

**AN EXPLORATION OF GRADE 10 LEARNERS RESPONSES
TOWARDS THE TEACHING OF ISIZULU AS A FIRST
ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE AT AN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL
IN DURBAN**

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**This Research Thesis is submitted in Partial fulfillment for a Master's
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my:

Late grandmother Maria for always believing in me.

Late uncle Fanozi for being my number one supporter.

Beautiful mother Thombi for her continuous support and encouragement.

Precious daughter Sandiswa for being patient and understanding throughout my studies.

Loyal dogs Diamond and Ayoki for being next to me every day while I was trying to complete my dissertation.

DECLARATION

I, **NOMPUMELELO BHENGU**, declare that

1. The research reported in this paper, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This paper has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.
3. This paper does not contain any other persons' data, pictures, graphs or any other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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NOMPUMELELO BHENGU (991232955)

Signed _____

Dated _____

As Supervisor, I hereby approve this thesis for submission to be examined.

Signed : _____ Dated : _____

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ABSTRACT

The study aims to explore the responses of learners in Grade 10 towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language (FAL) at an independent school in Durban. The study focuses specifically on independent schools because these schools post 1994 had to review their policies with regards to language in order to accommodate the indigenous languages of South Africa. South Africa has the most progressive Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) in the world which promotes the use of indigenous languages; this study is aimed at exploring and investigating how are learners at independent schools responding to the integration of isiZulu in such privileged learning context.

This study used a qualitative approach to gather data. A case study methodology was used to conduct research at one independent school in Durban. This comprised classroom observations, focus groups and individual interviews with ten Grade 10 learners who are taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language.

My findings reveal that learners mostly respond positively in being taught isiZulu and many advocates for the promotion of African languages at independent schools. The findings also revealed that in general, learners were cognizant of the dominance of English and the implications English has for the survival of isiZulu at independent schools. The study also shows the gendered and racialised ways in which the learning of isiZulu is perceived in the school where the data was generated. Additionally, drawing on Bourdieu's theories of language and power, which forms the theoretical framework for this study, the study shows the insidious ways in which English is promoted at the school, at the expense of isiZulu. The study captures the learners' perspectives on the teaching of isiZulu and the various school policies in regards to the views of the learners' on the African indigenous languages in the classroom as well as in other school domains. The study raises several implications for research, policy and practice.

Keywords: Responses, Learners, isiZulu, First Additional Language, Independent schools, African Indigenous languages.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the recent years there has been a strong social, economic and political call advocating for the use and the promotion of not only the language of isiZulu but all the other African languages. Dr Blade Nzimande, the Minister for Higher Education and Training, has also made a call to universities across South Africa to address the inequalities of the past by making African indigenous languages, specifically isiZulu to be used for teaching and learning. This call from Dr Nzimande should not be viewed as an instruction from the government but rather it can be viewed as platform from which a dialogue concerning the state of the education system in South Africa can be openly spoken about in order to relook at language policies in South Africa. For the purpose of this study, the focus is more centered on understanding how isiZulu is taught at independent school as a FAL rather than focusing on isiZulu as Language of teaching and learning.

The use and the importance of indigenous African languages were not under scrutiny and were therefore understudied during the apartheid years in South Africa. Increasingly in the post-apartheid moment, more scholars such as Mhlambi (2012) are increasingly writing about the importance of African languages in the post-apartheid state. According to Rudwick (2004) languages have a big role to play in the market value and the desirability of English as the most important global language today has an effect in most Black learners in South Africa. Against this backdrop, this study explores the responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu as a FAL at an independent school in Durban. By using the term responses I am trying to draw attention to the actions/attitudes/thinking process and reactions that learners have about being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language at privileged schools. I want to find out what are the learners beliefs and attitudes about being taught isiZulu and importantly, I want to find out what factors contribute into their thinking/reacting in the particular way towards being taught isiZulu; this is particularly more so as, isiZulu and other African languages continue to be marginalised languages in many independent desegregated schools as well as former model C schools.

According to Kamwangamalu (2003) the inadequate use of indigenous African languages as languages for teaching and learning at primary, secondary and tertiary institutions impedes the intellectualisation of African languages. It is for this reason that Kamwangamalu (2003) believes that indigenous African languages should be well catered for and developed and should achieve the same recognition as English in South Africa, more especially in formal settings such as schools and universities.

Further, Alexander (2003: 12) postulates that:

“Unless African languages are given market value, i.e., unless their instrumentality for the processes of production, exchange and distribution is enhanced, no amount of policy change at school level can guarantee their use in high-status functions and, thus, eventual escape from the dominance and the hegemony of English”

Alexander’s (2003) argument is critical for the discussion of the responses towards African languages (specifically isiZulu) in this study because it highlights the need to escape the existing stereotypes about African languages through enhancing the status of indigenous African languages so that these languages can be viewed as adding value across the social, economic and political spheres. Alexander (2003) also highlights the issue of policy which will also be address in this study as policy has a vital role to play within the education system.

Furthermore, Mmusi (1998) argues that in South Africa the impact and the legacy of the apartheid and its challenging past policies can still be felt within the education system. Mmusi’s (1998) argument raises an important issue about the impact of the past policies and how these policies have influenced policy regarding the use of African languages. Mmusi (1998) argues that the effects of the past policies where English enjoyed a high status are still prevalent in South Africa.

Moreover, scholars such as Kamwangamalu (2003) have argued that there is a strong need for the development of an intellectualised African language discourse from primary level to tertiary level. This implies that isiZulu, like most indigenous African languages, suffers from the threat of decaying unless their use is recognised. This view is also echoed by Bourdieu (1992) who argues that the languages of the elite class are chosen to be languages of power while the minority languages suffer from linguistic stagnation. In a country like South Africa

which has the most progressive constitutions in the world, which stipulates that there is a need to “recognise the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous people and their languages, the status must take practical and positive measure to advance the use of these languages” (Constitution of South Africa, 1996, Section 6 (2), it is argued that African indigenous languages need be to given an opportunity in educational institutions. It is through active engagement and through scholarly that this can be attained in this study.

1.1 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The issue of languages is central to the South African education system. This study explores the responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu as a FAL by Grade 10 learners’ at an independent school in Durban. As noted above, the study utilizes the word ‘responses’ so as to capture the various ways in which learners react towards, perceive and think about the teaching of isiZulu at privileged schooling context . The study is framed by Pierre Bourdieu’s (1992) language and power theory which holds that the role of language is not only limited into communication domains but rather, language can be also used as means of power.

Bourdieu (1992) further argues that the languages of the elite class are chosen to be languages of power while the minority languages suffer from linguistic stagnation. With a rocky history in South Africa, this study seeks to explore and understand the deeper underlying factors that influence the learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as FAL. According to Desai (2001), with the collapse of the apartheid regime, many languages which were previously marginalized are now being recognized and given a platform within the schools. The implication that this has for schooling is that it levels the field for all languages to be recognized within society. This also offers learners’ an opportunity to learn various languages and be exposed to diversity that South Africa represents. Languages therefore become an essential issue to explore given the history of South Africa.

Additionally, the University of KwaZulu Natal has become the first university in South Africa to compel all its undergraduate students to complete a module in isiZulu, therefore symbolising the seriousness with which indigenous African languages are now receiving (Turner, 2012). Further, the first ever thesis written in isiZulu in education was produced at the University of KwaZulu Natal by Dr Zinhle Nkosi in 2011. Recently, a call has been made by the Education Ministry to make the teaching of indigenous African languages compulsory in all schools. This suggests an increased focus on African languages. By highlighting the

role of African indigenous languages in South Africa, the state is trying to equalize the field in order to also ensure that indigenous languages can be useful for economic purposes. This can be learned from countries like China, Sweden, and Finland where local languages are used for economic purposes. This view is explained in Bourdieu (1992:8), when he argues that “linguistic utterances or expressions can be understood as the product of the relation between a linguistic market and its linguistic habitus”. According to Bourdieu (1992:8) when “language is used by individuals in particular ways; individuals would tend to deploy their accumulated linguistic resources and implicitly adapt their words to the demands of the social world or the market that is their audience”. In doing so, the language used gains purpose.

However, while the public and legalistic platform may be such that there is this assumed ‘equality’ among languages, the reality is that there is a challenge for African languages that are still marginalized in spite of what is stipulated by the constitution of South Africa. According to Alexander (2003) English still remains the most privileged language in South Africa to date. Given the dominance of English, I hope this study can shed light to the views of learners towards less dominating languages such as isiZulu in privileged schooling contexts.

Bourdieu’s (1992) theory is therefore essential in this study because in exploring the responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu, issues of power in language becomes critical. Bourdieu’s (1992) argument can assist in building a foundation from which to have a better understanding about the power dynamics between languages in South Africa. Bourdieu (1992:9) argues that the language that one uses is designated by the position that one occupies in a field or social space. Bourdieu (1992) further argues that the way individuals’ use language is a reflection of those who are in authority and those who are not. He argues that language allows for power and dominance of one group (upper class) over the marginalization of the groups in society. It needs to be understood here that domination is not necessarily about political power, it includes also the social and economic power, which is why for instance English continues to enjoy the privileges it still enjoys in South Africa today.

Bourdieu’s frameworks is therefore necessary for this study in explaining how learners who come from predominantly privileged backgrounds negotiate and respond to the teaching of isiZulu, which is often not associated with privilege and power.

Local studies such as those conducted by Turner (2012); Zungu and Pillay (2010) and De Klerk (2002; 2004) indicate that learners' attitude towards African languages is tied to how these languages are positioned within their school community. These studies show that although there is a strong appreciation for African languages in South Africa, learners often still perceives English as playing a significant role because it carries cultural and social capital. While these studies have been really useful, they rarely focus in understanding and unpacking a privileged schooling context which this study will explore.

A study conducted by Turner (2012) indicated that there is a serious decline of learners who select indigenous African languages at higher institutions because African languages are perceived as not having a prestigious status like English. In the same study Turner (2012) also highlights the negative perceptions attached to indigenous African languages. Studies such as these conducted by Turner (2012) provides a platform from which to understand what factors might influence the responses of learners towards being taught African languages. Particularly in this study, the responses of learners towards being taught isiZulu as a FAL may be better understood given the educational context in South Africa.

According to Zungu and Pillay (2010) isiZulu is widely spoken by the majority in KwaZulu-Natal, yet a small percentage of schools offer isiZulu as a First Additional Language in former Model C schools and independent schools. Model C schools are those schools in South Africa that are not funded by the state. Literature also indicates that in the few schools where isiZulu is offered, the quality of instruction is often substandard, thus adding to the trivialisation of these languages (Turner, 2010 and 2012 and Desai, 2001). For example, in a study conducted by Turner (2010) at one independent school in Durban found that learners attitudes towards isiZulu is mainly influenced by external factors such as the principals , the teachers, parents and society at large. Turner (2010) argues that, external factors play a significant role in influencing how learners come to perceive isiZulu. Some of the perceptions that were highlighted in Turner's study included that isiZulu is a hard language, that isiZulu does not necessarily hold an economic value, and that opting for Afrikaans over isiZulu will offer learners a better chance of passing their matriculation examinations. Against this background, the literature on isiZulu provides a platform from which we can begin to explore how learners perceive (respond to) the teaching of isiZulu, particularly given the trivialisation of the language that may occur in independent schools.

While the above gives an impression of a growing body of scholarship around isiZulu teaching and learning, there has not been much written about the teaching of isiZulu at independent schools in South Africa. A study by Zungu and Pillay (2010) titled “*High school learners’ attitudes towards isiZulu: in Greater Durban Area*” indicated that, learners’ in grade 10, 11 and 12 felt that isiZulu served a critical role, especially in KwaZulu-Natal where isiZulu is widely spoken by the majority. Learners’ views presented isiZulu as being necessary to learn for communicative purposes but they also felt that, it did not offer much economic value as much as English. This study was conducted in a former House of Delegates school, which previously catered exclusively for Indian learners in Durban. For the reasons that the study was conducted in a formerly exclusive Indian school; this indicates a need to investigate the context of the independent schools.

Another study conducted by Ndimande-Hlongwa et al. (2010) also explored the views of university students and staff about the teaching of isiZulu for professional purposes. The study included students in the field of Nursing, Education and Psychology. The study indicated that students felt isiZulu was necessary because it offered an opportunity for professionals to effectively respond to their clients, especially in the fields of nursing, education and psychology. The study, just like the others already mentioned, was good in highlighting the various attitudes and how people respond to isiZulu in general. The study also indicated that generally students as well as the staff had a positive attitude towards the teaching of isiZulu.

Internationally, studies such as those conducted by Wamalwa, Stanley and Kevogo (2013) on learners’ attitudes indicate that learners often learnt a new language by weighing that languages’ social status. Wamalwa et al. (2013) study involved 340 students from six selected schools in Tanzania. The study indicated that attitudes, whether they are positive or negative will normally be dependent on the degree of symbolic or socio-economic value manifested by that language. In this study learners perceived English to have more value than Kiswahili. This study was consistent in its findings with similar studies in South Africa.

The studies highlighted here, both locally and international, have been successful in highlighting the responses of learners towards African languages, and general inequalities that exist in linguistic practices, a gap still exists in linguistic practices. This indicates that, a gap still exists in relation to the understanding of how racially and linguistically diverse learners from privileged contexts may respond towards the teaching of isiZulu. It is therefore

this gap that this study hopes to address by offering an in-depth study on what is happening at independent schools where isiZulu is taught as a First Additional Language.

Studies addressing how isiZulu is taught in such contexts are yet to be explored. I therefore deem my study relevant because, this study offers an in-depth exploration of what is happening in the isiZulu classrooms at a particular independent school. The study works with Bourdieu's framework, by exploring how learners' respond to being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language in a context where English is highly privileged.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

As an African woman who particularly speaks isiZulu, I am personally interested in the current status of isiZulu at independent schools. As a young woman I was taught isiZulu as Home Language from Grade 1 to Grade 6. In grade 7 due to the political transformation in 1994, my parents enrolled me at a desegregated school. In my new school isiZulu was not part of the curriculum and was only introduced a year later. During my first year at this school, I had to learn English and Afrikaans and this was challenging because I had no prior exposure to these languages. Though isiZulu was later introduced, the school had strict rules about the use of isiZulu during school hours. IsiZulu was only restricted to the classroom while English and Afrikaans were freely spoken. The issue of languages in South Africa is of an interest to me especially at independent schools because it is often where English is prioritized over African languages.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main objective of the study is to explore the responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu at an independent school. In order to address this, I consider the following three critical research questions:

- I. How do Grade 10 learners' respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school?
- II. What informs the Grade 10 learners' responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?
- III. What lessons that can be glean from Grade 10 learners' responses about the integration of indigenous languages in independent schooling contexts in South Africa, 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to explore the responses of the learners towards the teaching of isiZulu as a FAL at an independent school.

The following were the objectives of the study:

- I. To understand how Grade 10 learners' respond to the teaching of isiZulu teachers as a First Additional Language in an independent school.
- II. To understand what informs the Grade 10 learners' responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?
- III. To explore the lessons that can be gleaned from Grade 10 learners' about the integration of indigenous African language in an independent school 20 years after the collapse of apartheid.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 Section 6 stipulates that there should be equal treatment of all languages used in South Africa not only for social purposes but for educational purposes as well. This study is significant because of the following reasons:

- I. It contributes to the ongoing debate about the use of African indigenous languages in South Africa.
- II. It assists in understanding linguistic communication practices in schools that are privileged.
- III. It assists in understanding how power is embedded in linguistic practices.

Furthermore, this study is significant because of the implications it might have for the National Department of Education whereby the department might have to review its language policy with regards to promoting African indigenous languages at independent schools in South Africa. Also, the significance of the study is that it may provide information for the educational stakeholders to be able to identify factors impacting on the attitudes and perceptions that learners have towards African indigenous languages. Finally, the study is significant because it may offer information for School Governing Bodies (SGBs) at

Independent schools so that they might look for ways to develop programs that promote African languages.

Clearly, the scope that has been used in this study, and the size of the empirical sample that has been used in this study, are far too small to provide sufficient evidence to justify generalizable position. However, this small scale study does present some preliminary data on the learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu. I believe therefore that this should trigger further and more substantial interrogation of the topic.

1.6 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 provides the introduction and the background to the study, the problem statement and aims of the study. This introduction section explores broad problems that are to be investigated as well as a brief explanation of the importance of the research and an outline of the study and the context of the research.

Chapter 2 contains the review of literature that is relevant to the study and a theoretical framework which serves as a guideline for this study. This section provides a detailed and comprehensive survey of the research which has been conducted prior in order to provide the background to the research. It looks deeply into the history of South African languages and policies in order to provide a better understanding of the languages situation in South Africa.

Chapter 3 explains the research design and the methodology used to conduct the study. This chapter includes the following: an introduction to the research methodology, and the design of the focus groups interviews, observations and individual interviews and how they will be administer. It also gives a detailed description of qualitative research.

In Chapter 4 the research results are presented and discussed. This section presents the data and a detailed description of the empirical results. The outcomes of the observations, the focus groups and the individual interviews from the participants are presented and clarified.

Chapter 5 gives the conclusion and recommendations and points out the limitations of the study. This section summarizes the research findings, highlight and discuss any limitations of my research and indicates possible future research.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced the research topic and the importance for conducting such a study. The chapter also highlighted the research questions and objectives for the study. A statement on the significance of the study is also presented. In the next chapter the literature review will be presented.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The primary intention of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework that supports this study. This chapter discusses four headings:

2.1 Understanding the state of linguistic politics in South Africa

2.2 Language and Policy in South Africa

2.3 Language Policy in South Africa

2.4 Understanding learners attitudes and responses towards inferior languages

2.5 Theoretical framework: Bourdieu's language and symbolic power theory

Consequently, this chapter initially discusses local and international arguments in relation to learners' responses towards being taught languages that are often perceived as inferior. Using Bourdieu's language and symbolic power theory, this study explores the history of South African languages and how they are generally perceived in society. Various language policies and the New Constitutions are discussed and their implications for education in South Africa. According to Bourdieu (1992) there exists a strong relationship between language and symbolic power. Bourdieu (1992) argues that language is not merely a method of communication, but it can also be used as a power mechanism in society in order to dominate over others. Bourdieu sees education as being the one great system in which language and symbolic power are used as the ideology of equality. School, according to Bourdieu (1992) is a breeding ground where this relationship between language and symbolic power come to play.

Bourdieu's (1992) view on language and symbolic power therefore becomes essential for understanding the origins of people's attitudes and perceptions towards languages in South Africa. It provides the lens from which to begin to explore learners' responses towards being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language in a privileged schooling context. Using Bourdieu's theory of language and symbolic power, this chapter will explore studies that have investigated how learners' in privileged contexts respond to being taught languages that are often perceived as inferior against the dominance of English in particular. In this chapter I will explore the relationship between language and symbolic power and its implications in education. Bourdieu's (1992) theory on language and symbolic power is based on the premise

that language and power are interwoven. I will also explore Bourdieu's (1993) forms of capital and the role that the different forms of capital that individuals are exposed to play in the relationship between language and power. Bourdieu (1992; 1993) argues that those in power use language to retain and promote their dominant status in society while marginalizing others and their languages. Bourdieu's claim is relevant in this study because it highlights the relationship between language and power in society and the implications that this relationship has in how people come to perceive the hierarchies 'in languages. This relationship highlights the role of language in society and how this is filtered to education as the language of the elite is often promoted while other languages are marginalized.

This chapter also provides a review of the literature concerning learners' responses towards being taught languages that are perceived as being inferior by society at large. The chapter explores international and local literature on learners' general responses towards marginalized languages. Lafon (2008) argues that in South Africa, the use of African languages in education has a long painful history of the apartheid education system. This view is further explored by Lafon (2008) who argues that, because the apartheid education system was a system based on the notion of 'an ordained hierarchy of races' and was aimed at isolating the Africans and convincing them of their permanent inferiority, this did more damage in crippling the social fiber of many South Africans learners. According to Lafon (2008), in South Africa during the apartheid regime, language was used as a powerful tool to dismantle the education system for many African learners. Lafon (2008) further argues that in dismantling the education system, language becomes a powerful tool that was used to establish the Bantu Education system.

Moreover, Lafon (2008) argues that the history of South Africa has played a critical role in reinforcing some of the attitudes displayed by black South Africans towards African languages. Lafon (2008) states that these attitudes displayed by black learners can be equated to second-rate education that they perceived Bantu Education to be. Bantu Education was also perceived as 'slave' education and came to embody the apartheid. This view by Lafon (2008) provides some insight into understanding the originality of the attitudes that people may have towards the use of African languages at South African school. Post the apartheid regime, the new Constitution of South Africa promotes these African languages which were previously trivialized in society and in education. Against this background, this chapter

explores learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language (FAL) in a privileged schooling context.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING THE STATE OF LINGUISTIC POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1.1 Linguistic demography of South Africa

The population of South Africa is not only multiracial, consisting of diverse cultures, race and religion but South Africa is also a multilingual society consisting of many diverse languages. According to the 2011 census (www.statssa.gov.za/census01) South Africa has a population of 44 819 778 people within four main population groups: South Africa is home to a large number of languages, eleven of which are official: Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda and Xitsongo. Webb (2009) claims that in addition to the official languages, it is suggested that approximately seventy additional languages are used in the country, including Khoe and San languages, other African languages, European languages, Eurasian languages and Sign languages. Webb (2009:67-68) further claim that the speakers of the eleven official languages do account for 99% of South Africa's total population. According to the Census (2011), speaker statistics by home language for the eleven official languages are as follows:

- IsiZulu = 23.8% 2
- IsiXhosa = 17.6%
- Afrikaans = 13.3% 4
- Sepedi = 9.4%
- English = 8.2%
- Setswana = 8.2%
- Sesotho = 7.9%
- Xitsongo = 4.4%
- Siswati = 2.7%
- Tshivenda = 2.3%
- IsiNdebele = 1.6%



(2.1.1 a. South African Languages Geographical Distribution)

With regard to Kwazulu Natal, the population is estimated at 10 267 300 people, the province in which this research was conducted, the situation is somewhat simpler, with three official languages being prominent, namely, isiZulu, English and Afrikaans. IsiZulu accounts for more than 70% of the population of Kwazulu Natal while English accounts for approximately 20% and Afrikaans with approximately 10%. It is clear from the above statistics that South Africa is linguistically a very complex country and it is this complexity that acts as a backdrop to the literature review presented in this chapter.

Looking at the demographics of South Africa, isiZulu and isiXhosa are by far the most commonly spoken home languages in South Africa. IsiZulu speakers are largely located in KwaZulu-Natal, though some can also be found in Gauteng and Mpumalanga. IsiXhosa speakers are mostly located in the Eastern and Western Cape. These African languages of South Africa comprise mainly the Bantu languages, of which four distinct groups can be distinguished: (The Nguni languages (isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele and siSwati), the Sotho languages (Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana), Venda and Tsonga.

The Nguni languages speakers are by far the largest group with over 20 million speakers, this group is followed by the Sotho group which has a little over 10 million speakers, the next group is the Tsonga group with almost about 2 million, and lastly the Venda group with nearly a million speakers (see Kamwangamula, 2001). According to Kamwangamula (2001) there is a clear relationship between how these groups are linguistically located as well as

geographically distributed. The Nguni family usually includes isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati. The Nguni languages are mainly found in the east and along the coast of Kwazulu Natal. The Sotho languages are found in the west and on the inland plateau. The Venda groups are found in the north and the Tsonga group in Mpumalanga. The Bantu languages of South Africa are primarily used for everyday oral communication. These different languages have been highlighted above because they provide some background to the demographics of African languages in South Africa. I believe that this background is essential to this study because it indicates that African languages in South Africa are spoken by the majority and yet post-Apartheid, many of these languages are still marginalized in schools as well as by society at large.

According to Tollefson (1991:13) “in South Africa, the issue of language has a long challenging history which has been mainly about the struggle in power dynamics whereby dominant groups seek to exercise power through their control of language”. Those in power use power as means of exerting power over others. Language therefore becomes a powerful tool that is used by those in power to further dominate within the social, economic and educational spheres. Kamwangamalu (2000:240) argues that “more often the issues of languages are challenging and complicated because it is more so because decisions about language are often designed to benefit some, while others often are at a loss of privilege, status and rights”. Kamwangamalu (2003) further states that the decisions that are often made relating to language in most cases are political. By highlighting the demographics of languages in South Africa, I am drawing attention to the magnitude of the variations between the languages in South Africa. Furthermore, languages do not operate in a vacuum but are rather linked to a particular social, economic or political context and these factors become important in understanding the language issues in this country. According to Hartshorne (1995: 306) in “South Africa, lot of decisions regarding the issue of language are connected to issues of political dominance, the protection of power structures, the preservation of privilege and the distribution of economic resources”. Next, I discuss the power struggles between languages in South Africa in order to further gain better understanding of the phenomenon I am exploring in this study.

2.1.2 Power struggle between languages

Webb (2009: 83) asserts that the language situation in South Africa is interesting because “English is not a major language of South Africa in statistical or geographical terms; the

Bantu languages are, as indicated above. However, looking at the socio-political scene Webb (2009) argues the situation is reversed. Lockett (2005) suggests that it is a common belief that African languages are not perceived as being suitable for functions such as further education, science, technology, business, law and government. Moreover, Webb (2002:75) maintains that because English is perceived as the main official language, its use filters across all levels of government and in all state and semi-state departments. According to Bowerman (2000:30) ultimately, “English remains the truly dominant language of South Africa; it is the language of education and economic power; the language of parliament and international popular culture”. This view by Bowerman (2000) is also supported by Turner (2012) who argues that the dominance of English in South African schools has negative implications for many African languages which are often trivialized. This, I argue, has implications for how African languages are perceived, if their role is not seen as being significant, and then they lose momentum in society and in education in general.

Moreover, Webb (2009) shows that the major class division that exists in South Africa filters into the language situation, in terms of which the linguistic world of the middle to upper class is mainly English, with the Bantu languages being mainly the languages of the working class. So it would appear that although many South Africans are multilingual, a diglossic situation pertains, in that the African languages are used only in certain contexts, such as the home, the street, religion, sport and local culture, whereas English is used in writing, print and higher education, media, government administration and parliament. Furthermore, according to Webb (2009), Turner (2012) and Bangeni and Kapp (2007) “in terms of status, English is by far the dominant language of the country”.

Bangeni and Kapp (2007) further argue that the positive attitudes towards English shown by African-language speakers must be viewed not in separation from history because it is through history that we can better understand where these attitudes come from and how they influence education, culture and modernization. They argue that the power struggle between languages in South Africa is also affected by how individuals perceive themselves in society. In the research conducted by De Klerk (2000 ; 2002) on parental attitudes in the Eastern Cape during 1998, a number of her participants confirmed the view that African languages, in this case Xhosa, are only suitable for use in the home and the local culture: Some of the responses included:

“It will be a language people speak in their homes...”/ “It is good for home use but is not that good for being used elsewhere...”/ “It’s more like a home appliance...”/ “Xhosa is right for the sake of culture, but wrong for the sake of communication...”

De Klerk (2000: 103) asserts that these participants also confirmed the high status of English and viewed English as an international language and believed that English is the most powerful language that would open the door to better job opportunities and equip their children with a competitive edge, because English is a business language mostly used in the workplace and is also the language of science and technology. Also, the participants saw English as vital to educational success generally and viewed it as the most important language in the schools (De Klerk 2002: 6). This study reveals that at ground-level, English has more status and is seen as more valuable and useful than the African languages.

This further reveals that South Africa has a complex language situation, whereby the African indigenous languages, although spoken by the majority population are in fact minority languages due to their lower status, and English, which is spoken by fewer people, is actually a majority language because of its higher status. The existence of such language differences in South Africa adds to the complex nature of South Africa’s multilingual society and each of the different situations has a significant impact on education in South Africa. Such views about languages in South Africa become essential for this study because they provide the lens from which we can begin to understand the complex nature of languages and their use among South Africans especially, the use of language within the schooling context where the struggle is more visible.

2.1.3 The necessity for language maintenance

Krauss (2005) argues that languages do not exist if there are no people to speak those languages. It is therefore vital that all the South African official languages be maintained if we want them to be counted among the living languages. Baker (2001) argues that the South African history is riddled with issues of power, prejudice, discrimination, marginalization and subordination, which are all causes of language decline and death. Baker (2001) further asserts that while South Africa, undoubtedly, has an extremely enlightened and forward-looking language policy, which recognizes eleven languages as official and equal. It is these issues that need to be considered if we are to ensure the survival of all the South African official languages.

Furthermore, it is vital that we maintain and promote linguistic diversity in our country because of the following reasons suggested by Crystal (2000:32-66): Firstly, Crystal argues that language is essential for uniformity which can be threatened and endangered if there is lack of adaptability. Crystal (2000) further argues that the survival of our languages lies in our ability to adapt and that ability is born out of diversity. Languages in South Africa, I argue have a better chance of surviving if the language diversity is promoted at schools as well as by society at large.

Secondly, Crystal (2000) argues that language expresses identity and is always present in identity formation and identity display. Thirdly, languages are the repositories of history, which provide links to the past. Fourthly, languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge and when a language dies, its vision of the world dies with it. This means that when a language dies, so does the culture, identity and knowledge that were passed down through that language. The Zulu culture is one of the most celebrated cultures in South Africa, its preservation according to Scheffler (2007) is necessary for its survival. And finally, languages should not be allowed to die as they are interesting in themselves and worthy of study. This view by Crystal (2000) highlights the importance of maintaining African indigenous languages in South Africa.

To achieve a balance in language diversity in South Africa, Crystal (2000) asserts that all languages should be equally promoted and language policies should be in a position where they can address the language challenges. The next section discusses the various language policies in South Africa and their implications for education.

2.2 LANGUAGE AND POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section discusses the Constitution of South Africa and its implication in education. Other various policies such as the National language Policy Framework (NLPF), the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB), the 1997 Language in Education Policy (LiEP) and CAPS (2012) will be discussed in order to reinforce the role that these documents play in the teaching of languages in South Africa. Language attitudes will then be discussed in order to set the scene for the various ways in which learners respond to the teaching of languages which are often perceived as inferior.

2.2.1 The Constitution of South Africa in Languages

“All children thus need to feel that they are equal when they enter the formal educational arena. They need to feel that their languages, their religions, their home environments, their home customs ... are all equally important.”Kadar Asmal (1994:2)

There has been on-going political pressure to transform the educational landscape in South Africa by promoting African languages. South Africa has one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world which “recognizes the role that history has played in diminishing the use and the status of indigenous languages” (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996:4). In South Africa, the Constitution has played a significant role in social transformation especially in the promotion of languages. According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, South Africa has chosen 11 languages in order to:

(a) Ensure and guarantee the freedom and human dignity of all South Africans under a new dispensation,

(b) Recognize the country’s linguistic diversity as well as the fact that the majority of South Africans – probably 98 per cent – use one of these languages as their home or first language, and

(c) Ensure that the process of democratization is extended to language related issues as well

In accordance with the South African Constitution all languages should receive equal status. The Constitution can therefore be a catalyst for change where inequalities and injustice have occurred. This study is focused on the responses of learners towards isiZulu which one of the widely spoken African language in South Africa. The Constitution in equalizing the language field recognizes all languages as equal though the realities in schools in somehow different.

Furthermore, the South African Constitution (1996) and the South African Schools Act (1996) acknowledge the right of all learners to receive education in South Africa. While the Constitution may be aimed at promoting multilingualism, the realities are somehow different; hence there is a strong need for the development of the official languages that are focused on supporting the general conceptual growth amongst learners. While there is political pressure for transformation, this pressure is often not coherent with reactions from learners, parents and teachers responses towards African languages. The principles of Constitution therefore, should be promoted in order to ensure social justice in many South African schools.

2.3 LANGUAGE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

“Language is built into the economic and social structure of society so deeply that its fundamental importance seems only natural. For this reason, language policies are often seen as expressions of natural, common-sense assumptions about language in society”.(Tollefson ,1991:2).

Tollefson (1991:16) defines language policy as “a language planned by the government”. Planning for policy is necessary in order to bring about change and address the harshness of the apartheid educational system. Tollefson (1991) further argues that language planning is one mechanism for locating language within social structures so that languages can be used to determine who has access to political power and economic resources. In the next section, I discuss various South African language policies because of their importance to my study because, as mentioned above, languages in schools have been an on-going debate, particularly within education and since the primary focus of this study is how learners respond to languages, it becomes important to consider the policies that are influential within the South African education system.

2.3.1 The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF)

The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) “takes cognizance of the fact that the value of our languages is largely determined by their economic, social and political usage (The Department of Arts and Culture (2002: 3). The NLPF also acknowledges that when a language loses its value in these spheres the status of the language diminishes. Therefore there is a need to increase efforts to develop the previously marginalized African languages in South Africa. Though the NLPF highlights the need for the recognition of all languages, however, there are a number of problems with the NLPF. According to Ridge (2004:2), one of the problems with the NLPF is that it is informed by an inadequate understanding of the underlying and linguistic behaviour of many South Africans. Furthermore, Ridge (2004:2) argues that there is little awareness of how contextually and historically embedded people’s actual communication practices are, this in turn results in languages being incorrectly viewed as a stable, abstract system. According to Ridge (2004:2), this lack of understanding is explicitly expressed in a number of ways such as in the:

Equality of languages: The NLPF seeks equality of languages in a general sense and “lays the blame for the inequality of languages on the history of colonial domination.

Definition of ‘multilingualism’: A study of multilingualism in individuals and local communities can help explain strategic language choices and attitudes. This knowledge could be used to inform curricular decisions in schools and could throw light on identity and nation-building issues. Instead, the NLPF loosely defines ‘multilingualism’ and simply assumes that “the learning of other official languages” will “promote national unity and linguistic diversity” (Department of Arts and Culture 2002: 10). This assumption is made without considering the actual languages; this is therefore problematic especially in a South African context where the language debate is a complex issue. Ridge further postulates that the NLPF unfortunately, fails to consider the complex nature of languages in South Africa and does not consider domains in which a particular language is used and valued, or which languages are deemed important for learners to acquire. I agree with Ridge (2004) that these issues are important if South Africa intends to meet the demands of an increasingly complex world. These views on equalizing languages by Ridge (2004) highlight a gap that there is still a need to investigate language and linguistic behaviour in South Africa in order to address the language challenges that cloud the education system and society at large.

2.3.2 The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB)

The PANSALB is charged in the constitution with the task of ensuring that all the official languages are used and promoted effectively. Part of the mission for the PANSALB is to enable South Africans an opportunity to be free from all forms of linguistic discrimination, domination and division. This freedom is necessary if the people of South Africa are to be able to exercise appropriate linguistic choices for their own well-being as well as for national development (PANSALB, 1998:5). PANSALB views language in South Africa as a right and a resource as opposed to a problem. It also acknowledges that “the best way for language development to occur is for the language to be used for a language to survive, it must be used for a wide range of functions otherwise it begins to wither and die. Thus, were we to have allowed higher status functions to be limited to English and Afrikaans only, the other languages of the country eventually would begin to wither and die” (PANSALB 1998: 2).

According to Bowerman (2000), this is evidenced in the economic and functional status of English, whereby the African languages are still associated with poor socio-economic conditions; and in the sociocultural status of English in high domains such as business, government and education. This means that the other African languages are still at risk of ‘withering and dying’ if something is not done soon. It should also be remembered that

whether or not PANSALB “allows” the use of certain languages, real people make their own language choices, regardless of official decrees. The PANSALB document goes on to state that “it is unacceptable in South Africa for social, democratic and economic reasons to limit the use of any language” and that “the perception that people who are not proficient in English are somehow deficient and must be dispelled...” (PANSALB 1998:5). This statement highlights a need ensuring that all South African languages are offered an opportunity within the economic realm. The PANSALB website (www.pansalb.org.za) provides a detailed discussion on the role of language in education. The PANSALB has an important role to play in the promotion of African languages in South Africa. This can happen when there are bigger and broader aims of extending the use and increase of the status of the African languages in South Africa. PANSALB strongly supports the use of African languages in education as means of promoting these languages. Next, I consider the 1997 Language in Education Policy (1997) and CAPS (2012) as a means in which to realize these languages in order to achieve educational goals in South Africa and to obtain a better understanding of learners’ responses towards languages.

2.3.3 The 1997 Language in Education Policy (LiEP)

This policy was developed and produced as a way of correcting the past by strengthening relations amongst South Africans and building a non-racial nation in South Africa (DoE, 1997). The LiEP is designed to “facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, and recognizes cultural diversity as a valuable national asset” (DoE, 1997:4). It thus aims to promote multilingualism amongst South Africans in order to develop the official languages and respect for all languages used in the country. The policy also states that “being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African” and that the “learning of two or more languages should be general practice” LiEP (1997). This implies that the whole nation, not just language minority, is required to become multilingual. In this study, this issue of promoting all languages is important for building a better integrated South Africa.

The policy has decentralized implementation by declaring that “the governing body of the school must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects, and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes, or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education department” LiEP

(1997). In this study I was informed that the school governing body agreed to include isiZulu as a First Additional Language in order to allow learners an opportunity to choose between the learning of isiZulu, or Afrikaans. Given the learner diversity, many African learners' opt for isiZulu which is often their home language. It is essential to highlight such background information because to a certain extent, the background plays an essential role in how learners' in this study responded the way they did towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language.

2.3.4 Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (2012) - IsiZulu as a First Additional Language

2.3.4.1 Understanding the aims of learning isiZulu as a First Additional Language

The CAPS document outlines the specific aims for learners in learning an Additional Language (CAPS, 2012:14). The document outlines specific aims of learning Additional Languages which are essential in education.

Learning a First Additional Language should enable learners to:

- *“Acquire the language skills necessary to communicate accurately and appropriately taking into account audience, purpose and context;*
- *Use their Additional Language for academic learning across the curriculum;*
- *Listen, speak, read/view and write/present the language with confidence and enjoyment. These skills and attitudes form the basis for lifelong learning;*
- *Express and justify, orally and in writing, their own ideas, views and emotions confidently in order becoming independent and analytical thinkers;*
- *Use their Additional Language and their imagination to find out more about themselves and the world around them. This will enable them to express their experiences and findings about the world orally and in writing;*
- *Use their Additional Language to access and manage information for learning across the curriculum and in a wide range of other contexts. Information literacy is a vital skill in the ‘information age’ and forms the basis for lifelong learning;*

-Use their Additional Language as a means of critical and creative thinking: for expressing their opinions on ethical issues and values; for interacting critically with a wide range of texts; for challenging the perspectives, values and power relations embedded in texts; and for reading texts for various purposes, such as enjoyment, research, critique". (CAPS, 2012:14).

This study seeks to investigate if CAPS as stipulated by the Department of Education is effectively implemented in order to expose learners to skills necessary for learning a First Additional Language.

Above, I have discussed the various language policies in South Africa because unless these policies are being implemented effectively in education, our schools could be in danger of further marginalizing African languages. If African languages are trivialized in schools then the manner in which learners respond to being taught African languages becomes a social concern.

2.4 UNDERSTANDING LEARNERS ATTITUDES AND RESPONSES TOWARDS INFERIOR LANGUAGES

Gardner (1982:142) defines “an attitude as a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related”. It is argued that learners have different attitudes towards languages that they learn and speak. Liebschner and O’Cain (2009) postulate that learners and the society as a whole vary considerably in their attitudes to the language they are learning and to the people who speak that language. Liebschner and O’Cain (2009) further illustrate that these subjective attitudes can also influence language learning in less obvious ways. What is therefore important to take note of is how language attitudes influence other kinds of social behaviors’. These social behaviors’ become necessary for this study because they can shed light on the various attitudes that learners’ may have towards being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language in a privileged schooling context.

2.4.1 Learners responses towards being taught isiZulu: A South African Perspective

Researchers in recent studies on learners’ attitudes towards African languages indicate that many learners have express and shown appreciation for their African languages (Rudwick, 2004, 2008; Kapp, 2004; McKinney, 2007; Nongogo, 2007; Ndlangamandla, 2010; Zungu & Pillay, 2010; Turner, 2012). Rudwick (2004) conducted a study which consisted isiZulu-

speaking youth at Umlazi Township in Durban. Rudwick (2004) found that the majority of the isiZulu-speaking learners 'had made a link between the speaking of isiZulu and their Zulu culture and identity. Rudwick (2004) argues that, learners viewed speaking isiZulu as being loyal to one's culture. Unlike learners' in De Klerk (2002) study who expressed a strong preference of English over isiXhosa. Rudwick's (2004) study indicated a positive outlook towards the use of African languages by learners. Rudwick (2004:164) further reports that many learners expressed being disappointed that in South Africa, many citizens besides African people were not making an effort to learn any of the African indigenous languages. Also, in Kwazulu Natal; Rudwick (2004) found that the learners were disappointed that many white people were not making an initiative to learn isiZulu and yet they were in a province where isiZulu is widely spoken.

Rudwick (2004) further argues that most learners viewed isiZulu as being a valuable language however on the same breath; they also recognized that isiZulu is not often given credit for its value. Learners viewed English as being a threat to isiZulu. Both McKinney's (2007) and Rudwick's (2004) studies found that learners saw the use of African languages as being necessary in reinforcing their identity. Though McKinney's study was focused on African learners' use of indigenous languages in Ex-Model C schools, it still provided an interesting dimension by finding that African learners in desegregated suburb (just like in townships) of Johannesburg saw the use of African languages as necessary for their African identify. Furthermore, just like in Rudwick (2004) study, learners' who were perceived as devaluing African languages by not speaking those languages or often use of English; were labeled as "coconuts". The concepts of coconuts come from the view that those labeled coconuts are perceived as being white on the inside but black on the outside. This term is used to shame others who are perceived as not valuing their own African language.

Furthermore, Nongogo's (2007) study which was conducted at a private school with learners from different racial backgrounds at a desegregated high school in Gauteng indicated that many African learners were comfortable in using their African language. Nongogo's (2007) study found that depending on the space and purpose of conversation, learners alternated between isiZulu and English. Drawing on observations and interviews Ndlangamandla (2010) conducted a study using two desegregated independent schools in Johannesburg. The study focused on learners language practices and how learners viewed the use of African

indigenous languages in South Africa. The study was useful in capturing learners' views on how they negotiate between using variations in languages through code-switching.

Though the above mentioned studies paint a positive attitudes towards use and the teaching of African languages, studies by Barkhuizen (2002), De Klerk (2002) , Kapp (2000) and Makamu (2009) indicate that there are strong negative attitudes by learners towards the use of African languages. A study by Barkhuizen (2002) indicated that learners favored the use of English more because they saw isiXhosa as being inferior. De Klerk (2002) also indicated that isiXhosa-speaking learners perceived English to be more interesting than their mother-tongue. They also perceive English to have economic advantages than isiXhosa. Further up in the Limpopo Province, a study by Makamu (2009) conducted at Capricorn High School indicated that learners felt that they gained more knowledge when English was used compared to Northern Sotho which the learners' felt was less valuable than English. The studies mentioned in here set the background for exploring learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in a privileged learning context. Though these recent studies capture the learners attitudes towards African languages across South Africa, my study will address the knowledge gap that needs further exploration in the independent schools where isiZulu is taught as a First Additional Language to many Zulu-speakers at these schools in KwaZulu Natal.

2.4.2 Learners responses towards being taught Yoruba: An African Perspective

A study conducted by Balogun (2013) involving 300 students from public and private schools in Oyo, Osun and Lagos states investigated students attitudes towards the teaching and use of Nigerian indigenous languages, in particular, attitudes towards the Yoruba language. Using questionnaires, observations and interviews, Balogun's (2013) study found that many students saw the Yoruba language as being a difficult language to learn at school. Students indicated that, they found it difficult to express themselves in Yoruba and thus preferred the use of English. Students further indicated that the Yoruba language did not have much value as a language; they perceived English to be a global language and a language useful for economic purposes.

This according to Balogun (2013) poses a threat to the existence of the Yoruba language. Balogun (2013) argues that with over 395 recognized languages in Nigeria, the dominance of

English is a threat to many of these Nigerian languages. Students in private schools indicated that they found expressing themselves in Yoruba a very difficult task and this dilemma is the main cause behind their preference of English. Balogun (2013) further argues that when a language is lost by its people, those people are in danger of losing their roots, identity and culture. She further argues that when people lose their identity and culture, they live under the shadow of other people's identity and culture. This view by Balogun is supported by Makori (2005) in the article *"Decolonisation on culture through language: African languages in informal education"* who provides a South African perspective. Makori (2005) argues that the loss of African languages amongst the youth poses a threat to South African democracy and African roots.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: BOURDIEU'S LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC POWER THEORY

"Just as, at the level of relations between groups, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it". (Bourdieu, 1977: 652)

2.5.1 Bourdieu's account on Language

Bourdieu (1991, 1992) takes language to be not merely a method of communication, but also sees language as a mechanism of power. According to Bourdieu (1992:37-42) "the language one uses is determined by one's relational position in a field or social space". This, according to Bourdieu because of one field, will determine who has a "right" to speak or to be listened to, a right to interrupt, or to ask questions in society. However according to Bourdieu, if one lacks this field or social space, they are often marginalized. For Bourdieu, languages position individuals either in a position of power or in a position of submission. Mesthrie (2002) argues that Bourdieu's contribution to a number of fields including the study of culture, education and language has been immense and has resulted in a unified social theory of language that forms the basis of a framework against which many of the broader phenomena associated with language in society can be analyzed. Bourdieu's (1992) work on the relationship between language and power will be examined in this study. Following Max Weber, power is the fundamental concept in relations of inequality, and concerns the ability of people or groups to carry out their will despite objection or opposition by others. Weber

indicates that classes, status groups and political parties are key to the distribution of power. Bourdieu, in indicating the power that comes with being competent in particular privileged cultural practices also talks about 'cultural capital. Bourdieu (1993:7) defines cultural capital "as a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts. The interactions therefore in ones' social networks, e.g. family, church, community and educational institutions like schools, play a fundamental role in one acquiring cultural capital, though not all of these sites may carry equal potential for the acquisition of cultural capital.

If one looks at the relationship between language and society, then one can see that language is socially determined, and varies according to the social situation that it is used in. Bourdieu indicates that all human activity takes place within a web of socially constructed fields: family, community structures, educational systems and institutions, corporations and businesses, all of which change with time and circumstances. One, he continues, may be subjected to a number of fields or can pass through a number of fields in one day. According to Bourdieu (1991) 'cultural capital' offers an individual an opportunity to be within the hierarchy of society. It is therefore; within these social hierarchies that the power dynamics between the elite and the masses can be better understood. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1991) argues whichever field one is placed in at a given time, it becomes crucial to use one's social power which can be through language, to negotiate a position of power in the societal structure. This by no means suggests that the same capital can be used across all fields.

Different forms of capital however, can be used in different fields. Bourdieu refers to a system of habits (*habitus*) that guide peoples' behaviors. *Habitus*, defined by Bourdieu (1991: 342) as the sum total of all the social and cultural experiences that shape us as a person, is linked to visible material conditions or status of a class or group, and further linked to the class or group's style of living, as in wealth and material possessions. According to Bourdieu *habitus* thus also affects and determines what is linguistically acceptable in a group. Bourdieu points out how the individual and collective *habitus* of the powerful or dominant group is recognized as socially valuable and normal, while the *habitus* of the subordinate group is viewed as without value and abnormal if not suspect (Bourdieu, 1991: 342). Bourdieu's account is therefore of interest to me because it forms a foundation from which to understand the underlying relationship between languages in privileged contexts.

In relation to language, Bourdieu (1991:18) creates the concept of ‘linguistic capital’. His notion of linguistic capital refers to the different quantities of symbolic capital that speakers of different languages possess. In cases where the languages hold a higher status, such as English, Bourdieu (1991) argues that the higher is the value placed on it and the belief in its capacity to ensure one’s success in education, power and wealth. This concept of Bourdieu is relevant for this study. It provides a lens to view how status and value placed on languages position that language into either a dominant position or in a marginalized position. Bourdieu’s account on linguistic capital positions individuals in social contexts where one’s ability to participate in linguistic exchanges either allows them entry to appropriate dominant communities and this is what Bourdieu refers to as ‘markets’. In both cultural and linguistic capital, one’s ability, or level of power can be seen in cultural and linguistic circles. It therefore becomes essential in this study to explore what factors influence learners responses towards the teaching of isiZulu, also how do these factors impact on how they respond to being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent school.

2.5.2 Bourdieu’s account on symbolic power

South Africa has a notable power struggle over ‘linguistic capital’. According to Turner (2012) the power struggle between languages in South Africa has a negative implication for education. Bourdieu (1991) argues that the social context in which human activity, in this case, linguistic exchange, takes place, is identified as the ‘field’. Power plays a crucial role in any social context or ‘field’, because it determines the level of exchange and the outcome. It can also be the deciding factor in the choice of principles governing inclusion and exclusion, where one group can decide who to include or exclude in their group and interaction by simply changing the language of interaction. Bourdieu (1991:23) captures this relationship in defining the ‘invisibility’ of what he calls ‘symbolic power’. Bourdieu (1991:14) defines symbolic power as that form of capital constituted by accumulated prestige or honor. He explains that symbolic power is invisible in that it is legitimized by the powerful people who wield it against the weaker people who are at the receiving end. It is invisible in that it has no material existence, such as monetary wealth has. The exercise of symbolic power in the linguistic circles is visible in the use of a language of choice by a dominant group to oppress less dominant groups. One cannot therefore look at language without looking at the society that determines the language. Society gives one power according to one’s language networks and interactions, thus one is accorded status in ones’ society according to the ‘cultural

capital' and linguistic capital that one is perceived to have. The 'cultural capital' and linguistic capital that one has enables him/her to negotiate a position of power in the social hierarchy through his/her use of language.

In pointing out the relationship between language and social class, Bourdieu (1991:13) shows how linguistic insecurity often causes those that are perceived as being powerless to aspire to the ideologies as set by the dominant groups. This idea of linguistic insecurity from Bourdieu, (1993: 14) is important in my study as I wish to look at how the learners' respond to a language that is often perceived inferior in a privileged context where there is dominance of English. Languages are valued or devalued according to the power vested in their users. The cultural capital that Bourdieu speaks of (1993:7) is concerned with forms of cultural knowledge, skills or concepts that help one decipher cultural relations. Whether one's expressions are acceptable to a particular audience, depends on, where the value of discourses is decided which is usually around the dominant group. This decision inevitably affects social relations as well as social identity, being accepted as one of the group or being rejected as a misfit. Relating to languages, the decision is either to accept a language or to reject it as a misfit. In South Africa, the language debate is a complex one where the relationship between language and power has a pro-founding implication for education and schooling.

In order to understand how the exercise of power , the work of Fairclough (1989: 61) becomes crucial as Fairclough (1989) reminds us that power in discourse does not belong to the 'institution or society, but it belongs to the power-holders in the institution, who wield it at will, as Bourdieu indicates. The acceptance of expressions depends on, as Bourdieu puts it, the 'market', which decides acceptability, by giving or denying value to the discourse. For any ideologies, to be acceptable to a particular market, they should be seen to be appropriate and acceptable in the context in which they are used by those in power. For the language of isiZulu to be accepted, it has to be seen as an appropriate language that has value by those in power. Since this study is aimed at exploring the responses/attitudes of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language, this definition is therefore useful in capturing the power dynamics that powerful languages like English might hold across all sphere such as in the media, the church, and educational institutions. Bourdieu (1992) further argues that whenever there are strong concept of symbolic power, this would suggests that some concentrations of symbolic power can hidden and be in disguise. What Bourdieu is saying here is that because dominating languages are so powerful, their true intentions or

agendas are often hidden. And because they are hidden, they therefore have the power to be able to dominate the whole social landscape and their underlying arbitrariness becomes difficult to see. In this study English in a privileged schooling context dominates the whole social landscape, its dominance is perceived and recognized as natural while isiZulu is marginalized. In this way, according to Bourdieu (1990a:166) “symbolic power moves from being a merely local power to being a general power, what Bourdieu once called a ‘power of constructing social reality’”. This strong concept of symbolic power is an important theme in Bourdieu’s work, and I believe it is also important in this study because it provides the lens from which to start to investigate privileged schooling context.

Bourdieu (1992) argues that education is the main area in which the ideology of equality is most prominently expressed. Bourdieu (1992) argues that the school system camouflages the thousands of ways in which school reproduces the class differences. For Bourdieu, the differential achievements which usually favour the elite in education are socially recognized when dominant groups take charge and marginalize the less dominant groups. For the sake of the study, the dominance of English in elite schools further trivializes African languages in these social learning contexts. A study that seeks to understand how learners in independent schools respond to the teaching of isiZulu is invariably caught up in issues of power. This is because of the eclectic mix of the various social identification markers caught up in the constructs under study: the study for instance is both connected to class and race. Independent schools remain mostly middle class spaces, occupied by learners of various racial backgrounds, unlike for instance in township schools. This study therefore is also about issues of power in relation to language. Such a study can therefore not escape Bourdieu’s theorization of power and language.

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have presented the various language policies in South Africa and their implications in South African schools. I have also discussed the studies on how learners generally respond to being taught languages that are often perceived as inferior by presenting an international as well as a local perspective. Bourdieu’s theoretical framework on language and power was discussed as the lens from which to understand the relationship between language and power in society. In the next chapter, I discuss the methods of data gathering that I have employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a brief overview of literature from both the global and the local perspective on learners' responses towards being taught languages which are often perceived inferior in privileged context. This chapter presents the different techniques and methods that were used while gathering data in this study. This chapter is divided into three sections, the first section will explore the philosophical underpinnings of the study, and this will include a discussion on the qualitative nature research paradigm and the ontological underpinnings. The second section will focus on the data generation process which followed different methods to generate data and these were: observations, semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews. The advantages and disadvantages of these methods mentioned in this chapter will be analyzed and discussed. The third section will focus on reflexivity as well as how data will be analyzed. The analytical framework used in this study along with ethical consideration related issues will also be discussed.

3.1 THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH PROBLEM

The relationship between language and power is a complex phenomenon. This is because according to Bourdieu (1992) there is a strong relationship between language and power in privileged social contexts. Bourdieu (1992) argues that language is used as a power symbol to promote and advance the dominance of the elite societies while marginalizing others. The marginalization can take place in many forms but for this paper, the focus is on how the dominating languages are used to marginalize the languages which are perceived as inferior to dominating languages. The specific research problem to be explored is focused on understanding Grade 10 learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. IsiZulu is one of the main African languages in South Africa, understanding learners' responses that are taught such a language in a privileged schooling context is of vital importance to this study. Using observations, semi-structure interviews and focus groups interviews, this chapter has gathered data that gives insight to Grade 10 learners' responses to the teaching of isiZulu in a privileged social context where English is prioritized while other languages are trivialized. In chapter 2 a critical look was taken to investigate the factors that influence the learners' responses to languages that are often perceived as inferior in privileged contexts. This chapter addresses the specific problem being

researched in this study which is titled: **An exploration of Grade 10 learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban.** The aims of the research (see Chapter 1), are namely:

- To understand how Grade 10 learners' respond to the teaching of isiZulu teachers as a First Additional Language in an independent schools.
- To understand what informs the Grade 10 learners' responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?
- To explore the lessons that can be glean from Grade 10 learners' about the integration of indigenous language in an independent schools 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system.

To answer the research questions, and to reach the aims, first I present the philosophical underpinnings and the context of the study, then a qualitative research design which has been selected will be explained next.

3.2 PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND CONTEXT

According to Durrheim (2006:34) “the research design of a study can be better understood as a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between the research questions and the execution or implementation of the research”. Durrheim (1999:29) further postulates that the importance of a research design is ,first ,to describe how a study should be conducted, then what critical aspects the study ought to focus on; this can include when, also from whom and under what conditions the data were gathered and collected, and how the data were analyzed and interpreted. Following Durkheim’s (1999) approach, this study describes the main focus as being the exploration of the Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent school. This study also describes how data was collected from the Grade 10 learners who were enrolled for isiZulu as a First Additional Language using observations; semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews. A qualitative research design was considered appropriate in the light of the research problem.

McMillan and Schumacher (2006: 315) define qualitative research “as inquiry in which researchers collect data in face-to- face situations by interacting with selected persons in their settings”. McMillan and Schumacher’s view is further observed by Maykut and Morehouse (1994:83) who highlight the differences between the qualitative and quantitative approach in

research. Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 83) argue “that qualitative research places more emphasis on understanding through looking closely at peoples’ words, actions and records, while quantitative approach looks past these words, actions and records to their mathematical significance”. The quantitative approach would have not been appropriate for this study because the nature of quantitative studies which focuses on statistical analysis. This study was more about wanting to focus closely on the participants’ words and actions. Maykut and Morehouse (1994:83) further argue “that the major difference between qualitative and quantitative research is not so much about counting words or behaviors, but rather the difference can be found in “meaning given to words, behaviors or documents as interpreted through statistical analysis as opposed to patterns of meaning drawn from data and presented in the participant’s own words”

According to Creswell (2003:14), “qualitative researchers deal with socially constructed realities and qualities that are complex and indivisible into discrete variables”. Furthermore, Merriam (2002:29) views the task of qualitative research as the one of attempting to “describe, to understand and to interpret how various participants in a social setting construct the world around them”. Accordingly, I have based this study on a qualitative design because it employs an inductive strategy which Creswell (2003) describes as being not based on predetermined or preconceived ideas but rather based on perspectives that emerge from the data itself. Qualitative research aims at the development of perspectives and understanding, for the purpose of this study, the aim is to explore the responses of Grade 10 learners’ towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent schools.

Babbie (2004) argues that qualitative studies are designed in such a way that they are able to offer an opportunity to better understand and describe the ways in which different individuals make sense of their lives. The participants in this study allowed me to have a better sense of who they are as Grade 10 learners in a privileged schooling context. In this study it became important to engage participants in reflective practice by asking questions that not only gave information to me as researcher but also stimulate the participants to reflect on why they engage in a particular activity’. During the focus groups interviews, participants reflected on how they had previously answered the questions and felt that having a discussion as a group offered them a clear perspective on how they perceive the teaching of isiZulu. Other scholars like Burns (2000:589) further argue that “one method is not necessarily better than the other, but the choice of which method is used should be based on an informed understanding and suitability of that method for a particular study”. The qualitative approach was selected

because of its strength in providing rich and detailed information. The detailed and effort involved in this approach allowed me to gain insight into particular events as well as a range of perspectives that might not have come to light without the scrutiny from this approach. Though I deemed this approach to be useful for this study, I am aware that it does not allow for generalization because of the small number of cases used that do not apply to the whole population. I therefore still deem this approach useful for this study. The case study is suited for this approach. The research methodology will be discussed later, giving reasons for choosing it over other methods.

3.2.1 PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS: EPISTEMOLOGY AND ONTOLOGY

According to Blance and Durrheim (1999), the research process has three dimensions which are: the ontology, the epistemology and the methodology. Blance and Durrheim (1999:44) further argue that “a research paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practices and thinking that define the nature of the enquiry along these three dimensions”. These dimensions therefore become critical in this study. Hudson and Ozanne (1988) view ontology as the nature of reality while epistemology on the other hand is viewed as the relationship between the researcher and the reality or how this reality can be known. Wand and Weber (1993:20) further argue that ontological and epistemological aspects concern the worldview that come to influence participants’ aspects of reality. This study therefore brings together the researcher to the realities as experienced by the Grade 10 learners’ who are taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent school in Durban.

Gephart (1999) classified research paradigms into three philosophical distinct categories: positivism, interpretivism and critical postmodernism. The paradigm informing this study is interpretivism. For this study, I consider the interpretivism paradigm as being most useful. The choice not to select the positivism paradigm lays in that, according to Carson (2001) the positivism paradigm remains detached from the participants. In this study the relationship between me and the participants was critical hence the positivism approach wouldn’t have been an appropriate approach. The positivism paradigm is centered on the notion that there is a created distance between the researcher and the participants. This goes against the aims of the researcher which are focused on human interaction with the participants. This approach would compromise the study because it shies away from the human interaction aspects which the interpretivism offers. Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) define interpretivism as a research philosophy with its own ontological and epistemological assumptions. In order to understand

participants, the interpretivism paradigm focuses on the realities of the participants. This study used multiple methods to access the different realities of the participants.

While the interpretivism approach is supported by many, Reeves and Hedberg (2003:32) add that the “interpretivist paradigm stresses the need to put analysis in context”. The analysis of the data proved to be a challenging task for me because I realized that the subjective nature of the interpretivism approach requires careful analysis and interpretation. The interpretive paradigm is concerned more with the need to understand the world from the subjective experiences of those individuals. They use meaning (versus measurement) oriented methodologies, such as interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. Kaplan and Maxwell (1994:23) echoes that “interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables, but focuses on the full complexity of human sense making as the situation emerges.

An interpretive researcher enters the field of research with some sort of prior insight about the research topic. During the data collection stages the interaction between the researcher and the participants create an interdependent and mutually interactive space which allowed for researcher and the participants to construct a collaborative account of perceived reality. I remained open to new ideas throughout the study and allowed for those ideas to develop with the help of the participants. The goal of interpretivist research therefore, is to understand and interpret human behavior rather than to generalize and predict causes and effects. It is therefore for the above discussed reasons that the interpretivism paradigm was considered for this study.

3.3 LOCATION OF THE STUDY

The study was carried out at Diamond College an independent co-educational school in a suburb of Glenwood in Durban Kwazulu Natal. For the purpose of this study, Diamond College is used as a pseudonym to protect the identity of the school. Diamond College was first to be known as the Convent High School. The Diamond College was the first Catholic Independent School to be established in Durban. In the mist of the apartheid regime, the Diamond College was one of the first schools in Durban to allow learners of different ethnic groups. Today the College reflects the demographics and population structure of the city of Durban and South Africa. Diamond College is a vibrant, co-educational Catholic School for learners from Pre-Primary through to Grade 12. At Diamond College, English is the medium

of instruction. In high school, English is taught as Home Language while Afrikaans and isiZulu are taught as First Additional Languages. Learners are required to make a selection between Afrikaans and isiZulu. African learners' make up 85% of the population of the learners while the other 15% constitutes of the Coloured, Indian and White learners'.

The selected population is the Grade 10 learners who have selected isiZulu and is taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language. There are two Grade 10 classrooms at Diamond Family College consisting of 47 learners in total. Afrikaans and isiZulu are both taught as First Additional Languages. There are 16 isiZulu learners in Miss Madlala classroom and 21 isiZulu learners in another classroom with Miss Molefe. The remaining 10 non-African learners can be found in the Afrikaans classroom. The process involved in how participants were selected will be discussed in the next section.

3.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA GENERATION

3.4.1 Research Design: Case Study

Gillham (2000) argues that a case study is founded on the basic philosophical assumption that human behavior, thoughts and feelings are partly determined by their context and that how people behave, feel and think can only be understood if one gets to know their world and what they are trying to do in it. Yin (1994:13) describes a case study as an empirical enquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". It can also be said that case studies also take into consideration other contextual conditions such as the classroom and the culture of the school.

This study considers the classroom, as well as the school culture to play an important role in the everyday lives of the participants. Yin (2009) further argues that all social aspects may be highly significant to the phenomenon under study. Yin (2009) identifies three main types of case studies. According to Yin (2009), the three main types of cases are: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. The study under investigation was predominantly a descriptive and explanatory case study in that it aims to describe the context and then answer the questions of 'how' do the learners' in grade 10 in an independent school responds to being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language and what informs their responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language.

3.4.1.1 Why a Case Study Design?

Yin (2009) views case studies as a important because of their ability to rely on multiple sources of evidence such as: interviews, observations and physical artifacts etc. Yin's (2009) further argues that all of these sources are available in the school environment and they also help in the construction of the classroom culture. These multiple sources should therefore be considered when conducting a study. Furthermore, Yin (1994) argues that case studies are most suitable when the researcher desires to understand complex social phenomena such as classroom interaction within a real life. I this study I discovered using a case study design allowed me to use various sources to conduct a deeper and more substantial study of the participants' behavior. Morrison (2007) of the view that case studies should be deemed appropriate for qualitative research because case studies allows for one aspect of the problem to be studied in some depth within a limited time scale. This view is supported by Yin (2009) who also views case studies as useful tools when trying to understand social phenomenon within a limited time scale. Furthermore, Rule and John (2011:5), define a case study as a 'systematic and in-depth investigation of a particular instance in order to generate knowledge'. Knowledge in this study was gained from investigating the learning context of the grade 10 learners'. Furthermore, Rule and John (2011) argue that case studies are said also be a process that involves the identifying of the case, of generating information about the case and its context, of gaining access to the people, and documents, of analysing the data, writing it and presenting it.

I therefore deemed a case study design as appropriate for the study because this study is an in- depth investigation of real situation with real people in an environment that is often not familiar with the researcher.

3.4.1.2 Strengths and limitations of Case Studies

Yin (1994) believes that one of the major strengths of a case study is that, case studies usually investigate contemporary phenomenon in human society. For Yin (1994) this strength of case studies offers an opportunity to researcher to study a rare phenomenon. This according to Yin (1994) is what makes a case study a rare phenomenon. In the case of my study, I explored a phenomenon which has not been explored before in a particular school in Durban. Rule and John (2011) view case studies as useful because they offer a rich and in-depth study of a phenomenon. Moreover according to Darke, Shanks and Broadbent (1998) case studies are flexible because the researcher can select a topic and decide the boundaries of the topic

depending on the extent of the research topic. Case studies are also useful because of their ability to make use of various methods for generating data.

Moreover, the feasibility of case study research also involves some technical issues. Yin (1994) points out that one of the major limitations of using case study research concerns the amount of data. Yin (1994) argues that researchers should make sure that the data gathered is desirable and can be analyzed accordingly. Too little data may not contain enough evidence and too much data may delay the research process. The results from case studies cannot be generalized and there are no comparative dimensions within the study; this limitation poses a threat to many research studies. Case studies are often prone to bias when gathering data, for example, when participants are observed, they may act differently because they are aware that they are being observed. Finally, the bias of the researcher might also hinder and compromise the study.

3.5 SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Durrheim and Painter (2006:133) define a sample as ‘a population pool from which researchers draw sampling elements’. A sample according to Durrheim and Painter (2006) is therefore representative when allows the results of the sample to be generalized to the population. The individuals that are used as part of the study can be referred to as the ‘sample’ for the study.

Sampling is further explained by Pawar (2004) as a process that mainly focuses on the choosing of the target population which are to be included in the study”. Pawar (2004) argues that samples must be able to provide a detailed investigation as well a detailed recording. The sample in this study therefore was deemed appropriate because it contained elements that best described the characteristic of the population selected.

According to Pawar (2004) there are two approaches to sampling that can be used in social science research. The first approach for Pawar (2004) is the probability sampling. According to Pawar (2004), the probability sampling is based on the premise that the population used will to a certain degree have an opportunity of being included in the sample. The second approach is the non-probability sampling. Pawar (2004) argues that the non-probability sampling is based on the premise that the population elements are selected on the basis of their availability. The consequence according to Pawar (2004) is that the population which is unknown will be excluded. The non-probability sampling on the other hand can include:

convenience sampling, purposeful sampling and quota sampling. For the purpose of this study, the convenience sampling and the purposeful sampling were used.

3.5.1 Convenience Sampling

According to Field (2005:15) convenience sampling is “sometimes known as grab or opportunity sampling or accidental or haphazard sampling”. Field (2005) argues that this type of nonprobability sampling usually involves the sample that is being drawn from that part of the population which is accessible. This population according to Field (2005) will be readily available and convenient. For the purpose of this study, the participants were available and convenient since I personally selected the school.

However, according to Field (2005) the limitation of using such a sample is that it will be difficult for the researcher to scientifically make any generalizations about the total population. Field (2005) argues that this will be difficult because the sample would not be representative enough.

3.5.2 Purposeful Sampling

In purposeful sampling Field (2005) argues that the researcher selects the sample based on the idea who they think would be an appropriate participant for the study. Singleton (in Strydom, 2005:202) further states that “this type of a sample is based on the judgment of the researcher”. Firstly, one independent school was purposefully selected because of its privileged social background and uniqueness. Secondly, Grade 10 learners who are taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language were also purposefully selected. This group represents the voices of African learners’ who are taught a language perceived inferior in privileged schooling context. This approach used in purposeful sampling is useful because it increases understanding about the social phenomenon being studied.

3.5.3 Participants

McMillan and Schumacher (2006:315) view “participants, as the individuals who participate in the study and from whom data are collected”. The sample was drawn from an independent school which consisted of learners from different social backgrounds. A small sample of 10 Grade 10 learners was selected. Data was gathered by means of observations, semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews. Before the data was gathered, letters were sent to parents; learners, the principal and the school board (see Appendices A, B, C and D). This

was done in order to obtain consent from parents because the participants were minors and to obtain consent from the principal to enter the research site.

3.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The tools that were used in the collection of data included: classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews. The researcher believes that using different methods can be fruitful rather than placing all hope on a single method of data generation. This view is supported by Rudwick (2004), who claims that data analysis allows the researcher to correctly validate their findings in a more fruitful way if different methods were used in the collection of data. Observations, semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews were used in order to ensure triangulation of data-gathering. Shenton (2004) describes triangulation as "the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques". Shenton (2004) further argues that data collected from various different techniques when viewed is more likely to produce more rigor and trustworthiness findings than data from only one source. These methods are described fully in this chapter.

3.6.1 OBSERVATIONS

According to Jorgensen (1989) using observations is a qualitative method which is aimed at learning more about the perspectives held by the study populations. Participant observation usually takes place in community settings; these are usually locations that will have some form of relevance to the research at hand. The method of observing participants is quite distinctive because it allows for the participants to be observed in their natural setting, thus making the results more reliable. The researcher engaged in participant observation has an opportunity to learn what life is like for an "insider" while remaining, inevitably, an "outsider." Researchers also learn that while in these community settings, it becomes crucial to make careful, objective notes about what they see, recording all accounts.

The researcher also need to be cognizant of the idea that even informal conversation and interaction with participants of the study population are also important components and should be recorded in the field notes, in as much detail as possible. This study started off by observing the participants in their natural setting. I was interested in observing people's behaviours as they naturally occur in terms that appear to be meaningful to the people involved.

Advantages of using observations

According to Jorgensen (1989) the first advantage of using observations is that, observations are good for gaining an understanding of all the aspects whether be it physical, social, cultural and economic context in which the study participants live. A second advantage of using observations is that, observations tend to address events in real time. This gives the researcher an opportunity to observe live events as they naturally occur. A third advantage of using observations is that, observations enable researchers to develop familiarity with the environment that they are observing thus allowing the researcher insight into contexts, relationships and behaviours.

Disadvantages of using observations

The first disadvantage of using observations is that while the researcher is absorbed in observing the participants, documenting the data may be a challenge. Jorgensen (1989) further argues it is hard to write down everything that is important while you are in the act of participating and observing. Its therefore becomes an important task for the researcher to understand the difference between reporting and describing what you observe (more objective) versus interpreting what you see (less objective).

3.6.2 INTERVIEWS

McMillan and Schumacher (2006:278) define interviews as open response questions to elicit participants' meanings and how they make sense of important events in their lives. Interviews are often used in case studies because they allow for a conversation between the researcher and the participants. According to Rule and John (2011), interviews are structured conversations where the researcher has in mind a set of questions that she/he would like to be answered by the participants. This study used semi-structured interviews because that allowed the participants the opportunity to talk freely about their experiences.

De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005: 28) believe that interviewing is the most predominant mode of data generating in qualitative research. De Vos et al. (2005: 287), define qualitative interviews as “attempts to understand the world from the participants' experiences, (and) to unfold the meaning of people's scientific explanation”. De Vos et al., (2005) further argues that qualitative interviews can either be structured, unstructured or semi- structured. Structured interviews are based on a strict procedure and are highly structured. Pawar (2004) also adds that in structured interviews, there is a strict adherence to

the questions and instructions. In this research, semi-structured interviews were considered to be the most effective mode of data collection and also relevant for the research. The interview questions used in this study consisted of open-ended questions. Pawar (2004) notes that one of the distinguishing criteria for qualitative interviews are that they use open-ended questions. Unlike closed-ended questions, open-ended questions give no possible responses. There were a total of 20 interview questions. All these interviews were tape-recorded for later analysis.

Conducting of interviews

Prior to the learners being interviewed, the purpose of the interview was outlined. The learners were informed that they were being interviewed for research purposes. They were also informed that tape-recording the interviews was an advantage because it would not be possible to write down everything that was said. It was necessary to state the intentions so that learners could be made to feel at ease. Some of the interviewing strategies as suggested by Woods (2000:4-5) were used such as starting off gently, not asking intimate and intimidating questions and most importantly, being pleasant. Thereafter I listened to the audio cassettes and transcribed the data, beginning with a rough handwritten transcription. The data was then typed and the researcher returned to the tapes to fill in missing or unclear responses.

Semi-structured interviews

De Vos et al., (2005: 292) defines “semi-structured interviews as those interviews that are organized around areas of particular interest, while allowing the researcher some room of considerable flexibility in scope and depth”. With semi-structured interviews, I had a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule (see Appendices G). Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 83) define an interview schedule as an interview format that consists of a detailed set of questions and probes. In this study an interview schedule was used as a guide for asking questions while probing further to elicit more information.

Advantages of using interviews

According to De Vos et al. (2005), the primary advantage of using interviews is that they provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data generation methods. De Vos et al. (2005) further argue that interviews can be an excellent source for stories and context, while interviewing the learners. In this study, I realized how useful interviews were as they allowed participants to share their experiences of being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language. De Vos et al. (2005) also argue that interviews also may

provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to generate data. De Vos et al. (2005) further argues that people may feel more comfortable having a one on one conversation rather than the impersonal encounters found when using surveys.

Another main advantage of using interviews as argued by De Vos et al. (2005) is that, the researcher is present with the participants. Being present serves a good advantage because the interviewer can observe the non-verbal behaviors of an interviewee. I used the opportunity to also observe non-verbal cues as a way of trying to have a better understanding of the participants. Non-verbal cues also allowed the researcher to clarify questions and probe further to elicit information. Probing can serve as a vital strategy for obtaining further information which is usually impossible when using other methods such as questionnaires and surveys. Though interviews are a good source for data generation, they do however have few limitations and pitfalls, each of which is described below.

Disadvantages of using interviews

There are a number of limitations when using interviews. Interviews are prone to bias. According to De Vos et al., (2005:292) researchers should ensure that “every effort should be made to design a data generation effort, to create instruments, and to conduct interviews to allow for minimal bias”. De Vos et al. (2005) further argues interviews can be time consuming because of the amount of time it takes to conduct interviews, transcribe them, and analyze the results.

Interviews results cannot be generalized because a sample is often used. In the case of this study, only 10 grade 10 learners participated in the study. The power relations between the researcher and the participants also became a weakness because of the influence power relations have on the interview process. They can also be expensive. Even though I was able to conduct the interviews at one school, it took time because I had to interview the learners at time most convenient to them.

As an inexperienced researcher, I am learning and I am aware that this could affect the quality of my data. This interviewing process made me aware of the areas in my research skills that needed improvement in my interviewing skills such as understanding the culture of participants, listening and writing and taking notes regularly. I also realized that when I listened to the tapes there were questions where I could have probed further.

3.6.3 FOCUS GROUPS INTERVIEWS

Morgan (1996:130) defines focus groups as “a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher”. Focus groups interviews were used in this study to collect data through group interaction where the group discussed their responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. The focus group interviews allowed the researcher to have a better understanding of the participants’ feelings and thoughts about being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language. Focus group interview also create a process of sharing and comparing among the participants, and according to De Vos et al. (2005:299) focus groups interviews are powerful means of exposing reality and investigating complex behavior and motivation. Morgan (1996) suggest that the interaction among participants often consists of their efforts to understand each other, as they convey a willingness to listen without being defensive, which is uniquely beneficial in emotionally charged environment.

The focus group interview allowed for an open conversation between the interviewer and the interviewees, with the opportunity to clarify questions and answers in order to ensure accurate responses. Each participant was able to comment, ask questions and respond to comments by others. In this study, the focus groups interviews consisted of five grade 10 learners’ enrolled for isiZulu First Additional Language. The group discussion was conducted for an hour.

Advantages of using Focus Groups Interviews

According to Kitzinger (1995) focus groups interviews have an advantage of providing participants with an opportunity to engage in a group discuss. Focus groups can encourage participation from those who are reluctant to be interviewed on their own. Unlike using questionnaires where participants must be able to read and write, focus groups do not discriminate against those who cannot read or write.

Kitzinger (1995) further argues that focus groups advantage is that they provide insight into sources of complex behaviours and motivations. For Kitzinger (1995) another main advantage of focus groups interviews is its ability to enable the researcher to identify quickly the full range of perspectives held by the participants. Focus groups interviews also give participants an opportunity to clarify or expand upon their contributions to the discussion as other participants raise other points that may trigger their interest. This, according to

Kitzinger, is important because it expands on contributions made by each participant that might be left underdeveloped in an in-depth interview.

Disadvantages of using Focus Groups Interviews

As a researcher, when I embarked on this study, I was aware of this shortfall, hence the questions were not personal or sensitive in nature. Focus groups interviews are not effective when dealing with sensitive topics. It can sometimes be difficult for participants to be involved in a process of sharing their real feelings towards some sensitive topics publicly. This can in turn influence the output data.

Another disadvantage of focus groups interviews is that, focus groups draw upon spontaneous rather than carefully considered responses. This in turn may influence the results of the study. A focus groups interview can also tend to become influenced by one or two dominant people in the group discussion. This can influence the results to be very biased.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

3.7.1 Ethical Considerations

Strydom (2005:57) suggests that “ethics are a moral fabric to conducting a study”. Strydom (2005:29) views ethics as a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently widely accepted, which offers rules and behavioral expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students. By outlining ethical standards to follow, the privacy and anonymity of the participants can be protected.

All participants who took part in this study were adequately informed about the nature of this study such as: how and why the study would be done, when the study would be done and how it would be conducted and importantly that no one was forced to take part in this study. Privacy and anonymity was ensured while conducting the study. As a researcher I had to assure the participants of their privacy and that the information they give will not be disclosed in any form that will violate their privacy. Before undertaking any research, the following ethical concerns have to be taken into consideration by the researcher, namely: ***Permission to conduct the study:*** Permission to conduct this research was obtained from the Principal (see Appendix C), and from the School Board (see Appendix D). An Ethics

Clearance certificate was granted by the Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu Natal in August (see Appendix I).

Informed consent: Participation in this research was purely voluntary, and based on informed consent. A consent letter was signed by all the parents (see Appendix B) and the learners who participated in the study (see Appendix A).

Confidentiality: Confidentiality implies the handling of information in a confidential manner (Strydom, 2005:61). The participants were guaranteed confidentiality. The research instrument used did not require the participants to disclose any information by which they could be identified, and was completed in private. The anonymity of the participants was assured; the researcher was not able to identify them by means of any of the information provided.

3.7.2 Trustworthiness, Fairness and Authenticity

Qualitative researchers aim to ensure rigour and trustworthiness. According to Shenton (2004), there are key components of trustworthiness. These are credibility, conformability and dependability. Shenton (2004) further argues that in order to ensure credibility, researchers' should always be on the guard that they are actually recording the phenomenon under scrutiny. To do this accordingly, Shenton (2004) suggests that researchers must adopt appropriate and well recognized research methods. In this study I adopted different research methods such as classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and focus groups interviews. Using different methods allowed me to get to know the culture of the participants. This was during the classroom observations where I was part of the classroom. Observing the participants allowed me an opportunity to select those I wanted to interview because of how they were responding during the isiZulu lesson.

This triangulation process ensured credibility. Yin (2009) argues that by using different methods in data generation, the limitations of each method can be compensated. Tactics to help ensure honesty were used in this study. I encouraged participants to be open and honest in their responses because of the fundamental implications openness and honesty have for the results of the study. To further ensure credibility, I consulted and had debriefing sessions with the supervisor on regular basis.

In order to strengthen credibility and trustworthiness, I also made use of “member checking”. This is a process whereby participants will be offered an opportunity to check if their views have been represented fairly in the findings and interpretations” (Creswell, 2007, p.208). The transcripts from all the interviews as well as the findings were taken back to the participants for their perusal in order to evaluate the accuracy and credibility. In order to protect the interests of the participants, an opportunity was given to the participants to withdraw information as well as change any of their responses if they wished to do so.

Shenton (2004) argues that in order to enhance dependability in qualitative research, the processes within the study should be reported in detail. This according to Shenton (2004) enables future researchers to repeat the work and gain more or less same results. To ensure dependability the study has reported in detail the description of the research process and there is also an in-depth methodological description that will allow study to be repeated.

The process of conformability is concerned with whether the findings reflect the experiences and ideas of the participants (Shenton, 2004). Triangulation was used to reduce effect of investigator bias. As the researcher I was cognizant of my beliefs and assumptions and I tried my best to ensure that these did not impact on the study. Rigor was ensured in the following: by the careful transcription of the data, the checking of themes in order to ensure that they were coherent and consistent.

3.7.3 Data Analysis Strategy

I conducted focus groups over two days for an hour each day. I did this so that I could give each participant extra time to be involved in the discussions. After obtaining the relevant data from the focus groups, I arranged to meet each participant individually. I then conducted the individual interviews where I asked questions using semi-structured questions during the critical conversations to answer the three main research questions. After gathering the data and transcribing it, I went back for a final interview so that participants could check if the information provided was accurate. Participants were allowed to change or expand on the discussion during the interviews. Thereafter, using thematic analysis, I analyzed the data gathered. I did this by reading the transcriptions several times highlighting and using in-text comments to sieve out the issues and experiences which occurred frequently and were common among participants. I then grouped these experiences into various themes. These

themes were then used to answer the three critical research questions of the study and were critical in forming the next chapter.

A thematic content analysis was used to analysis the data. Burns (2000: 589) defines content analysis as “the systematic quantification of certain characteristics the investigator may be interested in, in terms of frequency of occurrence within a selected context”. Pawar (2004) “sees content analysis as a documentary method that aims at a qualitative and/or quantitative analysis of the content of the text, pictures, films and other forms of verbal, visual or written communication”. In this study, content of text from transcripts of interviews, and non-verbal communication were analysed. The responses of the learners were analysed as I was looking for emerging patterns. The responses to the questions gave rise to the discussion of key findings. The key findings have been effectively used to draw conclusions. Chapter 4 and 5 will be dedicated in describing and analyzing the interview data derived from the learners during face-to face interviews.

3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was limited to only one independent school. This included 10 grade learners’ in the province of KwaZulu Natal. As no other provinces were included, the results cannot be generalised outside of just one school. However, the results may be applicable to many other similar schools in other provinces.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the various methods used in the research design and methods of data collection. It provided a detailed description of how observations, interviews and focus groups interviews, as a research instrument, were compiled, distributed and collected. The researcher also explained the way in which the data would be analyzed. In the next chapter the results will be provided. The results will also be interpreted and discussed in the light of the literature review.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the analysis of data is presented. I describe, classify and interpret the data generated during field work. According to Cohen et al (2007:461) the data analysis can be described as a process of “making sense of data in terms of the participants’ definition of the situation”. The data presented in this chapter was generated from Grade 10 learners, who are taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language at a private school in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal). The data is drawn from classroom observations, focus groups interviews and semi-structure interviews.

As indicated in Chapter 3, Cohen (2007) explains that qualitative researchers analyze data by organizing it into categories on the bases of themes. In this chapter I present the themes which were drawn from patterns that emerged from raw data, which was categorized into themes. Using the mentioned research instruments, the responses from the learners who take part in this study are presented and some references to the relevant literature is made in order to support the points being put forward in this section. In order to respect the confidentiality of the participants, the participants were given pseudonyms.

The following themes emerged during the process of data analysis: the intersectionality of language and culture: isiZulu and cultural capital, isiZulu and its links to learners’ African identity, the relationship between isiZulu and masculinity, the relationship between social status and language, the dominance of English and the value of isiZulu in the post-apartheid state. These themes emanate in response to the three critical research questions in the study, which are:

- a. How do Grade 10 learners’ respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school?
- b. What informs the Grade 10 learners’ responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?
- c. What lessons that can be gleaned from Grade 10 learners’ responses about the integration of indigenous languages in independent schooling contexts in South Africa, 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system?

4.1 THE DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

The study involved ten Grade 10 learners' from an independent school in Durban. There were six male participants and four female participants that were part of the classroom observations, the focus group discussion and the individual interviews for this study. The participants were selected based on the criteria that they were: Grade 10 learners' who have selected to be taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language. I selected Grade 10 because these learners would have had an experience of being taught isiZulu since grade 8 and I also selected these participants because of their availability for the classroom observations, focus groups and individual interviews for this study. The classroom observations took place over two sessions which were one hours each. The focus groups were conducted over two days for one hour each and the individual interviews were conducted on the availability of each participant for one hour per each participant.

The classroom observations were the first to take place; conducting classroom observation gave me an opportunity to develop rapport among participants and also observe the learners' actions and responses during the lesson. This helped in making the participants feel at ease and comfortable in expressing themselves. Thereafter, I conducted the focus group discussions and then the individual interviews.

4.2 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

The intersectionality of language and culture: isiZulu and cultural capital

The participants in this study indicated that their experiences of being taught isiZulu as First Additional Language (FAL) have been positive and sometimes their experiences have also been challenging. One of the main things that came through was with regards to the ways in which the participants perceived their studying isiZulu as an extension of claiming their cultural roots. The participants highlighted that learning isiZulu meant that they could know their Zulu roots, and also remain connected to their African identities, while studying in a predominantly English context. During the focus group discussion Bafana pointed out that:

“Uqinisile u Bongani mam.....isiZulu simunandi la, sikwazi ngisho ukufunda ukusho izithakazelo zethu. Njengama Zulu kumele singakhohlwa ukuthi sivelaphi...” (Bongani is correct mam /isiZulu is enjoyable here, we even learn to say our clan songs/names. As Zulus we do not forget about our roots...”

Bafana indicated that his experience of being taught isiZulu has been positive because it has given him an opportunity to learn and acquire more knowledge about his roots as a Zulu man. During further discussions Bafana revealed that he felt that being taught isiZulu offered him an opportunity that he would have not had if he selected other languages as these would not really connect him to his roots. Bafana also said that he found isiZulu to be valuable; this therefore indicates how he views being taught isiZulu as something that adds value to him. Bafana's experience of being taught isiZulu shows that he sees a strong intersectionality between his language and his culture. Skhumbuzo also shared the same sentiments as Bafana. Skhumbuzo noted that:

“Mina ngiya enjoya ukufunda isiZulu ngoba at least sifunda amasiko ethu mam...” (I enjoy being taught isiZulu because we are at least taught about our culture...”

Skhumbuzo takes this notion of roots further by adding that for him his experience of being taught isiZulu has allowed him to get in touch with his culture. This concept of culture was powerful, especially with the male participants who felt that being taught isiZulu was connected to their masculinity, I will discuss this point later on when I address the link between isiZulu and learners masculinity. Though the learners reported having positive experiences of being taught isiZulu for cultural learning, they also indicated that they have also experienced some challenges, particularly the fact that it was not offered as a home language. During the focus group discussion Nolwazi pointed out that:

“I found my experiences of being taught isiZulu a challenge mam/as a black person I think I should be taught my own language as HL, if I had Zulu as HL I would feel more Zulu proud...” *Researcher: Proud? Are you saying that you are not proud now? Can you explain further?* *“Mam.....it's like as FAL it's not real Zulu. It's different from what other black learners do at townships and rural areas...”*

Nolwazi highlighted that she felt concerned that she could not be proud of being taught isiZulu as a FAL. According to Nolwazi, there is a difference between the isiZulu taught at independent schools and the isiZulu taught at townships and rural areas. She was concerned that the isiZulu that is being taught to her is not real isiZulu, and therefore by extension not offering her all the cultural learning she ought to have received. Nolwazi felt, as an African; whose mother tongue is isiZulu; that she should be taught isiZulu as Home Language just like how those whose mother tongue is English are also taught English as Home Language. Further discussions revealed that Nolwazi felt that by not being taught isiZulu as Home

Language, this made her counterparts at the townships tease her about not being taught “real isiZulu” as she puts it. Nolwazi pointed out that because of the schooling context where she is from, she is often teased about her isiZulu and is at times labeled a coconut. Nolwazi’s concerns are not that far-fetched because recent studies have revealed labeling in the township is quite common.

In a study conducted by McKinney (2007:17-18), it was found that learners who go to desegregated schools are often subjects to labels like “coconut/ oreos”. The term “coconut/oreos” is used to refer to those who speak isiZulu in a way that is not in line with the traditional and ‘strong’ Zulu spoken at townships or rural areas. Individuals who are labelled as coconuts or oreos are often seen as black people ‘who [are] white side’, and who ‘[act] and behave [like] white’ (McKinney, 2007: 17-18; Rudwick, 2004: 102). Nolwazi’s concern therefore requires further exploration in order to understand why perhaps she may feel that the kind of isiZulu taught at independent schools makes her be subjected to such labelling and marginalization by her peers from townships. McKinney (2007) further claims that the individuals from desegregated schools are usually seen as being able to speak immaculate English which is often without any trace of an African accent. This according to McKinney (2007) is not desirable for isiZulu speakers in township environment because it might lead to these learners being labelled and also called names such as ‘coconuts’ or ‘oreos’.

McKinney (2007) also states that other several studies such as those conducted by Rudwick (2004) have also made similar reports about the labelling that goes on in South African townships. McKinney (2007) attributes that the labelling that takes place among the learners is a new form of linguistic capital that is linked to African languages. A major argument from McKinney (2007) is that the learners’ use of the term ‘coconut’ to show that they are not pleased by those learners that are perceived not to be valuing their African languages. This according to McKinney (2007) may result in the exclusion of those learners being from social networks (such exclusion as pointed out by Nolwazi) of those who are perceived or labelled as coconuts, as is the case with the Umlazi isiZulu speakers in Rudwick’s (2004) study. Perhaps by looking at McKinney (2007) and Rudwick (2004) studies, this provides a deeper insight into understanding Nolwazi’s experiences of being taught isiZulu and the challenges she encounters through labelling and name calling.

While some participants cited the issue of labelling as a challenge, others found the isiZulu to be quite difficult. For an instant during the individual interviews Nonhlanhla also noted that her experiences of being taught isiZulu have been challenging. She pointed out that:

“Kumnandi ukwenza isiZulu kodwa amanye amagama alukhuni kakhulu. Ngiyathemba ngengoba sonke sihleli la singasho ukuthi siyasithinda...” (I enjoy doing isiZulu very much but some words in isiZulu are very hard. I am hopeful that as we all sit here we share the same sentiments about isiZulu)...”

The issue of isiZulu being a difficult subject has been highlighted in other studies such as those conducted by Ndlangamandla (2010). Ndlangamandla (2010) conducted a study at different desegregated High Schools in Johannesburg. He found that there were generally negative attitudes towards African languages especially from the principals and parents. Ndlangamandla (2010) points that one principal in the study not only revealed his negative perspective towards the teaching of isiZulu but also indicated that isiZulu was rejected the learners because it was perceived to be ‘a very difficult subject to learn’. The principal in the study also mentioned that isiZulu is rejected in his school because it is perceived as a language associated with ‘bad behavior’. Learners who do isiZulu are therefore often seen as being mischiefs hence reinforcing the negative attitudes associated with isiZulu. Given these negative attitudes, one can argue that such stereotypes about isiZulu can influence how young learners come to view isiZulu.

The above theme highlights the political and social tensions in which isiZulu teaching finds itself. On one end, a situation where isiZulu is perceived as being closely tied to one’s identity prevails. On the other end is a feeling of isiZulu as being the divider between true isiZulu speakers, who speak pure traditional isiZulu and live in rural areas, and fake speakers, those who reside in urban affluent contexts. This suggests that isiZulu speaking and teaching are becoming highly political, and often connected to class. This is a point I now explore below.

The variation between Home Language Zulu and First Language Zulu

During focus group discussion; Khanyisile shared that her experiences of being taught isiZulu have been both positive and negative. Just like Bafana, Bongani, Nolwazi and Skhumbuzo, Khanyisile also indicated that she enjoyed being taught isiZulu, however she highlighted that she feels that isiZulu at independent schools varies from that taught at contexts such as the townships and the rural areas.

“Mina personally, I don’t have a problem with Zulu but I am also aware that something is missing since we are doing isiZulu as FAL...”

Researcher: what do you think is missing?

“A lot mam...I mean people who do Zulu as HL learn more than us here. If it was HL we would be learning Zulu at an advance level...”

Khanyisile points out that she feels that her experiences of being taught isiZulu have not been at the advance level that her counterparts in townships and rural areas have experienced. Khanyisile’s argument supports what Mesthrie (2002) says about the variations between how isiZulu is spoken in the urban and rural settings. Mesthrie (2002:154) argues “there is standard isiZulu and non-standard isiZulu”. The standard isiZulu is used to refer to ‘isiZulu that is seen as being deep (esijulile’), Mesthrie (2002) argues that this standard isiZulu refers to meaning deeper and proper isiZulu and often spoken mainly in the rural settings. While on the other hand, the non-standard isiZulu is referred to as ‘isiZulu sase dolobheni’ (urban isiZulu) and is often seen as incorrect isiZulu. Khanyisile is making an argument that the kind of isiZulu that she is receiving may be perceived as a non-standard isiZulu.

This can therefore call for policy to relook at how isiZulu is taught at South African schools. The participants’ responses indicated that they are aware of these variations between what is considered standard and non-standard isiZulu. The participants responses highlighted their concerns about being taught isiZulu at the level that they feel will honor their African roots and heritage.

The status of isiZulu in society and how this impact on learners attitudes

In this study the participants indicated that the status of isiZulu in society plays a critical role in how they have come to perceive isiZulu. The majority of the participants pointed out that isiZulu is perceived as holding a lower status than the dominating languages such as English, especially in middle class multiracial schools. Makoe (2009) makes a similar observation in

her study that while English has been constructed as a legitimate language, what is then happening is that; other forms of languages are seen as being abnormal in desegregated schools. Sthembiso, a participant in the study, in keeping with similar sentiments as those in Makoe's study indicated that:

“English can give that better status socially. I mean, we learning English as Home language, this tells you of its status which I think are mostly seen as higher than isiZulu...”

Sthembiso also pointed out that, he views English as having a better social status than isiZulu. He said that he based his claim on the fact that English is perceived as a dominant language. Sthembiso's claim is consistent also with that made in McKay and Chick (2001) study which argues that English is often presented as a language associated with having a unifying force and a language playing a big role as a vehicle for economic advancement. Due to such reasons, English is perceived as being the appropriate choice in prestigious domains as in the classroom. By contrast isiZulu according to McKay and Chick (2001:40) isiZulu is represented as a divisive force and as appropriate only for non-prestigious domains. McKay and Chick's (2001) argument focuses on the perceived dominance of English which is often normalized in society while other languages are further marginalized. In this study, the majority of the participants indicated that the dominance of English is seen as normal and is usually accepted and not questioned in their school.

McKay and Chick is (2001) argument supports Bourdieu's theory on the relationship between power and language in society. Bourdieu (1977:650) points out that, “schooling is one of the most important sites for social reproduction and is thus also one of the key sites, which imposes the legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms”. Bourdieu's claim provides a lens from which to begin to analyze the role of English in society and how its perceived dominance further influence what goes on at schools. Nonhlanhla pointed out:

“Huh.....it's like with English, many doors can be open. When you go for a job interview for example, you must be able to speak English. This is how everyone perceives English.....kinda like English can get you places whereas other languages [in this case isiZulu] won't really...”

Nonhlanhla reveals that English is seen as a language that will open up doors for ones future while she views other languages as not having that same prestige as English.

Nonhlanhla's claim highlights an ongoing debate about languages in South Africa, i.e. while it would appear that although many South Africans are multilingual, a diglossic one language is given more value than the other languages] situation pertains, in that the African languages are used only in certain contexts, such as the home, the street, religion, sport and local culture, whereas English is used in writing, print and lower education, higher education, media, government administration and parliament. Furthermore, according to Webb (2009), Turner (2012) and Bangeni and Kapp (2007) "in terms of status, English is by far the dominant language of the country.

The majority of the participants said that they enjoyed being taught isiZulu as a FAL; however they felt that speaking isiZulu did not give them a higher social status like when they spoke English. Participants argued that isiZulu holds a lower social status and speaking it sometimes especially in a privileged schooling context made them feel that they did not belong to the rest of the school community. As Nkosingiphile pointed out:

"Mam....English allows us be part of a bigger community; with Zulu we are limited..."

Nkosingiphile's response highlighted that he wanted to belong to a bigger school community. Nkosingiphile further said that it was important for him especially when he was in the context where English dominates, to feel like he belonged and to feel accepted by the school community. He said because of the need to feel accepted, he therefore felt that at times he had to move away from speaking isiZulu. Though the participants indicated that they enjoyed being taught isiZulu, they were also cognizant of the power of English in their school. This often resulted in many male learners in the school in rebelling against English as English was seen as interference with which they were as young Zulu man. For example the participants indicated that it is against the rules to speak isiZulu outside the isiZulu classroom but they broke this rule quite often.

As Sthembiso pointed out:

"Zulu is my language, so I speak it all the time. I have to be careful though here at school that the teachers don't catch me speaking Zulu because it's not allowed since our school is an English medium school..."

Researcher: Why do you think that the school does not allow learners to speak Zulu?

I think that maybe because our school is a private English medium school. We are kind of like expected to use English within school premises and no other languages...”

Sthembiso took ownership of the Zulu language; he referred to isiZulu as “*Zulu is my language...*” The fact that the school had a rule against the speaking of isiZulu said much about the language that was privileged in this schooling context. For instance, there were even very noticeable warnings around the school informing the learners that speaking isiZulu was prohibited. While one can argue that such a strategy was geared towards preparing second language speakers to assimilate better with the context, it is clear that the hidden curriculum that was passed to the learners was that of the importance of English over isiZulu. Nkosingiphile, another participant in the study, also shared the same view as that shared by Sthembiso above. He indicated that:

“Most of the time I speak Zulu whether in the classroom or outside the classroom...”

Researcher: Why do you do that?

It’s because my friends are also Zulu, Zulu is our language. Here at school, we can get into trouble for speaking Zulu outside the Zulu classroom. But for me, Zulu is who I am and I will speak my language with pride everywhere...”

It became part of his identity; one which he takes ‘pride’ in isiZulu ends up being a point of protest against the school and also against English. Interestingly on the other hand, the female participants shared different views from the male participants. Though they enjoyed the teaching of isiZulu they were more obedient to the set rules from the school, and did not see isiZulu in the very strong identitarian ways that the boys saw it in. As Nolwazi pointed out:

“We are not allowed to speak Zulu outside the Zulu classroom, so I often obey the rules and only speak isiZulu in class.

Researcher: How about outside the classroom?

“Me and my friends we usually speak English’ honestly you find that, there is no time for Zulu here at school”.

Nolwazi indicated that she often obeys the rules because she does not want to get into trouble. Her response is quite different from that of the boys in the study who disobey the

rules. This whole issue of rules and confining isiZulu into the classroom raises an interesting discussion about the language issue in South African schools. In a study conducted by McKay and Chick (2001), it was revealed that a teacher from one of the desegregated schools said that the use of isiZulu was perceived as a symbol of being a rebel. This study confirms the findings from McKay and Chick (2001).

What I found to be also interesting was that, the male participants and the female participants shared different perspectives when it came to how they viewed being taught isiZulu at an independent school. As noted above, the male participants seemed to enjoy being taught isiZulu more than the female participants did. I will later engage further with the reasons behind these differing views between the males and the females when I engage a discussion on the relationship between language and masculinity.

The female participants mostly viewed isiZulu as a language that should be spoken mostly at home because at home its status was more valuable. The male participants on the other hand indicated that isiZulu should be spoken often at school so that they can improve their language skills and be better at speaking their mother tongue. These findings coincided with what was revealed from McKay and Chicks's (2001) study, which a number of learners from desegregated schools are beginning to contest being positioned within an English-only discourse, hence many African learners are calling for promotion of African languages.

Though the views between the male participants and the female participants differed, the learners did agree that by speaking English at school or in society, they were automatically part of dominating powerful group and they felt accepted. Participants used words like *'I want to feel accepted'* when they speak a language with a higher social status , *'belonging'* when they can engage with others in English and *'isolated'* from the wider school community when they speak isiZulu. These words, I believe, are telling when one is undertaking a study on how learners respond to being taught isiZulu in private school setting. A statement made by Khanyisile, another participant in the study, was telling. She noted:

“Mam.....yes isiZulu is our language but we also wanted to feel like we belong here at school ...”

Webb (2009) argues that the dominance of English is clearly shown in the ‘totally disproportionate’ relationship between English and other marginalized African languages. Webb (2009) further argues that the dominance and the perceived high status of English further isolate African languages. In this study, though participants viewed the teaching of isiZulu as being necessary and valuable, the participants also argued that the perceived low status attached to isiZulu creates conflicting views amongst learners.

Similarly in other research conducted by De Klerk (2000 ; 2002) on learner attitudes in the Eastern Cape, a number of De Klerk’s participants confirmed the view that African languages, in this case Xhosa, are only suitable for use in the home and the local culture. Some of the responses from De Klerk’s study included a participant who noted that:

“It will be a language people speak in their homes...”/ “It is good for home use but is not that good for being used elsewhere...”/ “It’s more like a home appliance...”/ “Xhosa is right for the sake of culture, but wrong for the sake of communication...”

In another study conducted by Bangeni and Kapp (2007), it was found that the positive attitudes towards English shown by African-language speakers must be viewed in the light of the long history which promoted English at the expense of African languages hence English became a language of power and a symbol of education, culture and modernization.

Bangeni and Kapp (2007) argue that the power struggle between languages in South Africa is also affected by how individuals perceive themselves in society. Similarly in this study, the participants indicated during the focus groups interviews that there is a power struggle between isiZulu and English where isiZulu held a lower status while English held a higher status. What I found interesting in my study was Nkosingiphile’s statement that:

“Everyone looks down on anything African, not just other races, but blacks too. English is the most used language and it holds a better status than most languages in the world. In South Africa naturally, people will feel doing Zulu is a waste of time...”

Nkosingiphile makes a startling claim about how isiZulu is perceived in society. He says that “everyone looks down on anything African”. This claim raises concerns about the issue of languages in this country. Nkosingiphile not only perceives other races to be the

only ones that look down on isiZulu, he claims that Blacks too, look down on isiZulu. Nkosingiphile shared a story about how once he had a conversation with one of his classmates about why that classmate selected Afrikaans over isiZulu. Nkosingiphile said that the response he received shocked him as he was told that isiZulu is ghetto. The term ghetto was also discussed during the focus groups discussion where the participants noted that many people especially those who are not black viewed isiZulu as being a ghetto language. This claim I found to be very interesting because it highlighted the issues about how our past history in South African which I discussed in Chapter 2 has been a driving force in how languages are perceived in this country. Nkosingiphile's statement support what Webb (2009) was saying about how the relationship between social class and language.

According to Webb (2009) the major class division that exists in South Africa filters into the language situation. Webb (2009) further argues that the linguistic world of the middle to upper class is mainly English, with the Bantu languages being mainly the languages of the African working class. The participants' responses indicated that though they never lived to see the apartheid era but they felt it still had an impact on how African languages are perceived and not just by other races but by the Africans as well. The participants further indicated unless the perceptions are challenged in society, English will continue its dominance while African languages are pushed further and further. The participants' claims seemed to emerge from the ways in which isiZulu was treated in the school. Apart from the notices which banned communication in isiZulu in the school, I also observed that around the school, all the posters and notices were written in mostly English. There were some especially those pertaining to sports such as rugby that were written in Afrikaans. Overall, isiZulu was not used as medium of communication in the school. Probing further, I asked the participants if isiZulu was ever used during school mass. To this they replied that though the school mass is sometimes facilitated by an African black priest, the mode of communication is always English. The participants also indicated that the only time they sing in isiZulu is when they sing the National Anthem.

According to Turner (2012) in terms of status, English is by far the dominant language of the country. Turner's argument is crucial in understanding learners' responses towards being taught isiZulu. During the focus group discussion Sthembiso's stated that:

“English can give that better status socially. I mean, we learning English as Home language, this tells you of its status which I think are mostly seen as higher than Zulu...”

Sthembiso’s response highlights that he views English as having a higher status because in his school, English is offered that higher platform unlike isiZulu. Sthembiso’s response suggests that issues of language policy, economic and social factors need to be taken into consideration because of the role these factors play in influencing the views that learners have about African languages, in particular the views that learners have towards isiZulu. Mmusi (1998) argues that in South Africa the legacy of the past policies can still be felt within the education system. Mmusi (1998) further argues that the effects of the past policies where English and Afrikaans enjoyed the high status are still prevalent. The participants pointed out that the manner in which language policies are designed seem to favour the use of English more than African languages.

The participants indicated that some of the factors that informed their views about African languages (isiZulu) included the language policies in South Africa. To discuss this further, I will engage with the 1997 Language in Education Policy (LiEP) which has played an essential role in decentralizing the implementation of African languages. LiEP (1997) declares that “the governing body of the school must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects, and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes, or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education department” (LiEP 1997). Participants in the study indicated that there was not much done in the school to promote isiZulu. Nonhlanhla indicated that:

“Well, huh.....it’s like policy here; you are not really allowed to speak isiZulu unless you are in the Zulu classroom...”

Nonhlanhla indicated that policy does not allow for the use of isiZulu outside the classroom. Such a policy seems to undermine what is stipulated in the Constitution and language policies in South Africa. Policies such as the LiEP (1997) were developed to respond to the new constitutional obligation, which states that “there is a need to recognize the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages , as well as to take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages” (Section 6 (2)). This policy advocates for the promotion of African

languages and their maintenance, while also providing access to additional languages. Participants indicated that there is still a lot to be done such as providing equitable time for the teaching of isiZulu. Participants proposed that isiZulu should be taught daily like English. When I posed the question ...*Do you think sufficient time is given to the teaching of isiZulu?* Nonhlanhla said that:

“No, I think Zulu should be taught daily like English.../I think it sends out the message that English is more important than Zulu...”

Nonhlanhla pointed out that she feels that isiZulu should be offered the sufficient time that is given to English because she felt if her school does that it will be sending a strong message that it values isiZulu like it values English. According to the LiEP (1997:3-6), “all language subjects shall receive equitable time and resources allocation” (LiEP, 1997). Even though the policy stipulates that the time and resources allocation should be dealt with equitably, the language practices in the school where the research took place indicated a different matter, as pointed by Nonhlanhla. The participants also discussed how the isiZulu timetable indicated fewer periods that were allocated to isiZulu compared to other language subjects. For example, English was given 5 hours per week while Afrikaans and isiZulu were given only 2 hours per week. These practices support Mda’s (2004) assertions when she argues that the status of African languages has not improved even after the diminishing of apartheid and despite the introduction of new policies and legislation by the democratically elected government, there are still great challenges in many South African schools.

Probyn (2002) makes a similar observation that there is a gap between what is recommended by the LiEP (1997) and the actual language practices schools. In a study conducted in the Eastern Cape, Probyn (2002) found that the school governing bodies are not well equipped to make decisions about the school language policy. It is clear that policy is not being implemented in the school.

I discussed the policy factors, I now move on to the social factors that emerged in the data generation process as having an influence on learners’ views about African languages. The participants once again took the time to express how stereotypes in society influence their perceptions about isiZulu. Thando stated that:

“I think it depends...as Zulus we are proud but maybe people outside our community may have negative perceptions such as that isiZulu is a language of people who like to fight, so maybe they wouldn't advice their children to learn isiZulu...”

Thando expresses that there are social stereotypes about isiZulu being a language of people who like to engage in fights. Thando further discussed that such views devalue isiZulu and its people and can also discourage the youngsters from wanting to be taught isiZulu in the future.

Sthembiso and Nolwazi also highlighted that the social views about isiZulu can be detrimental for the future of isiZulu. Both participants highlighted that isiZulu is viewed as a ghetto language and that perhaps it is the reason behind why other races are not comfortable learning isiZulu in their school.

Furthermore, Lafon (2008) argues that some of the attitudes displayed by black South Africans towards African languages can be equated to their views about Bantu Education which is also perceived as second-rate education. Historically, Bantu Education has been perceived as ‘slave’ education. Lafon’s (2008) view provides some insight into understanding the originality of the social attitudes that people may have towards the use of African languages at South African schools.

According to Bowerman (2010:30) “English remains the truly dominant language of South Africa; it is the language of education and economic power. This view by Bowerman is also shared by the participants in this study as pointed out by Thando:

“When you are looking for a job, you have to know how to communicate in English. Zulu when you looking for a job cannot really help you...”

Thando’s response highlights that she views isiZulu as being valuable but only in Kwazulu-Natal but she also views isiZulu as not being valuable in the economic sphere. Mda (2004: 169) argues that ‘many African language speakers and other South Africans perceive English as being the most powerful language that offers greater socio-economic and educational opportunities.

Furthermore, De Klerk (2000: 103) also indicate that the participants in her study also confirmed the high status of English and viewed English as an international language and believed that English would open the door to more job opportunities and equip their

children with a competitive edge, since it is the language most used in the workplace and is the language of science and technology. Also the participants saw English as vital to educational success generally and viewed it as the most important language in the schools (De Klerk 2002: 6). This study reveals that at ground level, English has more status and is seen as more valuable and useful than the African languages.

This theme highlighted the various factors such as policy, social and economic factors and the role that these factors play in influencing learners views about African languages (isiZulu). Generally, though the participants enjoyed being taught isiZulu, they are also cognizance of the power of English and how the domination of English filters through policy, social and economic factors.

It is clear that the learners were able to establish a hidden curriculum of some sort in the ways in which English was promoted in the school, compared to isiZulu. Sthembiso felt that English provides a prestigious status and being taught English as Home Language solidifies its value in society which is often seen as higher than that of isiZulu. What this suggests is that learners are fully aware of the language politics in the country. This theme highlights the status of isiZulu in the school where research was undertaken. It highlights how the perceived inferior status of isiZulu impact on how learners respond to the language. In my study I found that though participants have positive attitudes towards being taught isiZulu as a FAL, although some preferred to be taught isiZulu as a Home Language. The learners also suggested that socially, English is the most dominating language, with isiZulu being perceived as having a lower status; this affected how they viewed being taught isiZulu.

The attitudes of learners towards being taught African languages (isiZulu)

As can be established in the above discussions, the attitudes of learners towards being taught isiZulu were generally positive. The majority of the participants indicated that there was a need to change the negative stereotypes that surrounds African languages. Participants also pointed out that there is a need to change the stereotypes about African languages, the participants felt that in doing so, and African languages can be better promoted in society. The participants felt that it was important for them as isiZulu speakers to take responsibility and promote isiZulu in order to ensure that the language

does not die. The participants viewed being taught isiZulu as adding value to their lives. As Sthembiso noted:

“Yes mam, though English is the dominating language not just in South Africa but in the world, I still think it is important to learn Zulu. As a Zulu man who takes pride in his culture, Zulu is important because when I speak Zulu to my elders they see it as a sign of respect unlike when I speak English and I am seen as being disrespectful to my elders...”

Sthembiso’s response suggests that he sees isiZulu as an important means in which to demonstrate respect towards his elders. Given that many of the participants were isiZulu speaking, many even indicated that their parents encouraged them to study isiZulu. Sthembiso clearly sees a language through which he can exhibit cultural acts, and that brings about a sense of pride. According to Kamwangamalu (2003:72) it is important that each generation represents and also passes on the language to other generations in order to maintain a language. Participants’ attitudes towards the maintenance of isiZulu in society were quite strong as indicated by Bongani:

“It’s like your identity is tied to your language, if you don’t speak your language then your identity is lost...”

As already established above, Zuluness was seen by participants as being intricately caught up in the speaking of the language. Bongani indicated that it was important to maintain his language because his languages gave him his identity. Bongani further indicated that by losing one’s language, the identity is also lost. I found Bongani’s argument to be quite relevant especially in the schooling context where the participants indicated that they were not allowed to speak isiZulu. For Bongani to highlight that if he is not allowed to speak his language then his sense of identity will be lost, is concerning as this means that he feels that the schooling system is not sufficiently inclusive for isiZulu to thrive. Though studies thus far seem to paint a picture that English is the most preferred language, this is not always the case. Studies conducted in areas like Umlazi Township in KwaZulu-Natal by Rudwick (2004), in the Western Cape by Kapp (2004); & Dyers (2007) and in Johannesburg, Gauteng by McKinney (2007) suggest that learners have a great appreciation for their African languages. In a study conducted among isiZulu-speaking youth in Umlazi Township in Durban, Rudwick (2004) found that for

most learners the isiZulu language is linked to their Zulu culture, with isiZulu being the language they always use at home.

In this study, participants also highlighted that there seems to be a negative attitude towards isiZulu by other races. The participants pointed to the fact that only African learners select to be taught isiZulu as a FAL. In the school, it was interesting to observe that the Zulu class only had African learners, and learners indicated that Afrikaans on the other hand was done by learners of the other races. This suggests that a racializing process was also at play in the school where language selection is concerned. For instance, participants raised a concern that isiZulu was viewed as a ghetto language in the school; hence other races did not want to be associated with it. Thando noted that:

“I think people who are not blacks see the language as a language of the ghetto people so I think others don’t want to be associated with that...”

It can be argued that part of the reason for the learners to respond this way was due to the school’s curricula activities which worked to undermine isiZulu. As can be noted above, Thando notes that African languages are seen a ghetto languages in the school. Thando’s claim also link with the findings from McKay and Chicks (2001), mentioned earlier, where the teachers made a comment that isiZulu is linked to bad behaviour and where another principal said that he does not permit the speaking of isiZulu in his school because isiZulu symbolises being a rebel. I find such claims concerning considering that after 20 years of democracy such stereotypes still exist.

Mmusi (1998) argues that the language policies in South Africa paint a very idealistic picture. Mmusi (1998) further argues that because there are still teething challenges with policy, and because of that the 11 official languages will never truly be equal until all challenges regarding policy are dealt with. This seems to be at least the case in the school where this study was conducted. Nkosingiphile also expressed that:

“Everyone looks down on anything African, not just other races, but blacks too...”

Both Thando and Nkosingiphile expressed that people look down on isiZulu, adding a racial dimension to things. According to Kamwangamalu (2003) there is a great need for society to address the negative stereotypes and perceptions about African languages that were created by the apartheid regime. The participants in this study were between the ages of 14 and 16, but could clearly see the link between language and race.

Just like in Rudwick's (2004:164) where 'a number of learners also expressed disappointment that other races such as abelungu (white people) often do not make an effort to learn isiZulu' despite living in a province where isiZulu is a widely spoken language. Participants in Rudwick (2004) study also indicated that other races seemed to care less about isiZulu. Nolwazi, for instance, noted that:

"I don't think that they (other races) will choose Zulu because African languages are not taken seriously in our days. I think they might look at whether Zulu will benefit them or not..."

Nolwazi highlights that isiZulu is not taken seriously; she further points out that individuals will usually look at whether isiZulu will benefit them or not. According to McKay and Chick (2001); in the post-Apartheid era little progress has been made in many desegregated schools in order to redress the inequalities produced by the apartheid system. McKay and Chick (2001) argue that with the most progressive constitution in the world, African languages should not be trivialized but rather should enjoy the equal status as other dominating languages.

The above theme discussed the attitudes of learners towards African languages specifically attitudes towards isiZulu. Participants strongly agreed that there is a need to redress the stereotypes that clouds African languages. This theme also showed the impact of the socially constructed stereotypes and how these come to influence the views that participants have towards isiZulu.

The connection between being taught isiZulu and the learners' African identity

As already established in the discussion above, the participants indicated that there was a link between being taught isiZulu and the pride that they have about their African identity which they felt was reinforced by being taught isiZulu. The majority of the participants said that they enjoy being taught isiZulu as a FAL because it reinforced their African identity.

Mandla stated that:

"I think it is important to learn Zulu because as a Zulu man and I feel that I am responsible for passing my language to my children. I think learning Zulu is important especially for this young generation who I think looks down on Zulu. Our parents were

proud of their culture and language, today you find that blacks even when they are as African, they still speak English. What for??? English for school only, outside we should be speaking our own languages...”

Mandla spoke passionately about the need to value African languages. He felt that it was his responsibility to pass down his language to the next generation. In asking him to further explain this, Mandla noted that a man in society has a role to play in preserving culture and passing down knowledge just like his father who constantly according to Mandla tells him not to forget his roots.

Makori (2005) in the article *“Decolonisation on culture through language: African languages in informal education”* also provides a sound argument around language, culture and identity. In the above mentioned article, Makori (2005) provides a South African perspective on the importance of the relationship between language and culture and argues that the loss of African languages amongst the youth poses a threat to South African democracy and African roots. During the focus group discussion Mandla said that:

“As young men mam.....from our fathers we are taught that indoda yomzulu kumele iqine (a Zulu man must be strong)...because that is how he gains respect from those around him...”

This response by Mandla suggests that as a young man, Mandla takes his role seriously because it is what allows others to give him respect. While probing further with what Mandla said; I discovered that most male participants felt that by speaking isiZulu, others by virtue respected and feared them. These responses seem to suggest that there is a strong relationship between language and culture because of the role language plays in defining the male masculinity. Crystal (2000) argues that language expresses identity and is always present in identity formation and identity display. Crystal’s argument is relevant for this study because the participants also view the identity of an individual as being interlinked with one’s language. The participants argued, for instance, that if one loses track with their language, then a part of their identity is also lost. Participants felt strongly about the importance of being taught isiZulu especially the young males who more than the young females viewed their masculinity to be linked to being a Zulu man. Bongani stated that:

“With my friends here at school I often speak Zulu, inside and outside the Zulu classroom. Though we not allowed speaking Zulu here, I speak it because it is easier to communicate with my boys in our own language. Speaking Zulu is kind of like who I am as an African man...”

Bongani highlights that despite the confinements against the speaking of isiZulu that are placed in his school, already extensively discussed, he still speaks isiZulu anyway. His reasoning is based on that *“speaking isiZulu is who he is as an African man”*. The emphasis on manhood and its connection to isiZulu teaching majority of male participants also made this connection between isiZulu and male identity. According to Ndlangamandla (2010) there is a strong connection between language and identity. Ndlangamandla’s (2010) view is further supported by Crystal (2000) who further argues that the use of African languages by learners often allows and enables the learners to link their language to their identities. In this study, the majority of the participants indicated that there was a strong link between languages and identities. What I found interesting in my study was that participants especially the male participants took this issue of linking isiZulu to their identities quite seriously. For these young males being a true Zulu man meant that they had to speak isiZulu even when isiZulu was forbidden by their school. Though mostly it was the male participants who had strong views about isiZulu and identity, Nonhlanhla made an interesting statement, she said that:

“It’s like, if I select another language like Afrikaans, I would be betraying my Zuluness...”

What these participants are expressing is what Mda (2004) strongly argued about, this issue of Africanism. Mda (2004) argued that it is important that young Africans are exposed to their own languages because if they adopt English and forget or prefer not to speak their own language. Mda (2004:172) argues they will be rejecting their Africanness. During the individual interviews Bongani talked about how Mr. Zuma the President of South Africa embodies being a Zulu man. Bongani said that as young men, they look up to Mr. Zuma who has done a great job in promoting isiZulu whether he is in the parliament or visiting international countries. Bongani’s stated that:

“Maybe not all people see the negative things about isiZulu, I mean our president is Zulu and I think he has promoted isiZulu throughout Africa by embodying the Zulu culture.....in parliament sometimes he goes back to his roots and say things in Zulu...”

This notion of roots and culture seemed to be important for these young male participating learners in this study. Nkosingiphile on the other hand, made reference to King Zwethini as being a man that embodies the Zulu culture. He said that:

“Look at King Zwelithini, he still promotes the customs and values that Zulu people should have. I think it is important for us the youth to know and learn about Zulu so that we can also teach our own children and our language will not die...”

As established above, cultural identity was found to have been closely associated with linguistic identity. Loyalty to isiZulu language came to mean loyalty to Zuluness as cultural identity. As Skhumbuzo pointed out:

“My whole Buthelezi generation spoke Zulu; I think the ancestors will not be pleased if I switch to other languages that do not represent who I am...”

Learners in my study, also in Rudwick’s study and other studies already mentioned, indicated that the use of African languages is aligned to a sense of self and identity. In another study by McKinney (2007) which focused on African learners’ use of indigenous languages at Ex-Model C schools it was found that African learners in desegregated suburb of Johannesburg saw the use of African languages as necessary for their African identity.

According to Pavlenko et al (2002) there is a need to understand the relationship between language and gender. Pavlenko (2002) argues that gender identities and gendered behaviors are acquired early in life by boys and girls. The male participants strongly felt that their identities were much attached to being taught isiZulu. This may have to do the values they learn at home as well as the positioning of isiZulu in society as a patriarchal language. While know that all societies are patriarchal, and that languages themselves often carry the same patriarchy, in the context of South Africa, there seems to be an increased belief that Zuluness equates to patriarchy. This seemed to be the case also with the learners interviewed. Skhumbuzo for example during the interview pointed out that:

Though the responses between male and female participants differed towards the teaching of isiZulu, the responses from female participants provided an interesting data. While the young female participants did not so much attach their identity to the speaking or being taught isiZulu, the discussion during the interviews indicated that female participants actually did not feel as much comfortable being taught and speaking isiZulu like their male counterparts. During the focus group discussion Bongani made the claim that:

“I think girls care more about status; if they speak Zulu then they lose their status. They see English as having more status than Zulu.....”

A study by McKinney (2007) focusing on African learners’ use of indigenous languages in Ex-Model C schools found that African learners in desegregated schools shy away from isiZulu especially female learners. Thando, another female participant, noted that:

“Yes...mostly girls...we don’t do Zulu that much like we do English...”

Researcher: Why is that?

“I guess it’s because English seem cooler and there is a status attached to speaking English...”

The male participants on the hand saw the female participants as not truly embracing their Africanness. As noted by Mandla and Sthembiso:

“Mam...most people at these Model C shy away from Zulu, though they may be Zulus but they not proud of their heritage.../Girls see English as being cooler than Zulu.../they even speak Zulu with an ascent which I really find strange.../ why are they shying away from their Zuluness...”

Mandla and Sthembiso see girls as being less proud of their heritage and not speaking isiZulu but instead opting for English. This according to Mandla and Sthembiso symbolizes a shift from what they coined Zuluness. Probing further, I asked why they thought this was the case. The male participants responded as follows:

“As boys mam...we don’t really care about getting into trouble. Girls are scared of being caught speaking Zulu so I think, they rather prefer to stick to English and seem cool.../Most people at these Model C school shy away from isiZulu because perhaps isiZulu is not seen as being valuable as English.../ I think, girls shy away from Zulu because they do not see it as being more popular than English... Girls want to be more

fluent in English than Zulu.../ they therefore find English more suitable. Boys on the other hand do not really care.../I think girls care more about status; if they speak Zulu then they lose their status.../ They see English as having more status than Zulu.../ Boys mam...speak Zulu more Girls bayazitshela (........meaning that girls are full of themselves) and us boys, we don't really care...'

The issue of language and status was also raised. The male participants felt that girls spoke English more than isiZulu because speaking English gave them status. They viewed the girls as individuals who shy away from their African identity in order to fit in with the dominating group by speaking English instead of isiZulu. The responses from participants also suggest that though there seem to be a relationship between language and gender where boys prefer isiZulu and girls on the other hand prefer English. I have discussed the various responses from the participants which introduced an interesting dimension about the relationship between language and gender in this study. The male participants indicated that through being taught isiZulu, they were able to express and assert their identity. For the female participants, the issue of language and identity provided a deeper understanding to the meanings attached to language and identity.

Clearly from the discussion above, the responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu in the school where this research took place were highly gendered. From the discussion, it became clear that this was mainly because Zuluness came to be associated with patriarchy and rebelliousness- a culture partially introduced by the school's curricula activities and also by the country's national politics. We have a president after all who is Zulu and highly patriarchal.

Because the learners failed to distinguish cultural identity from linguistic identity, learners reacted in ways that caught to protect isiZulu while at the same time, demarcating this as only the function for boys. It was clear that the President's identity had a role in the ways in which learners responded.

4.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented and analyzed the responses from the participants in order to obtain a better understanding of the learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu at an independent school. The themes that emerged were focused on the intersectionality of

language and culture: isiZulu and cultural capital. What emerged from this theme was that learners perceived that there was a relationship between language and culture in which they felt that as Zulus, it was critical that they use their language in order to cement their culture and heritage.

The second theme that emerged was the variations between Home Language Zulu and First Additional Language Zulu. Learners felt that being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language did not offer them an opportunity to be taught what they termed 'real isiZulu. First Additional Language Zulu was perceived as a diluted version of isiZulu.

The third theme was more focused on the status of isiZulu in society and its impact on the learners' attitudes. In here, participants viewed isiZulu as not being seen as having the same status as English. IsiZulu was seen as having a low status; hence it was not seen as a language of value in society.

The fourth theme was centered on the attitudes of learners towards being taught isiZulu as First Additional Language. Participants felt that more needed to be done in order for isiZulu to achieve its relevance in society because as a First Additional Language, it lacked the advancement that Home Language isiZulu carried.

The final theme was focused on the connections between being taught isiZulu and the learners' African identity. What emerged from this theme was that learners felt that there was a strong connection between being taught isiZulu and their African identities, those who were perceived as not taking pride in speaking isiZulu were often labeled and not seen as showing their true Africanness.

The themes that are emerging from this study I believe are beginning to show the broader factors that play a role in the learners' everyday realities that also has an impact on learners' responses towards being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent school. It is such themes that can themes that need further scrutiny in order to understand the educational context at independent schools in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the findings were presented and interpreted in light of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. In this Chapter, the conclusion will be presented, driven by the key research questions informing this study. Implications for practice, policy and research will also be discussed alongside the recommendations of the study.

This study forms part of a small but growing field of study that focuses on the language debate at the desegregated schools in South Africa (Zungu and Pillay, 2010; Turner, 2012). In the effort to understand how Grade 10 learners respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a FAL, my study looked at three questions:

- a. How do Grade 10 learners respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school?
- b. What informs the Grade 10 learners' responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?
- c. What lessons that can be glean from Grade 10 learners' responses about the integration of indigenous languages in independent schooling contexts in South Africa, 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system?

The intention of this study was to look at how Grade 10 learners respond towards being taught isiZulu as a FAL. As indicated in Chapter 1, by responses I wanted to understand learners' attitudes, actions, their thinking and their reaction towards being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language. In addition, I wanted to look at how isiZulu is perceived in privileged schools. This study has been framed using Bourdieu's (1992) theory of language and power; a theory that attempts to understand the relationship between language and power in society. I found that, generally, the learners responded positively towards the teaching of isiZulu as a FAL. I also found that the majority of the participants appeared to appreciate isiZulu because they claimed it reinforced their African identities. Though the learners responded positively towards the teaching of isiZulu, they also presented their concerns about the dominance of English in their school. In this chapter

therefore, I begin to present each question that drove this study, together with the ways in which the findings speak to the question. I do this in order to show how each of the research questions were addressed in this study. This will be followed by a discussion on the implications of the study. Here I will present the implications for policy, research and practice by highlighting a few recommendations.

5.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

There were essentially three questions that this study sought to answer. These research questions were motivated by my interest in wanting to understand how isiZulu was being perceived in desegregated and privileged schooling contexts. Below I show how each research question was addressed by the findings in the previous chapter.

Research Question 1: How do Grade 10 learners' respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school?

This question seeks to explore the varying responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu, to answer this question it become vital to investigate the experiences of learners towards being taught isiZulu at an independent school. It also becomes vital to investigate why and how learners come to respond in the manner that they do, therefore exploring the status of isiZulu in society becomes an issue that requires further exploration in order to fully understand the learners' attitudes towards African languages in privileged schooling context.

The findings suggest that, in general, learners have a positive view towards the teaching of isiZulu. There were a number of reasons that contributed to the participants' positive view towards the teaching of isiZulu. It was clear from the responses that participants valued being taught isiZulu. The majority of the learners argued that studying isiZulu allowed them an opportunity to learn more about their own culture and heritage. The participants' responses revealed that being taught isiZulu gave them a sense of pride in being Zulu. Many of the participants noted that isiZulu as a FAL gave them skills that allowed them to be able to communicate with others not only at school but also within their communities, particularly also at home, where they were expected to speak only in isiZulu . Crystal (2009) argues that language expresses identity and is always present in identity formation and identity display. Crystal's (2009) argument is relevant for this study because the participants also viewed the identity of an individual as being

interlinked with one's language. The study also found that the participants also felt strongly about the maintenance and preservation of one's language because, as they argued, if one loses track with their language then a part of their identity is also lost.

These findings resonate with Scheffler's (2007) argument which highlights the importance of preserving African languages. Scheffler (2007) further argues that when a language dies, so does the culture, identity and knowledge that were passed down through that language. The findings of the study revealed that the participants felt strongly about their heritage and the role that being taught isiZulu played in reinforcing who they are. The participants noted that being taught isiZulu, especially in a context where English is prioritized, gave them a sense that it was up to them to promote their own language.

What was interesting to observe in the learners' responses concerned the gendered nature in which the learners responded. For the boys, being taught in isiZulu meant also learning about a cultural heritage they needed in order to become real Zulu men. Conversely, the girls saw isiZulu as backward compared to English. A perfect example, already cited in chapter 4, is Mandla's response to the question of whether it was important to learn isiZulu. Mandla's response was that:

Yes I think it is important to learn Zulu because as a Zulu man and I feel that I am responsible for passing my language to my children. I think learning Zulu is important especially for this young generation who I think looks down on Zulu. Our parents were proud of their culture and language, today you find that blacks even when they together they still speak English. What for??? English for school only, outside we should be speaking our own languages..."

Mandla's response shows powerfully how the discourse of isiZulu learning becomes gendered and racialized. This highlights powerfully how isiZulu teaching became a process of cultural reclamation for the boys. The study found that the male participants took their roles as being males who are isiZulu speakers quite seriously. For the male participants in this study, being taught isiZulu was seen as an opportunity to gain knowledge that they can pass on to the next generation. The findings from this study also supported the recent studies on learners' attitudes towards being taught African languages, learners expressed appreciation for their African languages (Rudwick, 2004, 2008; Kapp (2004); McKinney (2007); Ndlangamandla et al (2010) ; Turner (2012). While all of these studies cite powerfully the ways in which isiZulu teaching becomes a

project of cultural reclamation, the gender and racial dimensions in the studies, I believe, do not come through as strongly as these emerged in this present study. This suggests that this study has offered new knowledge. The study also revealed that some of the participants felt that for them to have more pride in being taught isiZulu; they felt that isiZulu should be taught as Home Language instead of being offered as a FAL. As noted by Khanyisile:

“I mean people who do Zulu as HL learn more than us here. If it was HL we would be learning Zulu at an advance level”.

This was an interesting finding because it highlighted that learners did not view isiZulu as something trivial, but that they viewed it as something that could advance them culturally. The study also found that some participants would prefer to be taught isiZulu as Home Language because they perceived home language to be the real isiZulu. Mesthrie (2002) argues that there are variations between how isiZulu is taught and spoken in the urban and rural settings. These variations are clear in how isiZulu is used in urban and rural settings, where standard isiZulu is referred to as ‘isiZulu esijulile’ (referring to meaning deeper and proper isiZulu and often spoken mainly in the rural settings), and while non-standard isiZulu is referred to as ‘isiZulu sasedolobheni’ (isiZulu from the cities) and is often seen as incorrect isiZulu. The study found that in order to avoid name-calling and labeling, participants would have appreciated a chance to learn isiZulu as Home Language. One of the students who preferred learning isiZulu as a Home Language was Khanyisile, who felt that the kind of isiZulu that she was exposed to at an independent school was not at an advanced level. Some of the participants such as Khanyisile and Nolwazi felt that people were calling them coconuts because they were attending an independent school where isiZulu was taught differently from how their counterparts at the townships were taught.

The findings from this study also supported existing studies such as that by Rudwick (2004) where the results indicated that learners’ who were perceived as not being taught standard isiZulu or who were devaluing African languages by not speaking isiZulu with an accent were labeled as “coconuts”.

According to Rudwick (2004) the concepts of coconuts come from the view that those labeled coconuts are “*white on the inside but black on the outside*”. This term is used to shame others who are perceived as not valuing their own African language. As noted by Bongani:

“With my friends here at school I often speak Zulu, inside and outside the Zulu classroom. Though we not allowed speaking Zulu here, I speak it because it is easier to communicate with my boys in our own language. Speaking Zulu is kind of like who I am as an African man. I sometimes don’t understand people who shy away from speaking their own language, it’s like they are “coconuts...”

Researcher: Coconuts? What do you mean Bongani?

“Mam...it’s like those people who are black on the outside but are white on the inside...just like a coconut. So it’s like the blacks don’t want to speak isiZulu but prefer English...”

What this suggests is that African learners are increasingly taking pride in speaking African languages in contexts dominated by English. This study challenges earlier studies which suggested that African learners do not wish to speak African languages, and prefer learning in English.

It appears that learners feared ridicule in their townships and often wanted to learn isiZulu in order not to be ostracized. One such example was Nolwazi who felt really hurt and discouraged because of the teasing and the name called by her counterparts in the township. The study revealed that participants like Nolwazi believe that if they were taught isiZulu as Home Language, perhaps they would not be subjected to name calling.

While the findings also reveal that learners had positive responses towards the teaching of isiZulu, the learners also questioned the strong presence and dominance of English in their school as well as in society at large. Bourdieu (1991) points out how the individual and collective habitus of the powerful or dominant group is recognized as socially valuable and normal, while the habitus of the subordinate group is viewed as without value and abnormal if not suspect (Bourdieu, 1991: 342). Bourdieu’s account is therefore of interest to me because it forms a foundation from which to understand how the dominance of English is often normalized and seen as natural while the indigenous languages are further trivialized. This was ever so apparent in the school’s discourse of forbidding the speaking of isiZulu outside the isiZulu classes. Note for example, even the discourse presented by Nkosingiphile, another participant in the study:

“I don’t see Zulu as having power like English; even French doesn’t have power like English. English is the most dominating language. English is language that can get somewhere in life. Even when you filling forms, they are always in English so where is the value in Zulu?”

Nkosingiphile’s views are consistent with Bourdieu’s (1992) argument that the exercise of symbolic power in the linguistic circles is visible in the use of a language of choice by a dominant group to oppress less dominant groups. One cannot therefore look at language without looking at the society that determines the language.

The finding also revealed that the participants perceived isiZulu to have a lower social status than English. This was evident in the responses that showed that the participants were concerned that socially isiZulu is given a lower status and is not seen as a prestigious language like English. This is the issue which needs attention as the participants seem to be associating isiZulu with low domains and English with prestigious domains. One of the main reasons for the participants to favor English was because they wanted to feel accepted in their school community. Interestingly, the male participants’ were more rebellious against the dominance of English and spoke isiZulu whenever they could in spite of policy which forbids pupils from speaking isiZulu outside the isiZulu classroom.

The above mentioned findings present the responses of the learners in independent schools towards the teaching of isiZulu. I now explore the reasons for these responses.

Research question 2: What informs the Grade 10 learners’ responses on the teaching of isiZulu in an independent school?

This question was aimed at trying to understand the varying factors that play a critical role in informing the varying responses of learners towards the teaching of isiZulu, to answer this question it become vital to explore issues such as policy, social and economic factors and the role that these factors may play in informing the responses that learners come to have towards being taught isiZulu at an independent school. Other factors such as those relating to learners identity, cannot be ignored because as data would indicate that the African identity plays an essential role in informing learners’ attitudes towards being taught African languages (isiZulu).

The discussions from the observations, focus groups and the interviews presented an eye-opening account for me because it gave me the opportunity to have a better understanding of the various factors that have played a role in informing the learners’ responses towards the

teaching of isiZulu. The study found that there were three main factors that contributed in informing the learners' responses. The first one was policy; the study found that the language policy at the independent school where this study took place was an ambivalent policy and inconsistent with the language policy of the country. Though isiZulu was taught as a FAL, the participants indicated that isiZulu was not promoted at their school while other languages were more accommodated. The participants indicated that isiZulu is forbidden outside the classroom. Mmusi (1998) argues that in South Africa the legacy of the past policies can still be felt within the education system. Mmusi (1998) further argues that the effects of the past policies where English and Afrikaans enjoyed the high status are still prevalent. The participants pointed out that the manner in which language policies are designed seem to favour the use of English more than African languages. The effect of the restrictive policies produced unintended consequences in the school. For the boys, it produced resistant masculinities which sought to reclaim their Zulu masculinities, while for the girls, the policy produced assimilation and a desire to learn more isiZulu in order to cope with the pressures outside the classroom.

Secondly, the study found that many of the participants valued English more than isiZulu mainly due to the limited role that isiZulu plays economically. The study found that though the participants' valuable being taught isiZulu, they however felt that English was more a language that held economic power. The participants viewed isiZulu to be more contextual and more powerful in KwaZulu-Natal, compared to English, which was more national, perhaps even more international. According to Bowerman (2010:30) "English remains the truly dominant language of South Africa; it is the language of education and economic power." Furthermore, in relation to language debate, Bourdieu (1991:18) creates the concept of 'linguistic capital'. His notion of linguistic capital refers to the different quantities of symbolic capital that speakers of different languages possess. The higher the status of a language, such as English, the higher the value placed on it and the belief in its capacity to ensure one's success in education, power and wealth. This concept is relevant for this study as it provides a lens to view how status and value placed on languages position that language into either a dominant position or a marginalized position.

The third factors that the participants highlighted were the role that social factors play in informing learner's responses towards isiZulu. The responses of the participants indicated that there are a number of social negative attitudes towards isiZulu such as that isiZulu is a ghetto language, that isiZulu is a language of the people who have not evolved yet. The

responses also revealed that isiZulu is perceived as language of people who like to fight. The participants indicated that it is such views that exist in society that sometimes make them view isiZulu from a negative light. It was quite interesting to note that all these negative constructions of isiZulu did not produce a rejection of isiZulu, but instead a greater appreciation of it. This in part could be explained by the fact that the participants saw isiZulu as being intricately tied with their personal identities, particularly the boys. The role that the current president and his outwardly Zulu traditional masculinity have played cannot also be undermined. It was clear that the male participants drew directly from the success of the president to argue that one can be successful in life, while also caring the pride for isiZulu. This therefore suggests that while institutional cultures may be constructed to position isiZulu as a language of disadvantage, there is greater resistance from the learners in order to subvert the negative positioning of the language.

I now move on to explore what this means for us 20 years after the collapse of apartheid.

Research question 3: What lessons that can be glean from Grade 10 learners' responses about the integration of indigenous languages in independent schooling contexts in South Africa, 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system?

This question aimed at exploring the lessons that can be learnt from the responses of learners about the integration of indigenous languages 20 years after the collapse of the apartheid system. Here I once again explored the attitudes of learners towards indigenous languages. My main focus in answering this question was to establish the lessons that can be learnt from the learners about the integration of indigenous languages.

The study found that the participants wanted the integration of indigenous languages to take place at their school; however they indicated that for the integration to be effective' changes in policy, curriculum and the school environment had to change. The study found that the participants felt that the language policy was not fully meeting their needs because though isiZulu was a subject at the school, it was however not promoted. The study found that the policy to a certain degree did not adhere to the principals as stated in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996:4) that:

Indigenous languages '*shall be the official South African languages at national level, and conditions shall be created for their development and promotion of their equal use and enjoyment*' Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996:4). The study found that indigenous languages were not equally used and promoted at the school. Baker

(2001) argues that in South Africa, our history is riddled with issues of power, prejudice, discrimination, marginalization and subordination. Baker (2001) further argues that in order to build a better South Africa, the past inequalities must be addressed and effectively dealt with. In dealing with the past therefore, there is a need for the education system to effectively deal with past issues in order to make way for the integration of indigenous languages in South African schools.

The study found that in the isiZulu classroom, only African learners were learning isiZulu as a FAL. Learners from other races did not learn isiZulu in this school. Thando indicated that the reason behind this was that isiZulu was not promoted at their school; hence she felt that other learners look down on isiZulu because they did not have much knowledge about it. Thando's response raises a concern since the Constitution of South Africa (1996) states that indigenous languages should be promoted. The findings of the study also indicated that the participants felt that isiZulu was not respected at learning institutions where English had a dominating power. The participants indicated that indigenous languages were often viewed as not languages that will offer access to advanced learning; hence, these languages were often looked down upon. The participants felt that the existing negative perceptions towards isiZulu created a hostile environment for any true integration to take place. According to Kamwangamalu (2000) during the apartheid regime, black South Africans felt that the integration of indigenous languages at schools denied them access to advanced learning. Kamwangamalu (2002) further argues that by viewing indigenous languages as denying the learners access to advanced learning, this created negative attitudes towards African indigenous languages. In the post –apartheid South Africa, black people, according to Kamwangamalu (2000), still have negative attitudes towards African indigenous languages despite all the advantages that are associated with learning African indigenous languages. It is clear that there are active efforts in some schools to privilege English over isiZulu; this then continues to create an impression that isiZulu is unimportant. This results in further racialization of the school context. As the learners observed, African learners were the only learners in the school that took up isiZulu, while all the other races chose to take Afrikaans, a far cry considering that isiZulu is spoken by 80% of the population in KwaZulu-Natal, compared to Afrikaans which is spoken by a fraction of the population.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS

The above findings suggest that the learners are advocating for the promotion of isiZulu at independent schools. Promoting the teaching of isiZulu has to be prioritized by independent schools and other stakeholders involved if there has to be any improvement in the quality of education for all South African learners. This study suggests a wide range of implications for independent schools in South Africa.

5.2.1 Implications for policy and research

The study found that the use of isiZulu at this independent school was only confined to the classroom. Learners expressed a concern that confining the use of isiZulu only to the isiZulu classroom was unnecessary because indirectly it taught them that isiZulu was not important. The implications for policy therefore would be for the school to change such policies and allow for the use of isiZulu outside the classroom. This has implications too for the national policy, where it should be clearly emphasized that banning certain languages is unacceptable as it continues the racialising project.

The study also found that learners were calling for a change in how isiZulu is perceived at independent schools. The implications for policy therefore would be for language planners to understand the existing perceptions/attitudes before they can formulate language policies for isiZulu. Perhaps making isiZulu compulsory in a province like KwaZulu-Natal would assist in this regard. While there are new efforts from government to make African languages compulsory in schools, these moves should be clearly spelled out in policy documents, so that schools do not use policies to subvert a project of linguistic justice.

5.2.2 Implications for practice

The implications for practice would be that independent schools need to be more sensitive towards issues related to language use. The Independent Schools Board needs to consider making isiZulu compulsory at all high schools at independent schools. This will be important for strengthening the value of isiZulu and the promotion of isiZulu considering that this study showed that only African learners select to be taught isiZulu. Though this study is limited, the implication for research will be for more research to be conducted across the provinces.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

After reflecting on my findings, I offer the following recommendations which are based on the findings of this study that I hope may help:

a. Learners noted that there is not much done at the school to promote isiZulu. It is therefore recommended that independent schools establish isiZulu committees that will be responsible for establishing programs that will promote the use of isiZulu at independent schools. The school can do this by having open communication with the learners and the parents in order to establish what the needs are and try to accommodate these needs in the established isiZulu programs.

b. Learners raised concerns about the time allocated for the teaching of isiZulu. It is recommended that isiZulu timetable be revised by school boards at independent schools and changes be made to prioritise the time allocated for the teaching of isiZulu.

c. The use of isiZulu at independent schools should not only be confined to the classroom but learners should be offered an opportunity to speak isiZulu as this can also give learners of different races an opportunity to learn the language as well. It is recommended that schools should consider the impact that their policies have on the learners' impression about language. The study found that learners are not allowed to speak isiZulu outside the isiZulu classroom; this clearly is problematic. It is also recommended that schools should be more sensitive towards the matters relating to language.

d. There was a strong sense from the learners that isiZulu is not given any value in society. Learners noted that isiZulu is not viewed as a language that can offer one better employment opportunities. It is recommended isiZulu must be made as a requirement in the job market, this way educational institutions will ensure that isiZulu gets space and increased time in the curriculum.

e. Learners noted that only African learners select to be taught isiZulu as a FAL. It is therefore recommended that isiZulu should be made compulsory in KwaZulu-Natal because this will give all learners an opportunity to learn isiZulu. In a province like KwaZulu-Natal where the majority speaks isiZulu, it is important that learners are exposed to isiZulu as this can give all learners skills that they can use later on when they enter the job market.

f. Learners are cognizant of the dominance of English and are aware of how English influences their lives both at school, at home as well as socially. These findings present a challenge in that they show how learners have come to view the boundaries created by the dominance of English as natural. The findings indicate that some learners view the dominance of English as normal hence isiZulu is not perceived as normal because it will not, as Thando noted “open opportunities globally”.

These findings support Bourdieu’s argument that languages are valued or devalued according to the power vested in their users (Bourdieu, 1993:7). It is recommended therefore that, for isiZulu to be accepted, it has to be seen as an appropriate language that has value by those in power.

5.4 AVENUE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

From the literature review and the results of this study it is recommended the future research should focus on:

a. More independent schools around South Africa, in order to determine whether learners all over South Africa have similar perspectives with regards to the teaching of isiZulu at independent schools.

b. Studies can also include the responses of the teachers who actually teach isiZulu, this can balance the study because all views of the parties involved can be heard.

c. More responses from learners from different independent schools across KwaZulu-Natal and all over South Africa including all grades. This can provide a holistic view of the general public and their responses. For younger learners, researchers should be conscious and use methods that would be appropriate to elicit information from younger learners.

d. It would also be good to do studies on other African languages besides isiZulu in other provinces in order to see if the findings would be similar.

5.5 LESSONS TO BE LEARNT FROM THE STUDY

Being involved in conducting this study has opened my eyes to the language debate in South Africa. This study has helped me to grow and to develop a deeper understanding of the language issue. The knowledge gained from classroom observations, focus groups interviews and individual interviews has allowed me to have a much deeper understanding of the

learners' responses and what informs those responses. These are lessons I believe can benefit policy makers and independent schools in South Africa. The lessons that I learnt from the research process have truly humbled me. I learnt that I should have at least conducted my research in two independent schools. Though this would have been a challenge since there is a limited number of independent schools in KwaZulu-Natal, I believe that having two independent schools would have allowed me an opportunity to do a comparison between the two schools, the sample size would have also been increased to be more than 10 participants. This process would provide an in-depth understanding of learners' responses.

I was lucky that I was able to enter the research site after being given permission without any challenges. The teachers were welcoming and the participants were willing to take part in the study. One of my main challenges was that I wish I had more time to do an in-depth study.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This study aimed at identifying and exploring the varying responses held by learners towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language at an independent school. The study further aimed at determining the factors that informed the learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. In spite of the limitations, this study has achieved its objectives of understanding learners' responses and the factors informing their responses.

Since South Africa has 11 official languages, it is an enormous task for the schools and the Government to accommodate all language groups equally. This research confirmed that even though the language policies in South Africa recognize the importance of equalizing languages not just in public schools but also at independent schools, there is a lot that still needs to be done in order to ensure that schools reflect the values and principles stipulated in the constitution by ensuring that indigenous African languages at independent schools are also recognized and promoted so that learners see their value. In doing so, the value of each language at schools could be recognized and learners' attitudes towards different languages could be steered towards empowering learners to value all languages as important and as having an important role to play socially and economically.

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Appendix A

Education, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is Nompumelelo Bhengu; I am a Masters of Education candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in conducting a study titled **“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”**.

The aim of the study is to explore how learners in grade 10 respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. To gather the information, I will first observe the learners in the isiZulu classroom. From the observations, I will be conducting two interview sessions which will be scheduled for an hour with 10 learners. I will then select 4-5 learners to participate in a focus group discussion session which will be scheduled for 1 hour.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims at exploring Grade 10 learners' responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

	Willing	Not willing
Voice Recorder		

I can be contacted at:

Email: 991232955@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 074 419 4574

My supervisor is Dr. Thabo Msibi who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za

(Tel) 0312603686 (Cell) 0724227261

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix B

Education, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Parent

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is Nompumelelo Bhengu; I am a Masters of Education candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in conducting a study titled **“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”**. I would like permission to conduct a case study which will involve the participation of your child.

The aim of the study is to explore how learners in grade 10 respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. To gather the information, I will first observe the learners in the isiZulu classroom. From the observations, I will be conducting two interview sessions which will be scheduled for an hour with 10 learners. I will then select 4-5 learners to participate in a focus group discussion session which will be scheduled for 1 hour.

Please note that:

- Your child’s confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Any information given by your child cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.

- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
- Your child has a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. She/he will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims at exploring Grade 10 responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language.
- Your child's involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- If your child is willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

	willing	Not willing
Voice Recorder		

I can be contacted at:

Email: 991232955@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 074 419 4574

My supervisor is Dr. Thabo Msibi who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za

(Tel) 0312603686 (Cell) 072 422 7261

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix C

Education, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Principal

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

My name is Nompumelelo Bhengu. I am a Masters of Education candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I would like to request your permission to conduct research in your school titled **“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”**.

The aim of the study is to explore how learners in grade 10 respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. To gather the information, I will first observe the learners in the isiZulu classroom twice. From the two observations, I will be conducting an interview session which will be scheduled for an hour with 10 learners. I will then select 4-5 learners to participate in a focus group discussion session which will be scheduled for 1 hour.

Please note that:

- A fictitious name will be used instead of real school name.
- Participants’ confidentiality is guaranteed as their inputs will not be attributed to them in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Any information given by participants cannot be used against them, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

- They have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. They will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims at knowing the practices of Secondary school teachers when teaching and promoting reading.
- Their involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

Your positive response to this request will be highly appreciated

Yours Sincerely

N Bhengu

I can be contacted at:

Email: 991232955@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 074 419 4574

My supervisor is Dr. Thabo Msibi who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za

(Tel) 0312603686 (Cell) 072 422 7261

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix D

Education, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear School Board

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

My name is Nompumelelo Bhengu. I am a Masters of Education candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I would like to request your permission to conduct research in your school titled **“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”**.

The aim of the study is to explore how learners in grade 10 respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. To gather the information, I will first observe the learners in the isiZulu classroom twice. From the two observations, I will be conducting an interview session which will be scheduled for an hour with 10 learners. I will then select 4-5 learners to participate in a focus group discussion session which will be scheduled for 1 hour.

Please note that:

- A fictitious name will be used instead of real school name.
- Participants’ confidentiality is guaranteed as their inputs will not be attributed to them in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Any information given by participants cannot be used against them, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

- They have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. They will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims at knowing the practices of Secondary school teachers when teaching and promoting reading.
- Their involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

Your positive response to this request will be highly appreciated

Yours Sincerely

N Bhengu

I can be contacted at:

Email: 991232955@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 074 419 4574

My supervisor is Dr. Thabo Msibi who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za

(Tel) 0312603686 (Cell) 072 422 7261

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix E

Education, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Participants

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project conducted by Nompumelelo Bhengu who is a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. The research is titled **“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”**.

The aim of the study is to explore how learners in grade 10 respond to the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language. To gather the information, I will first observe the learners in the isiZulu classroom. From the observations, I will be conducting two interview sessions which will be scheduled for an hour with 10 learners. I will then select 4-5 learners to participate in a focus group discussion session which will be scheduled for 1 hour.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES/ NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES/ NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes	YES/ NO

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

.....

DATE

.....

I can be contacted at:

Email: 991232955@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: 074 419 4574

My supervisor is Dr. Thabo Msibi who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za

(Tel) 03 1260 3686 (Cell) 072 422 7261

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 4557 E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Appendix F

Observation Schedule

“What is going here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”.

Observation Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday

While observing the grade 10 learners’, I will be keeping the below questions in mind:

1. What strategies are used by teachers when teaching isiZulu?
2. How much time is spent by the teacher on teaching isiZulu?
3. Does the teacher take into consideration the different linguistic background when teaching isiZulu?
4. How engaging are the learners’ during the lesson?
5. What is the general atmosphere in the classroom?

Appendix G

Interview Schedule

“What is happening here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”.

1. What is your home language?
2. How many of your family members speak isiZulu? Explain how often isiZulu is spoken by your family?
3. How often do you speak isiZulu outside the isiZulu classroom?
4. Why did u select isiZulu over Afrikaans? And why?
5. Why do you think that only African learners chose isiZulu and not the other races?
6. What are your thoughts about being taught isiZulu as a First Additional language at what level would you have preferred?
7. Do you think there is value in learning isiZulu as a First Additional language?
8. If you were to talk about isiZulu to you friends what would you say?
9. What aspects in isiZulu do you most enjoy? And why?
10. What aspects in isiZulu do you least enjoy? And why?
11. Are you using a Zulu dictionary? Do you find it useful? Explain
12. Do you read any other material written in isiZulu besides the one in the classroom?
Explain which one and how you find it?
13. Are there any differences between how you are taught isiZulu and other languages?
14. How many times is isiZulu taught in a week?
15. Do you think sufficient time is given to the teaching of isiZulu?
16. Do you think it is important to learn isiZulu?
17. Who do you think speak isiZulu more often? Boys or girls?
18. Do you view isiZulu as a powerful language? Explain your answer.
19. What value do you think isiZulu can add to society?
20. What role do you think isiZulu plays in society?
21. How can isiZulu be promoted in society?

Appendix H

Focus Groups Schedule

“What is happening here? Grade 10 learners’ responses towards the teaching of isiZulu as a First Additional Language in an independent school in Durban”.

1. Tell me about me more about your experiences of being taught isiZulu as a First Additional Language?
2. Do you enjoy being taught isiZulu? Explain your answer.
3. How is isiZulu promoted in your school?
4. What do you find challenging about learning isiZulu? Explain your answer.
5. What have been your experiences with learning isiZulu?
6. Would say isiZulu is it easy or difficult? Explain your answer.
7. Which learning areas in isiZulu do you enjoy or least enjoy?
8. Twenty years after apartheid do you think more people should learn isiZulu? Explain your answer.
9. What do think are the general perceptions about isiZulu?
10. Would you say others shy away from isiZulu? Explain your answer.
11. Can you explain your thinking process that informed your decision to take isiZulu as a First Additional Language?
12. Do you think isiZulu can be useful to South Africa’s diverse society?
13. What do think are the benefits of learning isiZulu?
14. Off all the things discussed today, what to you is the most important thing that you learnt about isiZulu?

