Chapter Seven General
5.1 We believe that essential to equality of opportunity, to academic success and, more broadly, to participation on equal terms as a full member of society, is a good command of *English* and that first priority in language learning by all pupils must therefore be given to the learning of English (Paragraph 3.16).

English as a Second Language
5.2 We are wholly in favour of a change from the provision of E2L by withdrawal, whether this has been to language centres or to separate units within schools. (Paragraph 2.10);

5.3 The needs of learners of English as a second language should be met by provision within the mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for *all* children (Paragraph 2.10);

5.4 For the child from a home where English is not the first language, pre-school provision can be particularly valuable. We therefore restate the recommendations made in our interim report on this important stage of the overall educational experience (Paragraph 2.11);

5.5 *All* teachers in schools with substantial numbers of pupils for whom English is not their first language have a responsibility to cater for linguistic needs of these pupils and should be given appropriate support and training to discharge it. (Paragraphs 2.12 and 2.14);

Mother-Tongue Provision

5.6 Linguistic diversity in Britain is nothing new, and we regard it as a positive asset, whether it be Welsh, Gaelic, dialects or ethnic minority community languages. All schools should impart an understanding of our multilingual society to all pupils (Paragraph 3.15);

5.7 The linguistic, religious and cultural identities of ethnic minority communities should be fostered but we cannot support the arguments put forward for the introduction of programmes of bilingual education in maintained schools (Paragraph 3.15);

5.8 Mainstream schools should not seek to assume the role of community providers for maintaining ethnic minority community languages (Paragraph 3.18);

5.9 LEAs should offer support for community based language provision, by making school premises available free of charge to community providers, by fostering links between community 'teachers' and the mainstream school, by offering grants for the purchase of books and the development of teaching materials, and by making available to the community their advisory services for short inservice courses (Paragraph 3.18);

5.10 Ethnic minority community languages should be included in the languages curriculum of secondary schools where there is likely to be sufficient demand and all pupils in those schools should be encouraged to consider studying them (Paragraphs 3.19 and 3.20);

5.11 Responsibility for ethnic minority community languages should rest with LEA advisers for modern languages (Paragraph 3.19);

5.12 The careers service and employers should emphasize to all youngsters the importance and relevance of facility in an ethnic minority community language for work in multiracial areas (Paragraph 3.19);

5.13 Care should be taken to ensure the quality of teachers in ethnic minority community languages. They should hold recognised qualifications in the language concerned, have received professional training in this country in the techniques needed to teach a language and must be fully proficient in English (Paragraph 3.21);

5.14 The Government should take measures to ensure that potential teachers of ethnic minority community languages receive appropriate training, support and recognition. As a first step we recommend that the DES should commission a further qualitative evaluation of the eight teacher training institutions identified by

the Nottingham Study (see paragraph 6 (iii) of Annex F) as potential centres of growth in relation to ethnic minority community languages (Paragraph 3.22);

5.15 More examining boards should consider the need to offer examinations in ethnic minority community languages at all levels. Where examinations are already offered in these languages greater consideration should be given to syllabus content to bring the provision into line with other subjects (Paragraph 3.23).

English Language Teaching Documents
General Editor: C J Brumfit

ESL in the United Kingdom

This collection of papers is an attempt to provide an authoritative survey of current activity in work on English teaching to British residents who are non-English speakers. However, what used to be called confidently the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL), is now seen by most practitioners as part of a much wider and more complex task, and few would defend the autonomy of ESL as an independent and identifiable activity. This is partly because attitudes to language teaching in general have changed, for it is now seen as essentially bound up with the social context and the personal beliefs and feelings of the learners. Much more, however, the change has been a response to perceptions by teachers, students, and members of communities from which most non-English-speaking learners come, that the acquisition of English is part of the development of capacities to participate fully in British society without losing essential communal and individual cultural preferences. In this context, learning English cannot be dissociated from attitudes to ethnicity, racism, social aspirations and concepts of the nature of multicultural societies. Particularly, it must relate closely to work in and through the language of the communities from which learners come. These papers reflect this broadening of the scope of English teaching, as they must if they are to reflect current preoccupations within the profession.

This issue of ELT Documents goes to press soon after the publication of the Swann Committee's report 'Education for All', HMSO, 1985. Since a considerable amount of space in this report is devoted to language matters, a brief summary of relevant portions of the report (which is more than 800 pages long) is included.

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ISBN 0 08 031557 7

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