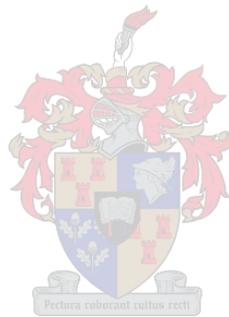


Current CLIL (content and language integrated learning) models in European schools: Possibilities for SA private schools

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Although much has been written globally about refugees on the poor side of the spectrum, little data seem to exist about so-called 'privileged' migrants moving across borders, mainly for educational purposes. Many wealthy parents from other African countries opt to send their teenage children to independent secondary schools in South Africa to give their children the best education possible. As is the case globally, foreign students with language barriers entering the South African independent school system at secondary level may face major difficulties in acquiring academic English. They have far less time than primary school students to master advanced academic content, and subjects in the further education and training band require mastery of complex levels of language. Few schools can afford to provide specialised instruction at levels appropriate for individual students' proficiency level.

The CLIL (content and language integrated learning) model, or CBI (content-based instruction) as a similar model is known in the United States of America, potentially offers exciting possibilities for these schools. CLIL is an integrated model where both content terminology as well as content become tools for developing language proficiency. Language learning is included in content classes and vice versa. My contention is that the CLIL model can enhance the teaching quality and speed of language acquisition for foreign students with language barriers at independent secondary schools in South Africa. Such schools usually are proactive with the independent infrastructure required to implement this model on a smaller scale. Effective integration of content and language can also benefit mainstream, first-language students.

In the light of the above, the central research question was to determine what affordances the CLIL model could create for language support at these schools. Subsidiary questions were how these schools currently conceptualised support for these learners and guidelines which could be deduced from this model to further enhance English language support. My research focussed on three independent secondary schools in the Western Cape without rigorous entrance exams in place because foreign students with language barriers would possibly gravitate towards these schools. I interviewed the principals and

two other senior members of staff at each school to ascertain how these schools provided language support for foreign language students with language barriers. The next step was to extract aspects of the CLIL model that could prove useful to these schools to further support students and staff.

In the final chapter I listed six affordances which, in turn, lead to four recommendations for my research sites. The recommendations were that real integration between subject areas should happen as a matter of urgency and that a CLIL facilitator should be appointed to coordinate CLIL implementation at the sites. A third recommendation was that these schools should consciously increase intercultural awareness. Finally, and most importantly, it was recommended that schools already catering for foreign students with language barriers should proudly claim their place as the go-to schools for these students. In this way they could set an example for other educational institutions to follow.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE PROPOSED RESEARCH

I returned to university after many years in the teaching profession to find answers to the question of how to integrate foreign (immigrant) students with language barriers more gradually yet more effectively into English mainstream schooling at secondary school level. Before returning to university, I was a part-time teacher for English for Foreign Learners (EFL) at a new (post-1994), high-fee, independent boarding school in the Boland area of the Western Cape. My appointment at the school in 2013 was necessitated by an unprecedented influx at secondary school level of foreign students with language barriers who needed additional help with English acquisition. My sense, at the time, was that what was happening at this independent school might very well be a microcosm of what was happening in the rest of the country, and even in the world at large.

With global migration increasing all the time, student movement between educational institutions is consistently increasing (Van der Walt, 2013:103). English has become both a power language and an efficient way of educational advancement for many, or as Bourdieu (1991) referred to it, a “dominant symbolic resource in the linguistic market”, both globally and in South Africa. For this reason, not only second and third language English speakers from inside our borders, but also more and more foreign-language speaking students from other African countries, have been flocking to perceived ‘English’ institutions. As most parents seem to want their children to have what they perceive to be the best chances in life, they are prepared to pay the premium rates that these schools charge. After all, “children inherit the social station of their parents, irrespective of their own motivation or ability” (Spaull, 2015:14).

In 2015 it was reported that approximately 242 million immigrants were living across the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015:1). In Africa alone the international migrant population increased from 15.6 million in 2000 to 21 million in 2015. It is South Africa’s history of taking in migrants from across the globe, such as the French, Dutch and the British, that has resulted in it being recognised as “a country of

immigration” (Rasool, Botha & Bischoff, 2012:399). By the late 20th century, European migrants were replaced by migrants from Africa. In 2012, South Africa effectively had become the host nation to approximately three million foreigners (Schippers, 2015:2).

Although much has been written about refugees on the poor side of the spectrum, little data exist about ‘privileged’ migrants. Many wealthy parents from inside and outside of borders opt to send their children to one of the 1 681 independent schools in South Africa to give their children what they perceive to be the “best possible education” (Spaull, 2015:14). Only 15% of South Africans can afford to pay for independent or former Model C schools (Spaull, 2015:14), so the pool to draw on locally for these schools is limited. Admitting full-fee-paying students from wealthy families from other African countries is an economically viable way to further change the racial demographic at independent secondary schools.

From the outside, it seems that most of the independent schools in South Africa still maintain a benign ‘sink or swim’ immersion policy with regard to learners with language barriers. At the school where I taught, these students were, at the time, charged extra for the EFL lessons and any other interventions. Although the majority of the non-native English-speaking students who arrived at the school with a language barrier eventually flourished in this environment, these students had to work extremely hard and often experienced extreme anxiety and other psychological problems in the process. In my experience, a not insignificant number of the foreign-language students did not cope at all. For these students, immersion became complete submersion and they ended up leaving the school.

It is an unfortunate fact that many English monolingual orientations globally regard foreign students with a language barrier as in some way deficient. This narrow-minded view marginalises them for “not yet having acquired the specific academic language and literacy skills that secondary school demands” (Menken, 2013:439). It is now an accepted fact that the language skills students need for social interaction with their peers and teachers are very different from those required to function in a formal academic classroom. Academic language use includes not only specialised vocabulary, but also

special forms of expression related to the specific academic domains (Kaiser, Reynecke & Uys, 2010:57).

Secondary emergent bilinguals, defined by García (2009:322) as “students who are adding the dominant language to their home language and becoming bilingual in the process”, are often overlooked, not only in research but also in educational practices worldwide. In many countries foreign-language students at secondary school level seem to underperform when compared to their first-language classmates. Surprisingly, this is the case not only in language literacy, but in mathematics as well (Menken, 2013:440).

During my Honours year I was excited to encounter the CLIL (content and language integrated learning) model or CBI (content-based instruction), as a similar model is known in the United States of America (USA). I was immediately struck by the possibilities that the CLIL model and approach could offer the school where I taught as well as other young independent schools in similar situations.

According to Mehisto, Marsh and Frigols (2008:12), CLIL can be variously seen as a model, a framework, or an approach, and this terminological confusion is encapsulated in their definition of CLIL as:

...an umbrella term covering a dozen or more educational approaches (e.g. immersion, bilingual education, multilingual education, language showers and enriched language programmes). What is new about CLIL is that it synthesizes and provides a flexible way of applying knowledge learnt from these various approaches.

In this study CLIL will be referred to as a model with variations across different contexts.

Mehisto et al. (2008:13) continue to explain that the CLIL model involves “using a language that is not the student’s native language as the medium of instruction”. It also expects traditional subject/content teachers to teach some language. Subject teachers must assist students in the acquisition of, particularly, subject-specific vocabulary that they need to effectively master the content. Apart from teaching the set curriculum,

language teachers in CLIL programmes are also required to play an additional role. They have to work to support content teachers by enabling students to gain the level of language needed to master and effectively utilise content in other subjects.

CLIL is a model for the teaching and the learning of content and language. Both content terminology and content become tools for developing language proficiency. The essence of CLIL, according to Mehisto et al. (2008:12), is 'integration'. This integration's aim is twofold:

- Language learning should be included in content classes. The implication here is that relevant information has to be repackaged in a way that facilitates real understanding.
- Content from subjects, on the other hand, should also be used in language learning classes. The language teacher, working with subject teachers, should incorporate vocabulary, terminology and texts from those other subjects into his or her classes.

These two foci distinguish CLIL from the South African language curricula that profess to develop academic literacy, but in fact fail to do this (Kaiser et al., 2010:54). At the time of writing this thesis, it seems safe to say that very few teachers of content subjects see themselves as language teachers. Although the current national English First Additional Language Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) refer to teaching English for academic purposes as well as teaching across the curriculum, there is little evidence of a systematic integration of content from other subjects in the curriculum. Van der Walt (2010:331) laments the "core of the generalness that FAL curricula have become" and observes that "there is little evidence of the primary importance of using language for abstract cognitive academic purposes in the tasks and texts in the curriculum" (Van der Walt, 2010:327).

Consequently, it seemed urgent and necessary to investigate the possibilities offered by the CLIL model to assimilate foreign language speakers more quickly and effectively into the general classroom.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As is the case in other parts of the world, foreign students with language barriers entering the South African independent school system at secondary level may face major difficulties in acquiring academic English. They typically have far less time than primary school students to learn English and to master the advanced level of academic content, as well as the sophisticated vocabulary required to finish secondary school with marks high enough to enable them to gain entry into a South African tertiary institution. They need to do well in subjects such as chemistry, physical science, maths, economics and geometry that require a deep understanding of complex levels of English academic language. “Most secondary school texts and materials involve a high level of English reading and comprehension ability” (Menken, 2013:441). Few schools can afford to provide specialised English language instruction that provides content at a level of English appropriate for individual students’ level of language proficiency. In addition, from a social perspective, students still learning English may often find it difficult to be accepted into established friendship groups of first-language students. As Lucas (1997:15) writes:

High dropout rates amongst language minority secondary school students across the globe are just one indication that many schools are failing to meet the challenge to successfully integrate these students into their institutions.

My contention is that a CLIL model can greatly enhance the quality of teaching as well as the speed of language acquisition for foreign students with language barriers at post-1994, high-fee independent schools that have the proactive mindset and independent infrastructure required to implement this model on a small scale. Not only does the model have many potential benefits for the aforementioned students, but the effective integration of content and language that CLIL embodies can also benefit mainstream, first-language students. It has already been proven in Finland that this model works extremely well from grassroots level up rather than from the top down (Nikula, Dafouz, Moore & Smit, 2016:149). This model was initially implemented by only one teacher in one school in the 1990s, but by 2005 there were only three European countries, namely Iceland, Portugal and Greece, not using the CLIL model in some shape or form (Graddol, 2006).

In the light of the above, the central research question for this thesis was which affordances CLIL and CBI models could create for language support to recent immigrant learners in new, high-fee private schools in South Africa.

Subsidiary questions were:

- How do such schools currently conceptualise support for foreign learners with language barriers?
- What guidelines can be deduced from the CLIL model to enhance academic English language support for such learners?

1.3 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND METHODOLOGY

To identify the research sites that would provide the most nuanced picture, I had to focus on independent schools in the Western Cape without rigorous admission policies in place. It seemed logical that foreign students with language barriers would gravitate towards schools without stringent entrance tests in place.

After studying the websites of a number of new, high-fee independent schools in the Western Cape with more than 300 secondary school pupils, there were only three schools (at the time of writing my proposal in January to May 2017) that did not clearly indicate on their websites that they had entrance examinations in place. One of these three schools – to be referred to in this study as School A – was the school where I had previously taught. My insider status at this research site would enable me to observe ‘ways of doing’ at a closer level than I would be able to do as an outsider elsewhere. Consequently, I was happy to make this institution one of my research sites. The only other eligible boarding school without a formal entrance test – to be known as School B in this study – was an institution already well known in private school circles for accepting foreign students with language barriers at secondary school level. As a boarding school in an urban environment, it would provide important areas of comparison with School A, which was situated in a rural area roughly an hour outside of the city. The third school without mention of an entrance examination on its website – to be known as School C in

the study – was a day school without a boarding house and as such could provide valuable grounds for comparison with the two boarding schools.

On closer inspection, the three schools identified turned out to be the perfect subjects for my study. The table below summarises the most important areas of similarity and contrast between the three research sites.

Table 1: Comparison of research sites

School	School A	School B	School C
School type	Boarding school	Boarding school	Day school
Location	Rural	Urban	Urban
Examination Board	IEB (Independent Examination Board)	WCED (Western Cape Education department)	IEB, then moved to WCED
Age of school	23 years old	50 years old	20 years old
Business model	Independent	Part of a larger stable	Independent

At each school I interviewed the headmaster and two other senior staff members who deal extensively with issues related to foreign students' language acquisition, as well as with their emotional issues.

Conceptual analysis, factual data analysis, as well as teacher interviews formed the units of analysis for my research. The semi-structured interview format was used for the interviews, because it was important for the interviewees to feel free to add information based on their own lived experience and observations. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. I also collected valuable artefacts from my research sites, such as yearbooks and welcome packs for new students. The factual data supplied by the schools enabled a comparison between the lived reality of the interviewees and the actual facts and figures.

After completing the interviews, I was able to return to my literary survey of CLIL models used in Europe (Chapter 2), while using the vital information gathered at my research

sites as a lens. The knowledge about the status quo acquired from the three research sites enabled me to extract aspects of the CLIL philosophy and model that could potentially prove to be most useful to these three schools over both the short and the longer term to support and empower staff dealing with language as a barrier to learning.

The final step was to come up with a list of affordances which could be successfully adapted by these schools. I also made some recommendations based on these affordances. I revisited the perceived successes and shortcomings of this model in other countries before trying to determine which elements of this approach had the best chance of success in the South African independent school system.

At this point, I would like to look at the research paradigm within which the study operated. Research paradigms, according to Le Grange (2000:194), are:

...frameworks that serve as maps or guides for scientific/research communities, determining important problems and issues for their members to address and determining acceptable theories and methods to solve identified problems/issues.

I used the interpretive paradigm for this thesis. This paradigm embodies “fluid versus static reality; subjectivity versus objectivity; insider’s perspective versus outsider’s perspective; emergent categories versus fixed categories; and understanding versus explanation” (Le Grange, 2000:193). I wanted to go beyond merely describing or explaining what I encountered at my research sites. The aim of the study was to generate understanding (Conole, 1993:19; Le Grange, 2009:3). Habermas (1984) also emphasises that understanding is of vital importance when using the interpretive paradigm. This paradigm deals with different realities that are based on the researcher’s subjective experience. Due to my long-standing relationship with School A, it was impossible for me to remain entirely objective during this process, and I needed to use a paradigm that reflected this reality. After reading Conole’s (1993) article, it became very clear that the interpretive research paradigm would be the most effective methodology for my thesis. Furthermore, as this was approached within the interpretive paradigm, I chose to use the first person singular in my writing.

Ruiz introduced three approaches to language planning, namely the 'language-as-a-problem', 'language-as-a-right' and 'language-as-resource' orientations. Orientation, as he explains, refers to the "complex set of dispositions toward language and its role, as well as toward languages and their role in society" (Ruiz, 1984:25). Ruiz (1984:26) adds that the language-as-a-resource orientation:

...can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning.

The language-as-a-resource orientation grounds educational policies of language in the assumption that "language is a resource to be managed, developed and conserved" (Ruiz, 1984:16). Ricento (2005) writes that, although this orientation recently received a lot of criticism in the US, it nevertheless remains relevant in a more homogeneous context. I agree with this view and consequently used this resource as a lens in my conceptual map.

My interpretation of the available literature on CLIL in Europe, and to a lesser extent on CBI in the USA, provided a conceptual map of the factors that may be relevant to the South African independent school context. Using this map as a basis, a set of questions for the semi-structured interview schedule was developed. The interviews with the role players happened within the structures of rules for social engagement, and both the interviewer and interviewee played a cardinal role in this process where new knowledge was being brought to light. Both the literature survey and the interviews were used to develop a framework that could be used to guide and support the implementation of language support at the research sites.

1.4 CONCLUSION

The particulars and process of my research are presented in the following chapters: a literature survey detailing the current state of CLIL in Europe in Chapter 2; a closer look

at the current independent school landscape in South Africa in Chapter 3; research methodology and method in Chapter 4; and findings and analysis in Chapter 5. The final chapter contains answers to the research questions and recommendations based on the findings of the study, as well as some additional notes.

CHAPTER 2: THE CLIL MODEL IN EUROPE: TOWARDS A UNIFIED CONCEPTUALISATION OF CLIL

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I take a closer look at the CLIL model in 21st-century Europe. My aim is to attempt to pinpoint a core conceptualisation or a set of conceptualisations of CLIL, which could possibly be adapted by some South African independent schools to further enhance the effective incorporation of foreign-language students with language barriers into the mainstream. The first section of the chapter looks at CLIL's history in Europe and at attempts by scholars to accurately define the phenomenon. The next section focusses on the implementation of CLIL in four individual European countries, namely Sweden, Finland, Germany and Spain, before turning to three recent pan-European initiatives, the DYLAN Project, the LINEE report and ConCLIL. Before attempting to answer two critical questions at the end of the chapter, some time is spent on looking at integration as the key pedagogical principle in CLIL.

2.2 A MULTILINGUAL WORLD

There has been turmoil in the world of language teaching in the first part of the 21st century (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:10), especially in Europe. Considerable advances have been made towards a “multilingual turn” (May, 2013:1), i.e. the acknowledgement that individual learners and teachers bring diverse linguistic knowledge and resources to language education. Some scholars presently regard monolingual teaching “drip-feed” (Vez, 2009:8) or “second rate” (Lorenzo, 2007:35). Multilingualism in some shape or form has become of great importance, particularly in Europe, where the ‘mother tongue + 2’ objective, namely the need for European Union (EU) citizens to be proficient in their native language plus two other European languages, has been targeted for more than 30 years (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:10). This intention has been stated unequivocally as a goal by the European Commission since 1995.

At the same time, globalisation and refugees moving between borders have resulted in increasing internationalisation and mobility, not just within Europe, but all over the globe. These changes have highlighted the vitally important potential for languages in modern, multilingual societies to become an economic and social asset for both individuals and societies. This popular view has led to many cases of parents in different countries consciously pursuing educational opportunities for their children that would enhance their multilingual capacities. Many individual teachers and schools have responded to this need by offering foreign language instruction (Nikula et al., 2016:71). Multilingual ability as well as intercultural competence might very well become trademarks of the well-educated, global citizen of the 21st century.

2.3 EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE: LANGUAGE AS A RESOURCE

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ruiz (1984) suggested three approaches to language planning: the language-as-a-problem, language-as-a-right and language-as-resource orientations. Orientation, Ruiz (1984:15-17) explained, “refers to the complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and towards languages and their role in society”. Language orientations form the basis of formulating language problems, the resulting development of policies and interventions, and the eventual interpretation of policies for practice. The language-as-a-resource metaphor has allowed for a fresh view of the role of linguistic diversity in schools away from deficit-oriented thinking, where the foreign-language student is regarded as lacking and/or deficient in some way, towards asset-based approaches (De Jong, Li, Zafar & Wu, 2016:201). This language-as-a-resource orientation, based upon educational language policies, assumes that language is a resource to be developed, managed and conserved (Ruiz, 1984:16). Ruiz sees this orientation as an alternative language planning orientation, with the development of further language resources and the conservation of linguistic resources already in existence being the focus of this orientation. Escamilla, Chávez and Vigil (2005) take this metaphor even further by looking at how assessment and accountability practices are influenced when a language-as-a-problem (looking at English achievement only) or a language-as-a-resource (examining performance on native language and English tests)

orientation is applied by teachers. In this context the resource orientation “elicits questions about the extent to which culturally and linguistically diverse students’ needs are currently at all being met in the mainstream classroom” (De Jong et al., 2016:202), also in South Africa.

2.4 CLIL AND ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1 History

In 1965 a group of parents in Quebec, Canada had become concerned that their English-speaking children would be disadvantaged if they were not also fluent in French. These parents felt that standard second-language education at the time would not lead to proficiency in French, thus making it challenging later in life for their children to successfully compete in the job market. An immersion programme was established in the province as a result of these concerns, with English-speaking children studying all their subjects in French. This quickly became known as immersion teaching (Ruiz de Zarobe & Catalán, 2009:22). Experiences gained via the Canadian model of immersion and its European variations showed that “instruction through languages other than a learner’s mother tongue can lead to successful results in the areas of both language and content mastery” (Nikula et al., 2016:71).

Even though South Africa has a multilingual language policy, the broader educational situation seems to display many characteristics of an immersion programme. Learners, for instance, are expected to learn through their second language from Grade 4 without any additional scaffolding in place. The second language is also often spoken in the classroom only, especially in lower socio-economic environments (Kaiser et al., 2010:52-53).

Back in Europe, increasingly greater linguistic demands were placed on mainstream education by globalisation in the mid-1990s. Europeans needed to improve language learning opportunities for young people as a matter of urgency to increase European cohesion and mobility. This state of affairs led to the publication of the European

Commission's 1995 white paper. Largely as a result of this policy, "the adoption of CLIL in the European arena was rapid and widespread" (Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter, 2013:13). A little more than 10 years later, pilot CLIL projects involving 3-30% of students were happening in almost all European nations. According to the official European Network in Education and the 2006 Eurydice report, only six countries – Denmark, Greece, Cyprus, Lichtenstein, Portugal, and Iceland – did not take part (Ruiz de Zarobe & Catalán, 2009:xi). This spread led to official bodies, like the European Council of Modern Languages (2007:1), stating concern that the "implementation of CLIL is outpacing a measured debate about the impact on students and teachers of using an L2 (second language) as the medium of instruction". Many critics feel that the CLIL model seems to have exploded in Europe without a firm foundation in place.

2.4.2 Describing and delimiting CLIL

When the term CLIL was created and launched in the mid-1990s by UNICOM, the European Platform for Dutch Education and the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, (Marsh, 2006), it was defined as a "dual-focussed education approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Marsh & Langé, 2000). The twofold focus underscored the fact that CLIL has two aims: one subject-related, and the other with a language focus. The additional language used is normally not the native tongue of most of the participants. The emphasis on both language and content points to the very essence of CLIL, namely the fact that it combines these two aspects of learning, involving the fusion of elements of the curriculum which were previously disjointed. Teachers are required to give up their individualistic mindsets grounded in their own subject and to combine their knowledge and skills. According to Cenoz et al. (2013:2), using a language that is not the student's native language as a medium of instruction is an essential part of the CLIL strategy. Subject/content teachers are also expected to teach some language, especially by supporting the learning of those parts of subject-specific language knowledge that are missing from the language curriculum and which may prevent the student from mastering the content. From the above, it is clear that language teachers in CLIL programmes are required to play a unique

role. In addition to teaching the standard curriculum, they also work to support content teachers by helping students to gain the language needed to manipulate content from other subjects. In so doing, they help to reinforce the acquisition of content. In this way CLIL becomes a tool for the teaching and the learning of content as well as language. Thus, the essence of CLIL is 'integration'.

As described in Chapter 1, an integrated approach in CLIL can be summarised as 'including language learning in content classes'. This means that information must be repackaged clearly and concisely in a manner that facilitates understanding. Charts, diagrams and drawings, amongst others, are all part of CLIL methodology. Content from subjects is transferred to language classes. The language teacher, in his or her new role working together with teachers of other subjects, gets to incorporate the vocabulary, texts and terminology from these other subjects into the language classroom. Students learn the discourse patterns and appropriate vocabulary to really come to grips with the content. In language classes, as most teachers know, students are much more engaged when they are not simply learning 'discrete' language, but using their newly acquired language skills to accomplish concrete tasks and learn new content. The language teacher should therefore spend more time on helping students to improve their quality of language than the content teacher. Language learning can be enhanced even further by finding ways to inject content into language classes, which will also help improve language learning. To summarise, "CLIL can be seen as a foreign language enrichment measure packaged into content teaching" (Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2013:546).

In addition to language and content, a vital third element comes to the fore when using a CLIL model, namely the expansion and further development of learning skills which can support and enhance the attainment of both language and content goals. Significantly, Coyle (2007:550) writes that "CLIL provides students and teachers with an understanding and appreciation of the cultures associated with the CLIL language as well as the student's first language."

In the USA a similar CBI model has been defined as "the teaching of content or information in the language being learned, with little or no direct or explicit effort to teach

the language itself separately from the content being taught” (Krahnke, 1987:65). Rodgers (2001:210) adds additional assumptions underlying the principles of CBI:

- People learn a second language most successfully when the information they are acquiring is perceived as interesting, useful, and leading to a desired goal.
- Some content areas are more useful as a basis for language learning than others. Students learn best when instruction addresses students’ needs.
- Teaching builds on the previous experience of the students. Subjects like mathematics, science or history, traditionally known as content subjects, are taught in a language that is not the student’s first language. Content teachers also teach some language, especially language that is inherent in the specific subject.

The terms ‘content’ and ‘language’ are always contentious, but in this context, I am not pretending that content can be taught without also teaching the language of the content. By the same token, language teaching itself always needs content (e.g. literature, visual literacy, grammar).

Many scholars consider CLIL and CBI as “two labels for the same reality” (Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo & Nikula, 2014). Ruiz de Zarobe and Catalán (2009:vii) consider these terms as completely synonymous, with CLIL being the more popular term in Europe and CBI more popular in the USA and Canada. Cenoz (2015:13) also supports this school of thought and writes that:

Analysis shows that most CBI and CLIL programmes share the same essential properties and are not pedagogically different from each other in any significant way. Both acronyms refer to programmes where academic content is taught through a second or additional language.

The preference for one term over the other, according to Cenoz (2015), is associated with contextual and accidental characteristics. Llinares and Morton (2017:2) strongly disagree with this view and feel that:

...if we let ourselves be guided by the labels, the terms portray different approaches to bilingual education. CBI stands for content-based instruction, in other words, instruction of something (language) based on content. Regardless of what is actually implemented in CBI programmes the label indicates a primary focus on the language. And it is precisely the language aspect that has attracted most of the attention of researchers on CBI models. Although the label CLIL stands for content and language integrated learning, the term seems to be mainly used to describe bilingual education contexts where content classes are taught through an additional language but where little integration of content and language actually happens.

Both CBI and CLIL have frequently been used as umbrella terms. CBI is often defined as an “overarching term referring to instructional approaches that make a dual, though not necessarily equal, commitment to language- and content-learning objectives” (Grabe & Stoller, 2011:285). It would seem that CLIL, seen as an umbrella term, covers a variety of educational approaches, such as “immersion, bilingual education, multilingual education, language showers, and enriched language programmes” (Mehisto et al., 2008:12). CLIL may include a wide range of educational practices, “as long as they are conducted through the medium of an additional language” (Cenoz et al., 2013:17) and “as long as both language and content have a joint role” (Marsh, 2002:58). Although Ting (2010) states that CLIL advocates a 50/50 content/language CLIL equilibrium, this does not necessarily happen in practice. Marsh (2002:58) feels that the main criterion is that there should always be a dual focus on language and content instruction to qualify as CLIL, even if the proportion is 90% versus 10%.

Although it is generally agreed upon that “CLIL is a well-recognized and useful construct for promoting L2/foreign-language teaching” (Cenoz et al., 2013:16), its exact parameters seem to be nigh impossible to pinpoint. Consequently, CLIL has been challenged for its “ill-defined nature” (Paran, 2013:318) as well as its “internal ambiguity” (Cenoz et al., 2013:2). Paran (2013:319) goes so far as to say that CLIL is “afflicted with a high lack of terminological clarity, starting with the confusion between CLIL, CBI, and Immersion Education”.

When looking closely, it would seem that in the early days of CLIL, the prevalent tendency amongst researchers was to try to isolate features at the core of CLIL which could differentiate this model from other types of immersion approaches and could make it stand alone as an independent foreign-language teaching movement, not merely branching off other types of bilingual programmes (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Pérez-Cañado, 2012). The language of instruction (generally not present in the students' daily environment), as well as the new language taught through CLIL (mostly major international lingua francas, with English holding a position of particular importance), were initially regarded as the core features of the CLIL model. Other vital features were the methodology used (which involved the integration of language and content, with foreign-language teaching and CLIL lessons being timetabled alongside each other) as well as the targeted level of language (functional competence versus proficiency in the language studied). The linguistic command of teachers, the extent of exposure to the foreign language and/or the kind of teaching materials used – adapted or especially designed, versus authentic materials – also had a role to play (Cenoz, 2015:22).

Conversely, the figurative pendulum has recently swung to the other extreme, with this simplified view of CLIL being seen by many researchers as harmful for practitioners and researchers (Cenoz et al., 2013:1). Attempts to define CLIL by separating the model from other immersion approaches to second language education were also seen by some authors to be erroneous. In a similar vein, Cenoz et al. (2013), Hüttner and Smit (2014), as well as Cenoz (2015) chose to focus on the parallels and not the variances between CLIL, CBI and immersion. These authors advocated a more “inclusive, integrative, and constructivist stance” without attempting to establish a detailed definition of what exactly CLIL is. Nor did they want to become part of emotional debates about exact borders and what should be excluded (Hüttner & Smit, 2014:164). Coyle (2007), when reflecting on the lack of cohesion around CLIL pedagogies, writes that this elusive nature of CLIL is its greatest weakness, yet potentially it is also its greatest strength (Coyle, 2007:546). I agree with Coyle's view that the appeal of the term lies in its elasticity and its willingness to include rather than to exclude.

Unfortunately, this approach has definite drawbacks. Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010:3) hold the view that the term CLIL has “acquired some characteristics of a brand name, complete with the symbolic capital of positive description: innovative, modern, effective, efficient and forward looking.” They feel that these overly positive connotations may have attracted teachers and researchers across a wide spectrum to CLIL. As a result, the description of what a CLIL programme is or is expected to be in comparison with other existing programmes has been problematic and has not facilitated comparative studies (Cenoz, 2015; Cenoz et al., 2013). Often, it is the national or even local decision of stakeholders to call a programme CLIL, usually with the common denominator of a foreign language (mainly English) as the language of instruction (Llinares & Morton, 2017:1).

An alternative use of the term CLIL, which has become more common lately, is “any kind of pedagogical approach that *integrates* the teaching and learning of content and second- or foreign-language learning” (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014:218). Recently, many CLIL researchers have focussed on the aspect of *integration*, thus paying attention to the actual meaning of the label (e.g. Llinares, Morton & Whittaker, 2012; Nikula et al., 2016).

I agree wholeheartedly with the above authors that the “way out of this terminological puzzle” (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014:215) lies in “integration” (Ruiz de Zarobe & Cenoz, 2015:90). This acronym should only be seen as an umbrella construct and a much broader, all-encompassing view of CLIL is needed. This construct should be a “blanket term” (Cenoz et al., 2013:15) or a holistic view of how we use languages in a multicultural context. As is clear from the above statements, the current need is to identify the wide diversity of formats which can be incorporated within the CLIL model. As researchers and teachers, we have to share the results and effects of all types of multilingual programmes (be they CLIL, CBI or immersion) in order that the wider pedagogical and research community can draw the full benefits. Pérez-Cañado (2016:18) writes that a “clear taxonomy or delineation of alternative formats for CLIL would help to bring order to these matters”. For the converted and unconverted alike, the conceptual lack of clarity affecting CLIL has implications down to ground-level practice, with a myriad of consequences for the implementation of the CLIL model. Just as the definition of CLIL has often been seen

to be ambiguous, its implementation has been criticised for “lacking cohesion” (Coyle, 2008), “clarity” (Bruton, 2011) and “coherence” (Cenoz et al., 2013).

Although CLIL may be seen by many to be historically unique, it is most definitely not pedagogically unique (Cenoz et al., 2013:2). Many educators have long believed that every teacher is a language teacher and that language should be taught across the curriculum. This idea gained particular traction as a result of the Bullock (1975) report, which was compiled by a government committee set up to review the status of English language teaching in the United Kingdom (UK). One of the most important recommendations made by the authors of this report is that “[e]ach school should have an organised policy for language across the curriculum, establishing every teacher’s involvement in language and reading development throughout the years of schooling” (Bullock, 1975:514).

The essential elements for implementing a successful CLIL programme, according to Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010), are levels of teacher and student language proficiency, teacher availability and the amount of time that they are available, new ways of integrating content and language, out-of-school opportunities, assessment and evaluation practices, as well as networking with other countries. The scale and size of the CLIL programme, which means the extent to where instruction through the vehicular language is almost exclusively used, is an additional vital ingredient. Wolff (2005), on the other hand, sees the elements for success as determined largely by the environment and containing the degree of language and content teaching, subject choices, period of exposure, and the linguistic situation within which the school functions (monolingual/monocultural – multilingual/multicultural). Finally, for Rimmer (2009:4), the essential elements in “the CLIL mix” are the standard and depth of subject content, first and second language balances, subject specialist involvement and buy-in, and the overall presence of CLIL in the general curriculum.

These elements, when used as described or combined into a workable mix in a specific context, provide a broad array of possible CLIL programmes (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:14). Although this wide range of possibilities has been regarded as problematic by certain

scholars, an eminent group of authors has recently presented a strong argument that the various approaches which can be incorporated within the implementation of CLIL could actually effectively accommodate the European landscape's linguistic diversity (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:15; Wolff, 2005), thereby avoiding the "one-size-fits-all" model which has been a total failure (Lorenzo, Moore & Casal, 2011:454). This "context-sensitive stance" on CLIL, as Hüttner and Smit (2014:164) term it, is needed as local realisations of language teaching methodologies and, most importantly of all, a great variety of content subjects will ultimately guide the implementation.

Additionally, this stance is entirely in line with Kumaravadivelu's (2001:538) "post-method pedagogy of particularity", as Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-Llavador (2016:89) also endorse:

The CLIL approach is stretching some commonly assumed practices and theories of teaching and of second-language acquisition beyond their boundaries to the extent that the concept of method itself is being challenged and suggestions have been made to replace it with the pedagogic parameters of particularity, practicality and possibility as organizing principles for L2 teaching and teacher education.

Thus, in Dickey's (2004:13) terms, CLIL is "like a blanket on a large bed shared by many children, each pulling in their own direction". This very elastic nature, as well as the manifold variations encapsulated within it, has allowed the blanket to stretch to meet all needs without being torn to pieces. Yet, without fundamentally addressing key concerns regarding language learning processes as well as maintaining and developing the quality of the CLIL model, Ruiz de Zarobe and Catalán (2009:41) warn that "it could easily become just another buzzword that appears in foreign-language learning". It is important to know what it looks like in practice (Bruton, 2011). Its characteristic pedagogical practices need to be identified, while its linguistic, methodological and organisational qualities need to be further refined according to the demands of the different contexts where it is being applied (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:15).

To add to this terminological confusion, there seems to be ambiguity about the exact relationship between the concepts of CLIL and immersion. Immersion is an approach to teaching a new language where learners receive all or most of their instruction in the new language together with others who are learning that language (Clark, 2000). It is not a crude sink or swim approach in which non-English speakers are put into regular classes without special assistance. Effective English immersion expects teachers to use English as the prime instruction language, with content, vocabulary and syntax suited to the child's grade level and comprehension. Lyster (2007:137), in particular, has also written extensively about the merits of instruction in immersion programmes that systematically counterbalances language and content instruction. In this way immersion is similar to CLIL and resultantly, many scholars include immersion as one of the subdivisions of CLIL.

Another popular view of the difference between immersion and CLIL is that the goal of immersion is native-like proficiency, whereas the goal of CLIL is much less advanced levels of target language proficiency (Marsh, 2002). Some scholars feel that CLIL is more accessible to learners with a strong intellect and from a higher social class. As mentioned previously, Coyle et al. (2010:2) do not agree with this distinction and consider CLIL to be appropriate for a broad range of learners, not only those from privileged or otherwise elite backgrounds. CLIL has also been distinguished from immersion in that the language of instruction is a foreign language and therefore rarely present (or not present at all) in the social context outside the classroom (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009). While the presence of the instructional language outside the classroom is the case in some immersion contexts, such as in Catalonia or Quebec, many other current immersion and CBI settings are similar to CLIL in that the language of instruction is a foreign language, with classrooms forming a major, often the only, context in which learners have opportunities to use the target language (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012).

For the purposes of this thesis, I agree with Marsh and Langé's (2000:2) broad definition of CLIL as "...a dual-focussed education approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language".

As mentioned, CLIL has two foci, one subject-related and the other language-focussed. It is an important reality that CLIL integrates previously separated sections of the curriculum and requires teachers and curriculum planners to work together in an integrated way. The above definition succinctly states the key elements of the CLIL model but is also broad enough to allow for flexibility when adapting the model for maximal benefit in a specific country, school and/or socio-economic environment.

2.5 IMPLEMENTATION OF CLIL IN EUROPE

2.5.1 Overview

The European Commission (1995) stated that the EU expects mastery by their citizens of not only their mother tongue, but also two other European languages. Additionally, the European Commission (1995) stated that secondary students should study certain subjects in the “first foreign language” learned. Paradoxically, however, these aims of the EU were accompanied by neither suggested forms of implementation or guidelines nor by any specific funding (Sylvén, 2013:304). As a direct result of these vague, ambiguous directives, the capacity and/or motivation of individual member states of the EU to take real and meaningful action varied widely (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2010). Consequently, every country did its own thing. These subsequent discrepancies, for instance, in the implementation of CLIL between countries, make it challenging to compare CLIL practices in the larger European context as the scale of implementation and language policy frameworks vary significantly between countries (Sylvén, 2013:304).

When implementing a feasible policy framework for CLIL, governing bodies in the various European countries must decide individually which requirements can realistically be fulfilled within their own contexts. These national bodies frequently allow individual schools to make their own decisions about the feasibility and practical implementation of CLIL. As a result, CLIL policy is based on management documents relating to language at all different levels, from pan-European level to language practices at a local level. It could even include the individual beliefs of stakeholders (Pérez-Cañado, 2016). There is no unilateral approach throughout Europe. Instead there is a range of quite diverse local

versions with a strong “family resemblance”. These family members in the European language teaching scenario are: CLIL in English, AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras) in Spanish, and EMILE (l’Enseignement de Matières par l’Intégration d’une Langue Étrangère) in French (Muñoz, 2007:17).

Unlike most other languages, “English is no longer seen as an additional bonus but as vitally relevant for advanced literacy and gaining higher professional status” (Grin, 2001:67). This view is endorsed by Seidlhofer (2003) and other scholars who make the case for the separation of English in the catalogue of foreign languages at school level. The status of English proficiency has become similar to that of computing skills. Europeans need to have advanced English as well as technological skills, and English language competence has become a necessity for all (Huttner & Smit, 2014:163).

For this reason, CLIL is often associated with the learning of English as additional language only because the industry of second-language English teaching is such a global phenomenon. From the beginning, English has outnumbered the other languages used in the CLIL model. This fact has motivated many scholars, like Nikula (2010) and later Dalton-Puffer (2011), to contend that the most prevalent version of CLIL is, in fact, content and English integrated learning. The popularity of English as a driver for CLIL is also visible in its popularity outside of Europe. South Africa is an example of the popularity of English. While the reasons for this strong preference for English seem obvious, it is also clear that managers often make pro-English decisions due to the supportive teacher, parent and student beliefs and practices, not only in but also outside of school hours. Research focussing on various perspectives of CLIL has also escalated in the past decade (Sylvén, 2013:301). Most studies utilise CLIL with English as the language of instruction, and in some European countries, investigations have yielded positive results (Lasagabaster, 2008). In Spain, Navés and Victori (2010) found that, not only did CLIL students perform better than non-CLIL students, but eighth grade CLIL students actually did better than ninth grade non-CLIL students in all tests (Sylvén, 2013). In Finland, Nikula’s (2005) report showed that CLIL students are regarded as competent and confident users of English by their teachers (Sylvén, 2013). Germany is another country

that has found CLIL to be beneficial, for instance in the case of language accuracy (Zydatiss, 2007).

On the contrary, according to Sylvén (2013:305), two large studies investigating the effect of CLIL on vocabulary acquisition and school results in Sweden respectively suggest that the perceived success of CLIL is by no means unqualified. Washburn (1997) found that most students in intensive English programmes did indeed develop confidence and fluency in English, but also, interestingly, that there was no difference between the achievement of CLIL and non-CLIL students (Washburn, 1997). In another major study (Sylvén, 2004), where the focus was on vocabulary acquisition, the most influential factor on such acquisition was found to be the overall amount and/or level of students' exposure to the target language, rather than CLIL per se.

Sylvén (2013) compared four possible reasons for the seemingly wide gap in CLIL delivery and success across the European continent. Although there were many contributing factors, she chose to focus her investigation on four aspects: policy framework; education of teachers; implementation age; and extramural exposure to the target language (Sylvén 2013:303). The author analysed the state of CLIL in four European countries that have been making great strides in the implementation of such programmes. These countries were Sweden, Finland, Germany and Spain. Reasons for selecting these specific countries were that Sweden and Finland, as Nordic neighbours, would provide an interesting comparison. The inclusion of Spain in southern Europe as well as Germany in central Europe, with its interesting political history, provided an interesting general overview of CLIL in Europe. In this way, Sylvén managed to provide a wide-ranging analysis of the state of CLIL in Europe.

Sylvén (2013) starts the comparison by reiterating that extramural exposure to English (EE), as first named by Sundqvist in 2009, is a vital source of target language input in these four countries and cites, among others, her own 2004 article to support her point. As is the case almost everywhere else in the world, this input can take various forms. Television programmes and films in English with subtitles, instead of dubbing, are common sources of input in northern Europe (Sylvén, 2013:310). English is everywhere

on the internet and young travellers to and from these countries have increased opportunities to use English as a lingua franca. The amount of exposure to the target language outside of school has been shown to correlate directly with a number of language skills (Reinders, 2012; Sylvén & Sundqvist, 2012).

In Sweden, English is encountered daily by citizens, and students get most of their exposure to English outside of school hours. Studies have shown that secondary level students have extramural exposure for up to 40 hours per week (Sylvén & Sundqvist, 2012). In Finland the situation is similar. In a number of traditional Finnish domains, for example, youth culture, tourism and commerce, English is now the dominant language in Finland (Björklund, 2008). The amount of extramural exposure in Germany is not as extensive as in the Nordic countries. One reason is that English television programmes are often dubbed into German. Yet English is fast becoming the dominant language in several domains, and the internet and digital games are unlimited sources of English in these three abovementioned countries. However, in strong contrast to these countries, exposure to extramural English in Spain is relatively scarce. English television programmes and films are often dubbed. Spanish music is very popular amongst Spaniards and Spanish is a strong international language in itself. As is the case everywhere else though, the internet is omnipresent (Sylvén, 2013:310). When looking at the information above, it would seem that a CLIL approach, combined with ample exposure to EE, could very well be the ideal exposure scenario in Europe and possibly in other countries, like South Africa, as well.

EE seems to correlate to some degree to proficiency in that language. Sweden, the country in this comparison which has the highest level of extramural English, also showed best results in a European survey of students' English language skills (Sylvén, 2013:312). Spain did not score as well in that survey (Erickson, 2004). On the surface, as Sylvén seems to want us to believe, it could seem that the only reason for this is that extramural exposure to English is significantly less in Spain, but one must also keep in mind that, unlike the other languages in this study, Spanish is not a Germanic language. As a result, Spanish first-language speakers would find it harder to learn English than students in

countries with languages with Germanic roots. Sylvén, however, uses the available data to argue that it is very possible that in countries where the level of EE is high, as in the Nordic countries, the introduction of CLIL in English at upper secondary level is too late. At that age, student proficiency in English is already high, with English classes in school combined with consistent exposure to English outside of school (Sylvén, 2013:314).

Having looked at EE in these countries, Sylvén then takes a more detailed look at each of the four countries' individual policies, teacher education and age of implementation, as discussed next.

2.5.2 Sweden

The National Agency of Education in Sweden defines CLIL as “the teaching of a subject in another language than the student’s first language” (Skolverket, 2010) and, according to Sylvén, this is the singular mention of CLIL in a policy document at national level. CLIL, with English as the target language, was introduced in Sweden in 1977 as an experiment by an individual teacher (Aseskog, 1982). The success of this experiment led to others following suit, and by 2001 a total of 20% of all Swedish schools at upper secondary level were implementing CLIL in one way or another (Nixon, 2000). Sylvén (2013:307) concludes, however, that the inclusion or exclusion of domains in teacher training programmes actually determines the course for a nation’s future teachers. In countries with no specific training for CLIL teachers, the uninformed view might very well be that teaching content through another language is quite simple, when there is actually a vast range of other factors to take into account. At the time of writing this article (2013), CLIL was not specifically addressed in the student training programmes in Sweden, and as a result, in-service CLIL training for teachers was also very limited (Sylvén, 2013:307).

As mentioned previously, Sylvén (2013:304) feels that the CLIL results from Sweden are not that encouraging. Washburn (1997) also found that CLIL students did not gain the same level of competence in the subjects studied as their non-CLIL peers. In research published in 2004, Sylvén investigated lexical proficiency and concluded that it was the amount of exposure to English outside of school that was important for the students’

development of vocabulary, rather than the implementation of the CLIL model in school. Lim Falk (2008) also found that classroom interaction in Sweden was more limited in CLIL classrooms than in non-CLIL classrooms.

2.5.3 Finland

Like many other countries around the globe, Finland is a multilingual state. Finland's official language policy is protected by constitutional law. When the new republic was created in 1917, it was clearly stated that Finnish and Swedish would be recognised as its national languages. Additional laws in Finland specify the linguistic status of municipalities and the required language proficiency for civil servants. The government adheres to the principle of cultural autonomy; consequently, all educational and cultural services are available in at least two languages. The minority of Swedish-speaking citizens can thus be educated in their mother tongue from kindergarten up to postgraduate level at university. The national broadcaster has a separate Swedish language channel, and on radio as well as television services, specific blocks of time are given to Swedish-language programmes. When the League of Nations recognised the Åland Islands (located between Finland and Sweden) as part of Finland in the 1920s, this area received a substantial degree of autonomy and the Swedish language also obtained strong legal protection. Even the Sami language has gained recognition by the government. In the Sami region, students can opt to be taught Sami as first or second language. They can also choose Sami as the language of instruction. From as long ago as 1992, Sami can be used all over the Lapland region for official business purposes and, as a result, interpretation services have to be available for this purpose (Marsh, Nikula, Takala, Rohiola & Koivisto, 1994:n.p.).

Although there is a long tradition of bilingualism in Finland, immersion schools using Swedish as a medium of instruction only became a reality as late as 1987 (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen, 2011), about the same time that CLIL classes using English as a vehicular language started in Finland. Presently, CLIL is found mostly at upper secondary level in schools and it is also becoming common at lower levels (Sylvén, 2013:308). In the 2004 Finnish national curriculum, CLIL and immersion teaching are outlined in a

separate chapter of their own, dealing with aspects such as goals and means of implementation. According to Marsh et al. (1994), research carried out in Finland on CLIL is also noteworthy.

A recent finding (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Palviainen, Saarinen & Ala-Vähälä, 2012) is that the demand for English teaching seems to have levelled off after the enormous expansion of the number of schools offering CLIL in the late 1990s. In Finland the term 'internationalisation' is often seen to be synonymous with CLIL instruction and learning (Marsh et al., 1994:n.p.).

The aforementioned authors add that 'Inset' (in-service teacher training) in CLIL has been part of the curriculum at certain Finnish universities since 1991. A variety of programmes has also been offered since 1990, ranging from limited seminars and workshops up to more extensive programmes run over a period of one year (Marsh et al., 1994: n.p.). Two major Finnish centres of CLIL training and research are the Universities of Vaasa and Jyväskylä. Finland has been incorporating immersion and CLIL in teacher education for a long time and there are certain set proficiency requirements for CLIL teachers. Non-native CLIL teachers must also perform language tests (Sylvén, 2013:314). The Finnish government is committed to this methodology and research shows that CLIL has become a huge part of the language landscape. Marsh et al. (1994:n.p.) are clear that CLIL in Finland "...remains a subject teachers' movement towards language, rather than language teachers shifting focus towards subject matter".

2.5.4 Germany

The history of CLIL in Germany differs greatly from that of other European countries, largely because of its troubled political past. German-French bilingual language sections were set up in schools in Germany as early as 1963. This was an essential component of the efforts towards reconciliation in the aftermath of World War II with the aim of promoting not just linguistic, but also extensive cultural bonds between the two neighbouring countries (Mäsch, 1993; Zydatis, 2007). Rather than being based on an academic theory, the introduction of a foreign language in German schools was primarily

a political decision (Zydatiss, 2007). In the 1990s English was introduced as another target language in CLIL teaching. Sylvén adds that, according to Wolff (2007), by 2007 English had become the most commonly used CLIL language in Germany.

The 16 fairly autonomous Bundesländer (provinces) that make up Germany make their own decisions with regard to their own educational policies, and there is no unilateral CLIL model in the German context (Sylvén, 2013:305). Yet there seems to be consensus regarding some of the general principles. A core objective of bilingual teaching of specialised subjects is the advancement of language skills (Wolff, 2007). A central objective of CLIL in Germany remains 'intercultural learning', dating back all the way to the roots of bilingual learning in the post-war era (Coyle, 2007:546).

In Germany, CLIL would normally be introduced in the year seven syllabus, when students are 12-13 years old. To prepare the students for this, extra lessons in the target language are offered from year five or six for up to seven hours per week (Sylvén, 2013:308).

Surprisingly, there is almost no pre-service training in CLIL available in Germany, although there are several in-service courses available. CLIL teachers, however, are required to at least have one language and one content subject as part of their undergraduate degree (Sylvén, 2013:307).

2.5.5 Spain

CLIL in Spain is clearly stated and positioned, at least as it pertains to the level of self-governing or autonomous communities (Sylvén, 2013:305). The Spanish approach to CLIL can be divided into two main geographical areas. In mostly monolingual regions, the implementation of CLIL means that students are in fact taught in something akin to a third language (Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010). CLIL has exploded in Spain in the first part of the 21st century (Sylvén, 2013). As the autonomous regions have a history of bilingualism, the use of another language for teaching content is fairly uncontested (Figueras, 2009). However, regions vary in their implementation of CLIL. Andalusia, for

instance, launched an ambitious plan to promote plurilingualism in 2005. The prime objective of this plan is to meet the EU goal of '1 + 2' languages. The Andalusian plan is substantial and aims to address the need for the enhancement of students' abilities in the target language as well as to achieve a broader cultural understanding (Casal & Moore, 2009).

In Andalusia as well as in the Spanish area of Madrid, CLIL is already implemented in primary schools, and up to 40% of classroom teaching time is conducted in a foreign language. In the bilingual Basque region, some schools are known to implement the 'Plurilingual Experience', which requires a minimum of seven hours per week to be taught in the target language (Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010).

There seems to be considerable awareness of the need for CLIL teacher training in Spain, not only in target language proficiency, but also in other domains, such as teaching subjects while working on improving students' language skills (Ball & Lindsay, 2010). In Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country, alongside other areas in Spain with their own national tongues, immersion education became an educational reality a while ago, mostly as a result of necessity. Presently other regions known for their monolingualism have recognised the potential of CLIL-model-like arrangements for meeting plurilingualistic challenges in education. The *Plan de Fomento del Plurilingüismo* in Andalusia and the Bilingual Network in the Comunidad de Madrid are examples of significant instances where foreign languages are seen as "vehicles of instruction in state education". Their perceived successes are persuading other Spanish territories to follow suit (Ruiz de Zarobe & Catalán, 2009:4-6).

2.6 RECENT PAN-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE STUDY INITIATIVES

2.6.1 The DYLAN Project

The DYLAN (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity) Project was a five-year integrated research project funded by the EU's Sixth Framework Programme for Research and Technology Development. Researchers from 18 universities in 12

European countries took part in this project which ran from 2006 to 2011. The aim of the DYLAN Project was to take a fresh look at multilingualism in a variety of business, higher education and other European settings to better understand the exact nature of multilingual interaction. Multilingual practices were observed at close range to shed light on the interaction between people with different language profiles (DYLAN Project, 2011:5). Their conclusions seem to support the philosophy underpinning Ruiz's theory of language as a resource, which is the theoretical framework of this thesis.

The findings from the DYLAN Project indicate that actual multilingualism means drawing on one's entire language repertoire, made up of more or less advanced skills in a variety of languages. The ways in which language repertoires are used and manipulated are numerous, suggesting a flexible, inclusive approach to the use of Europeans' language skills (DYLAN Project, 2011:16). This additive approach to language goes to the heart of the CLIL philosophy. CLIL thinking is further supported by the statement that "[l]anguage is a verb". This statement from the DYLAN Project (2011:16) considers 'languaging' as a creative activity. To this statement, De Graaff (in Nikula et al., 2016: xv) adds that "subject is a verb" because each subject is taught and learnt by doing. To support this view, De Graaff reiterates Byrnes' (2005) statement that the existence and stability of content separate from language is an illusion. By the same token, De Graaff maintains that the possibility of the existence and stability of language separate from content is an illusion (Nikula et al., 2016: xiv).

Conclusions from the DYLAN Project seem to confirm earlier outcomes, suggesting that the use of multilingual repertoires allows various kinds of access to knowledge and deepens our understanding of the role of interaction in these processes. This is especially apparent in:

...the construction and transmission of knowledge through multilingual education in higher educational establishments. Terrain observations indicate that the use of different languages changes our perception of processes and objects, resulting in deepening and "fine-tuning" of conceptual multilingualism as a cognitive resource (DYLAN Project, 2011:32).

Consequently, it appears that multilingual practices provide multiple keys to concepts and different, original ways of handling them. These practices allow for a much closer look at words and more reflection on the linguistic substance of the actual concepts in the languages used, as well as explicit processing of the true nature of the relationship between linguistic form and conceptual content, thereby putting special emphasis on its symbolic nature. For example, paying attention to a seemingly isolated language problem could very well lead to the re-examination of conceptual knowledge. In the same way, it can be said that, to understand content, students must pay attention to more intricate details of the second language (DYLAN Project, 2011:14). Too many teachers see second-language learning and subject matter learning as completely separate processes, whereas the learning of any language, and especially more academic language, is nearly always an integral part of the lessons in which it is used. The writers of the DYLAN Project booklet emphasise that:

Complex knowledge is affected by the way in which it is formulated and so multilingualism can be viewed as a decoder of complexity. It should, according to the authors of this report, be seen as a hard rather than a soft skill (DYLAN Project, 2011:18).

The authors of the DYLAN Project booklet conclude their report by stating that:

Language dynamics are caught between two contradictory forces: on the one hand progressivity and efficiency, related to immediacy, economy and simplicity; on the other hand, inter-subjectivity and fairness, related to participation, collaboration and the decoding of complexity. Both are necessary components of efficient communication (DYLAN Project, 2011:34).

2.6.2 The LINEE report

LINEE (Language in a Network of European Excellence) was a scientific group of nine European universities that was tasked to investigate linguistic diversity in Europe in the new millennium. The LINEE 'Network of Excellence' was co-funded by the EU's Sixth

Framework Programme (FP6). After commencing in November 2006, it finally wound up its activities in October 2010.

According to the report, LINEE (2010) attempted to address four thematic areas, namely:

- language, identity and culture;
- language policy and planning;
- multilingualism and education; and
- language and economy.

The LINEE (2010) report represented the findings of almost a hundred researchers who were tasked to investigate the diversity of language in 14 European countries over a period of four years. Each of the topics listed above was investigated at length at European, national and regional levels. A larger, overarching project which took place at the same time, took stock of theories and methods utilised by LINEE researchers in order to develop an information platform that would provide data about the main theoretical and methodological concepts which were used in research of multilingualism in Europe (LINEE, 2010:3).

LINEE and DYLAN pooled forces in several ways. Not only did DYLAN members take part in three of LINEE's training institutes, but LINEE members reciprocated by taking part in the first DYLAN summer school in 2008. In turn, DYLAN members were invited to participate in LINEE's concluding conference, *New Challenges for Multilingualism in Europe*, in Croatia. In 2008, LINEE and DYLAN representatives also officially met in Vienna during the Österreichische Linguistiktagung (ÖLT) to present and compare the two projects. The final result of this cooperation was the setting up of a task force to discuss the way ahead for collaboration and research activities.

Although English emerged in LINEE case studies as "a neutral common language with only a marginal, national connotation" (LINEE, 2010:7), the report did raise concerns about the possible neglect of power relations and the resulting likely conflicts between language groups and even states. The researchers felt that, if these issues remained

unresolved, they could lead to general scepticism and even the perception of multilingualism singularly being used as a tool for marketing and propaganda. The main finding in this report, however, was that, as yet, “multilingualism in European classrooms is a largely unexploited resource” (LINEE, 2010:6). The concerns raised by this report are discussed in more detail in section 2.8 as part of the first critical question.

2.6.3 ConCLIL

The next significant, mainly pan-European, international research project, ‘ConCLIL- Language and Content Integration: Towards a conceptual framework’, was funded by the Academy of Finland and ran from 2011 to 2014. This project brought together researchers from Finland, Austria, Spain, the UK and Canada for the sole purpose of exploring integration in CLIL. Their research project made it possible to pool data from the countries represented by these researchers and to find common threads between what was happening under the CLIL umbrella in these countries. As the title of their research project suggests, these authors believed that, to maximise the possibilities of using language as a resource, a truly integrated approach to language and content is vital.

De Graaff (in Nikula et al., 2016:xiii) reiterates Dalton-Puffer et al.’s (2010) view that “...an integrated approach to teaching content and language is much more than only teaching non-language content through an additional language”.

It seems that there is general agreement amongst scholars that an integrative approach to content and language learning is relevant for any teaching and learning in any language, be it first, second or foreign. Language is not only a challenge in bilingual education or for pupils from migrant or other second-language backgrounds, but for any pupil (Nikula et al., 2016:xv). De Graaff (in Nikula et al., 2016) further supports Mehisto’s (2015:xxi) term “reciprocal co-evolution”, referring to educational systems where stakeholders, their understanding, actions and the forces they are subject to and influence all evolve in response to one another and in response to other external stimuli. Nikula et al. (2016) are clear on the fact that this does not call for a one-size-fits-all approach. Such an integrated approach can only be successful if it takes the needs and challenges of the

respective subjects, language contexts and participants into account. If so, the approach will also help us understand that “[i]ntegration in CLIL is not primarily about the subject teacher’s additional responsibility to pay attention to language but to the inherent role of language in teaching and learning” (Nikula et al., 2016:xv).

There is a broad consensus in education that subjects are “talked into being” and that the “talking” aspect of lessons can be seen as the chief locus of knowledge construction (Edwards & Mercer, 1987; Mercer, 2000). It is, however, not only the social construct of school subjects that is an issue, but the activity of learning itself. If we accept that language is a resource, we must assume that particular verbalisations, which make the learning matter intersubjectively accessible and represent knowledge objects and thought processes, are constitutive of learning itself. As Dalton-Puffer (in Nikula et al., 2016:29) writes: “Cognitive discourse functions (CDFs) are verbal routines that have arisen in answer to recurring demands while dealing with curricular content, knowledge items and abstract thought in the classroom.”

The demands as such (e.g. classifying, hypothesising) and the requirement that students demonstrate the ability to enact them are regular features in today’s competence-oriented school curricula. For learners in CLIL classrooms, however, operating in an imperfectly known second or foreign language, the linguistic resources presupposed by the enactment of these competences are often precarious. Dalton-Puffer believes that cognitive discourse functions and their linguistic realisation may be a pivot that can give CLIL teachers the perspective that, when they are modelling or teaching ways of verbalising subject-specific cognitive actions to students, they are not “doing the language teacher’s job but actually teaching their subject in a very substantial way” (Nikula et al., 2016:30).

Most recent research on CLIL also seems to focus on the aspect of integration as a key pedagogical principle of this model. The next section (2.7) will explore this element in more detail, leaning heavily on the research and insights provided by the group of ConCLIL researchers in the publication mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

2.7 UNPACKING INTEGRATION AS A PEDAGOGICAL PRINCIPLE IN CLIL

2.7.1 Introduction

Integration in education can be broadly defined as “blending into a functioning or unified whole” (Collins & O’Brien, 2011:241). The theoretical framework of the use of language as a resource also highlights the utmost significance of integration as a pedagogical principle. If integration is to happen effectively inside and outside the CLIL context, subject and language teachers must collaborate in developing truly integrated subject- and language-related tasks to optimise the benefits of the infinite resource of language for both teacher and student. It is important to remember that the link between language and knowledge building and, more specifically, the apparent dependence of educational success on particular aspects of linguistic competence are not issues that have arisen for the first time in CLIL. Most educational approaches agree that “[l]anguage and content competencies develop simultaneously and, as a result, are best dealt with in close combination” (Nikula et al., 2016:21).

The concept of integration, however, is highly complex. Apart from content and language matters, a wide array of other factors – for instance institutional, pedagogical as well as personal – must also be factored in (Nikula et al., 2016:1). Coyle’s (2007) well-known “four Cs, namely content, culture, communication and cognition”, are crucial considerations in CLIL. The four Cs emphasise the fact that the role of language needs should be looked at, not only from the viewpoint of the language and content to be mastered, but also from the perspective of the type of language used for learning as well as the cultural-contextual factors involved. Apart from CLIL, the need for a comprehensive take on language and content integration is also relevant for other forms of bi- and multilingual education. On the other side of the spectrum, a more explicit orientation towards the relationship between language and content in education is also increasingly important in the mainstream contexts that are becoming increasingly diverse through processes of globalisation and migration (Ahrenholz, 2010).

2.7.2 Integration blurs the lines between the traditional silos of specific subject areas

Even by discussing content and language integration, scholars seem to consider content and language as separate by ignoring their inherent interdependency. Yet, "...it is through language that school subjects are taught and through language that students' understanding of concepts is displayed and evaluated in school contexts" (Nikula et al., 2016: xiv; Schleppegrell, 2004:1).

According to Nikula et al. (2016:5), growing attention from international curriculum experts to the importance of language across the curriculum can clearly be seen in the recent curriculum renewal work in Finland. The new Finnish core national curriculum was launched in 2016, and in this document, greater language emphasis is placed on multiliteracy, which features as a core factor in the broad competence areas needed in the future. There is also an acknowledgement that increasing cultural diversity needs to be accompanied by better language awareness in education (Operushallitus, 2014). The curriculum work in Finland was influenced by the 2006 curriculum reform in Norway where language aims are clearly visible in the core curriculum (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006). Each subject curriculum in Norway is expected to incorporate five basic skills, namely reading, expressing oneself orally, expressing oneself in writing, developing numeracy, and using digital tools (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006). Research and development also seem to be particularly intense in Germany, where language and subject educators are working on a range of projects fostering cross-curricular sensitivity to language amongst policymakers as well as classroom teachers (Thürmann, Vollmer & Pieper, 2010).

All language transactions happen within a specific context. The sense that humans make of what others say crucially depends on how these statements are framed. The context and how it is framed are also crucial considerations when discussing language and content integration in CLIL. We are dealing with educational contexts characterised by institutional logic whereby, certainly from secondary level onwards, schools are organised along cultural constructs called subjects, for example mathematics, history, foreign

language and sports (Nikula et al., 2016:7). These subjects are not natural, but rather the result of historical processes, and they rest on the social agreement that they serve a purpose in structuring knowledge and skills deemed societally relevant enough to be passed on to the younger generation in an organised fashion. The knowledge and skills are defined and discussed in documents called curricula, wherein those in authority also formulate goals that learners should have reached with regard to certain knowledge and skills areas by a set stage in their educational careers. Consequently, these are the goals which the teachers should be helping the learners to achieve; in other words, this is what they should teach (Nikula et al., 2016:8).

The significance of the subjects goes further than curriculum documents and determines the daily temporal and material reality of teachers and learners. Educators have studied to be teachers of one or more specific subjects; they are history teachers or mathematics teachers who have been socialised into the specific discourses and practices of history education, mathematics education or French language education, for example. Pupils take state examinations in specific subjects and school administrators design timetables and arrange subjects following upon each other in a roughly hourly rhythm during the school day. For the learners, these hourly slots are associated with specific people, textbooks and materials, types of activities, amount of homework to do, and so on (Nikula et al., 2016:8).

2.7.3 A multidimensional dimension of integration is needed

The multidimensional constellation of CLIL teaching as an event where varied institutional, educational, personal and pedagogical purposes intersect, requires a correspondingly multidimensional dimension of integration (Nikula et al., 2016:8). There are three vital perspectives on integration, namely the what, the who and the how:

- a) The first perspective (what) deals with the institutional level of planning curricula and pedagogies where decisions are made regarding what exactly will be integrated and how. Decisions are usually based on well-articulated ideas about the role of language in content learning.

- b) The second perspective (who) deals with the participants, referring particularly to their perceptions of and beliefs about integration as an influential factor in any content-based scenario.
- c) The final perspective (how) focusses on the level of classrooms and content and language integration as a matter of in situ practices for a comparable division of language policy matters into language practices, ideology and beliefs, and management and planning (Nikula et al., 2016:8).

CONCEPTUALISING INTEGRATION IN CLIL AND MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

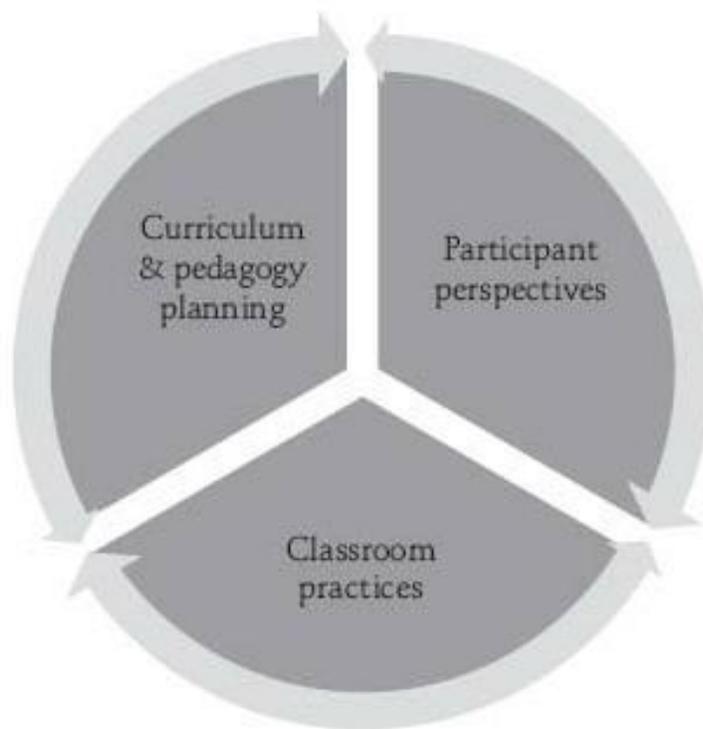


Figure 1: Nikula et al.'s three perspectives on integration

As Figure 1 suggests, the three perspectives are simultaneous and interconnected rather than separate and discrete. Exploring content and language integration from these three perspectives makes it possible to approach integration in a comprehensive manner (Nikula et al., 2016:9).

2.7.3.1 Integration at institutional level

An important step in the exploration of content and language integration is how it gets conceptualised by curricular designers at syllabus level. Curricula should incorporate what education authorities define as the essential learning material and goals within the particular subject boundaries. This should also be broken down into what is to be taught in schools at the particular grade levels. Curricula should also make recommendations on how exactly the subject matter should be taught to ensure that desired competencies are reinforced. Curricula should formulate goals and even state how to best achieve these goals.

A thoroughly integrated curriculum provides an innovative alternative to traditional, institutionalised conventional education – a shift away from a ‘collection curriculum’ as we currently know it that divides content into traditional subjects. To achieve an integrated curriculum will entail sea changes in educational praxis as well as organisation. “Curriculum integration implies a move from mechanic to organic pedagogic practice” (Nikula et al., 2016:10).

For this reason, there should be a renewed focus in schools on project work and problem-based teaching. Integrated classes should ideally contain fresh teaching scenarios with content teachers planning their mathematics or science tasks within language-sensitive frameworks. These tasks should include various communicative practice activities in the L2. Integrated practices should make the linguistic nature of subjects more prominent. Effective integration will always require close collaboration between content and language teachers. One of the important decisions for CLIL schools will always be how to achieve this. Respective responsibilities must be assumed by all subject areas to do advanced language structure development. “Ultimately language and social structures should run parallel” (Nikula et al., 2016:11).

Curriculum integration is not simply an organisational device demanding cosmetic, superficial changes, but a way of thinking about what schools are actually meant to do, about the sources of curriculum, and about the use of knowledge (Beane, 1997:616).

There must be a shift in emphasis from seeing language competence as a mere set of skills, to a more comprehensive and contemporary view of literacies as social practices embedded in social and political processes and structures. Only once this paradigm shift has been made, can it effectively be carried over to the field of curriculum planning. Integration should therefore explore the areas where language and content intersect. The next step would be to sort out both content and language units clearly in a meticulously conceptualised plan or curriculum. As most teachers have experienced, language matters to be dealt with in content courses are often selected merely on instinct and experience. In these cases, no linguistic framework and no proper language theory underpin these decisions. They are even sometimes based on impromptu language needs that teachers identify in their students (Nikula et al., 2016:11). While research and experience indicate the advantages of a content-driven curriculum in foreign-language classrooms, our educational bureaucracy, which is not interdisciplinary by nature, perpetuates the separation of language and content (Stryker & Leaver, 1997:7).

To summarise, truly integrated curricula should be well-developed models based upon extensive research, which can be used by teachers and other practitioners as tools to increase their own understanding of content and language integration.

When language input is planned methodically across the curriculum, content and language teachers can produce a combined scheme that gives a clear sense of structure to the class. Integrated lesson plans could start with content units (e.g. integers in mathematics), represent them in discourse events (e.g. describing an ecosystem), and further split them into language units of different sizes (e.g. genres, functions, vocabulary). As part of integration, every subject area should plan academic tasks (e.g. teacher-driven lectures, text compositions, problems) as communicative activities which may incorporate L2 practices. The result should be a hybrid of content teaching and task-based L2 teaching. Teachers should take the time to select and practise language difficulties (pre-task phase) before the actual content task is done (task phase) and the final language reflection stage follows (post-task phase) (Lorenzo, 2007). This approach has proved useful for increasing language awareness in CLIL settings and has inspired

templates for bilingual material development based on language description (Moore & Lorenzo, 2015).

2.7.3.2 The participants

Teachers' beliefs are deemed to greatly influence their educational practice (Borg, 2005; Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003). In a similar fashion, students' beliefs and attitudes have also been extensively researched in education (Nikula et al., 2016:14). In CLIL an important factor is how the teachers involved conceive of the relationship between content and language in their own professional practice. Cammarata and Tedick (2012:257) argue that:

...one of the main influences of immersion on teachers is that teachers may feel the need to revisit and reshape their teaching identity – that is envisioning themselves not only as content teachers but as language teachers as well.

Yet it seems safe to say that most educators and educational systems seem to understand that effective learning in a linguistically challenging milieu, as is the case in multilingual education, can be facilitated and enhanced with careful language intervention. A popular practice in North America is that of sheltering, which invokes images of learners being out in the cold and associations of learners receiving extra nourishment in order to catch up with mainstream L1 learners. By contrast, CLIL learners are seen as being mainstream, or even as a capable and privileged band of mainstream schooling (Nikula et al., 2016:6).

Teachers need each other's perspectives to develop and strengthen their own competencies and beliefs (Nikula et al., 2016:146). The quality of multilingual education seems to depend on providing content learning while paying special attention to the language of the subject. Teachers need to be constantly aware that it is through language that pupils learn their subject. Language is used as a resource to reinforce understanding of cognitive concepts. Many CLIL teachers, who may also teach their subject in L1 to mainstream classes, come to realise that language plays an important role in content

teaching and learning in any context. It seems obvious that this would be the case not only for students with poor language skills but for all students. Llinares et al. (2012) argue convincingly that, at any language level and cognitive level, pupils who learn content also need to develop the language appropriate to that content.

2.7.3.3 Integration in the classroom

No-one could argue that language education does not permeate all subject areas. The interaction between different disciplines renders a more accurate picture of knowledge construction. Classrooms can therefore be seen to exist in a world of intersemiosis (O'Halloran, 2007), where relationships are continuously co-contextualised and re-contextualised (Nikula et al., 2016:11). Language (first or second), visual imagery and mathematical symbolism co-occur and provide the informational input needed for meaningful knowledge construction. It is by blending various outputs that knowledge takes shape. Even in a science class, language remains the main tool of conceptualisation and classification, but it is only useful when integrated with mathematical and visual representation (Lemke, 2002:10; Nikula et al., 2016:11).

Students show knowledge through language. Different tasks assigned to them lead students to approach content from different perspectives. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate classroom practices from all perspectives, from the moment a teacher introduces new content, through to the students engaging with that content, to the type of assessment carried out and the actual materials that scaffold these processes (Banegas, 2012).

Contexts where L2 is used as the tool of instruction emphasise the need to attend to 'language work' in content subjects as well. Schleppegrell and O'Hallaron (2011:5) point out that, apart from knowledge in their content areas and applying this knowledge in the planning stages, teachers also need strategies for engaging students in robust ways in exploring language and content in the moment-to-moment unfolding of instruction in the classroom. Teachers need to become more aware of the scaffolding strategies that can be used to support the development of students' linguistic resources in the expression of

academic content. Attention also needs to be paid to how students express the academic meanings required in the disciplines they are studying. It must be clearly understood how these students move from the spoken word to literacy and how they express factual information. Teachers, as well as researchers, must be able to evaluate the academic content that they are teaching. Some studies undertaken in Spain have shown that expressing meanings in a subject-appropriate manner is not an easy task for CLIL students nor, for that matter, for students studying through their L1 (Nikula et al., 2016:19).

Content and language integration should be explored as an interactional phenomenon. Evnitskaya (2014) focussed on the construction of explanation in eight secondary-level science lessons, taking into account both verbal and multimodal means with which explanations are co-constructed. Her findings point to great complexity and variability in how participants accomplish their action of explaining. Another important aspect of joint meaning negotiation relates to the fact that it is often accomplished amongst peers (Nikula et al., 2016:20) and therefore not always observed by the teacher.

Research with a combined focus on language and content is rare. While school-level students are socialised into different subjects, researchers are also socialised into different disciplines. One of the general obstacles to interdisciplinary research is the inherent pecking order amongst scientific disciplines, on which the study of language does not always rank high. Yet educational researchers with dual-academic backgrounds might be uniquely equipped to drive forward integration on the level of modelling, operationalisation and theorising. Interestingly, mathematics education, traditionally at the top of the subject hierarchy, was amongst the first to take a linguistic turn (Nikula et al., 2016:21).

2.7.4 True integration across all subject areas: an illusion?

In theory, the concept of integration across all subjects at all school levels sounds like the perfect, forward-looking, global scenario for education in the 21st century. In practice, however, it might very well prove to be nigh impossible to implement in most countries on a national scale.

At a macro level, undoing the development of discrete subject curricula over the course of many centuries, as well as reversing subject specialists' socialisation as subject experts will not be an easy process. In most countries, any decisive move from the status quo towards a CLIL model at a provincial and national level would only start to gain momentum once there is a significant body of compelling and comprehensive research available proving the benefits of this approach beyond any shadow of a doubt. Once the bureaucracy has been convinced that integration is the only way forward, it will take decades for less rigid divisions between subjects to work through the education system. Subsequently it will take many years to design new CLIL curricula and suitable learning materials for schools. Only once this has been done can tertiary teacher-training institutions start restructuring their courses to prepare student teachers for the new curricula.

At a micro level, teacher resistance is to be expected. Many subject specialists may not regard themselves as linguists and therefore feel ill-equipped to deal with the language component. The very fact that they studied their specialisations at tertiary level is exactly what makes them experts in that field. Not having had tertiary training in language education will be a huge stumbling block in reorienting existing subject specialists towards CLIL integration. As mentioned in section 2.7.2, there is a tacit hierarchy in staffrooms worldwide whereby the science, IT and mathematics teachers often earn more than other teachers because of their desirability in the private sector. Again, there would have to be a very convincing body of evidence to convince these teachers to change their current ways of doing things. Retraining existing teachers would have to be supported strongly by secondary-teacher training institutions, which would have to lead the way by presenting ongoing, in-service training courses for teachers.

In the current South African tertiary education system, as is the case in nearly all other countries, the focus on separate subject disciplines is at the heart of the system and has been that way for hundreds of years. This institutionalised separation subverts attempts at integration on all levels; methodical re-education of all concerned parties will take time, energy and money.

In the light of these issues, two critical questions needed to be answered comprehensively before relevant research regarding the CLIL model's potential usefulness in the South African independent schooling system could be done. In a country with 11 national languages, no model that does not actively foster multilingualism has any chance of success. Therefore, the first critical question was whether the CLIL model, in reality, is supportive of multilingualism in its current form.

As the study would be done at exclusive, independent schools in South Africa, the next critical question had to be whether a CLIL model could foster elite multilingualism. Elite multilingualism can be defined as multilingualism where the students adopt English mainly because of the perceived superior status of the language (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013:14). A clear comparison, however, has to be drawn between folk bilingualism, where another language is acquired informally in a social context, and elite bilingualism, where the other language is acquired in the formal education context. At first glance, it seemed that the CLIL model could indeed foster elite multilingualism, but a more thorough examination had to be done.

2.8 CRITICAL QUESTION 1: IS CLIL SUPPORTIVE OF MULTILINGUALISM?

As mentioned in section 2.6.2, the LINEE (2010) report represents the findings of more than 80 researchers across Europe over a period of four years. According to the LINEE (2010:6) report, multilingualism as a resource in European classrooms is still underutilised. In standard European classrooms, multilingualism is not yet seen as enough of an asset. Most teachers still seem to embrace the now dated ideologies of using only one language in the classroom, while at the same time frowning on code-switching practices. According to the writers of the report, this becomes especially obvious when one looks at the current ways of teaching immigrants. Many teachers in European classrooms still seem to believe that using and learning several languages simultaneously could confuse learners and slow down acquisition of the new language learnt. In addition, in foreign-language classrooms in Europe, too many teachers still seem to insist on using the target language only (e.g. French only in French courses) while consciously not integrating other languages into their teaching. This approach

ignores or neglects a lot of students' multilingual resources, creative potential and effective everyday multilingualism (Nikula et al., 2016:41).

Lorenzo (2007:30) rather optimistically believes that the effective implementation of CLIL could reverse this trend and that CLIL has the potential to make classrooms in Europe truly multilingual by “strengthening the three main pillars of European language ideology”, which are as follows:

- The first pillar is that European identity should be more important than ethnic and national differences between identities that are traditionally linked to the use of national languages as well as national language competence. Lorenzo feels that these separate identities are insufficient for full participation in the European scene. Multiple transnational identities need to be further developed by starting with the achievement of the 1+2 principle, which states that European citizens should master at least two languages in addition to their mother tongue. Lorenzo feels that these points have been clearly made both institutionally (Declaration of European Identity of December 1973 in Copenhagen) and theoretically. According to the author, multilingualism must be introduced when students are young to provide a third socialisation process at school. At school and pre-school, students are exposed to different languages where all participants are included.
- The second pillar is that the ideal of “a mutual search for understanding and a willingness to communicate should preside over all European relations”. Students should be encouraged to try to make the most of their sometimes partial and limited language competences. Lorenzo feels that languages, even if not totally mastered, can be useful channels for intercultural communication, a vital skill Europeans will have to develop for full participation in a united Europe. Europeans need mobility between countries and cultures, and this factor demands that “the cooperative principle rules in all intercultural communication”. The author believes that, if citizens are language learners themselves, they will perhaps be more open to surrendering the privileges that the use of the mother tongue brings to intercultural communication.

He goes as far as to say that “native speakers should reject their roles as dominant speakers in communication”, and opines that European leaders have always believed that bilingual programmes could bring about this mindset. European policymakers have supposedly believed for a long time that the effects of bilingual schemes are not only the learning of other languages, but also the “inculcation of attitudes of mutual understanding between the European nations with their history of war”. It is a historical fact that the first bilingual programmes were conceived to try to overcome the breach between France and Germany following World War II.

- The third pillar states that zero language diversity policies are ill-advised from an economic standpoint. Although “extreme language diversity can be costly to the point of being economically impractical”, it is still the only option. Lorenzo supports Grin’s (2002) conclusions regarding the “Economy of Language”, which seem to show that investment in language teaching shows high return rates. Financially, Lorenzo postulates, bilingual education usually amounts to little more than an increase of five percent of total education spending, and he feels that the move towards bilingual education is a wise one for economic reasons. Like Grin (2002), Lorenzo believes that European multilingualism is not just a way to ensure language diversity for cultural reasons, but that it is a stratagem that will produce important profits, especially if the EU envisages itself as a “Knowledge Society” (Grin, 2002).

I agree with the authors of the LINEE (2010:24) report that it is naïve to assume that all Europeans wholeheartedly buy into the EU government’s philosophy of “unity in diversity”. In the EU all official languages are supposed to be equal. However, the authors admit that daily practice is very different, mainly because languages such as English, Spanish, French or German are much more common than languages such as Bulgarian, Hungarian or even Estonian. The LINEE (2010) report speculates that it might still be the case that in CLIL classrooms, as in other language classrooms, teachers only value a specific type of multilingualism. It is possible that most educational systems in Europe consider only a limited number of prestige languages as an asset. These languages would normally include the national language(s) most spoken in an area, English as a matter of course,

and certain other languages which could be seen to possibly provide job opportunities across the globe (LINEE, 2010:24). Languages used in neighbouring countries could also be viewed as useful. In contrast, dialects as well as other minority and migrant languages are, according to this report, ostensibly not valued or promoted.

Dominant languages are often the only languages perceived to be worth the effort, even if one just considers the number of people with whom one will be able to speak and ignores other reasons for language learning (LINEE, 2010:30). It stands to reason that language students are conscious of the implicit relations of power between languages and in many cases these students prefer to learn the languages which are spoken more widely (LINEE, 2010:25).

The term multilingualism seems to be mostly connected to discourse of two kinds: firstly, when discussing human rights and the protection of certain minorities, and secondly, in discourse about the economic value of multilingualism. Students whose mother tongue is not the official language of the country they live in are forced to become bi- or multilingual. Skutnabb-Kangas (1989:38) describes the conundrum that these students find themselves in:

If students want to be able to speak to their parents, know about their history and culture, know who they are, they have to know their mother tongue. If they want to get a good education and if they want to participate in the social, economic and political life of their country, they have to know the official language of this country. It should be the duty of the educational systems to help them become bilingual, since bilingualism is necessary for them, and not something that they themselves have chosen.

And while the human rights discourse aims to value all languages equally, “economic pragmatism promotes the use of single languages or preferred language combinations to increase economic success” (LINEE, 2010). For a variety of reasons, CLIL falls neatly into this second camp. The focus in CLIL is seemingly primarily on the acquisition of dominant or prestige languages which can benefit students at an economic level in the

global village. Negating non-standard or minority languages, however, can have serious consequences for the future acceptance and spread of CLIL in Europe. For obvious reasons, “current power relations or past and present conflicts between member states of the EU cannot be ignored” (LINEE, 2010:28) when national and local policy decisions regarding CLIL language choices are made. Unpleasant past and present aspects regarding Europe’s war-torn past, the ever-increasing role of English in Europe, and even migration within and from outside Europe are apparently conveniently disregarded by CLIL idealists.

According to the LINEE (2010:25) report, another cause of the inequality of languages within the EU and within the education microcosm is sheer workability at a practical level. In the EU parliament itself, EU institutions for practical reasons have internally been forced to agree on the use of two to three working languages only, namely English, French and German (LINEE, 2010:23). Practicability also limits the variety of languages available within the CLIL arena. That languages can only be offered at schools if skilled teachers are available is a reality. In addition, policymakers in education always have to enforce broader national policies and do not act in isolation. Language planners, however, might have very different ideas of what multilingualism means and exactly how CLIL methodology fits into the bigger picture. Another fact that cannot be ignored is that available finances also play a huge role when language policy decisions are made, yet the EU does not provide financial support to their member countries for CLIL implementation.

According to the authors of the LINEE report, many stakeholders consider English to be the biggest challenge to a true multilingualism policy, although they also accept its importance as a constant. Everyone seems to agree that a lingua franca is needed in Europe. However, for cultural and ideological reasons, English is not always welcome. The dominance of English has the potential to reduce linguistic diversity and create negative feelings amongst the member states (LINEE, 2010:28). As is the case in South Africa, plurilingualism could be seen by many to only mean ‘more English’.

As mentioned, CLIL is often associated with the learning of English as additional language only because the industry of second-language English teaching is such a global phenomenon (Sylvén, 2013:315). The CLIL model has been associated with only a limited range of languages from its inception, with English far surpassing other possible language options. This fact has motivated Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010) and later Dalton-Puffer (2011) to argue for “Content and English Integrated Learning (CEIL) to be accepted as the most widely spread version of CLIL”. This supremacy of English as the mainspring can also be seen in CLIL’s popularity outside Europe (e.g. Latin American Journal of CLIL) and the negative effect thereof in the limited role that CLIL in languages other than English has played in the UK or other countries. In Spain, for instance, over 625 schools currently offer CLIL in English, whereas only 70 schools offer the CLIL option in French or German.

As has been shown in this section, it can be argued that English language learning in Europe is no longer the domain of those with a love for foreign languages only, but that it has become a necessity for all. For the reasons stated above, I have to conclude that, according to the data available at this point in time, the CLIL model does not actively support multilingualism for all languages and dialects across the board. It does seem to favour the prestige languages, especially English.

2.9 CRITICAL QUESTION 2: DOES CLIL FOSTER ELITE MULTILINGUALISM?

In its simplest form, elite multilingualism refers to learning new languages – usually the prestige languages – in a formal school context. This is in contrast to folk multilingualism, where languages, often dialects, are acquired in informal life situations. At first glance, it seems obvious that CLIL is a case of the former rather than the latter.

History is littered with examples where the coloniser’s language became entwined with advantages as well as with a measure of cultural prestige at a local level. Interestingly, these factors often long outlive the original dominating influence and are still alive and well today in many previously colonised countries. South Africa in itself is a solid example of this phenomenon.

Scholars tend to refer to 'elite' and 'folk' bilingualism. The former has typically involved two (or more) prestigious languages and often had as much to do with social status positioning as it did with a thirst for knowledge and the crossing of cultural boundaries. In Roman times, not to have known Latin, Greek or French in addition to one's own vernacular would have been unthinkable for the educated elite, "in the same way that it would have been unthinkable not to have had servants" (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013:14). Folk bilingualism, on the other hand, is generally caused by more informal and necessity-driven expansion.

Yet both varieties, folk and elite multilingualism, may in fact have been driven more by necessity than by anything else. Bhatia and Ritchie (2013:36) explain as follows:

Neither need to be learnt at the mother's knee, nor is formally instructed language always an indicator of elite status. To explain: the language-learning activities of poor immigrants might well be seen to fall under the folk heading because they are motivated by everyday but pressing considerations. Their children, however, typically learn the new language at school as part of their formal education. This is surely not a case of elite bilingualism. There must be many more real-life examples that should caution scholars against inaccurate and simplistic categorization.

Nevertheless, the consistent accusation of the CLIL model being an example of elite multilingualism has created even more controversy around CLIL implementation. Arguments have usually been focussed on the discussion about the lack of egalitarianism, or social equality, in CLIL teaching. A group of authors consistently maintains that CLIL enhances social inclusion and equity. The reason given is that the CLIL approach in mainstream education gives a far greater range of student scope for linguistic development that was previously not possible. In this sense, Marsh (2002:10) claims that "[e]galitarianism has been one success factor because this approach is seen to open doors on languages for a broader range of learners". In a similar vein, Wolff (2002:48) feels that CLIL is not an elitist approach to language; but that it functions in all learning contexts and with all learners. Coyle et al. (2010:2) also support this point of view,

emphasising that the CLIL model can accommodate a wide range of learners, not only students from wealthy and/or elite upbringings.

In Andalusia, Spain, where bilingual programmes have been running for more than a decade, CLIL is currently being applied school-wide in all compulsory public education stages. The goal for 2020 is to extend CLIL to the whole of primary and compulsory secondary education, an objective which is well underway in primary education, where all public schools have been implementing CLIL programmes for five or more years. They now only have bilingual classes for the whole of this educational stage, with monolingual streams no longer existing (Pérez-Cañado, 2016:16).

2.10 CONCLUSION: A MULTI-FACETED EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK

It seems evident that the CLIL model has aligned itself unwittingly with the zeitgeist in Europe and even beyond, in the first part of the 21st century. As a result, this phenomenon has been widely successful in Europe in recent years. Although the idea of every teacher being a language teacher is not novel, globalisation on an unprecedented scale has intensified the need for fast and effective ways for students to acquire another language or other languages. Although there are problematic issues around the theory and implementation of CLIL, the potential benefits of the CLIL model as a resource for countries like South Africa, where a significant number of students with language barriers are currently in the state as well as in the private school system, is worthy of investigation.

As can be seen in the diagram below, my study attempts to position the potential of CLIL in the high-fee independent school landscape at the intersection of the conceptual frameworks of 'language as a resource' and 'integration'.

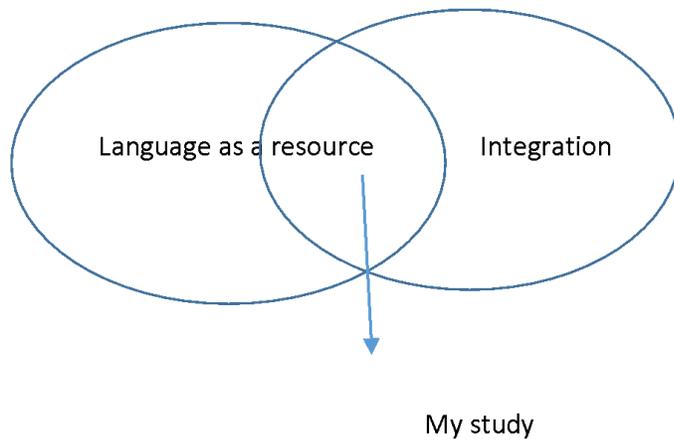


Figure 2: Conceptual positioning of this study

In the following chapter I will look at the language infrastructure of South Africa to create a detailed backdrop for the rest of the thesis. I will briefly turn to the growth of independent schooling across the African continent before shifting the area of focus to the history of independent schooling in South Africa. Subsequently I will highlight distinctions between traditional, well-resourced independent schools and the newer, high-fee, post-1994 independent schools that have to compete not only with these traditional independent schools, but also with the more successful state schools for the same students, inside and outside South Africa's borders.

Finally, I will take a look at the typical foreign student profile in new, high-fee schools in South Africa and try to describe the challenges, especially linguistically, that they face at secondary level.

CHAPTER 3: THE STATE OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As any farmer knows, the choice of the ideal crop to grow on a specific piece of land is largely determined by its unique type of soil. In the same way, it is not enough to merely look at the CLIL model's potential as a suitable seed. One also has to study the fertility, consistency and suitability of the field to absorb and grow these seeds before any such decision can be taken. In this chapter I will be looking at the state of independent schooling in South Africa, the metaphorical field where the CLIL seed would be planted. The first part of the chapter examines the language infrastructure, or the basic organisational structures,

in the broader South Africa, before taking a closer look at the language infrastructure in South African state and independent schools. The phenomenon of high-fee, post-1994 independent schools with the accompanying ethos follows, after which a closer look is taken at the typical foreign students attending these schools and the challenges that these students face.

3.2 LANGUAGE INFRASTRUCTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

The new, liberal South African constitution adopted by the first democratic, post-apartheid government in 1996 enshrined certain human rights, including language rights. Afrikaans and English, the only two languages with official status in the previous era, were now joined by nine African languages – Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The new constitution encouraged multilingualism and gave it educational substance in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (Setati, Adler, Reed & Bapoo, 2002:131):

In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognises that our cultural diversity is a

valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the national languages, and respect for languages used in the country, including Sign Language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution.

As a result of this multilingual policy, South Africa was hailed as an example by academics and language activists alike for the elevation of indigenous African languages to the higher domains of education, government and even the media. Everyone assumed that the indigenous languages would be accommodated with relative ease in these domains alongside the two languages South Africa inherited from the colonial era. These ambitious prospects were underlined in Bamgbose's (2006:51-52) passionate reaction to the new language policy of post-apartheid South Africa:

Viewed against the background of policies generally in Africa, ...perhaps the most significant aspect of South Africa's language policy is respect for multilingualism...I am of the opinion that this policy stands to yield better dividends than monolingual policy embraced by many African countries. For one thing, the problem of exclusion of the masses will be considerably reduced, since nine African languages will be available to different segments of the population for participation in the national system.

Kamwangamalu (2013:799) writes that Bamgbose's enthusiasm was premature. Kamwangamalu feels that, in reality, the level of importance of South Africa's nine indigenous languages has not changed in any meaningful way. On the contrary he believes that, despite the new language policy, it would seem that South Africa has embraced a 'quasi-unilingualism' consisting of English as the dominant language over the other official languages. The new independent South African state has seemingly found it impossible to cut ties with inherited colonial and apartheid language policies, which required continual use of ex-colonial languages. The country finds itself in a difficult situation. In Kamwangamalu's (2013:799) own words:

On the one hand and for all intents and purposes, the South African government may well want to promote pluralism including the nonindigenous languages, English and Afrikaans, and the nine official indigenous languages. On the other hand, however, and given South Africa's social history, the country cannot promote the use of the indigenous languages especially in education without raising suspicion that, in doing so, it attempts to return, in disguise, to the much-despised policy of the apartheid era known as the 'Bantu Education Act'. In a nutshell, this was a policy designed by the apartheid government in a failed attempt to deny the black child access to English-medium education. It seems to me that the mass of people resists the use of the indigenous languages in education in particular because they do not know what that education would do for them in terms of upward social mobility. They do, however, know that unlike an education through the medium of an African language, an education through the medium of English or Afrikaans bears dividends in that it provides access to resources and employment opportunities.

At the time of writing this thesis, six more years have elapsed since Kamwangamalu wrote these words. The only change in the status quo during this time seems to have been that the status of Afrikaans is also being relegated to that of the indigenous languages. English as an academic language at secondary and tertiary institutions seems to be consistently increasing its dominance.

3.3 LANGUAGE INFRASTRUCTURE ACROSS SOUTH AFRICAN STATE AND INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

For reasons mentioned in the previous section, the actual language offering in South African schools is still extremely limited (e.g. isiZulu, Setswana, French, Portuguese). Almost all teaching and learning materials used in South African state and independent schools, except for texts used specifically for the teaching of a language as a subject (e.g. isiZulu, Setswana, French, Portuguese), are still only available in Afrikaans and/or English. Yet these two languages are the mother tongue or primary language of only a small minority of the teachers and students in our country. The fact is that English is now officially the language of learning and teaching in most South African classrooms and

schools. Nevertheless, English is not the dominant language of most of the teachers or learners (Setati et al., 2002:129).

The National Educational Policy Initiative (in Nzimande, 1992:13) has the following to add:

Parents' memories of Bantu Education, combined with their perception of English as a gateway to better education, make most black parents favour English as a language of learning and teaching from the beginning of school, even if their children do not know the language at all before they go to school.

On the flipside, Dalvit and De Klerk (2005:10) argue that "...putting languages in opposition by asking parents and students to make a rigid choice between a colonial one and an indigenous one, is not only untenable, but also unfair." Be that as it may, even though South Africa now has 11 official languages, the reality is that English has ironically become even more influential in South African schools since 1994. Many scholars seem to hold the view that most South African parents of all races want their children to learn in English (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999). New language policy in South Africa was intended to effectively address the overvaluing of English and Afrikaans to the detriment of the other African languages. In practice, however, English has managed to further increase its dominance, while the status of Afrikaans seems to be rapidly declining. Although it is the main language of a small minority in the country, English seems to have been accepted as both the language of power and the language of educational and socioeconomic advancement, that is, a "dominant symbolic resource in the linguistic market in SA" (Bourdieu, 1991). Parents and learners seem to prefer English as a medium of instruction because English, as the language of commerce and trade, government and law, is seen as a viable solution to the prevalent poverty problem (Kgosana, 2006). A study done by Klapwijk and Van der Walt (2016:74) at two South African tertiary institutions, however, seems to indicate that the capitulation to English at this level is not as complete as it may seem. The results of their study show that students may not simply be after "gaining linguistic capital" through the use of English "at all costs", but are cognisant of the importance of other languages in learning.

Kaiser et al. (2010:64) believe that the status quo will not change, and that English will retain its status of dominance. To improve the dismal state of education nationally, they argue, the type of English tuition should change. A combination of the CBI model used in English language teaching curriculum design in America and the CLIL programmes currently employed in Europe is well suited to the broader South African educational landscape (Kaiser et al., 2010:59). Their proposed solution to the current national education crisis in South Africa is that a CLIL/CBI model should be introduced in all state schools across the country as a matter of urgency. Kaiser et al. contend that, in contrast to the English as a First Additional Language curriculum that is currently being taught in South African schools, an English medium of instruction syllabus should be followed. This curriculum should focus on the acquisition of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic knowledge about how English is used in specific subject areas as well as in the development of academic literacy. The focus would be on a more effective use of English as a tool for teaching and learning. This syllabus would concentrate on what skills are required to function optimally in academic classes and would become increasingly complicated as the child's cognitive abilities develop and academic demands increase.

Kaiser et al. (2010) saw and wrote about the potential that CLIL has for South African schools as early as 2010. I support their thesis, although I do feel that the scale which they propose is not tenable in our country at this point.

3.4 FOR-PROFIT, HIGH-FEE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNDERLYING ETHOS AT THESE SCHOOLS

As a result of the opening of public schools in South Africa to all racial groups in the early 1990s, the racial demographic at traditional independent schools charging high fees initially changed with a rapid outflow of black learners. Only some time later did most of these schools again surpass their 1990 black enrolment levels as the new black middle and upper class now chose to send their children to these high-fee schools.

In 2008 the independent school sector was already four times the size of what it had been in 1990. It was also much more diverse, with a wide range of different religions,

philosophies and educational approaches available to the full socio-economic spectrum of communities. While the largest part of the sector is predominantly non-profit, there has also been a significant growth in for-profit schools (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:1).

Most of the older, traditional, for-profit independent schools in South Africa, such as Michaelhouse and Hilton College in KwaZulu-Natal, are closely modelled on the very successful British public-school system. These schools strive to be 'a little England in the veld', as Randall (1982) chose to title his book. This history, as well as the influence of the Anglican Church and big business, means that the schools tend to reproduce a mostly white, elitist, conservative capitalist system (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:2).

Elite independent schools all over the world are seen to play a key role in socialising members of certain elites. According to Cookson and Persell (1985), the origins of adult primary group formation can often be found in the peer groups which are formed at these institutions. Cookson and Persell (1985:284) feel that the fact that schools tend to reinforce the status quo should also not be much of a surprise because schools are generally founded to train and socialise the young into the actual and symbolic worlds of their parents' generation.

Cookson and Persell (1985:298) write that students at these elite institutions all over the globe might come to believe in the appropriateness of their class position within their society:

Through an educational ideology that portrays school success as truly meritocratic, individuals come to believe that the distribution of opportunities is fair. The worth of one's educational credentials must appear to be deserved to maintain the illusion that inequalities within a given society are the result of fair social competition. The attraction of private schools rests in great measure on their intimate relationship to managerial and professional labour markets, as well as on the establishment of linkages to other social, cultural, financial, and political institutions.

Alternatively, the question of what values are shared within more contemporary international and other independent schools in the global south is a contentious matter (Mattern, 1990). It stands to reason that the idealistic aim of sharing internationally-focussed values often will conflict with the pragmatic mission of selling a global brand (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004; Hayden & Thompson, 2008) that is underpinned by Western values.

A large number of modern, internationally minded schools claim to provide an education with universal values which have been linked, often by using the respected International Baccalaureate syllabus or by joining the Round Square movement based on the educator Kurt Hahn's principles, to the idea of a 'civilised society'. Even the use of the term 'civilised society' could be seen by some to reinforce historical, colonial ideas about the conqueror and the oppressed, raising many issues about which elements really characterise a civilised society in the 21st century. The term also seems to suggest the lesser importance of values originating from societies that may be seen as uncivilised. It would seem that there are strong undertones from a colonial and racist past that still resonate today, aiming to consciously or subconsciously "naturalise the exploitative relationship between the West and the neocolonised" (Pearce, 2009:30).

Anghie (2006) agrees with this view and adds that this approach seems to view the colonised as a "lesser entity in need of salvation by the coloniser". The coloniser, he adds, is in turn seen to be progressive with "the inherent and structural ability to liberate the former" (Anghie, 2006:742). In my own experience, this seemingly unquestioned assumption of Western superiority seems to be alive and well in mostly English-medium, high-fee independent schools in Southern Africa in the first part of the 21st century.

As a result of the argument raised in the previous paragraph, the seeming promotion of values from a civilised society may in reality only mean the spreading of conventional, Western values. Values of internationalism, which are mainly focussed on intercultural understanding and global citizenship, are reflected in the mission statements of most international or independent schools (Cambridge, 2003). However, the actual inclusion of these values is an ambitious task. As Betts (2003) notes, many international schools are

struggling with accurately defining the notion of global citizenship. They find it almost impossible to put theory into practice. Betts adds that most international schools as yet do not demonstrate a thorough understanding of the concept of preparing students to be globally responsible citizens, since they fail to incorporate and effectively address global issues in their study programmes.

Christie's (1990:122) research, in a sample of South African Catholic schools, looked at the central ethos at traditional private schools in South Africa. She argued that, although most private schools had by then opened their doors to admit black students, these students were expected to be assimilated into the white Western culture with its dominant capitalist values. She believed that, only when the number of black students reached a critical mass of 35%, a different set of racial dynamics would emerge. She predicted that schools would at this point become ideological battlefields of ideas and reactions. I will refer back to this statement in the final chapter of the thesis.

3.4.1 High-fee schools post-1994

As mentioned previously, diversity initially made slow inroads at high-fee schools and these schools were still predominantly white in 2008 due to the loss of many black students in the middle to late 1990s. The drop in number of black students was due partly to the fact that many black students preferred the option of quality state schools once apartheid policies were no longer enforced, and partly because of the constraints that schools had on making scholarships available from their own annual fee income. Since public schools were now open to all races, unlike during the apartheid years, a small number of independent schools could still benefit from external scholarships and bursaries for disadvantaged black learners (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:12).

In 1988 the total number of black learners in predominantly white schools made up 13% of their total enrolment (Muller, 1992:33). This percentage can be compared with the 2001 findings that, in white independent schools, on average 18.6% of learners were black (11.5% African, 3.1% coloured and four percent Indian). The 2008 *Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa* (ISASA) diversity survey found that, in a sample of its

member schools, on average 33% of learners were black. However, when the low-fee schools with large black enrolments were removed from the sample mentioned, the percentage of black pupils in the predominantly white schools dropped to 26%. This fact indicates that since 2002, steady progress has been made in increasing black enrolments in predominantly white schools. The demographics of representative learner enrolments, however, are still not close to what they should and could be (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:12).

If Christie's (1990) analysis is applied to the above statistics, these high-fee schools still seem to be a long way from the critical mass of 35% black learners, and resultantly the dominant school culture is likely still to be predominantly white and assimilationist. In the assimilationist position "the values, traditions, and customs of the dominant group frame the social and cultural context of the school" (Soudien, 2004:95). Schools in this demographic are generally aware of this issue and are trying to adapt their cultures and ways of doing to become more supportive of the "heterogeneity of South African society" (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:12). According to Hofmeyr and Lee (2008:12), strategies employed by schools, with varying levels of success, include:

- involving the whole school community in developing a diversity policy and its implementation plan;
- institutionalising diversity through school policies and practices;
- appointing a diversity coordinator;
- facilitating easier access to independent schools coupled with the provision of increased financial aid and other resources;
- targeted marketing for diversity;
- new networks;
- community development; and
- twinning programmes.

Actual strategies used at my three research sites are described in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

3.4.2 The phenomenon of modern, high-fee, for-profit schools

The rapid growth since 1994 of modern, high-fee, for-profit schools is proof of an emerging affluent local market. These new schools avoid competition with the well-established, traditional, first-tier private schools by aiming to provide a radically different high-fee educational option for students. Modern high-fee independent schools are typically deliberately secular and forward-looking. They seem to be positioning themselves as the liberal and meritocratic alternative to the “stuffy” traditional schools. These schools are usually situated in affluent suburbs in cosmopolitan areas, often within upmarket residential estates. Uniforms are typically modern – many of these schools have done away with the traditional school blazer entirely – and the focus seems to be on the student as an individual rather than as part of the group. The influence of the Crawford, Reddam and other such branded groups of schools at the top end of the market has been particularly obvious in this market segment. Although somewhat dated, the 2003 ISASA benchmarking survey of a sample of member schools showed that competition from for-profit schools at the time accounted for between 12% and 19% of withdrawals from non-profit ISASA schools (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:14).

The consistent strong competition, especially in the Western Cape, from excellent state schools charging less than half the fees means that no independent school can afford not to consider the issues of cost-effectiveness and value for money. However, the top established prestige schools still seem to be less exposed to market forces than most other schools. In 2017 the average fees at the eight most expensive private schools were R 202 000 per year. All eight of these schools – Michaelhouse, Hilton College, St Martin’s, St Andrews, Bishops, Roedean School, Kearsney College and St Andrews School for Girls – are well-established, traditional private boarding schools with a long-standing tradition of generations of families proudly attending these institutions. The old-school tie still seems to rule supreme in this world, and many old boys and girls continue to be generous benefactors to these schools throughout their lifetimes. In the light of their reputations, these schools can afford to have stringent entrance requirements and are in the position to hand-pick prospective students. They mostly have excellent facilities on

extensive grounds that were paid for in full by previous generations, so the financial pressure is much less than at the modern high-fee private schools. These traditional schools also have established feeder schools and typically there are limited spaces available for the annual new intake. As a result, these schools do not as a rule easily take in foreign students who are not proficient in English. Taxing entrance examinations are hurdles that only the strongest of foreign students with language barriers can overcome. In the case of foreign nationals out of the rest of Africa, a significant number of students do not have a sufficiently solid primary academic foundation. Therefore, there is not only a problem with language but also with general academic preparedness for the rigorous demands of secondary school. Consequently, the newer high-fee independent schools without stringent entrance examinations are often the only alternative for these students. Hofmeyr and Lee wrote as early as 2008 that:

As the number of independent schools grew significantly between 2003 and 2008, there are now a myriad of new, high-fee independent schools all fishing in the same high-income-earning pond, which has not grown at the same rate. While increased, mainly white emigration has shrunk the pond considerably, the growing black elite, often referred to as black diamonds, are not increasing as fast as the schools have been (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:13).

Consequently, the competition between independent schools at the upper end is fiercer than ever and the newer and less well-established second-tier schools are often not full. Based on this fact, foreign learners with or without barriers to learning, especially black learners from neighbouring African countries, have become highly sought-after commodities in this sector. These students help to change the race demographic while still paying full fees. In my own experience, parents of foreign learners often have to pay extra for educational and language support. At some schools the parents of foreign students are expected to pay the full year's fees in advance. In schools struggling to fill their boarding facilities, these students are especially attractive.

The following quotations come from articles written about international students at tertiary level, but are also very relevant to the local secondary context at certain young, high-fee

independent schools: “In this context international students might be seen first and foremost as mere economic objects, beneficiaries of the education system in the host country, and people in education deficit” (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008:87).

These representations result in the peripheral or inferior status of their perspectives in the classroom, as these perspectives are often not considered to be equal to the education traditions in the country of education (Hayes, 2017:219). Although these views might seem cynical and mercenary to many educators, they cannot be summarily dismissed. Independent education, after all, is a business, even if it is a business related to education.

3.5 THE TYPICAL FOREIGN LEARNER IN SECOND-TIER SOUTH AFRICAN SECONDARY INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

With growing migration across the globe, the movement of students from one educational context to another is consistently increasing (Van der Walt, 2013:103). In line with this worldwide growth, South African independent schools, particularly boarding schools, are attracting increasing numbers of international learners. The 2003 ISASA benchmarking survey indicated that 5.2% of learners in ISASA schools at the time were foreign and that these students came from a wide range of countries in the rest of Africa as well as in Europe, Asia, America and Australasia. As mentioned, prospective parents are attracted to the high education standard, the option of international examinations and the sound discipline that are not often found at such affordable fee levels in other English-speaking countries. The ISASA (2008) diversity survey of a sample of the member schools showed that there was a faster rate of increase in the number of foreign learners than other learners between 2002 and 2006 (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2008:14). Although no more recent data are available from ISASA, it seems to be a logical deduction that this pattern will have continued.

At the time of writing this thesis, the (limited) literature available seemed to suggest that most high-fee independent schools in South Africa still consciously or subconsciously assumed an assimilationist position. As mentioned in the previous section, with this position, the values, traditions and customs of the dominant group frame the social and

cultural context of the school (Naidoo, 1996). According to Naidoo (1996), this is a case of coloniality – “cultural, social and political domination over foreign students in an education system”. Different styles of learning and perspectives of knowledge are consciously or subconsciously viewed as substandard and behind the progressive West, hence the seemingly insistent discourses in education about the need for ‘upskilling international students’ in many education journals.

According to Soudien (2004:95):

The assimilationist position assumes that subordinate groups represent a threat to the standards of the dominant group and that the dominant group is culturally superior. Resultantly, the consequences of assimilationism for subordinate groups can be far-reaching. The subordinate learners could feel that they are expected both to give up their own identities and cultures as well as critically acknowledge the superiority of the dominant culture, as well as that of the groups into whose social context they are moving.

Most independent schools attempt to be more multicultural by trying to accommodate the different cultures represented in the school. Yet many argue that multiculturalism in fact is just another form of assimilationism because it is also rooted in the belief that the dominant culture is an ‘unquestionable good’. The incoming children might, for instance, be allowed to perform in their so-called native guises for special occasions, but they operate under the protection of the dominant culture (Soudien, 2004:104). After describing different forms of assimilation in South African schools, Soudien (2004:105) concludes that:

The (final) form of assimilationism is most evident in former white English schools and is what I call *benign assimilationism*. This form of assimilationism looks like multiculturalism, because there is an attempt made to acknowledge the cultural diversity of the school’s learners. The schools in this category deliberately have cultural evenings and present themselves self-consciously as inclusive. The intent

of this policy, as far as it leaves the dominant relationships in the school untouched, is undoubtedly an assimilationist one.

Having worked in an English independent school for a large portion of my professional career, I have to agree that Soudien's assessment is not unfounded.

The status quo is further exacerbated by the fact that most of the teachers in South Africa's independent schools are still white. In 2017, 91% of the staff at South Africa's most expensive independent school, Hilton College, was white. At its neighbour, Michaelhouse, the number was 90%. Govender (2017) quotes the Vice Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg, Professor Ihron Rensburg, as saying:

If pupils do not have role models that reflect their culture and traditions, there is a peculiar relationship that develops, which in the worst case, is a subservient one. It means that my culture doesn't matter. It means I must put it aside when I walk into this institution. I have to change my hairstyle, I have to change my intonation. I can't wear my dreads. It's that kind of thing.

If these are the sentiments of black students within our borders, the reality has to be the same or worse for black students from other African countries.

At the time of writing this thesis, there seemed to be three main subsections of foreign students attending second-tier, high-fee independent schools in South Africa, as discussed below.

3.5.1 European students on exchange

Going on a student exchange to another country is common practice for many privileged students in Europe. Apart from formal youth exchange programmes for students from the EU to South Africa, such as Youth for Understanding, American Scandinavian Student Exchange and the Rotary exchange programme, there are also many smaller, less formal agencies that bring especially German students out on short-term exchanges for up to

one year. Students in Germany are actively encouraged to spend their Grade 10 year abroad to improve their English. New, high-fee South African independent boarding schools are popular destinations for these students. A fair number of these schools, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, do not have stringent entrance examinations and are amenable to these exchanges to get fee-paying students, even if they are only short-term. Due to the exchange rate, students from the EU can get an experience very close to that at a traditional British public school for a fraction of the price. An example of one of the more successful agencies that works extensively with short-term (up to one year) exchanges to these institutions, is International Experience. They have a local programme director for boarding schools in South Africa who develops and maintains links with suitable schools.

In my experience, these students are typically socially and linguistically sophisticated with a solid grammatical base in their first language. These elements seem to give them the necessary skills to make connections between patterns in languages and to use common frames of reference. Although learning in a new language is not easy for them, exchange students from European countries usually manage to cope and even flourish academically and socially in their new environment.

3.5.2 Parachute students from Asia

The term ‘parachute kids’ first emerged in the 1980s to describe Asian students who are typically younger than the adult international students who move abroad to further their education. Most of these students range between 13 and 17 years of age and are from Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and China. A surprisingly large number of Chinese parents view sending their young children on their own to a foreign country without their physical and emotional support as a chance for their children to learn a new language and culture, as well as to escape their country’s ultracompetitive college entrance examinations. Parents are willing to split up their family to see their child succeed (Yan, 2015).

Ironically, according to recent studies, employment opportunities for returning Chinese students from abroad do not match that of young people who graduate domestically. Despite these findings, the number of Asian high school students on study visas in the USA increased from about 1 700 in 2009 to 80 000 in 2014. The appeal of a better education, as well as creative freedom, remains a big drawcard for both parents and their children. The opportunity of continuing with tertiary education is also a reason for a young Chinese student to become a parachute kid. In 2015, nine million Chinese students had to compete for just seven million university seats annually (Yan, 2015).

Zhu and Gao (2012:2) observe that Chinese students typically struggle to adapt to the alien, Western environment. According Gu (2009:42), the negative learning experience that Chinese international students often have, is known as 'learning shock':

Learning shock refers to some unpleasant feelings and difficult experiences that learners encounter when they are exposed to a new learning environment. Such unpleasant feelings are intensified and can impose a deeper psychological and emotional strain on learners that are crossing national and/or cultural borders.

The learning difficulties that Chinese international students typically struggle with have been written about extensively in academic journals focusing on Chinese international students' learning experience and adjustment in the UK especially (Gu, 2009; Gu & Schweisfurth, 2006).

Some researchers feel that to group Chinese international students together as one homogeneous group is potentially problematic (Gu, 2009; Gu & Maley, 2008; Gu & Schweisfurth, 2006). They do, however, appear to have learning difficulties in common which differ from those experienced by their Western counterparts. Typically, Chinese international students do not take part in class discussions and do not actively participate in group work (Turner, 2006; Gu & Maley, 2008). They are also criticised for their lack of critical thinking skills (Choo, 2007; Ding, 2009) and for the fact that they are less likely to implement an active learning strategy (Li, Chen & Duanmu, 2010). These common learning difficulties, according to researchers, are caused by the learning approach of

Chinese pupils which is shaped by their cultural tradition (Chan & Drover, 1997; Hammond & Gao, 2002).

The most likely explanation for this phenomenon, according to Zhu and Gao (2012:3-4), is that:

Chinese international students usually come from the so-called Confucian heritage cultures where Confucianism still has a deep influence on the current educational system, teaching and learning practices in schools as well as on students' learning motivation and habits. According to Confucianism education is not only beneficial for personal development towards *sheng ren* (sainthood) but also for social order.

This set hierarchy and importance attributed to social order are also clearly visible in schools and in the educational system in general. Curricula are mostly teacher-centred, textbook-based and examination-focused documents and students find it challenging to integrate knowledge, skills, as well as cultural values in this environment. Students are expected to listen uncritically to teachers' instruction, memorise by rote and give an account of their learning through written examination. Critical thinking is not encouraged or rewarded. This approach is rote learning and is described as "thoughtful, repetitive and memory-based" in some researchers' work (Chan & Drover, 1997). The learning approaches of Chinese international students thus conflict directly with the deep learning approaches which are required from students in Western countries. "Deep learning approaches regard the learning experience as a holistic one, involving critical evaluation skills and integration of learning into previous experience" (Ramsden, 1992:51).

Due to all these issues, in my experience, parachute students with a language barrier are often not sought-after commodities at independent schools. If one of these students without adequate parental support is accepted at a school, it is often an economic decision by the school and the student is expected to sink or swim. Parents are often required to pay to full year's fees up front and to pay extra for any additional educational support services.

3.5.3 Students from other African countries

Kamwangamalu (2013) writes that English is seen by many Africans, even in the Francophone countries, to be a symbolic gateway to a better life. Not only is English monolingualism increasingly considered as the standard in the higher domains, like courts, parliament and universities, in African countries but the language has also seeped into the informal spheres, such as the family, especially wealthy and influential African elite families. This domain traditionally used to be the preserve of the indigenous languages (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013:799). Africa's population of people whose fortunes are large enough to qualify as high-net-worth individuals was the fastest-growing in the world in 2009-2010, according to an annual World Wealth Report from Capgemini and Merrill Lynch (2010). According to this report, sub-Saharan economies are amongst the fastest-growing in the world. This region was expected to average six percent growth in 2015, motivated by increased demand for minerals and oils. It seems logical to assume that many of these African high-net-worth people embrace neoliberal policies and understand the value of English as a language in trade and industry.

Consequently, the position of English as inter-ethnic lingua franca or vehicular language as well as a marker of the elite, well-educated sector of society has only increased across Africa in the past decade. The much-coveted English accent acquired in independent English schools, often referred to in local vernacular as the 'Louis Vuitton' accent, ensures that the privileged education the speaker has received is immediately clear to any listener. An added bonus is that the student's exposure to this new culture means that he or she can also initiate his or her parents into middle-class behaviours (Morreira, 2012:20).

When selecting secondary schools, parents do not merely consider immediate, short-term social positioning which focusses on the child's adjustment, social relationships and general contentment. They also have to take a long view by looking at possibilities for the child for future achievement, access to accredited tertiary institutions and possible job opportunities. Lee (2003:33) has a cynical view of education in a neo-colonial world. He writes that:

The difference for families lies between who the child is and who he/she might become. Schooling is seen as an effective means to store value, which can later be released as surplus meaning; that is, the metaphorical qualities of status and prestige.

Ball's (1997:7) somewhat milder view is that one should "think of the processes of choice-making regarding education as making an informed choice".

South Africa's independent schools and universities have an excellent reputation in the rest of Africa. The IEB, the examination board that most independent schools in South Africa belong to, has an average annual Grade 12 pass rate of 98%. As parents want their children to have the best chances in life, those who can afford it are prepared to pay the premium rates that independent schools charge for access. As a result, most foreign learners with language barriers at new, high-fee secondary independent schools in South Africa are from other African countries, in particular the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Angola. These previously war-torn countries have an inferior and chaotic education system. Educated, well-to-do parents in these countries often do not want to limit their children's intellectual growth and future opportunities by subjecting them to local schooling. Consequently, they accept the reality that their children will have to cross borders for a better education. For obvious reasons most parents try to keep their children at home for as long as possible and frequently only send them to South Africa for their secondary schooling. A surprisingly large number of parents opt to only send their children out of their country as late as at Grade 10 or even Grade 11 level, in many cases setting their children up for failure in the process. The official languages in the DRC and Angola are French and Portuguese respectively. To send their children to prestige establishments where they could continue their education in these languages would require dispatching them to a whole different continent. For economic and emotional reasons, most parents are understandably reluctant to do so. In my experience the abovementioned factors make South African independent schools a very attractive option for these families.

3.5.4 Third-culture kids

Few exploratory studies have been done within international education literature regarding the effect of their experiences within international school communities on these students' identities. 'Third-culture kids' (TCKs) is a term used to refer to students who have spent most of their developmental years attending schools in a foreign country. TCKs have spent a substantial part of their developmental years outside of their parents' traditions and culture. They have to mediate between different and seemingly contradictory cultures, namely that of their country of origin as well as that of the community in which they now find themselves. As a result, they do not feel as if they fully belong to either cultural context.

A third culture often becomes the place where they feel most comfortable, which is created, shared and sustained by individuals or groups who are relating societies, or sections thereof, to each other. This process can impact significantly on the development of their identities (Pollock & Van Reken, 1999:19).

These students occupy a third space (Bhabha, 1994) where ideological, political and economic forces are exerted by prevailing influences aiming to control the manner of social actions and relationships (Lefebvre, Elden & Moore, 2013). Bhabha (1994:218) reiterates this view: "The non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space – a third space – where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences."

In this third space, the negotiation of seemingly impossible differences creates unique tensions. These tensions can result in "the production of conflicting norms and values between individual and collective identity" (Emenike & Plowright, 2017:6). The result is frequently the forming of an ideal of global identity reinforced by individualistic cultures of the West. Individualism, which is a key element of neoliberal globalisation, often leads to clashes of identities within communities due to different ideologies, not only in society but also on a day-to-day basis within the family and/or community (Leve, 2011). Foreign students can easily be overwhelmed by Western cultures in the form of, for example,

technology, social media, fashion and language. “These sociocultural, political and ideological influences impact strongly on the construction of students’ sense of personal identity which is still fluid” (Emenike & Plowright, 2017:7). This may lead to inner conflict and a sense of alienation from their roots.

Quist’s (2005) argument is that teachers tend to overlook the role of international schools as drivers in what he refers to as the “postcolonial discourse”. Perhaps this fact could also reflect the context and environment of scholars in the field since, as Quist argues, the current academic discourse on international education is characterised by the views of Western scholars. According to this author, this Westernised face of the international education discourse needs to change as a matter of urgency to include more perspectives that are non-Western if the field of research is not to be viewed as a postcolonial reserve (Quist, 2005). New research therefore has to look much more closely at the “potentially damaging, conflictual cultural issues that exist in the current international school landscape” (Emenike & Plowright, 2017:7).

Friedman (1994:82) is of the opinion that African cultures do not make up a significant component of modern, global cultures. He argues that authentic African cultures tend to be viewed by many as superstition and obstruction, and that scholars conveniently regard these cultures as “irrational, savage and juvenile”. As a result, these cultures are often consigned to the “spatial and temporary periphery of civilised identity”. To support this view, Friedman writes that Westernisation is conveniently seen as the sole agent of modernisation. Quijano (2010:31) supports this view by adding that, in fact, globalisation can “be interpreted as the imposition of western provincialism as universalism”. As a result, traditions viewed as important by indigenous cultural standards are often rejected by students with their feet in two different worlds, who then choose to substitute the traditional with what is regarded as modern and therefore Western. Students often appear to believe that anything from the West has to be better and therefore preferable to anything indigenous (Emenike & Plowright, 2017:10).

Believing that ideas of cultural and intellectual superiority are uniquely Western, these students often separate themselves mentally from the traditional beliefs of the family as

well as their local communities. They seem to be spellbound by the new cultures in their schools and, as a result, are willing give up their traditional customs and beliefs to pursue what they perceive to be a better and preferable Western way of life. According to Emenike and Plowright (2017), the resulting rejection of indigenous behaviours can often be blatant and deliberate. Their views could appear to be legitimised by the neo-colonial 'ways of doing' in their schools, strengthened by the curricula and dominant Western culture which underpin their schooling system. It is indeed ironic, Ryan and Louie (2007) write, that, while Western education systems are often seen to encourage critical thinking, students are more likely to question and resist their own cultures, rather than question the Western cultures that are "thrust upon them" (Emenike & Plowright, 2017:13).

3.6 THE CHALLENGES FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOL FOREIGN STUDENT WITH LANGUAGE BARRIERS

Children typically do not have much of a say in their family's decision-making process. They inherit the social station of their parents, irrespective of their own motivation and/or ability (Spaull, 2015:38). Psychologically for most of these students, the often relatively short journey to the southernmost tip of Africa is a particularly arduous one. The new language of learning and teaching might be their third or even fourth language which they only really start learning in their teenage years.

Lucas (1997) writes that foreign learners who enter American secondary schools with limited proficiency in English must negotiate a series of critical and challenging transitions on a daily basis. While they are dealing with the difficult developmental passage from childhood to adolescence to adulthood, they must also make the transitions from their native country to the new country and from primary to secondary school (Lucas, 1997:xiii). The same applies to foreign students coming to study in South Africa. For most of these students, it is their first boarding school experience and of being so far removed from their family support system.

Apart from culture shock, many other factors might affect foreign students' adjustment to schooling in a different country as well as their simultaneous transition from early to late

adolescence. These include individual and family characteristics, the similarities and differences between their native countries and cultures and those of the new one, their entire relocation experience, and the context within which they live (Lucas, 1997:xiii).

Foreign students at secondary school level face major difficulties in acquiring English and succeeding in school. They have much less time than primary school students to learn English and to master the academic content required to complete secondary school. They must pass tests that require a level of academic English they mostly do not have. They must study subjects such as physical science, economics, chemistry and geometry that require sophisticated levels of English academic language. In addition, most secondary school texts and materials require a high level of English reading and comprehension ability. Few schools can afford to provide language support with adaptations of English appropriate for these students' levels of proficiency. Students who hope to attend university after secondary school face even greater challenges as they attempt to succeed in subjects deemed vital for university acceptance (Lucas, 1997:xv). Content is increasingly rigorous in the further education and training band, as the curriculum introduces new concepts and skills while building on the material of previous years of study. At the same time, new text types may be introduced to expand language use and practices amongst all students. Foreign students must consequently absorb this new content while simultaneously learning a new language. As mentioned, many students from other countries may not possess strong academic language and literacy skills in their home language, and secondary schools are typically ill-equipped to teach both content and language (Menken, 2013:452).

Foreign-language speakers in American schools are referred to as 'English-language learners'. Their struggles are similar to those of foreign learners in South African schools. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma (1976) observed how English language learners often can appear to educators to be superficially bilingual, for example when using language for social purposes, while still performing well below par on academic skills and tasks. Cummins (1980, 2008) first drew the important distinction between basic interpersonal

communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency skills (CALP) (Menken, 2013:443).

BICS involves contextualised language that is supported by paralinguistic clues, such as hand gestures, facial expressions and register, as well as other situational and interpersonal pointers which create meaning. CALP, by contrast, is often more abstract with fewer such additional cues. Students require CALP to successfully complete school work and assessments like those described above. Consequently, students typically learn BICS much more rapidly than they do CALP (Menken, 2013:444).

Colombi and Schleppegrell (2002:1) note that secondary students must acquire what they term “advanced literacy”, which they define as:

The kind of meaning-making that is typical of secondary and postsecondary schooling and that is also required for participating in many of the professional, technical, bureaucratic, and social institutions of our world. We focus particularly on the education contexts, where students have to work in content areas that have particular ways of making meaning. Students’ learning of disciplinary knowledge requires participation in social contexts where texts are actively constructed. Students need to be able to participate in literacy in ways that enable them to contribute to the evolution of knowledge. Failing to ensure that secondary students acquire advanced literacy is tantamount to denying them opportunities for full participation in school and later life.

Menken (2013:444) writes that research has recently identified academic language and literacy as a prime reason for varying levels of performance amongst emergent bilinguals in the USA. Rather than being academically equal and homogeneous, these students arrive in secondary school with widely contrasting levels of academic language and literacy skill competencies, subject knowledge and prior experiences in education (De Velasco, 2005; Freeman & Freeman, 2002). Short and Fitzsimmons (2007:6) call the situation “an academic literacy crisis amongst these students at secondary level”.

Menken (2013:444) astutely observes that, although many secondary school teachers regard basic literacy instruction as a task for teachers at primary school level and feel that this type of tuition is too easy and remedial for instruction at secondary level, there is growing awareness that academic literacy teaching across subject areas should become a normal part of secondary school curricula and teaching. This is especially true in the case of the education of emergent bilinguals. Typical secondary school programmes assume that students already have strong literacy skills and thereby exclude those who do not. Often these students received non-parallel schooling in their country of origin. For this reason, foreign students need to have a stronger intellectual foundation to perform well at school (Carrasquillo, Kucer & Abrams, 2004).

Mainstream education is seldom differentiated for foreign students with language barriers. Certain school structures and interactions in fact can be harmful to students' acquisition of language, self-esteem and motivation to succeed. Placing these students in the mainstream classrooms, which demand that they perform to the level of their first-language peers, in the absence of modified curricula or assessments, will perpetuate uneven social class dynamics, limiting chances for upward social or economic mobility (Dávila, 2012:139).

3.7 CONCLUSION

The use of language, especially a powerful language such as English, is never neutral (Phipps & Guilherme, 2004:1). Although the postmodern view of English is seemingly utilitarian, all communication “remains embedded in social situations and involves speakers with purposes and positions, none of which is neutral” (Baker, 2011:199). An understanding of the importance of social contexts is no less vital than an understanding of grammar, vocabulary and phonology. Re-examining the conceptualisations of the relationship between language and culture will help schools to better understand the skills, attitudes and knowledge needed to enhance intercultural communication. Effective intercultural communication in turn will enable teachers to teach more effectively by drawing on students' pre-existing knowledge and frames of reference (Baker, 2011:200).

In this chapter I tried to provide a textured, layered picture of the South African independent school landscape and its constituents which could serve as a backdrop for the next three chapters of my thesis. The next chapter will describe the research process that was followed in detail before Chapter 5 shifts to the research sites and the interviews at these sites.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter 1, the central research question for this thesis was to attempt to ascertain what affordances CLIL and CBI models could create for language support to recent immigrant learners in new, high-fee private schools in South Africa. To be able to formulate an informed response to this question, comprehensive answers had to be found to the following subsidiary questions:

- How do such schools currently conceptualise support for foreign-language students with language barriers?
- What guidelines can be deduced from CLIL or CBI models to enhance academic English-language support for such learners?

Consequently, the aims of my physical research at the three private schools interviewed were twofold:

- Firstly, I had to gain an insight into the perceived reality and lived experience of the senior staff members dealing with foreign students by interviewing them in depth. I had to know exactly how the schools were currently dealing with these students and which structures, if any, had already been put in place. I also needed to ascertain whether staff members interviewed felt that these measures were sufficient. Additionally, I needed information about the history of the schools, the schools' marketing strategies and the current student demographic.
- Secondly, I needed to factually ascertain the exact number of foreign students currently in the system to see if teachers' perceptions of their situation tallied with reality. The positive and negative implications of running a boarding facility also had to be thoroughly scrutinised. I needed to test if my theory held true that there were more such students currently in these young private schools than previously believed.

Only after concluding the interviews and analysing this research in depth, would I be able to effectively determine what the schools' most pressing needs were. I could then return to the affordances identified from the CLIL models and evaluate which ones could be incorporated and adapted most easily and successfully by these schools to enhance the academic and social integration of these students.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It was relatively easy to decide which factual data were needed from the participating schools to form an exact picture of the demographic make-up of these schools. My three test sites readily provided the numbers requested. Conversely, learning more about the inner workings of the educational institutions and the current ways in which these students were accommodated would prove to be an infinitely more complex process.

Le Grange (2000:194) wrote that, when compared to the traditional categories of qualitative and quantitative research, paradigms provide a much more useful "means of categorising and organising contemporary educational research". The American researcher Kuhn (1970:11) made the concept of *paradigms* a vital part of any scientific enquiry. Paradigms are comparative frameworks that guide scientific communities and identify significant problems as well as acceptable theories and methods for the solving of these problems (Le Grange, 2000:194). Kuhn's idea challenged the prevailing notion that the relationship between facts and theory was a direct one. It emphasised the idea of knowledge being "relative rather than absolute" (Connole, 1993:14-15). Kuhn's idea of paradigms postulated that research is "subjectively defined by time, place and people and not nearly as objective as previously held" (Scott & Usher, 1996:17).

According to Kuhn (1970), four paradigms could be identified that reflected social research conducted in the current post-positivist era. These were positivism, interpretivism, critical science and postmodernism (Connole, 1993:22; Le Grange, 2009:3).

This thesis operated within the interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm espouses “[a] fluid versus static reality; subjectivity versus objectivity; an insider’s view versus an outsider’s perspective; emergent versus fixed categories; and real understanding versus mere explanation” (Le Grange, 2000:193).

In this instance I had an insider’s perspective at my primary research site, yet I was an outsider at the other two research sites. In this thesis, as in the wider context, it was important to keep in mind that, in reality, the distinctions between different types of perspectives were much less tidy than the above might suggest, with many researchers having adopted a combination of the approaches of the different paradigms by borrowing elements and creating combinations which could be difficult to unravel (Connole, 1993:21).

4.2.1 Interpretivism as operating paradigm

Interpretivism had its historical roots in the tradition of hermeneutics, which began as the interpretation of Biblical texts (Connole, 1993:19). Interpretivism applied to this thesis in ways discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Theory of reality

Social reality is complex, multifaceted, fluid and messy (Le Grange, 2007:422). Ontologically, therefore, reality can only be understood subjectively, and notions of objectivity are rejected (Le Grange, 2000:193). This study forced me to confront my own perceptions about the realities at my research sites. My conclusions could, at best, only be based on my own subjective understanding of the data.

4.2.1.2 Theory of knowledge

The epistemological position held by interpretivism is that knowledge generated is dependent on the process of discovery (Connole, 1993:23). As the process of discovery is a human action, the facts can be selected and arranged in various ways with many

potential meanings (Connole, 1993:14). In Connole's words (1993:23), "...the integrity of the findings depends on the quality of the social, linguistic and cognitive skills of the researcher in the production of data analysis and conclusions".

4.2.1.3 Knowledge interest

Since interpretivism is underpinned by the belief that there are multiple views of reality, the researcher's main aim in producing knowledge should be to understand what is going on by defining the situation (Connole, 1993:20; Le Grange, 2009:3). The researcher is always primarily concerned with illumination in order to create understanding (Golafshani, 2003:600). To do so effectively, this research aimed to find fresh sequences of meaning that could be related to existing theory to create a fuller understanding of what exactly was going on at the three research sites as possible microcosms of a much larger whole.

4.2.1.4 Theory of method

Assumptions about reality and knowledge inevitably result in specific choices of method within the interpretivist paradigm. The scientific method, which uses empirical analytic enquiry only, is insufficient when it comes to understanding multiple realities; instead different methods are used, with interviews and observations being more prevalent (Connole, 1993:22; Golafshani, 2003:600; Le Grange, 2007:421). As is the case with the other methods used within the interpretivist paradigm, data produced in this thesis were mostly of a qualitative nature.

4.3 RESEARCH METHOD

According to Harding (1987:2), there are only three methods of gathering evidence for social enquiry: listening to or interrogating informants, observing behaviour, and examining historical traces and records. Data were collected from my three research sites by using two of the three suggested methods (the behaviour of teachers and/or students was not observed in a structured way during the actual research period):

- Self-reporting by means of individual semi-structured interviews with three selected key members of management at my research sites (at School C, I was only able to have one combined interview with the three staff members). These interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim for maximum accuracy.
- Gathering empirical data from each school regarding the number of foreign students and, where applicable, foreign boarders at these institutions over the past four years.
- Using archival and documentary resources like yearbooks, newsletters (electronic and hard copy) and school welcome packs to build a more comprehensive picture of current practices at these sites.

The raw data gathered are currently saved on my personal computer and on Google Drive in text and voice-recorded format for continued easy access.

Having worked in the new, high-fee private school sector for 15 years, I felt that I was familiar with this milieu. I knew who the key decision-makers were who I had to interview to get an accurate view regarding foreign students at these schools. At each of the sites, I found the participants to be extremely helpful and willing to make themselves as well as the factual information available for analysis.

4.3.1 Instruments used

4.3.1.1 Factual data

With regard to the factual data, I needed to establish the percentage of the secondary school population with foreign passports from 2014 onwards. Determining the number of local second-language speakers in these schools for a more comprehensive picture of non-native English speakers in the system did not turn out to be a feasible option. All three schools thought that most local Afrikaans students with mainly Afrikaans as a home language had been assimilated into the English culture to such a degree that it was impossible for the schools to identify these students without subjecting all pupils in the schools to a detailed questionnaire. In addition, the two schools with boarding facilities were asked to provide the data for the past four years, dividing the number of boarders

at their school into foreign and local students. Lastly, the schools were asked to provide the number of foreign and local students involved in official disciplinary hearings at the schools during this time period.

4.3.1.2 Qualitative research

The tool of semi-structured interviews seemed like a logical choice for gathering data for the qualitative research, where one would be dealing largely with lived experience. I interviewed three senior staff members at each school – the school principal as well as two more members of the senior management team tasked with incorporating these students into the schooling system. Due to the specific nature of my research and with some input from my supervisor, I decided to design my own interview schedule. The focus of the 10 questions in the hour-long interview was on accessing the core of the information needed by keeping questions clear and unambiguous. Leading questions were avoided to not give respondents the sense that they were being led or conditioned to give a specific response. Each of the questions was designed to focus on a very specific aspect of the existing situation. The semi-structured nature of the interview gave the participants the opportunity to add information, often anecdotal, that would give a comprehensive and densely-woven picture of the individual's lived experience.

I interviewed the three staff members at School B on 11 June 2018. My first interview was with the principal of the school, a boarding school in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Although the principal had only held this position since January 2018, he had been part of the staff at the school for 11 years. My second interview was with the female deputy principal in charge of English and other languages at the school as well as timetabling. The final interview was with the male deputy principal tasked with discipline at both the school and the boarding house.

On 12 June 2018, I interviewed the management team of School C, in the Parklands area of Cape Town, together, at their gentle insistence. The principal of the school was accompanied by the head of English and the head of academics. Interestingly, all three interviewees were female and Afrikaans home-language speakers.

On 13 June 2018 I interviewed the principal of School A, a boarding school in the winelands. Later in the same week I interviewed the head of the educational support unit as well as the head of English.

During my visits to the research sites, I also collected artefacts such as annual magazines, communication packs, newsletters, information about fee structures and other material readily available to interested parties. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in the days following the interviews.

4.3.2 The coding process

The coding process plays a vital role in the conceptualisation and analysis of the transcriptions of actual interviews. As can be expected, the “success of the research endeavour depends largely on the coding process” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1285). The researcher has to analyse and simplify data into categories that reflect the subject of study in a reliable manner as well as cover all the data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:112; Le Grange, 2009:7). Saldanha (2013:3) summarises the essence of codes as “words or short phrases that symbolically assigns a summative, salient and/or essence-capturing attributive for a portion of language-based data”. By grouping portions of similarly coded data together on the basis of belonging to a group, researchers create a means not only to describe a phenomenon but also to “increase understanding and generate knowledge” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:111), both of which are appropriate for this study.

To identify high frequency words and short phrases as well as to provide me with a visual image of the salient content of each interview, I created word clouds using *Wordclouds* (n.d.). This programme creates colourful visual depictions or word clouds from actual texts fed into it. To enhance text conceptualisation, the representations give greater prominence to words that appear more frequently in the text. Although the analyses provided by these word clouds were largely summative in nature, merely counting and comparing key words and phrases, I nevertheless found this to be a valuable aid in organising my thinking. I also found this tool to be an extremely effective visual means of identifying recurrent thought patterns and key points embedded in a written text. Initially I

created a separate word cloud for each interview. I subsequently read the transcript of each interview again while comparing the text to the visual word cloud depiction. The next step was to merge the transcriptions of the interviews of individual teachers (principals excluded) into one image to get a picture of what these professionals were experiencing as a collective. Subsequently I merged the transcriptions of the interviews with the principals of the schools together to identify their main focus areas. I grouped the combined interview at School C with that of the other principals because I felt that the principal of the school gave most of the input during the interview. I now had a clear conceptual representation of the core of each individual conversation as well as two separate clusters of principals and other senior members of staff. I did a final word cloud depiction of the interview with the head of the Educational Support Unit at School A. I suspected correctly that, because she was the only person interviewed whose focus was primarily on the mental well-being of these students, her word cloud might differ from those of the other interviewees.

The next step was the analysis and comparison of the content of these transcriptions. I used an inductive approach to coding for this step, in line with the conventional content analysis method by which researchers allow the content categories to flow from the data during data analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1279). The research now moved from the specific – words and phrases used in the transcription – to the general – the categories and subgroups derived from it (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:109). To begin with, I divided the replies to the 10 questions of the semi-structured interviews into key areas of content. After creating the overarching analysis sections, I was able to proceed to the directed content analysis method. This method uses a deductive approach to coding by which the research moves from the general – the key areas – to the specific (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:109).

The coding process had to be described in detail to increase transparency and trustworthiness and to provide a rich, thick description of the procedure followed. I agree with the view of Elo and Kyngäs (2008:113) that the organising phase of a content analysis study of transcribed interviews is more difficult than with quantitative analysis

because of the overall lack of standardisation. Every study is a unique piece of work with the results entirely dependent on the skills, insights, style and analytic abilities of the investigator. There are, of course, strong guidelines and much has been written about this process by numerous eminent academics over the years. Yet there can be no one simple and correct way of approaching this process.

4.3.2.1 The coding process for conventional content analysis

Based on the word clouds, I already had a fair idea of what the core issues raised by principals of the schools, as opposed to those raised by the senior staff members, were. My next step was to organise the interviews to provide windows into each of the three research sites. I started by scanning the responses to the three key areas identified in my interviews and by highlighting the key points raised by the interviewees. I then allowed myself time to read slowly through the interviews one more time, before starting to look for common threads. The next step was to do an in-depth reading of the transcripts, really immersing myself in the data, to try to ensure the trustworthiness of the process. As I read, I again highlighted words from the text that I had missed in the previous reading that appeared to capture key thoughts or concepts. I made detailed notes throughout, seeking to find ways in which these key thoughts related to each other (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1279). This painstaking process enabled me to identify categories within each subdivision that often combined more than one key thought. In essence, these categories became the final themes. What I was doing at this stage was pattern detection and categorisation (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1279; Saldanha, 2013:4).

The coding process itself basically involved organising larger chunks of text into much smaller content categories and identifying and developing themes that are “more or less directly expressed in the text or derived from it through analysis” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1285). I used both the inductive and deductive approaches to coding in this phase of the study.

As mentioned previously, although my overall approach was to use conventional data analysis, there were also some elements of the directed approach in my analysis. The

central research question with the two subsidiary questions were the questions that had to be answered conclusively in the analysis of the transcripts. The analysis could not be a linear and/or tidy process. After identification of themes and while writing up my findings, I often returned to the transcripts to ensure that my categories and findings in fact were true representations of the data.

As part of my Honours course at Stellenbosch University, I did an Educational Research 769 module in which I was required to investigate teachers' lived experiences by using the constant comparative method (CCM) (Morehouse & Maykut, 2001:126-149). Whereas some researchers hold that there are no simple guidelines for qualitative content analysis and that each inquiry is distinctive (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:113), others suggest that a researcher needs to adhere to an analytic procedure or coding scheme (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1286) such as the CCM in order to increase the trustworthiness of the study. I found that the methodical analytic procedure made me feel as if I had more control over the process.

Largely for the same reason, I felt that it would be useful to utilise the more formal coding procedure of the CCM (Morehouse & Maykut, 2001:134-139) for the subthemes within the larger sections. As the subsections were not always immediately apparent, the detailed and structured nature of the CCM was a helpful tool in identifying these components. After reading Morehouse and Maykut's book (2001), I applied the CCM as follows:

- The initial coding process commenced from a text in which key thoughts had already been highlighted. I then went through the data, physically cutting up the printed text into smaller units of meaning. I used the highlighted words as guide and used each highlighted section as a separate heading in my rough analysis. I tried to allot all of the data to one of these categories.
- I subsequently pinned large pages of newsprint up on the wall of my office. The tentative headings identified were now attached onto these pages as headings. Every word unit or phrase uttered in the interviews, now cut out of the transcripts, was glued

under an appropriate heading. Asides and other information which did not fit into any of these categories were added under the 'other' heading. If needed, categories were redefined and data pieces regrouped. If a data unit fitted into more than one group, it was duplicated and added to both groups. The ideas which emerged on the pages on my wall became the identified themes. As Saldanha (2013:8) explains, "qualitative codes when clustered together according to similarity and regularity, actively facilitate the development of categories and the analysis of their connectedness".

4.4 TRUSTWORTHINESS IN THE INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM

In academic research, trustworthiness is traditionally expressed through the concepts of reliability and validity: reliability refers to the ability of a research instrument to produce consistent results and validity is the ability of a research instrument to measure what it is supposed to measure (Golafshani, 2003:598-600; Le Grange, 2009:7). Depending on which research paradigm a researcher adheres to, reliability and validity will be constructed differently (Le Grange, 2009:7).

The traditional understanding of reliability and validity based on the ideal of objectivity is challenged in the interpretive paradigm (Le Grange, 2009:8; Le Grange & Beets, 2005:116). The interpretive researcher sees reality as extremely subjective. Many realities exist as seen through the eyes of different individuals (Connole, 1993:22). This concept requires active involvement – not detachment – from the researcher in the process of negotiated meaning, and inevitably raises the question of ambiguity (Connole, 1993:20). Golafshani (2003:600) writes that one should not look at reliability and validity separately in qualitative studies; instead one should examine terminology that encompasses both, such as credibility, transferability and trustworthiness. The need for qualitative research to be trustworthy, as a matter of course, remains valid (Creswell & Miller, 2000:124; Golafshani, 2003:600).

The trustworthiness of the research is, in Connole's (1993:23) words, "dependent on the quality of the social, linguistic and cognitive skills of the researcher in the production of data analysis and conclusions".

4.4.1 Application of trustworthiness to this study

Le Grange (2009:9) identifies four types of validity that are distinctive to the interpretive paradigm: intersubjective objectivity; face validity (member checking); thick description; and triangulation. Although boundaries between different paradigms and the types of validity framed within them are often blurred (Le Grange, 2009:9; Le Grange & Beets, 2005:116), intersubjective objectivity and content validity were the most important methods of assuring trustworthiness in this study.

4.4.2 Content and construct validity

In this study content validity referred to the extent to which the researcher was able to cover all of the data without omitting any key categories, and construct validity refers to the extent to which the identified categories reflect the subject of study in a reliable manner (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:112; Le Grange & Beets, 2005:115). Content and construct validity are seen as a challenge for conventional content analysis. To enhance content validity, I tried to immerse myself in the data repeatedly as suggested by Elo and Kyngäs (2008:113). Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1280) refer to this process as “prolonged engagement”. In order to strengthen construct validity, the central research questions were considered and reconsidered throughout the processes of data analysis and comparison.

4.4.3 Thick, rich descriptions

According to Denzin (1989:83), “thick descriptions are deep, dense, detailed accounts...thin descriptions, by contrast, lack detail and simply report facts”. I tried to use thick and detailed descriptions throughout and attempted to demonstrate a clear link between the interviews and the factual data. I used graphs, tables and visual aids (word clouds) to illustrate the data where possible, as suggested by Elo and Kyngäs (2008:114). As Elo and Kyngäs (2008:112) put it, “demonstration is needed of the reliability of the findings and interpretations to enable someone else to follow the process and procedures of the inquiry”.

Another aspect of thick, rich description is its ability to contribute to transparency when strengths and limitations are openly discussed (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:112). I tried to be candid about the fact that I had insider status at my primary research site and that it was impossible to remove my own subjectivity completely while analysing the data.

4.4.4 Researcher reflexivity

According to Creswell and Miller (2000:127), “researcher reflexivity is for researchers to self-disclose their assumptions, beliefs and biases that may shape their inquiry”. As such, it is a type of validity positioned within the critical paradigm where individuals reflect on their own backgrounds as a force that shapes their interpretation of the available facts. This may be one of the most challenging phases of any study (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:113) and something I really had to grapple with. When analysing my first draft of Chapter 5, I was shocked by the prevalence of my own assumptions cloaked as facts, especially when writing about School A where I had been previously employed. I had also made some generalised statements that were not necessarily borne out by the data. I ended up writing and rewriting this chapter many times, and I had to rely on my supervisor’s guidance to increase my level of objectivity when presenting the facts. I found that leaving the chapter for a few months before returning to it also helped to give me some emotional distance to compare the lesser-known and better-known research sites in a more balanced fashion. Consulting other readers whose opinions I valued was also invaluable in this process.

4.4.5 Writing up the findings

I transcribed the interviews in the days after they had taken place to keep the momentum of the process going. The interviews were written up before analysing any of the factual data provided. I did not want the data to interfere with the transcriptions of the teachers’ lived experience and view of reality.

According to Elo and Kyngäs (2008:110), qualitative content analysis processes are represented in three main phases: preparation, organising and reporting. The coding process itself basically involves the organisation of large quantities of text into much

smaller content categories and the development of themes that are more or less directly expressed in the text or derived from it through analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1285). I found the organising of the text into smaller categories harder than anticipated. Once again, I felt that I was too close to some of the facts to dispassionately and fairly compare the data from the three sites. My supervisor provided some valuable assistance in gaining objectivity when developing the themes and the resulting roadmap for Chapter 5.

I started my analysis by giving a detailed description of each research site in section 5.2.1. The next step was to provide a copy of the interview schedule in section 5.2.2 before introducing the interviewees at each school in section 5.2.3. Section 5.3 analysed the empirical data provided by the schools, firstly by looking at student numbers and lastly by looking at and comparing the school fees of the three research sites. Section 5.4 looked at the actual interviews in detail, with special attention given to current institutional practices, before concluding the chapter in section 5.5.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Interpretivism is the qualitative methodology which underpins the study. Conventional content analysis was my main research method, although some elements of the directed and summative approaches are also present. I used two types of validity (intersubjective objectivity and content validity) to establish the trustworthiness of the study. Section 4.4 not only described, but also provided justification for these choices. This chapter was intended to serve as preparation for and documentation of the actual process of investigation followed and presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the results of my research at the three research sites. As stated in Chapter 1 and again at the beginning of Chapter 4, the central research question for this thesis was:

What affordances do the CLIL and CBI models create for language support to recent foreign students with language barriers in South Africa's new high-fee independent schools?

Before I could answer that question, comprehensive answers had to be found to the following subsidiary questions:

- How do such schools currently conceptualise support for foreign-language students with language barriers?
- What guidelines can be deduced from CLIL or CBI models to enhance academic English language support for such learners?

After providing the necessary background, the first subsidiary question is answered at length in section 5.4.2. A roadmap to aid the reader is provided in section 5.4.

The second subsidiary question is responded to in Chapter 6, which also presents my attempt to fully answer the central research question.

5.1.1 Motivation for choice of data samples

This section proceeds to revisit my motivation for the specific choice of data samples. Almost all of the new (post-1994), high-fee private schools in the Western Cape state clearly on their websites that they require entrance examinations. At the time of writing my proposal in 2017, I could only find three of the bigger (more than 300 students at

secondary level) young, high-fee independent schools that, according to their websites, did not have fixed entrance examinations in place. One of these schools, School C in this thesis, has since changed its entrance policy and added an entrance examination.

For obvious reasons, foreign students with language barriers find it challenging to compete on equal footing with local students when it comes to sitting entrance examinations. Therefore, these foreign students are more likely to approach schools without such stringent assessments. Consequently, it was an easy decision to choose the three schools with relatively easy access for foreign students (according to their websites in 2017) for this research. On closer investigation, the three schools were perfectly positioned for a comparative analysis. Two of the three schools were boarding schools, one in Cape Town and one in a rural area close to Cape Town. The third school did not need a boarding facility as it was situated in a fast-developing area of Cape Town.

Although all three schools belong to ISASA, only School A still writes the IEB examination. Like other IEB schools, School A probably uses the perceived higher level and international standards attached to the IEB system as a marketing tool. School B has always been part of the WCED and School C moved from the IEB to the WCED in 2009. As I later ascertained in the interviews, School C does not seem to regret making the move. The feeling is that the IEB's focus is on schools in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal and that the board does not offer enough support to Western Cape schools. Before making the final move away from the IEB, School C ran an IEB as well as a WCED stream side by side for one year and students did equally well in both examinations. The principal of the school assured me that this even result was because of the extra time and attention given to students at the school. According to her, one had to compare the perceived snob value of the IEB against the considerable expense of working within the IEB system. In the WCED system, her staff are getting many opportunities to contribute by giving back within their surrounding community. In fact, many of the teachers at School C are leaders within the WCED system. "Umalusi signs both WCED and IEB certificates, so there is no real difference," she concluded.

5.2 BACKGROUND

5.2.1 The settings

5.2.1.1 School A



School A, a 23-year-old private school, is set in rural countryside in a picturesque valley surrounded by mountains. Upon arrival, the first structure to catch the eye is an imposing theatre building which also serves as the school hall. The vast grounds are immaculate and an Astroturf hockey field has pride of place amongst the various sports fields and facilities. Any parent would be proud of being able to give his or her child the opportunity to be part of this idyllic, pastoral, seemingly exclusive environment.

This is a dynamic, high-fee boarding school in an affluent rural area; the steady influx of foreign students to the school over the past few years has contributed significantly to the school's continued growth. I taught at this school for several years before moving to the University of Stellenbosch, where I am currently employed. For the past few years at School A, I was the (part-time) EFL teacher. At the time this post was necessitated by the relatively recent trickle to the school of foreign-language learners with language barriers

who needed additional help with English. Consequently, I had a unique insider's perspective at this research site.

School A belongs to ISASA and writes the IEB Grade 12 examination for which it has managed to maintain a 100% pass rate since the school's inception. It is also an active member of the prestigious international Round Square movement started by the famous German educator, Dr Kurt Hahn.

5.2.1.2 School B



School B, a private boarding school in an urban area, long known to have a large foreign learner base, is the perfect counterpoint to School A. At nearly 50 years old, School B is more than double the age of the other two schools in the study, although the transition from being a *cram school* to a traditional one was fairly recent.

Although the buildings are beautiful and well-maintained, School B has an inner-city school feel about it. The buildings front onto a busy city street in the southern suburbs of Cape Town and there are no obvious signs of abundant space and greenery as evident at the other two schools in the study. Students do not wear school uniforms and there are no bells, intercoms or sport.

Since its inception, foreign students have made up a considerable part of the student body. The differences between lived experience in a boarding facility in the city and one in the countryside (School A) were an obvious area of comparison. My final motivation for choosing this research site was the fact that School B was recently acquired by a large stable of over 100 educational institutions in Africa. I needed to know to what extent this fact enabled School B to further specialise in this specific foreign-learner niche market, and, conversely, to what degree management felt that the school's independence was being compromised by being part of such a large group.

5.2.1.3 School C



School C was the ideal third site to complete the picture. The school's brand-new buildings on a vast tract of land seem to indicate that the school is set on an aggressive future development.

At 20 years old, this young, high-fee private school is about the same age as School A, but it does not have a boarding facility. This comparison would allow me to try to isolate the pros and cons of having a boarding facility attached to a school. School C's

geographical location in the heart of a new, fast-developing, fairly affluent area makes a boarding facility redundant.

In recent years, the school has become known for its competitive edge and focus on academic excellence. Like School A, this school has also maintained a 100% pass rate since its first group of Grade 12s completed school in 2000. Therefore, it was not surprising that, according to their updated website in 2018, School C was now the only one of my research sites with stringent entrance tests. As stated in section 5.1.1, after initially offering the IEB examination, School C moved over to the WCED in 2009.

5.2.2 Interview schedule

The following questions were put to the interviewees in semi-structured interviews:

Table 2: Questions presented to interviewees

1.	Do you see foreign students as a vital part of your school's future growth? Why?
2.	Are there, as far as you are aware, official guidelines for schools from ISASA/WCED regarding the integration of foreign students?
3.	Are there official guidelines for teachers from the management of the school regarding foreign students?
4.	Are current orchestrated (inclusive) classroom practices to accommodate these students, or the absence thereof, effective?
5.	Are there currently special programmes in place to improve language proficiency in the language of learning and teaching?
6.	Are language proficiency tests used as an access mechanism?
7.	What is your impression of the general English language proficiency of foreign students from outside Africa?
8.	What is your impression of the general English language proficiency of students from other African countries?
9.	Do you think more could/should be done to enhance foreign students' rate of acquisition of language?
10.	Do you think that more could/should be done to enhance foreign students' social integration?

5.2.3 The interviewees

5.2.3.1 School A

The principal of School A, in his early sixties, came across as honest, intelligent and prepared to engage with the topic we are both grappling with. Interestingly, he had also been the principal of School B's sister school in Cape Town and was therefore very familiar with the inner workings of their schooling system. Although we met in his office in the heart of the school's buildings, the surroundings were quiet and peaceful. I got the impression that he had given a lot of thought over the years to the topic we were discussing on that day. In his opening comments he mentioned that, although he had not done any formal statistical analysis to date, he had counted 39 different national flags at the school's last Heritage Day. According to him, this was proof that School A is truly international.

Along with the principal, the other two senior teachers of School A interviewed were firstly the educational psychologist and dynamic head of the Educational Support Unit (ESU) and secondly the head of the English department. The head of the ESU had consistently played a vital role in the acclimatisation of foreign students at the school and had been involved in this process since its early stages. As the foreign students' parental and other support structures are often geographically removed, many of these functions have had to be taken over by the educational psychologist and her team. More than any of the other interviewees, I believed that she would be able to give me an accurate insight into what many of these students might actually go through on a psychological level while trying to adapt to their dramatically altered circumstances. The interview with the educational psychologist/ESU head took place in her office where she also sees students, and I got the idea that her day was very busy. Fifty minutes into the one-hour interview she subtly started watching the clock.

The head of English, in her early sixties, has had many years of experience with all levels of English language acquisition. For the interview, she invited me to tea at her newly built house in a scenic development in a small, neighbouring village. Before moving here at

the end of the previous year, she was the head of girls' boarding at School A for several years.

As I knew the workings and the role players at School A, it would be impossible for me to be an impartial observer. As a researcher, however, it would be my job to try and sift through and compile my data gathered in a responsible and objective way.

5.2.3.2 School B

School B's principal has only been in charge of the school since January 2018, is in his early forties and a master of the typical liberal independent school style of discourse. There was a seeming willingness on his part to admit mistakes and potential weaknesses which drew the interviewer in. The interview took place in his office.

The other two staff members I interviewed at School B were the experienced deputy heads. Both chose to meet with me in their classrooms/offices and I got a strong feeling of their personas as teachers by observing their interaction with students knocking on the door during our interviews. Like their head, they came across as extremely approachable, helpful and informal. Deputy 1, who was also head of the English department, was extremely well prepared for the interview and provided vital historical data directly relevant to my research. All three staff members had been at the school for many years and clearly saw their jobs as a vocation.

5.2.3.3 School C

Although I specifically requested to interview each of the three teachers identified at School C separately, I was only granted an hour-long interview with the three women as a unit. I was unable to ascertain whether this was by design or merely because of miscommunication. In my initial contact with all three schools, I had asked each principal to identify two other senior teachers who were key role players in the admission and integration process for foreign learners. At School C the formidable, female-only panel consisted of the principal herself, the head of English as well as the head of Academics.

It is worth noting that this was the only school where all three interviewees were Afrikaans home-language speakers. Although everyone was friendly and accommodating, I was left with the feeling that the interview had, to some extent, been a marketing exercise where I was only privy to what the interviewees wanted me to know. The interview took place in a neutral, impersonal conference room.

5.3 RESULTS: THE EMPIRICAL DATA

All three schools readily provided the factual data requested. Interestingly, all three research sites automatically did not include Afrikaans-speaking students when calculating the number of non-English speakers in the school. As I later ascertained, everyone felt that these students had become integrated to such an extent that it would require a detailed analysis to accurately determine the numbers of these 'hybrid' students.

5.3.1 Student numbers

5.3.1.1 School A

Table 3 presents the data provided by School A.

Table 3: Data provided by School A

	January 2014	January 2016	January 2018
Total number of pupils in secondary school	317	352	360
Number of boarders (if applicable)	77	108	123
Number of students for whom English is not their home language	80	72	96
Number of students with foreign passports	59	68	65
Number of students with foreign passports in boarding	29	35	47
Number of foreign students on exchange (for up to one year)	18	22	16

Of the three sites, School A's numbers had increased the most from 2014 to 2018. Despite its remote location, the struggling national economy and its high fees, the secondary section of the school managed to grow by almost 13.5% during this time, from 317 students in 2014 to 360 in 2018, which is a remarkable feat. The number of boarders gradually increased to 34% of the student body in 2018. In 2018, 38% of boarders had foreign passports. Students on exchange for one year or less made up 4.4% of the student body in 2018. Interestingly, the number of exchange students, although high compared to the other two schools in the study, has been dropping consistently since 2014.

In Figure 3 below the number of students for whom English was not their home language (Afrikaans home-language speakers excluded) is indicated as a percentage of the total number of students in the school from 2014 to 2018.

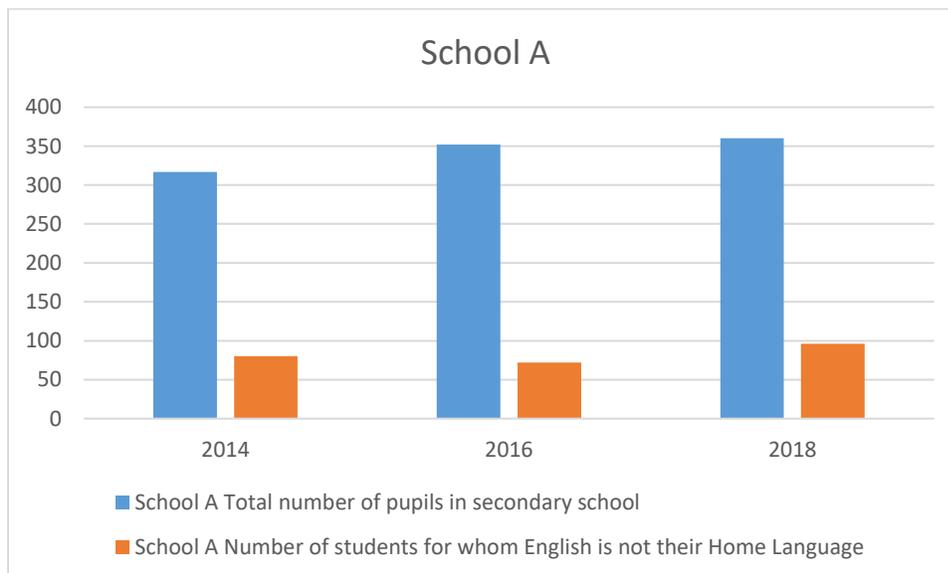


Figure 3: Graph of pupil numbers at School A: 2014-2018

5.3.1.2 School B

Table 4 presents the data provided by School B.

Table 4: Data provided by School B

	January 2014	January 2016	January 2018
Total number of pupils in secondary school	346	326	313
Number of boarders (if applicable)	25	65	53
Number of students for whom English is not their home language	No record	100	70
Number of students with foreign passports	No record	130	78
Number of students with foreign passports in boarding	23	60	47
Number of foreign students on exchange (for up to one year)	0	0	0

Surprisingly, School B has experienced a decrease in its numbers since 2014. Its numbers decreased from 346 in 2014 to 313 in 2018, a drop of 10%. If the numbers of the newly opened Grade 8 and Grade 9 classes in 2018 are taken out of the equation, the drop looks significantly worse. As School B is seen by many in private school circles as the unofficial leader in the foreign student market, this significant downward trend could very well be a clear indicator that the African market is no longer the panacea stakeholders might have hoped for. If School B, with its reputation as a niche for these students as well as having the full marketing strength of the larger stable behind it, can no longer draw the numbers it was used to from neighbouring countries, it could be proof that increasing exchange controls in their home countries and other financial issues are severely reducing this flow of students to local private schools.

Although 25% of the 2018 student body at School B held foreign passports, only 17% were boarding at the school. Students have many other accommodation options due to the location of the school, even if their parents are not in South Africa. A very high percentage (almost 89%) of the boarders in 2018 held foreign passports. In fact, only six boarders were South African. According to the data provided by the principal, there have not been any exchange students at School B for the past four years.

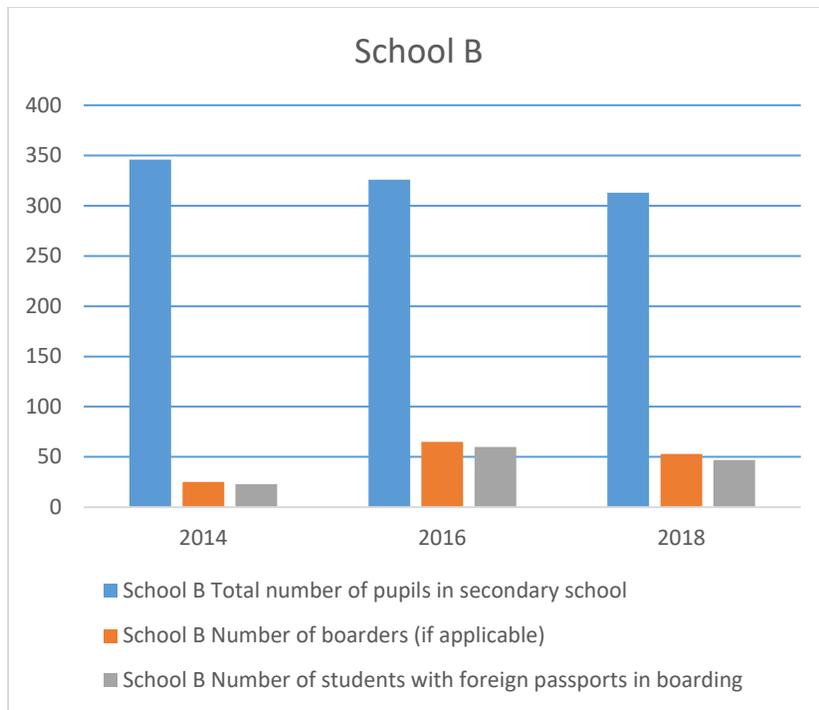


Figure 4: Chart of pupil numbers at School B: 2014-2018

5.3.1.3 School C

Table 5 below presents the data provided by School C.

Table 5: Data provided by School C

	January 2014	January 2016	January 2018
Total number of pupils in secondary school	510	500	528
Number of boarders (if applicable)	0	0	0
Number of students for whom English is not their home language	43	38	57
Number of students with foreign passports	22	30	53
Number of students with foreign passports in boarding	0	0	0
Number of foreign students on exchange (for up to one year)	4	2	2

School C experienced a slight drop in numbers in 2016 but the general trend has consistently been upwards. From 2014 to 2018, numbers at School C increased from 510 to 528, a 3.5% rise. Ten percent of the students in 2018 were foreign-passport holders, even though there are no boarding facilities. This means that many foreign families are relocating to this area as units. As I found out during the interview, some students also board with families in the feeder area. For the previous two years, School C only had two exchange students at the school.

In Figure 5 below the number of students for whom English was not their home language at School C (Afrikaans home-language speakers excluded) is indicated as a percentage of the total number of students from 2014 to 2018.

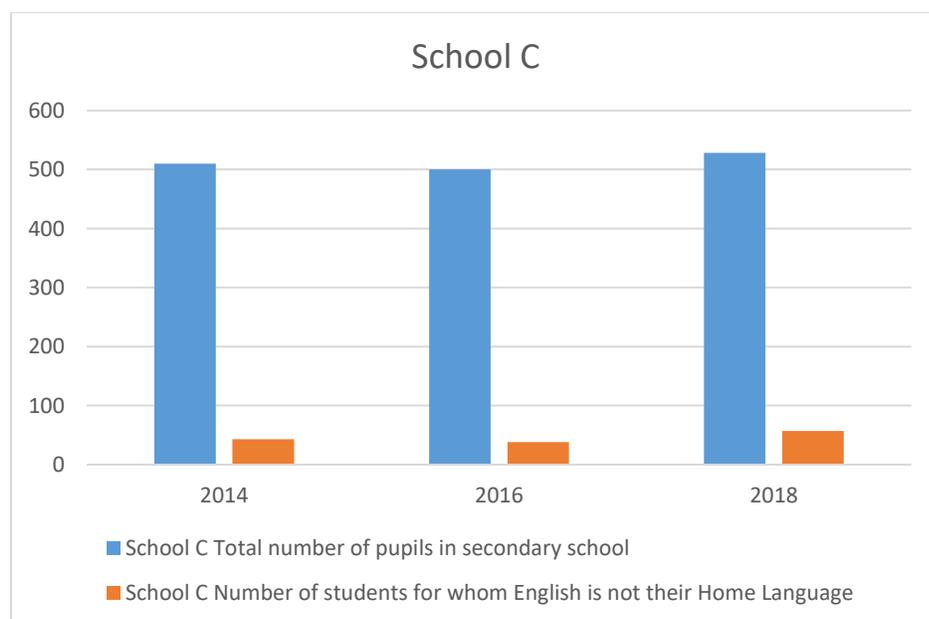


Figure 5: Chart of pupil numbers at School C: 2014-2018

5.3.1.4 Comparing the sites

The data provided by the three schools for January 2018 can be summarised as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Summary of data provided by participating schools

January 2018	School A	School B	School C
Total number of pupils in secondary school	360	313	528
Number of boarders (if applicable)	34%	17%	Not applicable
Number of students for whom English is not their home language	27%	22%	11%
Number of students with foreign passports	18%	25%	10%
Number of students with foreign passports in boarding	13%	15%	Not applicable
Number of foreign students on exchange (for up to one year)	4.5%	0	0.4%

5.3.2 Fees

5.3.2.1 School A

At School A school fees for Grades 8 to 12 in 2018 were R105 700 per annum. Boarding fees were R95 200 per annum. Additional non-refundable charges were the application fee of R500, an acceptance fee of R3 500, and an annual grade levy for all students. The levy for students in Grades 10 to 12 varied from R4 665 to R5 585. Parents of new students were also expected to make a non-refundable, tax-deductible (subject to prevailing tax law in respect of donations) donation to the school's development fund. Students in Grades 1 to 9 in 2018 were expected to donate R27 500, in Grade 10 R20 900, and R14 300 in Grade 11. Short-term students staying for three to six months were expected to pay R9 000 towards this fund and students who opted to stay for three to 12 months, paid R17 500.

5.3.2.2 School B

In 2018 at School B the non-refundable registration fee was R2 000. The Grade 12 annual fees were R84 880. However, there were annual additional subject levies of between R1 242 and R1 990 charged for six subjects, namely visual art, design, computer application technology, dramatic arts, consumer studies and tourism. Boarding fees per annum were R85 224 in 2018.

5.3.2.3 School C

At School C students in 2018 students were required to pay a non-refundable registration fee of R16 000. International students were expected to provide a full quarter's tuition fee (R24 986) held in advance for the duration of their stay at the school. The annual 2018 fees for Grade 10 to 12 students at School C were R99 945.

5.3.2.4 Summary

As can be seen in Table 7 below, full boarding at School A in 2018 cost significantly more than at School B. Travel costs to and from Cape Town and additional support services like language classes and psychologists could increase this amount.

Table 7: Approximate costs per annum for a Grade 12 student in 2018 at the three test sites

Charges	School A	School B	School C
Application fee (non-refundable)	R500 per family	R2 000 per student	
Acceptance fee and/or registration fee	R3 500 per child		R16 000 per child
Development fund donation	(R14 300 for a Grade 11 student)		

Annual Grade 12 school fees	R105 700 (same for all grades in secondary school)	R84 880	R99 945
Grade 12 levy	R 5 065 (Average for grades 10-12)	R1 776 (Average charge per subject for six subjects)	
Boarding fees	R95 200	R85 224	
Approximate cost per student per annum in 2018	R223 565	R171 881	R115 945

5.4 RESULTS: THE INTERVIEWS

In this section I will identify the themes that emerged from the interviews. Below is a roadmap to support the reading process. After providing the essential background in sections 5.4.1, 5.4.2 and their subdivisions, I will attempt to answer the first subsection of the central research question, namely how new, high-fee independent schools currently conceptualise support for foreign-language students with language barriers.

5.4.1 The role of foreign students in the school's strategic development plan

5.4.1.1 Marketing

5.4.1.2 Main feeder countries in Africa: New challenges

5.4.1.3 Changing market forces

5.4.1.4 The interdependence between boarding facilities and foreign students

5.4.2 Current state of play regarding foreign learners with language barriers

5.4.2.1 Guidelines from management

5.4.2.2 Learner profiles

(a) Country of origin

- (b) Financial and funding issues
- (c) Academic conventions
- (d) Typical age and maturity level of foreign students
- (e) Exchange students
- (f) Social integration of foreign students

5.4.2.3 Current academic practices

- (a) Entrance requirements and procedures
- (b) Teacher allocation
- (c) Interventions

5.4.2.4 At different places on the same journey

5.4.2.5 Looking towards the future

5.4.1 The role of foreign students in the school's strategic development plan

It is important to differentiate between foreign learners, who are in South Africa to complete their secondary schooling and hopefully gain entry to a local tertiary institution, and exchange students, who come to secondary school for up to a year with no intention of finishing their schooling in South Africa. This thesis is primarily about the former, although the latter also need to be mentioned due to the significant role the exchange students played at one of the research sites in 2018.

In our interview, the principal of School A recognised that foreign students had become a major part of the school's future strategic plans. In the secondary or college section of the school at the time of the interview, they were 100 students short of full capacity and he hoped that the school would reach capacity by 2020 or 2021. He added that the cosmopolitan nature of the school was seen to be important to the school family, both within and outside the classroom. He continued that every student, no matter where he or she came from, benefited from being exposed to different ways of thinking. As a result of this exposure, students at School A often formed lifelong friendships with students of different nationalities. The head of English agreed with the principal. According to her, foreign students and their parents saw a boarding school outside a small village not far

from Cape Town as a safe, interesting and relatively cheap option compared to similar schools in Europe. The principal of the school reminded me that foreign students were not necessarily foreign-language speakers. Many foreign students came from English-speaking countries. Several other students from foreign-language speaking countries were already proficient in English when they arrived at the school.

At School B, foreign students had always been an important part of the school's vision and, according to the principal, there had always been a definite "School B niche". He felt proud of the fact that the school always remained true to its ethos and customer value proposition. Unlike the principals at the other two schools in my study, he had the option of referring a family to one of the other schools in the stable if they were not a good fit for his own school. School B thus had the rare luxury of not trying to be everything to everyone because it belonged to a large stable. It could concentrate its resources on its niche market.

In view of School B's history, the principal felt that the school was an excellent example of how well diversity could work. School B catered for at least 20 nationalities per year. I was amazed to see that, in the school's 2017 annual magazine, the photographs of their Grade 12 students were arranged according to their countries of origin, with a national flag added to each grouping. The principal pointed out that there was "beauty in diversity" and that everyone at his school loved "the flavour of different cultures". When one dealt with small minorities, there might be an issue, he continued, but when up to 20 to 25% of the school body were foreign, there was a different dynamic. There was no minority and he believed that fact worked incredibly well for everyone. (This statement was echoed by most of the interviewees in the interviews.) Like the principal of School A, he emphasised the opportunity for reciprocal learning between different cultural groups and nationalities, and he was adamant that mainstream schooling in our country did not accommodate such students at that time. As a result, he felt School B would always be a home on the tip of Africa for foreign students.

Nevertheless, according to Deputy 2 at School B, there had been a significant decrease in foreign student numbers over the previous four years. Due to this decline, the school

had had to switch their focus to local markets. The drastic change of direction in their strategic planning had a lot to do with the increased difficulty for parents in getting money out of their homelands which were the traditional feeder countries for the school. At the beginning of 2018, the school opened up Grade 8 and Grade 9 classes for the first time to try and make up numbers. They were hoping that the rollover students would replace a fair number of the foreign students that they used to attract. The head of School B optimistically anticipated more local enrolments in the near future. He also stressed that the school could no longer afford to be dependent on foreign funds from a business perspective. However, although foreign funds could no longer sustain the school's business model, he was quick to add that they would always want to remain the school of choice for foreign students. If there was space, they would continue to accommodate foreign students.

The team at School C was clear that, although foreign students were welcome, they were by no means an essential part of the school's future vision. The school was not interested in this niche market and because of its location, it did not have to be. The principal at School C was the first to verbalise the fact that foreign students meant extra work for everyone at the school, but she immediately qualified this statement by adding that these students were already such an entrenched part of the fabric of the school that this fact had become a non-issue. There was, however, no denying the additional strain that foreign students placed on the infrastructure of the school. Not only did these students have to learn English at an accelerated rate, but in the majority of cases they also had to pick up Afrikaans as a second new language.

School C could not accommodate every prospective student who walked through its doors and was comfortable with this fact. Occasionally, when all the systems the school put in place still proved to be insufficient, it was necessary to recommend that these students go elsewhere. When a student, despite of the measures put into place, still did not succeed, there was usually another underlying reason for the student's lack of performance and integration.

5.4.1.1 Marketing

According to the principal, School A's management always "talked up the internationalism side of things". The fact that the school belonged to the prestigious Round Square international exchange programme, consisting of more than 150 schools in over 60 countries, underlined the fact that the school wholeheartedly subscribed to the ideals of internationalism and democracy. The school was very proud of this fact, the principal felt: "It would be crazy in the 21st century to say that we do not want to be globally relevant and only stick to SA students. Or to stick to homogeneous kids and say that everyone must be English."

School A had started actively marketing in Kenya in 2017 and was also starting to make inroads in Botswana. The school only targeted primary schools and did not canvas in the backyard of other schools. At the time of our interview early in June 2018, the principal was on his way to attend the annual expo at Pembroke House in Kenya for the second time. The school had attended the expo for the first time in the previous year and although the exposure had not turned into actual families joining the school at the time, there had been significant interest. "There are many other schools at this expo, particularly prestigious boarding school from the UK, such as Radleys and King's College, Taunton. A lot of your Kenyan population is the expats. The parents went through the English public-school system and that is where they want their children to go," he added. "If you compare what you get for GBP to what you can get for ZAR in this country, it's crazy. We must just shift that mentality and we'll get them."

As stated, School B had lost its foreign niche to a certain extent over the past few years. Mainly because of increased financial issues for foreign students and also because of the interest recently shown by other private schools in this market segment, the school's numbers had dropped by more than 10% in the previous four years. As a result, the school has had to broaden its focus to also actively recruiting local students. The principal added that the advantages of having mainly South African students in the school were many: there were no visa issues, no lengthy travel times, and the students generally did not have language barriers. However, increasing the school's footprint in the local market

was proving to be challenging. School B is situated in the centre of the southern suburbs with a variety of very good traditional, prestigious schools in the immediate vicinity. Competition has always been fierce amongst the schools in this area.

As School B was a part of a bigger stable, the national marketing team decided where and when organised marketing should happen. Incidentally, they also owned a school, Gaborone International School, in Botswana's capital. The male deputy at School B attended an education expo in Botswana at the beginning of 2018 where over 100 private schools were represented, not only from South Africa but also from various European countries. According to him, Botswana was a very attractive option for recruiters because of the country's perceived political stability and the general societal acceptance of the importance of a good education.

Unlike the other two schools, School C did not take part in any marketing drives in Africa. The school's numbers kept rising steadily because of its convenient location, as well as word of mouth. The head of English added that only four of the 20 students in her 2018 Grade 9 English group were actually born in South Africa. All three of the interviewees at the school agreed that the reasons for their school's consistent growth was its reputation, local marketing and cutting-edge technology. As the principal proudly declared: "We do not go to the students, the students find the school."

5.4.1.2 The main feeder countries in Africa

School A had recently accepted many students from Namibia, largely because of one current Namibian student, who, as the principal put it, "is a mover and shaker". When he asked prospective students in interviews how they came to hear about the school, her name kept coming up regularly. At the time of the interview, the Namibians were coming in a steady stream with the school receiving 10 to 15 Namibian students per year. The flow from Angola at School A had also grown steadily, although Mozambique was ahead of Angola in terms of numbers. Most of these families found the school by word of mouth rather than because of conscious marketing, the principal added.

School B had a long and interesting history of dealing with large groups of foreign students from specific countries. The school received more than 100 students from Botswana between 2001 and 2006. These students were sponsored by the Botswanan government as the University of Botswana, for various reasons, was not functioning optimally during that time. These students required a South African Matric to study at local universities before returning home to plough their newly acquired skills back into the Botswanan economy. Unfortunately, this mutually beneficial exchange was terminated in 2007 when the process became too expensive for the Botswanan government. During the Botswana years, more than half of the Grade 12 class would typically consist of foreign students. From 2008 onwards, the number of Mozambican students at the school increased significantly. On average there would be about 40 Grade 12 students from Mozambique per year, with a smaller number from Kenya and Tanzania. During this period, the USA also sponsored eight to 10 students from both Togo and the Ivory Coast per annum. Between 2010 and 2011, School B started getting students from Angola for the first time, mostly sponsored by the state oil company, Sangol. The company would sponsor 10 students per year and more Angolan students came as word about the school spread. School B also had a number of Tshikululu students who are local students from disadvantaged areas sponsored by big corporations.

At School C the first Gabonese family moved into the area a few years earlier and, because of this family's positive experience, more families from Gabon came to the school. They occasionally got students from mainly Asian countries who lived with guardians in the school's catchment area. Some Angolan and Mozambican students occasionally lived with siblings or even in private boarding houses in the area. However, the majority of foreign students came to the school only when their parents moved into the area.

5.4.1.3 Changing market forces bring new challenges

As Hofmeyr and Lee (2008:14) already noted in 2008, many South African independent schools – particularly boarding schools – were attracting increasing numbers of international learners. According to the 2003 ISASA Benchmarking Survey, 5.2% of

learners in ISASA schools were foreign, coming from a wide range of countries in the rest of Africa as well as Europe, Asia, America and Australasia. According to these authors, at that time the parents were drawn to the high quality of education, the option of international examinations and the sound work ethic and discipline often not found at schools with such affordable fee levels in other English-speaking countries. This trend has only increased over the past decade.

It quickly became apparent in the interviews at all three schools that the increased awareness and popularity of the South African private schooling option for other African countries might have paradoxically played a part in the dramatically increased difficulty for parents to send money to South Africa.

School A's principal pointed out that it had recently become a problem to get money across borders for educational purposes. He was emphatic that there was no lack of trust with these families – they really struggled to transfer money owed. Some of the parents were forced to travel to South Africa to deposit the money into the school's bank account because of all the red tape. The amount of debt given in good faith by the school at times became staggeringly high due to these delays. This obviously had ramifications for the school's cash flow. School A's principal openly admitted that fees from foreign students had helped "them get through some difficult times" at the school. However, the growth in the young, high-fee private school sector had slowed down significantly over the past few years. To increase income over the short term, School A had increased the number of foreign exchange students admitted by a significant margin in 2018. "This was a financial decision," the principal added.

Deputy 1 at School B also conceded that the school had seen a "tapering off of foreign students, mainly because of difficulty with getting money out of their countries and increased difficulty with getting visas". According to her, this phenomenon was particularly acute in the countries which in the recent past had been School B's core business, namely Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. They also had a Turkish student who was battling with the same problem. She lamented that, obviously there were a few bad eggs, but that most of the families acted in good faith and really had a huge problem transferring money.

5.4.1.4 The interdependence between boarding facilities and foreign students

School A's principal astutely observed that, "boarding just opens your international gates more than day schools can". However, the competition for foreign students was also increasing rapidly amongst boarding schools. The head of the ESU mentioned that over the past year, for instance, new high-fee private schools with boarding houses had opened up in both Durbanville and Somerset West. All these schools were fishing in the same, seemingly shrinking local pond. When it had become apparent that the local supply was close to saturated, many schools predictably shifted their marketing focus to foreign students. Yet it was becoming alarmingly clear from the interviews that the pond in neighbouring African countries, which until recently had seemed to hold infinite promise, was also shrinking.

As mentioned previously, School A's geographical position was both its greatest asset and its greatest challenge. Boarders were far from Cape Town's social life and, if they were not keen athletes or outdoorsmen, they often felt lonely and bored over weekends. Students were seldom older than 19 in the Grade 12 year. It was normal for teenagers to be rebellious and adventurous, and consequently there were sometimes disciplinary issues at this institution. School A took the brave decision a few years ago to open up a junior boarding school for younger students in the senior primary phase. This even younger demographic left the school more exposed to the emotional issues and rebellious offences typical of students in their early teens. Official disciplinary hearings for students in this age group were held and sometimes resulted in expulsions. In 2015, 50% of the students involved in disciplinary hearings were students with foreign passports. By 2017 that percentage had increased to 75%. Disciplinary hearings at School A were time-consuming legal processes that could be extremely draining emotionally to all parties concerned. Some parents of offending students had taken further legal recourse against the outcomes of hearings.

For School B, a fully functional boarding facility had always been essential to the school's operations. Until recently the school had made a conscious effort not to allow anyone into boarding under the age of 16. This policy would have to be reviewed in the future as the

school had opened up classes for the Grade 8 and 9 streams. The main reason for the age restriction was that the school often extended age at the other end of the spectrum. Most of the boarders at School B were foreign and between 18 and 25 years of age. As the school was dealing with adults, rules at its boarding facility had to be very strict. Although students often felt that the rules were too inflexible, the interviewees felt that, in general, parents seemed to welcome this fact. As one of the deputies at the school stated, “the school takes the mandate to keep students safe very seriously”.

However, not all of School B’s foreign students were in boarding. As the school was situated in the southern suburbs, some students preferred private solo accommodation or chose to live with a sibling or a friend who was studying at the University of Cape Town or Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Other students lived with guardians. To protect students who decided to use the school’s boarding facility, strict policies and procedures were in place for dealing with drug abuse and other disciplinary issues. The school reserved the right to test pupils for drugs or alcohol at any given time at their parents’ expense. There were four wardens in the boarding facility, two males and two females. These wardens were essentially authoritative figures and there was little parent-and-child interaction. According to the Deputy 2, the school was aware of “the lack of the human touch, that students often needed that little bit of love”, but that there was no easy solution to this issue.

Both boarding schools were very aware of the problems caused by boredom and loneliness, especially over weekends when there was less activity in and around the schools. The geographical locations of both boarding schools played a huge role in this. Although there were activities readily available within the immediate vicinity for School B’s boarders, these also included bars and clubs. With many of the students being over the legal age limit, they could not be forbidden from going to these places. “But if they return to boarding intoxicated or under the influence of drugs, there is a problem,” the deputy in charge of discipline asserted firmly. He also discussed the prevalence of marijuana; for many students, cannabis was not a banned substance in their countries of origin and as a result, they regarded it as socially acceptable. Again, there was no easy

solution to this problem. If boarders were found guilty of a drug offence at a hearing, they were placed under house arrest and further steps were put in place if necessary. Unlike at School A, expulsions at School B were rare. After an offence, boarders were typically put under contract and usually that was enough. “They know that, if they are under contract, they will be tested again,” the deputy said. “If they are found to be positive again, either they left the school, or they went to rehab.” If a student was clean after rehabilitation, he or she could return to the school. As with most things in life, the deputy admitted that the system did not always work. Some students, unfortunately, fell through the cracks.

5.4.2 Current state of affairs regarding foreign learners with language barriers

5.4.2.1 Guidelines from school management

None of the three research sites had official guidelines from either management or overarching bodies regarding foreign learners with barriers to learning in place.

At School A there had been diversity workshops, although not specifically focussed on foreign-language learners. The head of the ESU confirmed that the lack of specific guidelines at the school was a problem and that she had already taken this issue up with the middle management body of the college. She felt that, as a matter of urgency, someone needed to be tasked with clarifying and structuring processes concerning the admission and integration of foreign learners.

At School B they had already had a teacher conference around diversity and the scheduled 2019 national group conference of the entire stable would also deal mainly with the topic of diversity management. School B’s principal was proud of the fact that the school had “a long history and understand how to deal with issues around gender, religion and cultures”.

5.4.2.2 Learner profiles

(a) Country of origin

The first common thread that emerged from the interviews was the perception that students from certain African countries, mainly Angola and the DRC, often battled with the acquisition of English because of poor teaching of their first language in their primary school years. It is widely believed in education circles that certain key concepts are common across different languages and therefore have the potential to be transferred from a first language to a second-language education context. This theory is known as the “interdependence hypothesis” or the “iceberg effect” (Cummins, 1980:179). A keystone of the interdependence hypothesis is that the student must have reached a certain competence threshold in his or her first language before the transfer from the first to the second language can take place. Even though some of these students may have basic conversational skills in English, the linguistic building blocks which were supposed to be put in place while learning their first language might be missing and could therefore not be transferred successfully from one language to another.

In the case of learners from China, a common theme that recurred in the interviews was the observation that Chinese parachute kids (see Chapter 3) often struggled much more than other foreign students to cope emotionally and intellectually, mainly due to a lack of parental support. These parachute kids were typically sent to a foreign country on their own to complete their schooling. They were often very young, even only 12 to 13 years of age, and found themselves completely overwhelmed by how alien everything was in the new country. As a result, many of these students were unable to cope emotionally. Chinese students frequently came to South Africa via an agent and were accommodated in an apartment by themselves or ended up living with a guardian, who was paid a fee. According to the principal of School A, it was often difficult to engage with these students during the initial interview due to senior family members dominating the interview in accordance with their hierarchical system. Due to their different linguistic system, many Chinese students found it particularly difficult to master English. They also tended to keep

themselves apart from other students and this, according to the staff interviewed, did not allow the vital process of immersion to happen.

(b) Financial and funding issues

Staff members from the two boarding schools good-naturedly mentioned the phenomenon of *princes* and *princesses*. According to the staff members, these were privileged students who usually came from very wealthy families mainly in Mozambique or Angola. The teachers added that these students often only attended these schools because it was the fashionable thing to do and were generally not driven to succeed. They sometimes had exclusive apartments at the Waterfront in Cape Town and used Uber as their preferred mode of transport.

In contrast, the educational psychologist at School A pointed out that some foreign students frequently needed additional financial help as no adequate provision had been made. A foreign student might arrive at the school with his or her fees paid in full for the year, but then there were no extra funds available for urgent interventions to address problems that only became apparent once the student arrived at the school. For example, in 2018 the educational psychologist had had to deal with a case where a Grade 12 student urgently needed a pair of glasses to be able to learn, but the parents would not or could not pay for this additional expense. Payments for much-needed interventions like language tutors and psychiatrists were also often not forthcoming. This made the educational psychologist's life extremely difficult and could contribute to teachers' levels of frustration at the school.

(c) Academic conventions

Deputy 2 at School B mentioned another phenomenon as an aside that I had also become aware of while teaching at School A. A fair number of foreign students with language barriers did not seem to understand why they could not just copy information from the internet and pass it off as their own work. These students did not seem to fully comprehend the concept of plagiarism and often had to be specifically educated about it.

(d) Typical age and level of maturity of foreign students

As the typical School B student was older than the students at other private schools, they usually arrived at the school with clear goals. More mature students usually knew what they wanted and were ready to work for it. They had taken ownership of their academic future. School B was unique as it accepted students up to the age of 27, even though the school had received some resistance from the WCED about this. Students, especially those from Angola and Mozambique, were often markedly older than the average secondary school student. They had typically already completed their schooling in their own countries and, in many cases, had even worked there for some time to earn money to come and study in South Africa. These students were typically 21 to 22 years old and highly motivated. The only issue, according to Deputy 1, was that they all wanted to study engineering at tertiary level. Sadly, these students were usually only required to do either physics or chemistry as a subject in their countries of origin, so they had to catch up on the other one. School B strongly recommended to older students from African countries where the quality of mathematics and science teaching was a problem that they complete both Grade 11 and 12 instead of just Grade 12, because the gaps in their education were so great. This initiative had been working so well that the school was thinking of making this arrangement compulsory in the near future. "Those extra few months enable them to hit the ground running in Grade 12," Deputy 2 stated.

Twenty percent of the current Grade 12 group at School B was over 18 years of age. As a rule, the school tried not to accept students over the age of 22 into Grade 11 but this was not always possible. The age issue became significantly more problematic in the lower grades. The female deputy recalled that the school once had a 17-year-old girl applying for Grade 8. The best they could do was to put her in Grade 9 but that was still not ideal. Before the school opened up the lower levels at the beginning of 2018, there used to be a policy that no one over 16 should be in Grade 10. From a social point of view, it was preferable for an older student to rather repeat Grade 11 twice than to do Grade 10 and 11. The interviewees seemed to feel that foreign students as a rule did well

at the school because they were immersed in the culture. Staff members tried to ensure that students did not speak their home language during breaks and after school hours.

(e) Exchange students

School A received many short-term exchange students who could spend anything from three months to a year at the school. There had been two recent cases of exchange students being so happy that they opted to finish their schooling at the school. The principal of School A readily admitted that foreign students “bring something special to the place”. He had found most of the exchange students to be industrious and sophisticated. “Although they sometimes struggle initially with the local culture of warmth and spontaneity, they are usually a cheerful and positive bunch. They bolster the school’s sport, especially our hockey,” he added. “This year the German contingent was bigger than ever before – two-and-a-half times the usual amount, to be exact.” Interestingly, School A had become an extremely popular short-term exchange option for German families from the Berlin/Potsdam area. Siblings, other relatives and friends of previous exchange students from this area were contacting the school on a daily basis. The demand was such that, although the intake of German exchange students increased drastically in 2018, the school could not accept every exchange student applying to the school.

School B did not receive many short-term exchange students. The data provided by the school indicated that there were no exchange students at the school from 2014 to 2018.

School C did have regular exchange students but, as the principal said, “it is something that we don’t actively encourage because these students don’t stay”. She also felt that the two or three exchange students that they hosted per year brought a lovely flavour of internationalism to the school, yet she questioned these students’ motivation to work consistently to get good results. She also expressed that it was not fair to expect teachers to do much work for a student who was not going to stay until the end of Grade 12.

(f) Social integration of foreign students

Social integration of foreign students was only an issue for the two boarding schools. At School A, it seemed that social integration had always worked well. “For long-term boarders their fellow boarders and boarding staff become like a family and there is a lot of camaraderie there,” observed the head of English, who had been in charge of girls’ boarding for many years. She added that initially the rules and regulations could be quite a shock to foreign students, as many of them were used to a much freer lifestyle. The head of the ESU added that there was not much of a difference between day scholars and boarders in terms of social integration.

The interviewees at School A agreed that there had been a shift in 2018 when such a large group of German exchange students had been accepted to the school. For the first time the school experienced the problem of foreign students speaking German to each other in the passages. German students were getting into cliques, which influenced their social integration. Due to the sheer numbers of the short-term boarders, the typical integration with other students did not happen and as a result, these students were not invited home by local students on the weekends as often as was usually the case. These exchange students created their own social environment and the interviewees felt that this was not ideal.

The principal of School B conceded that students got homesick but that the extensive care and support network at the school was very mindful of this, considering that up to one third of the student body would be new to the school in any given year. “You are not the only odd one out; your countrymen and -women are also here,” he added. Students often lifted each other’s spirits and depression was usually picked up quite early. Deputy 2 supported this view. She added that in most cases of depression, there was a previous history and because their students were generally older, depression was not so much of a problem. Loneliness was also not often an issue because of the large foreign population in Cape Town. The principal readily admitted that there was always more that could be done to enhance the social integration of foreign students in the school. “We can’t rest on

our laurels; we can always do more to celebrate especially the local cultures at the school.”

Both boarding schools agreed that there was a natural segregation between students who went home at the end of the school day and those who went to the boarding house, but it was something they were aware of and consciously trying to address.

5.4.2.3 Current academic practices

(a) Entrance requirements and procedures

At School A, it quickly became evident that the process of entrance screening was currently a sensitive issue at this institution. There seemed to be a gap between the perceptions of the staff interviewed and their principal about the procedures followed.

According to the principal of School A, applicant interviews were often done on Skype. He usually informed these students that they would only do a proper entrance test once they arrived at the school for the new academic year. “This assessment is obviously only a diagnostic tool and not an entrance test, a way to best see how we can help the individual,” he said. The school also did a separate test for mathematics “because if you have a lot of repair work to do you have to know what you are taking on”. Students with language barriers were not told that they had to catch up within a definite time frame; instead, “we just try to keep the conversation going”. The principal added that parents of these foreign students often had a strong academic background themselves, having gone through the colonial model of schooling in their home countries. These parents had firm expectations of what education should be and there was often a lot of pressure on the child to perform almost immediately. The school spent a lot of time trying to explain typical phenomena, like the initial elation and later deflation that foreign students typically experienced, to parents.

“With student interviews I will always say, ‘What are your dreams for the next seven years of your life? Do they include tertiary education? Do you know how competitive getting into

a South African university is? We want to give you the best chance of getting in. The premier reason for you coming to this country is, after all, that we must give you a decent set of results. You come in here with good-ish conversational English, but academic English is another ballgame. You are going to have to write essays, follow instructions, study mathematics and science in English. You might have to repeat a year to ensure that you get the best set of results possible.’ And they are usually quite accepting of that. Getting into a South African university is often the whole family’s breakthrough into security, wherever they come from on the rest of the continent,” the principal of School A concluded.

For the other two senior staff members at School A, the entrance procedure was not so clear cut. They seemed to feel that not all new students wrote the entrance tests. Their perception seemed to be that students might sometimes apply to the head of marketing, who was not involved with the academic side of the school at all, get accepted and arrive in January without any prior involvement from the school’s side. For them this state of affairs was unacceptable. They felt that all applicants should be expected to come to the campus for a proper interview beforehand so that staff members could also have a say in who was accepted into the school. This step was important for the school as well as for the applicant. The applicant might very well arrive at the school and feel that the school’s location is too remote and that he or she wanted to be in a city, the head of the ESU added.

Both senior teachers seemed to feel strongly that School A was now at a point where formalised processes around admission had become vitally important, and that an official person should be appointed to regulate these procedures. They also felt that more could possibly be done from management’s side to streamline and manage admission processes to make it less “traumatic for teachers”, as one of the interviewees chose to express herself. Both agreed that formal language screening procedures should be put in place and that a student should not be able to arrive on campus knowing little or no English. They went on to say that entrance tests needed to be administered in a much more organised fashion if the school wanted to deal with these learners more effectively.

If teachers would be made aware of the exact language proficiency level of the student beforehand, planning by all concerned would be done much more efficiently.

The educational psychologist at School A added that, if the school knew beforehand that there was a definite need for the student to attend a language school, parents could be informed in advance and the additional cost could be included in the amount that had to be paid upfront. Allowances could also then be made early on for money that might be needed at a later stage for urgent interventions such as language schools, psychiatrists and medical needs. If, once these students were at the school already, much-needed interventions for students could not be put in place because of lack of funds, some teachers could end up feeling frustrated and helpless because the student was not functioning optimally. The educational psychologist also felt that the school should make a conscious effort to tell the parents as well as the student beforehand that, to make this experience a successful one for everyone concerned, certain things had to be put in place. These conditions should be non-negotiable. An option worth examining was to insist on a refundable deposit for use as needs arise. Another important point raised by the educational psychologist was that there should be a contract between the family and the school with clear expectations around what the student as well as the family expected from the experience. An honest academic and psychological history of the child should form an important part of such a contract. Students with language barriers should ideally not be entering the school only at Grade 10 level or later, and definitely not without completing an extensive bridging course.

“Now that foreign students are even more of a part of the school’s future than we previously thought, we have to be ready for these students. We have to plan for these students because they are the future,” the head of English at the school stated. “Take a lazy boy who was used to having a lot of personal freedom. Put him in a foreign country with a lot of rules and now he is also made to feel stupid in front of his peers because he doesn’t know the language. It is a recipe for disaster,” she continued. “It takes time to find a niche. Every teenager, regardless of first language or country of origin, battles with this.

Some second language South African students need as much help with English as the foreign students do.”

Entrance tests in mathematics and English were introduced for the first time at School B in 2018. The teachers emphasised that these tests were not used to exclude anyone but merely as a diagnostic tool. The principal reiterated that the school did not do an intensive screening of foreign students for admission. Although reports were “the last thing we look at”, applicants were expected to produce the latest set of results from their previous school. At School B they sometimes used Skype for interviews. Entrance tests also functioned as a baseline assessment. “Because of the school’s value proposition, there would always be an incremental improvement in the students’ achievement, even after a relatively short space of time,” the principal said. He stressed the fact that new foreign students received lots of care and attention at the school. Their *mark reading* system of progress reports throughout the year was an important intervention mechanism. By August a student would have received six mark readings. These reports went a long way towards dispelling false expectations. The principal’s maxim was, “prehab is better than rehab”. He added that staff should be open and approachable to parents and students alike.

School C preferred a face-to-face interview with prospective students to using Skype, largely because students also had to do the prerequisite written testing. On the rare occasion where a physical meeting proved to be impossible, an online assessment would be done. Prospective students’ ability in mathematics and English was thoroughly tested before they were accepted to the school. If smaller issues emerged from the testing, students were placed on a *conditional*. This conditional acceptance was usually valid for six months only and various structures, such as sessions with the English first language teacher, were put in place to assist these students.

At School C they did not accept any new students in Grade 12, especially students with language barriers. The school was also reluctant to accept new students into Grade 10 and 11 but they accepted the fact that Korean students often only arrived in the country at this stage. Students applying to enter the school at Grade 10 level would write the

entrance examination and get flagged immediately if there was a language problem. It did sometimes happen, however, that issues were only flagged after these new students entered the school and these issues were then addressed immediately. The two counsellors on campus were very involved with foreign-language students. “Often we find that, with the Asian students, their culture is vastly different and there is a lot of pressure on these students to perform,” the head of English said. Counsellors kept a close eye on these students, especially on the ones who were living away from their parents and communicated with the parents when the need arose. In severe cases students had been allowed to start at the school using a translator, but they were very quickly weaned off this crutch.

(b) Teacher allocation

All three schools had a part-time EFL teacher on site. This intervention was usually on a one-on-one basis, although sometimes there could be up to three students in a group. These students saw the EFL teacher once a week for an hour, mostly to work on English language skills. The EFL teacher would deal with content or skills recommended by general teachers, and students were also referred to this teacher by the general staff.

School A did advertise a full-time EFL teaching position at the end of 2017, but no appointment was made. One of the members of the English department had been identified by management as a suitable candidate to possibly move into this slot and she successfully completed the Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) course at Stellenbosch University. If finances and staffing requirements allowed, this person would move across to work full-time with these students in the near future.

At all three schools there seemed to be a general acceptance that some teachers were better with the weak and foreign-language speakers than others. Deputy 1 at School B added that teachers at the school had learnt over time not to be precious about their classes. If a teacher’s specific teaching style did not work for a certain student, that student was free to move to another class. She reiterated that some teachers were just naturally better with foreign students, whereas others were not as well attuned to the

needs of these students. She related the example of a new teacher whose lesson she had recently had to evaluate. The teacher chose to do a poem about frost without using a single picture as illustration with a class where most of the students had never heard of this phenomenon before. As a result, the students with language barriers were excluded from what was being taught in the classroom. Deputy 2 at School B emphasised that what a teacher needed most when working with foreign-language students was patience – lots and lots of patience.

(c) Interventions

(i) Subject choices and streaming

At School A there was no official streaming (grouping students by ability) in English, although it had been happening unofficially to some degree. Paradoxically there was official streaming for Afrikaans in place and there was even a sheltered Afrikaans class at the school, known as the Afrikaans Literacy Group. The school also recently brought in computer application technology as a subject option against Afrikaans to accommodate foreign students who were exempt from doing Afrikaans as a second language. Surprisingly, the school did not offer design or tourism as subjects even though both subjects were generally accepted to be manageable subjects for foreign-language speakers with language barriers. School A also had a buddy system for all new students and German students were expected to go to the German language teachers about practical issues.

The principal of School B was justifiably proud of the fact that they had never had any failures in English at Grade 12 level. At the school students could choose any combination of subjects, although there was a fixed timetable. By the end of the day a student might have shared a classroom with up to 80 other students, although there were never more than 20 students in a class. School B was the only school of the three that readily accepted new students in Grade 12. In 2017 they had 60 new students in Grade 12, all of whom passed at the end of the year. The principal added that this was “unheard of. I don’t think there is any other school who can do that.” New Grade 12 students with

language barriers would not be sent off to language school because of time constraints; the school would use its internal systems to deal with these issues.

At School B I received a mixed message regarding the streaming of classes. According to the principal, School B did not believe in traditional streaming although he admitted that foreign students were taught in smaller, more specialised groups in certain subject areas. Students from countries with strong English, like Kenya, would typically not join these groups. In contrast, according to the deputy who did most of the timetabling at the school, School B in fact did start streaming English classes in 2016. According to her, the staff felt that change was warranted because the top students were not being sufficiently extended and the weaker students were not being reached. To quote her, “it was a nightmare”. Presently there was one class per grade with predominantly foreign students, with weaker local students also attending. This enabled the teacher to pitch at a specific level. She was adamant that streaming in English and mathematics just “works better”. In the top classes the subject was taught in such a manner that a foreign student with a language barrier would not be able to cope. If a foreign-language student was doing well in the weaker class, however, he or she could obviously move to a stronger group.

In Grades 10 to 12 at School C, mathematics, science and English were streamed. Remarkably, students in Grade 9 were separated according to gender for English and mathematics. According to the head of English, research ostensibly showed that this system worked very well for this age group and the school had been doing it this way “forever”. Boys and girls learned differently at that age and the interviewees had found that girls particularly flourished in this situation because, as explained by the head of English, they were usually more mature than boys at that age. At the school they also had a system of master classes. When a new topic was introduced in a subject area or when a grade started a new project, the whole group would typically meet in the auditorium for one or more introductory sessions before reverting to smaller groups.

(ii) Tutorials and extra classes

At School A there were two weekly double lessons where struggling foreign students were taught in a group focussing on communicative English. As mentioned, the school also had a part-time EFL teacher who came in to help students for their own account.

As an ESU initiative at School A, two staff members from the Language Centre at Stellenbosch University with extensive experience in working with English second language (ESL) and EFL students, spent the first week of the 2018 school year working with most of the new foreign students with language barriers in a sheltered situation. This sheltered scenario was intended as a decompression chamber for new students, and the feedback from both students and teachers was positive. The school planned to do this again in January 2019.

A useful tool in School B's toolbox was the 50-minute homework consultation lesson at the end of each school day. This session provided students with the opportunity to consult teachers on a one-on-one basis. All three interviewees at School B felt that teachers did extra work with students on a voluntary basis at the school, and that it was not expected by management to get good results. As the school was located within a city, extra sessions were easy to organise and manage.

When it came to English acquisition, Deputy 1 at School B felt that everyone had their specific way of getting things done, stating that, "obviously, everyone's overriding concern is English." The school used some outside tutors when needed; some students in the boarding house occasionally clubbed together for a tutor, often one who could teach them in their first language.

At School C teachers were expected to offer tutorials after school as part of their job description. Taiwanese and Chinese students often had their own tutors who worked with them in their first language. According to the principal, there was no sheltered situation to cushion foreign students when they arrived, further stating, "immersion is the key. We want to treat everyone on the same level."

(iii) Additional reporting

According to the principal, School A had systems in place to alert parents to possible problems. These systems included putting students on a daily report system as well as a midterm reporting system similar to School B's mark reading system.

The most successful arrow in School B's quiver seemed to be its mark reading system, a midterm reporting system. This view was expressed by the principal and reiterated by the other two staff members in their interviews. The school had eight reporting cycles per year. Due to these additional midterm reports, everyone involved with a student's progress was forced to take stock more frequently. The first report was in February and picked up problems early enough. When these reports showed that the language issue was larger than anticipated, the necessary steps could be put in place earlier rather than later.

(iv) Language schools

The principal of School A found particularly Portuguese families from Angola to be quite open to the idea of sending students to a language school before they arrived at the school. However, he was not convinced that this type of intervention helped optimally: "It may improve their speaking and writing somewhat, but it is not nearly enough to put them on par with other students." As mentioned previously, it was also accepted practice at School B to send struggling students, especially Korean students, off to language school for a full school term. Students also sometimes came to them via a language school. In contrast to the view expressed by the principal of School A, the principal of School B felt that a stint at a language school often addressed many issues, and that a partnership with a language school was important over the long term.

5.4.3 At different places on the same journey

The fact that I had known the interviewees at School A, especially the two senior members of staff, as well as the structure at the school for many years made our conversations very frank and this added a lot of depth to the interviews. At School A I was a relatively well-

informed insider with my own interpretation of what I was hearing and seeing, whereas at the other two sites, I was very much the outsider, restricted to a limited overview. At School C in particular, I felt that everything may have been orchestrated to such an extent that I was only allowed to get a very superficial view.

However, what became clear to me when looking at the factual data and listening to the interviewees was that all three schools were on the same journey, although they were at very different stages of that journey. Due to the limited access to information, I could only assume that School C was still on a very even path. It was possible that, due to their location and not having a boarding facility with all the surrounding implications, they would never hit a crisis point. School C seemed to be very much in control of every aspect of the school and there were no apparent site-specific issues that could be accurately identified in a one-hour interview. On the surface it seemed that parts of the CLIL methodology might already be part of the school's philosophy. As the principal stated, "we have a culture here of acceptance, so teachers accept that they have to take responsibility for some of the language related to their field. We would not appoint teachers who are not willing to do so."

School B, on the other hand, must have experienced a stage of disequilibrium leading to a crisis point when their numbers dropped sharply. Dropping numbers in a privately funded institution was a red light which forced all role-players to reassess how and why things were done. The threat of job losses is one of the most demoralising realities that staff members could have to deal with in their daily lives. The decision to open Grade 8 and 9 classes after many years of specialising in the senior stream only could not have been an easy one, and it may have caused a lot of unhappiness and insecurity amongst staff members. To me as an outsider, it seemed that School B had now moved past the crisis point. They had dealt with the crisis, decided on a course of action and they were now once again on an even keel moving towards the future.

For School A, however, 2018 seemed to be the eye of the storm. The principal frankly admitted that "things reached a sort of crisis point this year. Teachers were crying for help with students at sea in their class. It used to be that a child could come into Grade 8 with

limited language skills, and with a bit of grit and a positive outlook he would already be doing fairly well in Grade 9. This year we had to admit that people were in distress because of the situation and we had to see what we could do to help. The ESU has been instrumental in looking for support, looking for expertise, looking for people to come in and advise teachers on how to deal more effectively with diversity.” Things changed suddenly and radically when the number of foreign students with language barriers, especially exchange students from one country, increased sharply. The school was caught on the back foot with no formal policies in place. “As the percentage of foreign students grew, there has been more of a realisation that this is only going to keep growing, it is not going to get smaller. If we keep doing things the same old way, it is not going to be as effective or things are going to be more tense than they need to be,” the principal of the school stated.

The head of English at School A supported this view. When there were not as many foreign students, the English department used to do the required language support. She recalled that, “when students were intellectually strong and motivated, they could usually cope by just having extra lessons from members of the English department. Parents would sometimes organise tutors for subject-specific input. There was no need to have all these systems in place. The few exchange students who came in were happy to immerse themselves and learn English that way.”

However, with the sudden increase in the numbers of these students, help from the English department staff alone was no longer sufficient. For the English department, it became impossible to accommodate them all and the language teachers were spread too thin. When frustrated foreign students approached the educational psychologists, they were referred to the remedial teachers. Everyone was working and helping in isolation because there was no proper system in place. The teachers interviewed felt that it was no longer sufficient to have an EFL and ESL teacher coming in for the odd hour here and there. “We need some kind of structured bridging course for these students. We also need a dedicated TEFL trained staff member. Ideally this person should be part of the ESU,” the head of the ESU stated.

5.4.4 Looking towards the future

All three test sites agreed that there was still a lot that could be done to improve their offering for foreign students with language barriers. When asked about how they would improve the status quo if money and time were not a problem, the interviewees at the two boarding schools responded as follows:

The staff at School B believed that, with additional time and staff, they could still improve their offering significantly. A full-time EFL teacher on board at the school would also make a significant difference at this school. This teacher could float and just target specific students in certain grades. This teacher would pick up specific information as he or she went along, for example that student A needs specific help with mathematics vocabulary. Many teachers at School B were already making a conscious effort to explain new terms in the subjects they taught when they occurred, even if most students were already familiar with these terms. The interviewees agreed that the language teachers could not take sole responsibility for subject-specific vocabulary.

Deputy 1 at School B added that they could also create more dictionaries like the mathematics dictionaries they had already created mostly for Angolan and Mozambican students. The problem with developing dictionaries was that the student population shifted, she pointed out. They may have many Portuguese students at this point, but in the future, for example, they might have more Swahili students.

The head of English at School A believed that, in a perfect world, there would be a separate teaching unit at the school where foreign students could initially go until they felt ready to join the mainstream, instead of attending normal classes. The perfect scenario would also include a dedicated teacher who communicated about all the subjects with teachers and who looked at the holistic picture of the student's progress. More discussion amongst staff members and a united approach to accommodating these students would also go a long way to addressing the problem. Teachers needed to talk openly about what they were struggling with. Schools could even discuss approaches within the IEB or WCED clusters to pool ideas and resources. Optimistically, the head of the ESU sensed

that things were already shifting at the school. She felt that there was a rapidly increasing awareness of the fact that Eurocentric approaches and assimilation were no longer optimal as everyone was becoming more aware of different cultures.

Over the short term, the principal of School A planned to provide more training for teachers at the school. He would also like to see more exposure of the local students to foreign languages. He believed that local students needed to learn another language to learn to understand other cultures. This exposure could break down this pervasive sense of “this is how we do things and you have to come in here and learn how to do things our way”. Students had to learn to understand that everyone could add something to make a difference and that there was no such thing as normal. Yet firstly, “the light has to go on”. People had to start thinking about what these foreign students went through in the school’s culture, he continued. They had to think, for example, about the names of the school’s houses or about the school song that was sung during assembly.

The principal of School A had a deep empathy for what foreign students with language barriers experienced as a matter of course during a normal school day. He used the metaphor of a body suit that foreign students had to put on every day. This suit allowed them to blend in and survive, stay under the radar and not draw attention to themselves in an environment often perceived to be adversarial. In this space very little learning happened, there was no spontaneity or contribution, just pure survival. And at night this body suit came off and they could be themselves for a short while. He understood that even something as seemingly insignificant and benign as mispronouncing a surname could make a foreign student feel excluded. “As teachers we can’t teach down the middle anymore,” he concluded.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

5.5.1 The South African context is no longer conducive to growth in this area

South Africa’s economy is limping along with a negligible growth rate. There seems to be a general acceptance amongst economists that things in this country are going to get

significantly harder before they get easier. The implications of this fact for young, high-fee private schools were highlighted when the financial results of the ADvTECH Group (owners of School B) for the first six months of 2018 were released in August of the same year. The less than ideal figures were accompanied by the following statement from the group (ADvTECH, 2018): “The challenging economic climate and unsettled socio-political environment continues to impact on organic growth with increased levels of withdrawals owing to emigration and financial pressures.”

This statement echoed the trend that the same group observed in the previous year and it continued to state that, unsurprisingly, their mid-fee schools with tuition fees between R8 000 and R10 000 per term (non-boarding) were experiencing sharply increased demand. This perception was supported by the strong growth experienced by the mid-fee Curro schools group over the past few years.

Many of the wave of new, high-fee progressive schools who opened their doors after 1994, often incurring significant debt in the process, might be finding it increasingly challenging to keep their books in the black in 21st century South Africa. The anticipated influx of students from wealthy homes fleeing a potentially imploding state school system did not appear to happen to the same extent in the Western Cape as it did in Gauteng. Contrary to the expectations of many, the strong Western Cape state schools managed to reinvent themselves as pockets of excellence, and their success impacted negatively on the expected growth of these new private schools. Schools like La Rochelle Girls’ High, Paarl Boys’ High, Westerford High, and Rondebosch Boys’ High continue to draw the cream of the crop from societies where there is no tradition of private schooling. Elite, traditional private schools have a long-standing history of families making great financial sacrifices to send their children to these schools. These prestigious older schools, like St Andrews College, Kingswood College, Bishops and St Cyprian School, already had extensive infrastructure, mostly fully paid off, in place in 1994, thus reducing their financial exposure to current hostile market forces. Most of them also have preparatory schools in place as their primary feeders and as a result, places for outside secondary students are limited.

5.5.2 Business and education remain unlikely bedfellows

As became clear in the interviews at my research sites, even though the key players are passionate and ethical educators, private schooling is first and foremost a business. Young, high-fee private schools in South Africa may find themselves uncomfortably placed trying to straddle both best education practice and managing a viable business. If the business side is not sustainable, the school may at best not be able to attract and/or maintain current student and staff levels. At worst, it could have to close its doors.

It seems inevitable that, to serve the greater good, decisions will sometimes have to be made by management for the benefit of the institution that might not be seen by all the parties involved as the best option for a prospective individual student. Most headmasters of schools in South Africa, whether private or state, spent their earlier careers as committed educators and not as businessmen. Consequently, making educational choices largely based on finances cannot always sit comfortably on their shoulders. Difficult decisions might sometimes have to be taken by the person with whom the “buck stops”. At School B, the school has attempted to counter the drop in student numbers by opening up Grade 8 and 9 classes to attract more local students. School A, on the other hand, has managed to sustain its growth by taking in considerably more short-term exchange students from one country.

5.5.3 Different work roles require different perspectives

The difference in perspective between the principals of the schools, who are in effect fulfilling two jobs – that of financial manager of a business as well as that of educator – and the other senior staff members interviewed is effectively illustrated by the visual word clouds of the transcribed interviews.

Figure 6 provides a visual illustration of the interviews with the principals of the three schools. (As my interview at School C was with all three teachers together, I included their data in this figure.) As is clearly visible, the word ‘school’ was more prominent than any other. This is a clear indicator that, because of the dual nature of their job

students to be empowered to function optimally in the classroom as soon as possible and are fully aware of how challenging this process can be.



Figure 7: Word cloud representation of interviews with the senior teachers at Schools A and B

The stark difference in focus between the school principals and the only person interviewed who was primarily charged with these students' psychological well-being becomes obvious when Figure 6 is compared to Figure 8, a visual representation of the interview with the educational psychologist and head of the ESU at School A. In this interview, the word 'students' was clearly used most frequently.

CHAPTER 6: ANSWERING THE CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION: POSSIBLE AFFORDANCES CLIL AND CBI MODELS COULD CREATE FOR LANGUAGE SUPPORT TO RECENT IMMIGRANT LEARNERS IN NEWER, HIGH- FEE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I attempted to answer the first of the two subsidiary questions to my central research question comprehensively, namely how the three schools in my study conceptualised and provided support for foreign students with language barriers in 2018.

In this final chapter I endeavour to provide an extensive response to the central research question, which also incorporates the second subsidiary question of this thesis. Consequently, this chapter's main aim is to describe what affordances CLIL could create for enhanced language support to recent foreign learners in South African newer, high-fee independent schools. After listing the affordances, I make recommendations for the research sites in the second part of the chapter based on these affordances. In conclusion, I add some additional comments of a more personal nature.

6.2 AFFORDANCES

6.2.1 First affordance: The CLIL model is flexible and can be adapted to a specific situation

The CLIL model is unique in that it stretches beyond mere language education to issues in wider education. These issues include approaches to pedagogy which are not unique to individual subjects, such as assessment for learning, dialogic teaching, scaffolding, constructivism and the concerns of individual subjects such as maths, science or history (Llinares & Morton, 2017:4).

Coyle (2007:545) supports the above statement and believes that the CLIL model relates to any language, age and educational stage. It not only includes the traditional,

compulsory education sector, but also kindergarten and vocational training which, in turn, encapsulates lifelong learning. Coyle contests that the situated contextual variables will determine the actual position of a particular CLIL model along a continuum. Many countries on different continents have already found varied ways of implementing this model to fit into their own specific sociocultural settings and educational policies. There is no one-size-fits-all recipe, no one, single blueprint that must be used in exactly the same way in different countries.

In an article which precedes the one mentioned in the previous paragraph, Coyle (2002:27) writes that:

At the global level European communities both individually and collectively have had to address the complex specificities of linguistic and cultural diversity. CLIL is central to this diversity whilst remaining constant in its drive to integrate both subject and language learning. Integration is a powerful pedagogic tool which aims to safeguard the subject being taught whilst promoting language as a medium for learning as well as an objective of the learning process itself.

For the very reasons stated in the above quotation, CLIL is potentially a useful model for South African high-fee independent schools with a significant number of foreign students and/or second language speakers as part of their student body. It is clear from the statistics provided in the previous chapter that, in line with trends in the rest of the world, the demographic in my research schools is rapidly becoming more diverse and international, and that the percentage of foreign language speakers with and/or without language barriers is higher than generally accepted. If one uses the data gathered from the schools in my study to extrapolate to a broader context, it becomes a strong possibility that many newer, high-fee independent schools with boarding facilities currently have a second language/foreign language student population of between 25% and 35%. The fact that language is not merely a challenge in bilingual education or for pupils from migrant or other second language backgrounds, but for any pupil, makes this model extremely viable for these schools, not only for use in a sheltered situation for the foreign/second

language students, but also in a mainstream context. Kaiser et al. (2010) recognise the possibilities that the CLIL model offers for mainstream education in South Africa.

The CLIL model can be adapted to each school's individual strengths and needs – its bespoke nature is its strongest advantage.

6.2.2 Second affordance: The CLIL model has a sound educational foundation

A lot of work has been done over the last 20 years by teachers and researchers alike, to research the educational foundation of the CLIL phenomenon. Coyle, as early as in 1999, developed the comprehensive 4Cs conceptual framework using a holistic perspective to provide a foundation for the model. In this conceptual framework, she brought together different facets of CLIL to effectively support the development of CLIL pedagogies. Her framework was built on the rationale that the quality of the CLIL model was dependent on understanding and implementing approaches which were not found exclusively in the traditional repertoires of either language teaching or subject teaching. The 4Cs conceptual framework did not consider subject matter and language as two separate elements but preferred to position content in the “knowledge for learning” domain by integrating content and cognition, and language, a culture-bound phenomenon, as a medium for learning with an emphasis on integrating communication and intercultural understanding. The 4Cs framework explored the interrelationship between content (subject matter), communication (language), cognition (learning and thinking) and culture (social awareness of self and otherness). It also focussed on integration on different levels: learning (content and cognition), language learning (communication and cultures) and intercultural experiences (Coyle, 2007:550).

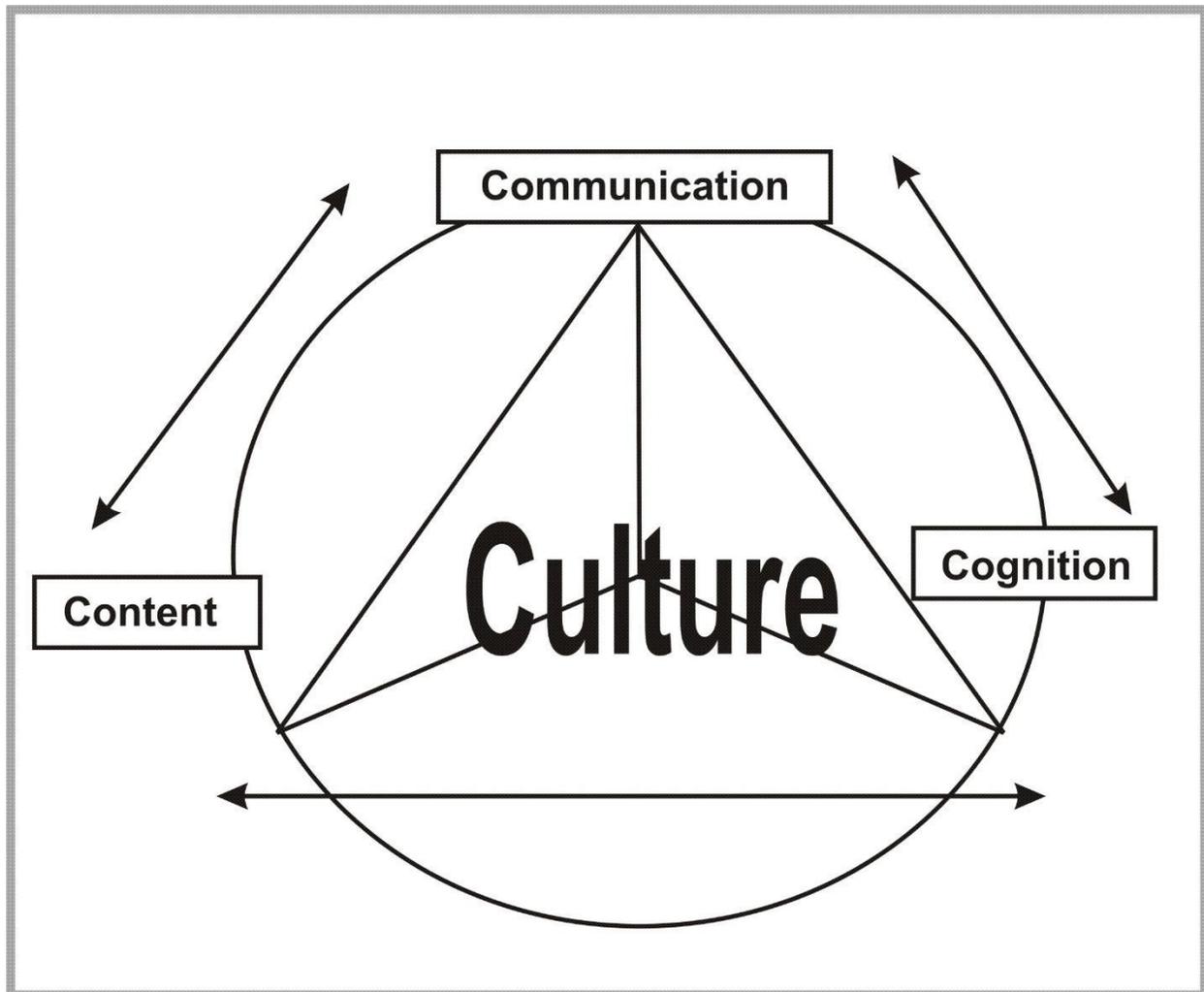


Figure 9: Coyle's 4Cs model

Coyle's (2007:550-551) model was based on the following fundamental principles:

- Subject matter is much broader than merely acquiring knowledge and skills. It is about learners learning to construct their own knowledge and developing skills which are relevant and appropriate (Vygotsky, 1978).
- The acquisition of subject knowledge, skills as well as understanding involves learning and thinking (cognition). To aid the student in constructing an understanding of the subject matter, the linguistic demands of its content as the channel for learning must be analysed and made accessible (Met, 1998).

- Thinking processes (cognition) require detailed analysis in terms of their linguistic demands to facilitate development (Bloom, Krathwohl & Masia, 1984; McGuinness, 1999).
- Language needs to be learned in context (i.e. learning through the language), which requires reconstruction of the subject themes and their related cognitive processes through a foreign or second language – for example, language intake/output (Krashen, 1985; Swain, 2000).
- Interaction in the learning context is fundamental to learning. “If teachers can provide more opportunities for exploratory talk and writing, students would have the chance to think through materials and make it their own” (Mohan, 1986:13). This also has implications when the learning context operates through a second language (Pica, 1991; Van Lier, 1996).
- The interrelationship between cultures and languages is extremely complex. The 4Cs framework put culture at its core and intercultural understanding pushed the boundaries towards alternative agendas such as transformative pedagogies, global citizenship, student voice and “identity investment” (Cummins et al., 2005).

It is important to remember that the 4Cs framework was not a theory, but a conceptualisation of CLIL. This, in turn, was rooted in a philosophical stance which put education first and CLIL second. Bruner (1999) argued that pedagogy is never innocent, and this was the case in this instance as well. The 4Cs framework in fact advocated sociocultural theory where social construction of knowledge and culturally embedded learning permeate the entirety (Coyle, 2007:552).

Research regarding CLIL and its educational foundation is ongoing and extensive, as described in Chapter 3.

6.2.3 Third affordance: The CLIL model encourages real integration between subject areas which, in turn, enhances speed and depth of language and content acquisition

Real integration of content and language is much more than the mere sum of these two parts. As Swain (1998:86) writes:

Good content teaching is not necessarily good language teaching...content teaching needs to guide students' progressive use of the full functional range of language, and to support their understanding of how language form is related to meaning in subject area material. The integration of language, subject area knowledge, and thinking skills requires systematic monitoring and planning.

An integrated approach can only be successful if it takes the needs and challenges of the respective subjects, language contexts and all participants into account. Integration in CLIL is not primarily about the subject teacher's additional responsibility to pay attention to language, but to the inherent role of language in teaching and learning (Nikula et al., 2016:xv).

For integration to work in the classroom, there should be a renewed focus on project work by teachers and students alike. Problem-based work should happen as a matter of course in these classrooms so that foreign language students can use their home language as well as other previously acquired knowledge bases as resources to enhance their learning in the CLIL environment.

Whatever the developmental level of students might be, effective learning always demands cognitive engagement. Research has shown that cognitively undemanding work, such as copying or repetition, especially when there is little or no context to support it, does not enhance language learning (Smith & Paterson, 1998:1). By actively involving students in cognitively challenging material, the teacher creates a real need for learners to acquire the appropriate language.

I have written about the importance of integration in CLIL models at length in Chapter 2. Let me conclude this section by quoting Marsh (2006:59): "...It does not give emphasis to either language teaching or learning, or to content teaching and learning, but sees both as integral parts of the whole."

6.2.4 Fourth affordance: The CLIL model consciously supports and cultivates intercultural competence as well as thinking skills

Within the CLIL philosophy, the cultural dimension is regarded as an integral part of the required skill set for both students and teachers. All parties involved in the education process should actively accumulate competence in intercultural communication. By critically re-examining their own current conceptualisations of the relationship between language and culture, schools would be able to come to a better understanding of the exact skills, attitudes and knowledge needed to enhance intercultural communication. Effective intercultural communication would make it possible for teachers to teach more effectively by drawing on students' pre-existing knowledge as well as their individual frames of reference (Baker, 2011:200).

Culture always permeates the whole:

Culture is really an integral part of the interaction between thought and language. Cultural patterns, customs, and ways of life are expressed in language: culture specific world views are reflected in language...language and culture interact so that worldviews among cultures differ, and that language used to express that world view may be relative and specific to that view (Brown, 1980:138).

Since language, thinking and culture are intimately linked, the CLIL model provides a perfect opportunity for students to learn to function effectively in different cultures (Coyle, 2007). Markedly, this model also provides students and teachers with an increased understanding and appreciation of the cultures associated with the CLIL language, while at the same time drawing on the student's first language as a resource. Globally researchers now seem to agree that greater support for first language development, and

academic development in a second language, has a positive outcome on long-term academic achievement (Ferguson, 2006:48). Effective CLIL programmes acknowledge and should always support learners' home language and culture (Navés, 2009:28).

It would nevertheless seem that the intricate home language practices of teenage second language English speakers and their different home language literacy skills are not always fully recognised nor understood in independent English schools across the globe, where teaching usually remains rigidly monolingual. This is despite a substantial body of evidence seemingly proving how using students' home language practices as scaffolding supports their language and literacy acquisition in the target language (Menken, 2013).

The other CLIL element, additional to the elements of language, content and culture, is the development of learning skills. Baker (2011) suggests that this should become the fifth skill taught in schools, after reading, writing, speaking and listening (Coyle, 2007:554). Thinking skills must consistently support and enhance the achievement of content and language goals. The necessary compensation strategies must also be facilitated by teachers to aid students in overcoming problems in language comprehension and language production by using scaffolding (Navés, 2009:35).

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MY RESEARCH SITES BASED ON THESE AFFORDANCES

6.3.1 Real integration between subject areas, apart from giving teachers a joint sense of purpose, could put these schools at the forefront of change

When a group works towards a common goal, it creates a strong unifying dynamic which enables huge cognitive leaps forward. By embracing the 'new normal' at these sites as one including a significant number of foreign students with barriers to learning, staff and management together have the opportunity to position their schools and to realign themselves closely with some of the most progressive countries in the world who have embraced an integrated CLIL approach as the only way forward.

Integrating content and language is not a new concept. To quote the head of English from School A: “If you are a good teacher, you are doing this already.” A CLIL model nevertheless provides substantially greater and better exposure to the target language to all students (Navés, 2009:36).

According to Wiesemes (2009:46), the CLIL model has some obvious advantages for teachers:

- CLIL has an impact on communication of ideas across departments and contributes to the development of cross-curricular links.
- CLIL allows language teachers to enrich their traditional teaching with content elements that in turn have a positive effect on learner achievement and motivation.
- CLIL allows subject teachers to develop their pedagogies in relation to language use in the mother tongue classroom.
- CLIL raises motivation of both language and subject teachers through constant and renewed professional dialogue.

To work effectively, however, CLIL programmes require the joint efforts of everyone involved. It is only realistic to assume that subject teachers may initially resist the implementation of a CLIL model, even with the assistance of a newly appointed CLIL facilitator at the school. CLIL might seem to challenge teachers’ assumed expertise and identity so that they might feel the need to re-establish their professional identity (Nikula et al., 2016:15). Many content specialists see themselves exclusively as content experts and would justifiably not feel confident in their ability to teach language as they did not study languages at a tertiary level. Nonetheless, teachers have to understand that the importance of real, methodical integration across subject areas outweighs their own fears. It is no longer enough for only the language teachers (with some help from a part-time ESL teacher) to incidentally try to bridge the gap between traditional literacy and subject-specific vocabulary in a haphazard fashion. Teachers may consequently need to reinvent themselves not only as content teachers, but also as language teachers (Nikula et al., 2016:14).

The data show that up to 35% of the school population at School A might already be taught in an additional language. What should be happening next, is the active, collaborative fusion of fragmented subjects in the curriculum with an added language focus. Teachers must learn to waive their respective mentalities which are grounded in a singular subject focus and to combine their knowledge and skills (Coyle et al., 2010). Content teachers should scaffold the learning of those parts of language knowledge that are lacking in the curricula and which may keep students from grasping threshold concepts in the actual content. An integrated approach thus includes language learning in content classes. This means that the relevant information must be repackaged clearly and concisely in a manner that facilitates understanding by using visual aids like diagrams, charts and drawings. Content from subjects should be transferred to language learning classes. The language teacher, collaborating with colleagues teaching other subjects, should incorporate the vocabulary, terminology as well as the texts from those other subjects into his or her classes for students to master the language and required patterns of discourse that they need to understand and use content effectively. Most teachers know from experience that students in language classes are more likely to internalise language when they have to use that language as a tool for completing concrete tasks as well as for mastering new content (Mehisto et al., 2008).

Truly integrated curricula must be well-developed, research-based conceptualisations and models for practitioners to make better sense of content and language integration and the tensions between academic and everyday language (Nikula et al., 2016:10). To enable this process to happen, it is vitally important that a sufficient time allocation for this planning process would have to be built into the timetable.

6.3.2 A CLIL specialist/facilitator should be appointed to spearhead and coordinate CLIL implementation

When asked how they could further improve their offering, interviewees at all three sites expressed a wish for a full-time person on board to deal with and coordinate language interventions. By the time of our interview, School A's educational psychologist had already taken a formal proposal to the school's management committee proposing that a

designated teacher be appointed to deal exclusively with foreign students and their language acquisition process. What all of these interviewees were suggesting was, in fact, employing a CLIL specialist/facilitator at their schools. This person would be responsible for implementation of CLIL principles at a macro level (across the school) as well as a micro level (in the individual classrooms).

To my knowledge there are currently no discrete CLIL training courses for teachers available at tertiary institutions in South Africa. Teachers who majored in both a content subject as well as a language in their undergraduate studies are also not common. The CLIL specialist/facilitator appointed should therefore be a lifelong learner who can access information independently and who has a flair for course development with a strong collaborative focus. This person should act as a liaison between subject specialists and language teachers. He or she should ideally have pedagogical skills adapted for teaching foreign language students. Additionally, he or she should have a strong academic background in aspects of language acquisition, be bilingual but proficient in the target language, be enthusiastic, committed and open to innovation (Navés, 2009:31).

The CLIL specialist/facilitator would have to receive strong support from the rest of the staff and work as part of a strong team. The CLIL facilitator would be expected to take the lead in locating and co-creating relevant teaching materials and support content teachers by aiding students' acquisition of the required language skills to apply and manipulate content from other subjects. Having a long-term, stable general teaching staff at the school working with the CLIL facilitator within the CLIL model is also an important factor, because one of the key factors of these models is that they have to be long-term (Naves & Muñoz, 1999) and sustainable.

6.3.3 Schools must increase their intercultural awareness

When I first came across Pam Christie's (1990:122) research, her supposition that, when a critical mass (35%) of black enrolments was reached at a previously white educational institution, a whole different set of racial dynamics would come into play, resonated strongly with me for my own area of research. I was curious to see if this statement also

held true when the critical mass of non-native English speakers, white and/or black, South African or foreign, came close to 35% in a traditionally English school.

According to the data provided by School A, 96 of the 360 students in the college did not have English as a home language in 2018, which is a significant percentage of 26.6%. This number did not include South African Afrikaans speaking students, who have made up a significant percentage of the school's composition since its inception. Using even a conservative estimate of 10% Afrikaans speaking students in the school (in the area where this school is situated, it is likely to be higher than this number), it would place the number of non-native English speakers at the school at above Christie's (1990) 35% mark. Consequently, it would seem that non-native English speakers at School A appear to have, almost organically, reached a critical mass of 35%. When applying Christie's supposition, it is not unrealistic to assume that these students will now feel empowered to make their needs and preferences felt and exert pressure on existing systems. When critical mass is reached at any institution, it often heralds the sea change from normative ways of doing, where new students are almost uncritically initiated into the status quo, to reformative processes, where real and permanent change happens.

The most startling fact to emerge from the factual data was that, contrary to the belief and lived reality of everyone I spoke to before, during and after the interview process, School A had surpassed School B as the school of choice for students for whom English is not a home language. According to the data provided by the school, this number at School B in 2018 was only 22% in comparison to School A's 26.6%, although almost 25% of the students at School B held foreign passports. School A also had significantly more boarders than School B. At School A, 34% of the college students were in boarding, again teetering very close to the 35% mark, whereas boarders only made up 17% of the school population at School B in the same year.

With a critical mass of more than 35% of students who are not English home language speakers, a system of benign assimilation, described by Soudien (2004:105) as a system where new students are seemingly uncritically initiated into the status quo, would no longer be feasible at any educational institution. Realistically it seems safe to say that

most independent schools in South Africa, including my three research sites, because of their very nature, still subscribe to the assimilationist model, even though these specific schools have made great strides in moving towards a more inclusive approach.

Even though my research sites are already liberal and progressive, independent education units, they could potentially benefit from critically re-examining the cultural implications of what it means to be truly diverse as a high-fee, elite private school in South Africa in the second decade of the 21st century. By consciously increasing their awareness of foreign students' cultural frames of reference, including their linguistic knowledge bases, effective access to existing knowledge bases can be utilised more effectively by teachers and students as means of cross-referencing and reinforcing existing and new knowledge.

6.3.4 Schools that cater for foreign students with language barriers should proudly claim their place as the go-to schools for these students

From the factual data gathered and discussed in the previous chapter, it is clear that both boarding schools in my study have become the schools of choice for these learners. To keep drawing a significant portion of the number of foreign students still able to continue their studies in South Africa despite increased financial controls, School A should join School B in consciously marketing itself as the preferred option to these students. Both School A and School B have already captured a large section of this niche market, and they should capitalise on this fact. More time, training and planning should go into creating an environment more specifically geared towards accommodating these students in an optimal way. Embracing the CLIL model, apart from its educational merit, could also become a great marketing tool for these schools. The term has acquired buzzword status in Europe and beyond and, by becoming among the first schools in South Africa to publicly embrace the methodology, these schools could put themselves in a league of their own when it comes to true transformation and progressive education for the 21st century. As it happens, all South African secondary schools, whether private or state, which have made this paradigm shift should join the three schools in my study in claiming their stakes as

forward-thinking, go-to institutions for foreign students with language as a barrier to learning.

Secondly, a key part of this process would have been that staff members at these institutions were actively empowered to deal with foreign students with language barriers in and outside the classroom situation. Both schools should start/continue the conversation with staff members about what the realities of running a boarding school in the new millennium are. Teachers need to understand that their future job security may well depend on the continued influx of foreign students with language barriers to these schools. Staff and management together must come up with a set of guidelines and put measures in place to create support systems for teachers around ways of dealing with diverse class groups. Clear guidelines for entrance procedures should be agreed upon and adhered to by all parties involved. There should also be clarity for teachers around the expectations regarding these students. Teachers should know what each child aims to achieve during his or her stay at the school. Most importantly, teachers need to be upskilled and equipped to deal with a culturally diverse classroom.

6.4 CONCLUSION

Research on the subject seems to suggest that foreign students need five to seven years to acquire proficiency in a new language (Lemmer, Meier & Van Wyk, 2006:54). Yet many foreign students only come to South African private schools at Grade 10 level, thus giving the school less than half the required time to prepare students for a final Grade 12 examination that will likely shape the course of their futures. It therefore seems logical that, if all staff members across all the disciplines worked together in an organised and integrated fashion, instead of doing bits and pieces in isolation, these students would learn much faster and acquire a deeper understanding of what they are learning as a result. As mentioned, an integrated CLIL model would not only benefit the second and foreign language speakers, but could potentially also be used very effectively in mainstream schooling to aid first language English speakers.

The CLIL model offers a unique opportunity for my research sites to revolutionise their way of doing things and to create a successful CLIL microcosm which can potentially spread to other independent schools and perhaps later even to state schools in our country. Kaiser et al. (2010) suggested that the CLIL mode should be implemented across the board as an additional English curriculum in state schools in South Africa from Grade 1 to 12 as a matter of urgency. My argument is that the scale of such an undertaking at this point in our country's history is too vast to be practical. The wheels of curriculum innovation within the state education system grind too slowly to affect quick and real change. If there was a local example of this model being used successfully, the odds would be much greater that others would follow.

Independent schools have much more flexibility and freedom than government schools when it comes to their internal ways of delivering the set curriculum. As a result, it is easier for smaller, independent, educational units to try new ways of doing while discarding or refining what is not working timeously. If independent schools with a large foreign learner base bought into the CLIL philosophy, although they would still deliver the same essential IEB or WCED curriculum, they would have the ability and mobility to adjust, integrate and adapt teaching methods that state schools do not have. In Sweden, the CLIL movement started with one solitary teacher in one school. There is no reason why one or all of my research sites cannot become leading lights on African soil in a field which is growing worldwide as more global citizens opt to complete their schooling on foreign shores.

In sum, it can be stated that educators and educational systems worldwide are realising that learning in a linguistically challenging milieu – as is the case in multilingual education – can be better facilitated with careful language intervention (Nikula et al., 2016:6-7).

One of the main strengths of CLIL is that it started as a grassroots initiative (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014:214). If teachers cannot successfully implement decisions coming from education boards, innovation is bound to fail. This has not been the case with CLIL. Since many of the CLIL developments came from schools and actual practitioners, it is proof that the model really makes a difference at the chalk face and that it is not merely a theoretical construct in curriculum documents.

The effective implementation of an English CLIL/CBI model could solve a large percentage of the problems in the South African education system. Nevertheless, to my mind, a national roll-out of a CLIL-based English First Additional Language syllabus is not feasible amidst the current discrepancies in quality of delivery of education between provinces and even between individual schools. To be sustainable, a CLIL model should initially be implemented gradually on a limited scale at one or more independent schools with the necessary infrastructure. The independent flexibility and strength of the educational, linguistic and financial infrastructure at these schools would determine the success of the model in the initial phase. Only once vital elements, like learning materials and teacher training courses, have been put in place, could the model be expanded to a broader base.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

The CLIL model is a relatively unknown option in South African educational circles. I honestly believe that this model has the potential to enhance the quality of teaching through the medium of English in state, as well as independent, schools tremendously. My first course of action will be to try to raise awareness locally by writing at least one scholarly article and taking part in educational seminars dealing with tertiary as well as secondary education.

I will also attempt to keep in contact with my research sites and hopefully with the IEB as well as the WCED, to try to motivate these schools to, as a cluster or as individual schools, to consciously implement some of the recommendations made in the final chapter.

Finally, I plan to continue my own studies in this field. I would like to do a doctorate at a later stage, hopefully in cooperation with one of the Dutch universities that are doing a lot of work in this area.

6.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to time and other constraints, I was only able to talk to members of senior management at my research sites. I would have liked to also interview general members of staff, as well as current and past foreign students with and without language as a barrier to learning. I would also have liked to be able to do a case study where I follow one of these students on his or her journey through and beyond secondary school.

Because the study was limited to three younger, high-fee independent schools in the Western Cape that did not clearly state that they had an entrance examination on their websites in 2017, it might be risky to extrapolate data gathered and to apply these data to the wider independent school sector in South Africa without extensively qualifying the data.

6.7 PERSONAL RETROSPECTION

I found this journey to be one of tremendous personal as well as academic growth. On a personal level, I was forced to confront the fact that I was much less objective regarding the one research site where I was employed for some time than I had previously thought. I had to do serious self-examination about my own views regarding the status quo, give the text time to breathe, read widely, and discuss and re-evaluate my own views with other interested parties before I could write Chapters 5 and 6.

On an academic level, it felt as if I only began to understand what was expected of a master's student as I neared completion of my thesis. My supervisor warned at the beginning of this journey that this would be the case and she was entirely correct. I hope to use the skills I have acquired over the last three years to continue to hone my own academic writing, as well as to share this knowledge with other budding academics through my work at the university.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

APPROVED WITH STIPULATIONS
REC Humanities New Application Form

15 May 2018

Project number: CUR-2018-6787

Project title: Current CLIL (Content and Language Integrated learning) models in European schools; possibilities for SA private schools

Dear Mrs. Mariana Clift

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 12 April 2018 was reviewed by the REC: Humanities on and approved with stipulations.

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
15 May 2018	14 May 2021

REC STIPULATIONS:

The researcher may proceed with the envisaged research provided that the following stipulations, relevant to the approval of the project are adhered to or addressed:

The researcher is requested to upload the signed Permission Letters in her Ethics application once she has received them. [Action Required]

HOW TO RESPOND:

Some of these stipulations may require your response. Where a response is required, you must respond to the REC within six (6) months of the date of this letter. Your approval would expire automatically should your response not be received by the REC within 6 months of the date of this letter.

Your response (and all changes requested) must be done directly on the electronic application form on the Infonetica system: <https://applyethics.sun.ac.za/Project/index/7345>

Where revision to supporting documents is required, please ensure that you replace all outdated documents on your application form with the revised versions. Please respond to the stipulations in a separate cover letter titled "Response to REC stipulations" and attach the cover letter in the section **Additional Information and Documents**.

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (CUR-2018-6787) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Research Protocol/Proposal	Final proposal	23/03/2018	4
Data collection tool	Semi-structured interview	04/04/2018	3
Request for permission	Permission letter to Mike Russel, head of Bridge House	04/04/2018	3
Default	Empirical data- survey	04/04/2018	3
Informed Consent Form	Informed Consent Form 21 March 2018	04/04/2018	3

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrollment. You may not recruit or enroll participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using only the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is no grace period. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrollment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You may not initiate any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The only exception is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within five (5) days of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the REC's requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC.

8. Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9. Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrollment, interactions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10. On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Marlan Clift, a student at the Stellenbosch University Education Department. You have been approached **as** a possible participant because you play a key role in my area of study.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The proposed title of the thesis is: *Current CLIL (Content and Language Integrated learning) models in European schools: possibilities for SA private schools*. The purpose of my study is to find answers to the question of how to integrate foreign learners more gradually, yet more effectively into English main stream private schooling at secondary level.

Foreign students must work extremely hard to succeed and often experience extreme anxiety and other psychological problems. A significant number of these students do not cope at all and end up leaving the school.

The CLIL strategy involves using a language that is not the student's native language as a medium of instruction. Acquiring this language involves integrating language teaching with the so-called 'content subjects.' It calls on content teachers to teach some language. Language teachers in CLIL programmes play a unique role. In addition to teaching the standard curriculum, they work to support content teachers by helping students to gain the language needed to manipulate content in other subjects. In so doing they help to reinforce the acquisition of content.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will either be asked to participate in a personal semi-structured interview. With your permission, I would like to record it to transcribe it later.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks or discomfort related to your participation.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

Hopefully this study will start a discussion amongst the newer private secondary schools in the Western Cape about how the CLIL principles can be applied to enhance the speed of language acquisition and social adaptation amongst foreign students.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no payment for your participation.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Written consent template, REC: Humanities (Stellenbosch University) 2017

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by using a password protected computer only to transcribe information. In my thesis the schools and positions of the interviewees will be names if your Heads give permission for me to do so. You have the option of asking me to keep some of the information confidential. You will have the opportunity to review the recordings and transcriptions. Data gathered from the interviews might be used in a scholarly article at a later date. No names of interviewees will be mentioned in such an article.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

8. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Marian Clift at mdclift@sun.ac.za and/or the supervisor Professor Christa van der Walt at cvanderwalt@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouché@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study as conducted by Marian Clift

Signature of Participant

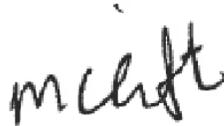
Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Written consent template, REC: Humanities (Stellenbosch University) 2017

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.



4 April 2018

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Written consent template. REC: Humanities (Stellenbosch University) 2017