IsiZULU-SPEAKING EDUCATORS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ROLE OF isiZULU IN EDUCATION IN DURBAN.

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTERS OF ARTS (Linguistics) of the University of Natal (Durban)

By

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2001

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts (by course work and dissertation) in the Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Natal (Durban).

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DECLARATION

I, Sandiso Ngcobo, declare that except for the quotations indicated in the text and such help is greatly acknowledged, this thesis is my own original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other university.

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2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the following people:

Professor J.K Chick for the initial supervision and assistance.

Professor N.M. Kamwangamalu for his tireless guidance and encouragement he offered throughout this research.

My wife, Zethu, and our children for their support, understanding and sacrifice.

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ABSTRACT

IsiZulu-speaking educators' attitudes towards the role of isiZulu in education in Durban.

The South African Schools Act (1996) is now in place to allow the governing bodies to decide on language policies for their schools. This has come about as a means to redress the past situation whereby policies were imposed upon schools. The most affected groups of people were Africans since those policies were designed with the sole aim of undermining their home languages. The only two languages that were promoted at all cost were English and Afrikaans. These languages were also used as languages of learning and instructions. This had detrimental effects on the school results of black children as they could not cope to learn in a foreign or second language. Teachers also worked under tremendous pressure as they had to make an extra effort in trying to make learners understand difficult and new concepts. In an effort to redress these problems the new language policy under the new democratic South Africa recommends the use of a home language as a language of learning. It however remains to be investigated what attitudes the black educators have towards this policy as they are the ones who should implement it in their classrooms.

This study set out to investigate the black educators' attitudes on the issue of the role of indigenous languages in education. The focus indigenous language of this study is isiZulu. This is due to the fact that the study was conducted in an isiZulu dominated area, that is in Durban in the region of KwaZulu-Natal. I wanted to ascertain what are the

isiZulu-speaking teachers' attitudes on the role of isiZulu in society and in education. I investigated their attitudes on what languages should be used as languages of teaching and learning and at what levels. I also tried to understand what languages they would prefer to be offered as subjects.

The data of this study were obtained mostly by means of questionnaires and verified through limited but structured interviews. The questionnaire had two sections: Respondents completed the first part of the questionnaire giving their personal details. These were needed to establish whether and to what extent they have an effect on teachers' attitudes. The rest of the questionnaire was directed at eliciting the educators' attitudes towards the role of African languages in education.

This study has two main findings:

First, it was found that the respondents generally favour the use of African languages in education. That is, the majority of respondents favoured the early introduction and continued use of isiZulu as a language of instruction.

Second, some of their responses are self-contradictory to this attitude in that the teachers equally wanted English to be used early in education as well. Some of them envisaged a future where English will continue to dominate the lives of African people. There is a strong evidence of language shift from isiZulu to English.

If the results of this study are anything to go by, then there are serious implications for the new language policy in education. The survival and success of any educational policy

depends on the extent to which it is understood and embraced by the practitioners, in this case educators. Given my findings that most teachers are ambivalent about the new policy, the 'language in education' is in serious trouble.

Based on collected data, it is clear that the teachers were not familiar with the new policy. The policy is likely to fail unless some intervention strategies are taken to address this problem. This made me to recommend that black educators (and parents in general) need to be given an awareness of the current language in education policy and what it attempts to redress.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

South Africa comes from a long and tragic history of resistance to the language medium policy dating as far back as 1953. This history (detailed in 2.3) was characterised by a number of failed language policies in education due to lack of consultation with the people the policies were meant to serve. This was the cause of resistance from individuals, groups and organisations. Such opposition to the policy was however ignored.

It was not until this resistance culminated in the tragic events of 1976 Soweto Uprisings that the Nationalist Party government recognised black people's attitudes towards the language policy designed for their education. It also became clear to policy makers that if they were to succeed, fundamental decisions for other people's lives would need to be made with rather than without people themselves. As a result there is now a growing recognition of the need to probe people's attitudes and to take them into consideration when planning and implementing policy changes that affect them. And in an effort to redress the past, there is now a new Constitution in South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) which embraces language as a basic human right, and multilingualism as national resource. What is significant about this Constitution is that it guarantees that language policy is to be decided democratically. Accordingly, the school governing bodies of South Africa have been assigned the challenging task of determining the language policy for their

schools. It is against this challenge that this study set out to elicit black teachers' attitudes towards the role of indigenous languages in education. The investigation of educators' attitudes is in accordance with Eastman's (1990: 95 claim that it is important to know what people think about a language in order to predict whether it will work as officials intend it to. In a similar vein, de Klerk and Bosch (1994: 52) contend that "Attitudes are obviously vital to success or failure of language policies."

The aim of this study is to ascertain whether African educators are in favour of the use of indigenous languages as medium of instruction. More specifically, this study investigates the attitudes of isiZulu-speaking teachers towards the role of isiZulu as a medium of learning and teaching in the Durban area. Also, by eliciting the teachers' views on what languages should be offered as school subjects, the study seeks to determine the teachers' support and understanding of multilingualism in South Africa. The black educators' views will determine the success or failure of attempts to implement the current multilingual language policy in this country.

The study consists of five chapters organised as follows. This chapter describes the background to the study on isiZulu-speaking teachers' attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages as medium of instruction. It also outlines the key issues to be addressed and defines the key concepts used in the study.

Chapter 2 presents a review of literature that provides a conceptual and a theoretical framework for the study. I discuss the concept 'attitudes' and its related components. I

then move on to theories that serve to account for how attitudes are formed. The theories under discussion are Critical language theory, Ethnolinguistic vitality and Bilingualism theory. I finally review the history of Language-in-Education policy in South Africa since history has a bearing on present attitudes.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology I have adopted to collect data that helped to answer the research questions listed in chapter 1. The issues to be researched are outlined and the choice, design and administration of the research instruments, viz. the questionnaire and semi-structured interview, are discussed.

Chapter 4 outlines the analysis of the collected data and the results of the research are reported. Chapter 5 concludes this study by presenting a summary of the main findings and the implications of these findings for the new language policy.

Appendix 1 contains the questionnaire which I discuss in 3.4.1 and upon which the analysis and findings in chapter 4 are based.

1.1 The context of the study

The main point of this section is to discuss the context under which this study was undertaken. I specifically review the language policy in education and the implications it has for School Governing Bodies and educators.

The School Governing Bodies have been assigned the responsibility of deciding the language policy of their schools. Two documents attest to this responsibility. These are section 3 (4) of the South African Schools Act (1996) and the relevant nine provincial acts and regulations and the Norms and standards regarding language policy in education, issued by the Minister of Education in terms of Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act and gazetted in December 1997. In a statement on the policy issued by the Minister, he made it clear that the policy is integral to the government's strategy of redressing the discrimination of the past, building a non-racial society in South Africa, and creating a new South African identity. In the Minister's words:

"Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being a South African. You will notice that..., we describe multilingualism as the learning of more than one language rather than more than two languages. ... The underlying policy principle...is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). ... This paradigm also presupposes a more fluid relationship between languages and culture than is generally understood in the Eurocentric model which we have inherited in South Africa. It accepts *a priori* that there is no contradiction in a multicultural society between a core of common cultural traits, beliefs, practices etc., and particular sectional or communal cultures".

These documents mandate school governing bodies to decide on two basic language issues. The first is the official language or languages of learning (that is, medium of

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instruction) that will be used. The second is the languages that their schools will offer as subjects (learning areas), and at what levels (first, second or third languages). On this issue of language as learning area, choices include the official South African languages as well as, in some cases, 'foreign', community or religious languages (those approved for educational use by the department such as Arabic, Portuguese, Greek, Hebrew and Hindi) the governing bodies wish to have taught in their schools.

In the Department of Education documentation the emphasis appears to be very much on developing multilingualism within a framework of additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism involves gaining competence in a second language while the first language is maintained. Accordingly, schools are 'strongly encouraged' to offer at least two languages of 'learning and instruction' from Grade 1, at least one of which should be a 'home language' among significant numbers of learners in the school. From Grade 1, two languages must be learnt as subjects. From Grade 4 learners 'should be strongly encouraged' to take a third language. In Grades 7-12 at least two languages must be passed. The E*ducation White Paper* 2 (1996:4) states:

> "We will not promote, under any circumstances, the use of only one of the official languages of learning (medium of instruction) in all public schools. Language policy in education cannot thrive in an atmosphere of coercion. No language community should have reason to fear that the education system will be used to suppress its mother tongue."

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These documents are backed by Luckett's (1993: 22) assertion that for African pupils, the African languages should be taught both as subjects and media of instruction at least throughout primary schooling. She further states that some subjects should continue to be taught in the African languages throughout secondary schooling as well. Alternatively, using both languages in the same lesson could ensure that pupils study the subject matter in their first language at the highest intellectual level and at the same time increase their learning of English. Luckett's (ibid) view is that :

"Not only will genuinely bilingual education offer greater language learning opportunities, but the greater use of the African languages as media of instruction will go a long way towards ensuring their high status in society."

I assume that the reason governing bodies were given this responsibility regarding the right to choose the language of teaching is that the Regulation wished to avoid the mistakes of the past. The previous language in education policy failed because the wishes of the majority of stakeholders were not taken into account. In order to decide on a policy that will not only satisfy the requirements of the school policy but be acceptable to the school community, school governing bodies will need to communicate with all stakeholders. One of the important stakeholders, since they are better informed on language teaching issues than most other stakeholders and because they will be responsible for the implementation of the school policy once decided upon, are the teachers. Moreover, teachers are not only represented in the structures of the School Governing Bodies but tend to be elected as members of the School Governing Bodies at

schools where they have their own children. This is because they are believed to be more informed about educational matters and are in a good position to advise other members. The main point that makes teachers very important for this study is that research indicates that they tend to hold attitudes towards students' abilities and performance based on accent and dialect (Edwards 1982). Some of these studies (e.g. Edwards 1982) indicate that non-standard forms can bias teachers' judgments in a negative direction. Edwards (1982: 27) also makes the point that 'since teachers are people first, we should not be surprised that they too have ... language attitudes ...'. Furthermore, Edwards (*ibid.*: 28) notes, citing Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, that 'regardless of overtly expressed attitudes ... teachers are quite likely to be influenced by what they perceive as the deviant speech... thus potentially inhibiting the students' desire to learn' (1972: 105).

It is therefore crucial to find out whether African teachers are ready to embrace the changes suggested by the new language policy that should mostly benefit the African children or whether they would rather perpetuate the domination of their own people. According to McGroarty (1996: 24-25) teachers are often regarded (and may regard themselves) as preeminently enforcers of prescriptive linguistic norms (grammar, spelling, or punctuation "police"). Because of this teachers may view their principal linguistic responsibility as one of inculcating "correct language" without realizing that, even for educated native speakers, natural and correct language includes a variety of language forms, not a single variant (Beebe, 1988; Milroy and Milroy, 1985).

It is against this fore-mentioned background information that this study was undertaken. The study was undertaken as a means to avoid repeating past mistakes which resulted in a failure of language-in- education policies due to lack of consultation with the people the policies were meant to serve. Teachers were chosen as the participants in this study due to the fact that they are the ones who should implement the policy. It is hoped that the findings of this study will be beneficial to School Governing Bodies members as they have been assigned the task of making decisions on the language matters investigated by this study. In the following section I shall outline the central questions that this study set out to address.

1.2 Research questions

This study is concerned with the attitudes towards the role of indigenous languages in education held by isiZulu-speaking educators teaching in some of the historically black primary and secondary schools situated in the Durban area. In the course of addressing this broad aim I consider the following questions:

a. What are the teachers' attitudes on the role of indigenous

languages in society and in education ?

b. What are the attitudes of these teachers on what should be languages of

teaching and learning and at what levels?

c. What are teachers' attitudes about what languages should be offered as

subjects?

d. What are the implications of language attitudes for the language policy and language

maintenance ?

These questions were kept in mind when formulating the questionnaire (Appendix 1) which I used for data collection purposes (see 3.4.1). I shall turn to the broad issues I also investigated in this study.

1.3 Broad issues to be investigated

This section reviews the issue of language inequality and how this might impact on the findings of this study. A discussion of this nature is relevant because of the fact that indigenous languages such as isiZulu compete with well established and prestigious languages like English and Afrikaans in South Africa. I discuss this issue in terms of the diglossic relationship that exists between isiZulu and English and Afrikaans.

Ferguson (1959) coined the term diglossia to refer to multi-lingual situations where there is a 'high' or more prestigious variety and a low variety that has an inferior status. Fishman (1977) has extended the definition of diglossia to include situations where two genetically unrelated languages are used in the community, one in formal settings and the other in informal settings. It would appear that the relationship between indigenous languages and English is a diglossic one in this country. In KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), for example, English is the 'high' variety used in most prestigious public domains, and isiZulu is the 'low' variety used in less prestigious local community and domestic domains. In addition, English on its own is diglossic because it has 'high' and 'low' varieties. Lippi-Green (1994: 188) refers to standard language discrimination in the USA and the tendency for employers to hear with an accent – the accent of the 'intolerant

empowered mainstream', and remarks that schools, the broadcast and print media and the entertainment industry work together to promote standard language ideology. In the new South Africa, however, policy changes in education and broadcast media have resulted in many accents of English and African languages being used freely. In spite of all these policy changes, Nortje and Wissing (1996: 142) caution that the question of whether these varieties and languages will now be acceptable to a greater extent in prestigious domains, especially amongst teachers who are influential in determining norms, and whether the standard South African English form and English in general will retain its prestige has yet to be answered.

This research will address the issue of whether or not current socio-political changes in South Africa are conducive to the erosion or to the consolidation of these two levels of diglossia between isiZulu and English. The views of teachers will be taken as an index of their reading of these changes. It will also examine the problems and challenges for language teaching and learning practices posed by this erosion or consolidation.

1.4 Key concepts

There are a few key concepts that inform the argument I present in this dissertation. For the sake of clarity I will, at the early stage of the dissertation briefly explain what I mean by these concepts.

1.4.1 Attitudes

A simple definition of the concept "attitude" that informed this study is by Ajzen (1988: 4) who states that an attitude is 'a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an

object, person, institution, or event'. For example, a language could be an object being seen as favourable or unfavourable. I devote more time to this concept in the next chapter.

1.4.2 Bilingualism

It is the ability to use two (or more) languages. There are degrees of bilingualism; at one extreme are people who have native-like control over two languages and at the other extreme are people who have just begun to acquire a second language. There are two types of bilingualism discussed in this study, additive and subtractive bilingualism (see 2.3.3).

1.4.3 Indigenous Languages

This is the term used in the Constitution of South Africa to refer to the 9 official African languages.

1.4.4 Language maintenance

This denotes the efforts made by a community to prevent the erosion or decline of their language.

1.4.5 Language shift

This generally refers to the process by which one language displaces another in the linguistic repertoire of a community.

1.4.6 Language varieties

These are different ways of using language which are associated with particular categories of user (speaker) or of use (function).

1.4.7 Medium of instruction (MoI)

This is the language through which teaching and learning are conducted in a given educational institution. The issue being investigated is the use of African languages as MoI.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the literature

2.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature concerning language attitudes. The chapter will be divided into five sections. Section 2.1 provides a definition of the concept 'attitudes' and its related components. First, in 2.1.1 I will discuss the definition of the concept 'attitudes' (Ajzen 1988) adopted in this study. And because of the complex nature of attitudes I will then outline the components that help to further illustrate the nature of attitudes (Fasold 1984). In 2.1.2 I discuss affective, behavioural and cognitive components of attitudes (Triandis 1971). In 2.1.3 I then discuss another dimension of attitudes comprising two components, viz., integrative and instrumental motivations (Hofman 1977, Gardner and Lambert 1972). Section 2.2 reviews the theories on how language attitudes are formed. Among theories reviewed here are Critical Language Theory (Tollefson 1991, Pennycook 1994), which contributes to an understanding of how the development and maintenance of standard varieties serve the interests of the elites; Ethnolinguistic Vitality (Giles *et al.* 1991, Giles & Johnson 1981), which provides a way of accounting for the competing strengths of languages or varieties that are in contact; and the Theory of Bilingualism (Baker 1988, 1997), which explains the motives and needs that lead a person to stay bilingual or reject one language in favour of another language. Finally, section 3 briefly reviews the history of Language-in-Education policy

for African people as it has a bearing on how language attitudes are formed and helps to co-determine future language behaviour (Verhoef 1998).

2.1. The meaning of attitudes

This study is concerned with language attitudes and therefore it is critical that at the outset the issue of attitudes be discussed in detail. Language attitudes concern themselves with language related matters. These matters would include attitudes toward language policy, language use and language learning. For example, the investigation of attitudes towards a language policy could help to partly predict its success in the community it is intended for. Language policy and language use are some of the complex issues regarding attitudes this study also set out to investigate.

Accordingly, like most language-attitude works, this study is based on a *mentalist* view of attitudes (Fasold 1984). As Fasold puts it,

'if attitude is an internal state of readiness, rather than an observable response,

we must depend on the person's reports of what their attitudes are or infer

attitudes indirectly from observable behaviour patterns' (1984: 147).

In this regard, attitude entails the feelings or beliefs that people claim to hold in relation to the issue or object in hand. I shall now define the concept of "attitudes" and attendant

categories of attitudes to provide the background against which the research questions outlined in section 1.2 will be addressed.

2.1.1 The concept "Attitudes"

The definition of the concept "attitudes" adopted in this study is the one provided by Ajzen (1988), as I have found it more relevant than other definitions of "attitudes". For Ajzen (1988: 4), an attitude is 'a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event'. According to this definition, an individual's perception of an object is based on their experience with it. Such an experience would influence their favourable or unfavourable attitude toward that particular object. In the case of this study, a language can be considered to be an object that is perceived favourably or unfavourably by teachers. The study intended to locate isiZulu-speaking teachers' thoughts concerning multilingual issues as they apply to schools' language policies. This study specifically investigates the educators' attitudes towards the use of isiZulu as a language of learning. It is intended to establish whether the educators are in favour of this move which is aimed at giving recognition to the first language of African learners in education as against the use of English as the only language of learning.

Language attitudes are complex phenomena. What follows is a discussion of various components of attitudes. The first three parts under discussion are the affective, behavioural and cognitive. This is followed by a discussion of motivations for learning a language that could also influence attitudes; these are instrumental and integrative motivations.

2.1.2 The three components of attitudes

In accordance with the mentalist definition of attitudes adopted in this study, attitudes are considered to have subparts (Fasold 1984: 148). According to this view, attitudes are commonly viewed as comprising three components, viz., affective, behavioural and cognitive (Triandis 1971). A discussion of each of these components follows.

Affective attitudes

The affective component incorporates an individual's positive or negative feelings or emotions towards an object, a situation or a person. The feelings may concern like or dislike of a language, language variety, or an anxiety about learning another language. What this suggests is that attitudes are often subconscious and not based on rational explanation. For example, different teachers might express positive or negative feelings towards the use of isiZulu as a language of learning based on their impression of the linguistic difficulty or simplicity and the degree of importance or status the language has in the community. Such attitudes could however be difficult to explain in words when a person is asked to do so. A black parent may feel that the early exposure to English for a child will determine educational success but he be unable to adequately explain how this is possible when shown contrary research findings on the issue. For example, Roodt (*The Star* 23.09.2000) notes that the province with the highest matric pass rate (80%) in South Africa is the Western Cape. He argues that this is also due to the fact that the number of pupils receiving mother tongue instruction, especially in Afrikaans, in that province is

also 80%. This gives the impression that we would probably achieve the same in KwaZulu-Natal if isiZulu was to be used as a language of learning and examinations. It however remains to be seen whether teachers in this province will be in favour of such a move. The affective component of attitudes informs us that feelings and emotions may irrationally influence attitudes.

Behavioural attitudes

The behavioural aspect involves a person 's intentions to act in a certain way towards an object and these intentions are related to the affective component. This suggests that one who has some emotional reaction to an object might be assumed to act on this basis (Edwards 1980: 20). However, in this study I found that there is often an inconsistency between attitude and behaviour. For example, teachers who favour the continued sole use of English as a language of learning might act by sending their children to English medium schools. On the other hand, others who express negative attitudes towards English could equally be found sending their children to English-medium schools where English domination is perpetuated. For these parents or teachers there could be other motivations for them sending their children to these schools (see 2.2.2). This suggests that the behaviour of individuals is influenced by a range of factors in addition to attitudes. As Ajzen (1988: 45) argues,

> 'Every particular instance of human action is, in this way, determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so light, might produce a different reaction'.

Ajzen's argument is validated by the inconsistency in the findings of my analysis of the collected data that I report on in chapter 4. Teachers tended to express self-contradictory opinions on the issues investigated.

Cognitive attitudes

Thirdly, attitudes may have a cognitive component. The cognitive component incorporates knowledge and beliefs about the object. According to Gagne (1985), an individual will have a positive attitude towards an aspect he fully understands and knows because he has thought about it. For example, a teacher's favourable attitude to the use of isiZulu as a language of learning across the curriculum might entail a stated belief in the importance of continuity of the indigenous language, its value in the transmission of Zulu culture and use in immersion education. On the other hand, teachers who favour the continued use of English across the curriculum could also do so under the common sense belief that it is the most natural choice, whereas, such beliefs could be said to be ideological in nature and only serve to maintain the *status quo* (Tollefson 1991: 12). In my opinion, it is not always the case that people will have a positive attitude towards something they really know and understand. Some of the attitudes could merely be based on feelings. For example, not all participants in this study could be said to be fully familiar with issues of the latest language-in-education policy. This was evident in some of the responses that emerged in this study which indicated a lack of awareness of the

policy and the issues it attempts to redress for the benefit of the African child and the nation as a whole.

To sum up, theoretically attitudes comprise three elements, these being affective (feelings), behavioural (action) and cognitive (thoughts). However, in practice the concept of 'attitude' should not be seen as a combination of these components as it does not simply mean that if one knows or believes in something and has some emotional reaction to it that one may, therefore, be assumed to act on this basis. This is due to the fact that there is often inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to these attitudes. This is particularly so in the domain of language attitudes. This view is also shared by Fishman (1977: 308) who asserts that "indeed, acquiring, using and liking English are imperfectly (if at all) related to each other". The implication is that attitudes are too complex to categorise in certain compartments. In reality they are different from actual behaviour and tend to be affected by the context. The findings of this study confirm this conclusion. Teachers gave conflicting responses in their answers to the different questions of the questionnaire and during interviews. I now turn to another set of components of attitudes, namely the motivations for attitudes.

2.1.3 Instrumental and Integrative motivations ✓

Another way of categorising attitudes that is commonly employed by linguists (Hofman 1977, Gardner and Lambert 1972) is the 'motivation' that people may have for holding favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards a language. Motivation refers to the

combination of desire and effort made to achieve a goal; it links the individual's rationale for any activity such as language learning with the range of behaviours and degree of effort employed in achieving goals (Gardner 1985). In this section, I wish to argue that both instrumental and integrative motivations play a role in the language attitudes of individuals and groups of people and, therefore, require consideration in this study. The discussion of these components might help to shed light on motivating factors for favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards the role in education of indigenous languages as held by isiZulu-speaking teachers. I make a distinction between these concepts and relate them to available research.

Instrumental motivation

According to Gardner & Lambert (1972: 72), instrumental motivation is characterised by a 'desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language'. It reflects pragmatic, utilitarian motives that could help one to get on in life which 'might be, for example, for vocational reasons, status, achievement, personal success, self enhancement, self actualisation or basic security and survival' (Baker, 1992: 32). The questionnaire I used in this study also elicited perceptions of instrumental value relating to choice of a language of learning and language for future use in private and public domains.

According to Young (1995: 64) speakers of indigenous languages forsake their first languages because of the perception that the target language is the language of power,

upward social mobility, access to learning, employment, and improved quality of life. An attitude of this nature is clearly influenced by instrumental motives. Research conducted among second language speakers of English in this country indicates that this perception is quite common amongst black South Africans. For example, in a study of attitudes in the Eastern Cape, de Klerk & Bosch (1994) sought to assess, through a questionnaire, conscious opinions of the speakers of the three main languages in the region, namely Xhosa, English and Afrikaans. Among the items intended to elicit perceptions of instrumental value were those relating to choice of official language, medium of instruction and 'language for success'. The responses of Xhosa speakers to these items provide a clear illustration of the generally positive perceptions that these second-language speakers have for English: 72,2 percent preferred English to Xhosa or Afrikaans as the official language; 65,3 percent favoured English as medium of instruction; and 85,9 percent identified English as the language of success. This study also intended to investigate the perceptions of African teachers as they are expected to help revive the status of indigenous languages. Educators are expected to highlight to their communities and children the increasing needs for the African languages in this country. When, for example, African educators send their own children to English-medium schools other parents will be reluctant to send theirs to isiZulu-medium schools, that is, those that use isiZulu as the medium of instruction for the first 4 years in education.

Integrative motivation

An integrative motivation to a language is, according to Baker (1992: 32), mostly social and interpersonal in orientation. Baker asserts that it has been defined as the desire to be like representatives members of the other language community (Gardner and Lambert, 1972: 14). It could equally be said of parents who favour early exposure to English for their children that they want them to have a full command of English and speak like first language speakers. This was evident when educators were asked to indicate what variety of English we should encourage our African children to speak (see question 4 of the questionnaire). The South African Standard White English, often associated with model C schools, was favoured by 63% of the respondents with only 19% in favour of Black South African English. Such an attitude from black teachers who stigmatize their own speech serves to endorse dominant middle-class values.

Further to this, a favourable attitude towards the continued sole use of English as a language of learning could be perceived as an integrative attitude in this study. If teachers believe that being able to speak S.A Standard English will make one belong to the educated group of Africans they will likely favour its usage more than African languages. And because of this belief they would tend to prefer to send their children to English-medium schools as the findings of this study indicate. The downside to this practice is that, as Versfeld (1995: 24-25) reports, many African-language speakers moving into the English first language schools are shying away from their own language which they

regard as inferior or useless. To illustrate this point, Versfeld cites a Zimbabwean teacher:

> Quite a number of those kids who have been to school with whites don't speak Shona any more. You can compare the way I speak to the way they speak – it's different. And some of them make you feel inferior because of that...
>
> We have a name for them. We call them the 'Nose Brigade'. Because those who are in the Nose Brigade speak through the nose, and we speak through the mouth...
>
> Some of the Nose Brigade actually pretend they don't speak any Shona or Ndebele. That's the one thing I don't like (Frederikse 1992: 64-65).

Though the above quote is based on the situation in another country, I believe it has some relevance for the South African situation and this study. It suggests that some individuals, particularly in black communities, reject their identity in order to climb some perceived hierarchy. It is indeed also common to hear remarks of this nature in this country made against those children who attend English medium schools. I have also personally witnessed situations where young black children speak English among themselves as if they have no knowledge of their African language. This indicates that they have developed an inferiority complex about their culture and language. Fasold (1984: 208) argues that language choice is seen as evidence of a person's desire to be associated with the values of one speech community or another. According to Fasold (1984: 213), when a community forsakes its own language completely in favour of another one, language shift

occurs. Language shift refers to the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community. According to Edwards (1985: 50) when language shift occurs it often reflects "...the pragmatic desires for social mobility and an improved standard of living." This situation seems to be taking place among African people of South Africa in that the younger generation is more and more getting exposed to English than the indigenous languages. These shifts are mostly accelerated because many African parents choose to send their children to English medium schools for economic and social reasons. Fishman (1989: 206) however warns that,

> 'What begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within 3 generations or so , as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts'

Indigenous languages are therefore at a risk of disappearing if black communities continue to have a high regard for English at the expense of their home languages.

In summing up this aspect of attitudes, it emerges that attitudes towards a language are sometimes determined by the perceived functions that language serves in a particular society. When people think there are important benefits in learning a language they will be in favour of that language. Reasons for a favourable attitude towards a language could include to pass exams, further career prospects and have access to a high-paying job. Such reasons are termed instrumental motivation. On the other hand, wanting to associate with or be like speakers in another language community could also be another cause of

favourable attitude towards a language. This is termed integrative motivation. These different motivations need to be borne in mind when investigating a people's attitudes towards a language.

2.2 Theoretical aspects of attitudes

In this section I review the literature on Critical Language Theory, Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Bilingual Theory as they provide useful information on how language attitudes are formed.

2.2.1 Critical Language Theory

The literature on Critical Language Theory highlights the relationship between power and language. It brings to light the common-sense assumptions society has about language as a result of the ideological workings of language. I examine this theory as it serves to explain how those in power, educators in the case of this study, help in perpetuating existing power relationships between English and African languages.

According to Tollefson (1991: 9) "power refers to the ability to achieve one's goals and to control events through intentional action". He explains that power is not a characteristic of individuals in isolation but as something that they exercise because of their social relationships within institutional structures that provide meaning to their actions and also limit them. In the case of this study, teachers' attitudes to the language

issues at hand should be understood in this context. Teachers by virtue of their positions at schools where they work, are in power. Their role is to maintain the standards set out in the institutions where they serve. On the other hand, learners are in a powerless position that makes them vulnerable to the influence of teachers in a positive or negative way. Teachers can use their position of power and the institution in which they work to promote the goals of the new multilingual policy if they have favourable attitudes towards what it stands for. They can equally work against the policy if they have unfavourable attitudes towards it. The kind of power that teachers have is what Tollefson (1995: 2) calls "ideological power". Tollefson (ibid) refers to ideological power as the ability to project one's own practices and beliefs as universal and commonsense. These beliefs serve to justify exclusionary policies and sustain inequality. Unfortunately, the African teachers that we have today are a product of education that strongly undermined indigenous languages to the benefit of English. As a result English came to be accepted as the language of power associated with economical and social mobility that every African person should strive for in order to survive and have a better future. In this way the dominant group was able to establish the hegemony which is the "successful production and reproduction of ideology" (Tollefson 1991: 12). Teachers are also capable of exercising their ideological power upon the powerless learners at their schools. This is more likely because of the fact that education and literacy education in particular "are among the primary institutions that promulgate ideological power"(Auerbach 1995: 10). In this country it has also been common for African teachers to force learners to speak English at all times whilst in the school premises. Those who failed to do so would be

punished in various ways. It is my belief that there are no more such practices in South African schools.

The results of this study, which I report on in chapter 4, indicate a high level of support for English as a language of power and success by isiZulu-speaking educators. What emerges in the report is that ideological power succeeds in ensuring control through consent rather than coercion.

Fairclough (1989: 33-34) makes the distinction between coercive and consensual power by first defining coercive power as a situation where someone is made to do something through force or threat of force. This type of power is nonetheless costly to exercise and as such it is less favoured than consensual power. Fairclough (ibid) describes consensual power as more efficient because it is used in a more visible manner for the day-to-day maintenance of social order. What makes consensual power convenient is that it is, according to Corson (1991: 235), a "non-coercive force" which is capable of penetrating consciousness so that "the dominated become accomplices in their own domination". In this manner, they accept the linguistic norms created by dominant groups while not being aware that they are being "voluntary coerced". This suggests that domination is more effective when it is with the dominee's consent. African teachers are more than likely to be victims of this type of power for they still believe that English is the language of power even though present language policies state and demand the contrary. For example, the findings of this study indicate that 76% of the respondents prefer to send their children to English-medium schools. In so doing, it could be said that it is with their

consent that their children should be denied access to their mother tongue because in most of the schools their children go to isiZulu is not used or taught. The few schools that give recognition to isiZulu offer it as a third language after Afrikaans. African educators appear to be under the misconception that the choice of English as a language of learning is neutral and free of politics. On the other hand, Fairclough (1989: 33) warns that practices "which appear to be universal and common-sensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant bloc".

Previous language policies must equally be viewed in this light. They were deliberately engineered with the ideology that would perpetuate the maintenance of relations of power through the manipulation of meaning in a manner that would disguise those relations. This view is expressed by Tollefson who sees language policy as part of the state's disciplinary power by which it structures 'into the institutions of society the differentiation of individuals into "insiders" and "outsiders" (1991: 207). In speaking about the same situation different scholars use different concepts. Scotton (1993: 149) refers to this strategy as 'elite closure' whereas Pennycook (1994: 14) asserts that 'English functions as a gatekeeper to positions of prestige in society'. This view seems to exist in this country as recent attitude studies (Webb 1992; De Klerk and Bosch 1994) suggest. In particular, the studies show that English is still popularly associated, firstly, with wealth, prestige and statusful employment and, secondly, with favourable personal traits. And since the present majority of African educators are a product of the type of education that was based on the ideology that promoted English and Afrikaans at the expense of African languages it is not surprising that in some instances in this study they

favour English more than their own language. This was apparent in response to the last question of the questionnaire that required teachers to indicate which of the two languages, between isiZulu and English, the learners are most likely to use in future. 78% of the respondents anticipated a future in which English will continue to dominate isiZulu. However, if press reports are anything to go by, it does not look like this might happen as African languages seem to be recognised by advertisers and computer businesses as languages of success. For example, Laing, *The Star* (12.09.2000) notes that:

> One of Microsoft's Windows 2000's key selling points is that
>
> it supports 126 different locales.
>
> These include nearly half of South Africa's official languages:
>
> Windows 2000 has locales for Afrikaans, South African English,
>
> Tsonga, Xhosa and Zulu.

African languages are seemingly gaining some recognition which should make them attractive as languages that ensure people's full participation in the country's economic development.

2.2.2 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

In this section I discuss Ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles *et al.* 1991), into which accommodation theory (Giles & Johnson 1981) slots, as it provides a way of accounting for the competing strengths of languages or varieties that are in contact. By assessing the

relative ethnolinguistic vitalities of isiZulu and English I hope to be able to make tentative predictions about the likelihood of one or the other spreading.

Ethnolinguistic vitality deals with the social, economic and political strength of the ethnic or linguistic group, the idea being that just as socially subordinate individuals display greater accommodation (Giles *et al.* 1991:20) so low vitality groups are more likely to adopt accommodating behaviour (convergent or divergent). In simple terms this suggests that ethnolinguistic vitality can help one to predict the likelihood of one or other language or variety spreading where they are competing with others. By investigating the attitudes of educators towards the role-in-education of isiZulu this study intended to ascertain the chances of African languages surviving against the long domination of English in this country and the world over. In Giles and Ryan's view (1982) the linguistic vitality of a language or vitality can be determined through the combination of three factors, namely, *demographics, group status* and *institutional support.*

Demographics relate to the number of speakers of a language in a particular society and their distribution throughout urban, regional and national territories. Demographic variables also include groups' rates of immigration, emigration and endogamy, as well as their birth rates. Group status relates to matters such as language groups' sociohistorical prestige, social and economic status, as well as the status of the languages used by speakers locally and internationally. Institutional support refers to the extent to which members of the language group are represented in public spheres such as the media,

education, government and industry. What I would like to do next is to explain how this information relates to the present study.

Demographically, isiZulu is the dominant language in KZN. 80% of the people in this province have isiZulu as their first language (cf. Maartens, 1998: 22-23). In addition, according to Statistics South Africa (1998) isiZulu has the highest number of speakers (23%) in this country. These figures favour the use of isiZulu in the education of this province. On the contrary, isiZulu enjoys less status compared to English according to thefindings of this study. Respondents in this study view English as the language of education, business and social mobility. IsiZulu is considered as a language for cultural heritage and private use. According to Chick (1996) this indicates that the relationship between English and isiZulu is a diglossic one (c.f. Ferguson, 1959) i.e., one in which the two languages are used in different domains. For example, English is the 'high' variety used in most prestigious public domains, and isiZulu is the 'low' variety used in less prestigious local community and domestic domains. Chick (1996) argues that such a situation reflects inequalities in the society. This happens because native speakers of English and English L2 speakers who are highly proficient in the language tend to enjoy more power than those who are speakers of isiZulu even though political regulations give equal status to all South African languages. This is more apparent in domains such as business, education and the media. For example, the politicians often conduct their speeches in English even though their constituency comprises largely of the uneducated masses who have very little knowledge of English. The findings in this study indicate that African people seem to recognize this confusion as they evaluate English in a more

positive way than isiZulu. Despite having speakers of indigenous languages occupying

positions of power in many institutions in this region and the country as a whole English

remains the key prerequisite for access to resources and employment. For example, black

television presenters tend to speak more English than African languages. There are also

programmes that have African titles and black presenters, such as *Lebone, Selimathunzi*

and *Woza Weekend*, but are delivered mostly in English. According to Chick (1996) this

type of situation indicates that diglossia is stabilising than being eroded with race-based

inequalities apparently being replaced by class-based inequalities. The results of his study

indicate that the diglossic relationship between isiZulu and English is stabilising. The

isiZulu-speaking respondents in this study also anticipate using mostly English rather

than isiZulu in public and private domains in the future.

2.2.3 Bilingual Theory

The theory of bilingualism relates to attitude because the acquisition of another language

may be seen as a threat to the maintenance of one's own culture, and "such feelings of

potential danger from language acquisition detract from a motivation to learn the

language" (Gardner, 1982: 142). Such feelings are common among black South Africans

when it comes to the learning of English. They fear that when children acquire English

they will adopt the foreign culture of which it is a part, such as despising their own

culture and showing disrespect to adults. This section explores this view and

demonstrates how it relates to language attitudes.

The aforementioned view of a second language as a threat to one's culture is also expressed by wakaMsimang (1988) in an article that featured in *The Mercury* newspaper. The article focuses on the high failure rate (69,5%) of black matriculants in 1997 and targets the use of English as a medium of instruction as the cause of language decay among speakers of indigenous languages who choose to attend English medium schools. He views the use of English as harmful to isiZulu for it introduces borrowed words into isiZulu and injects African children with Western values. This is due, claims wakaMsimang (1998), to the ignorance of and disrespect for Zulu customs and language. I agree with these views as I have observed the effects of using English as a language of learning on isiZulu-speaking learners. Matriculants and learners in lower grades continue to struggle to make good pass marks throughout their schooling. For example, in 1999 the matric pass rate was so low in many black schools to the point that the department of education decided to close matric classes in those schools that performed below 20%. This action fails to address the core of the problem, that is, the language of learning.

When schools were dissegregated a large number of black parents sent their children into English medium schools. However, most of the children could not cope with studying through English as a language of learning. Their teachers, most of whom are English L1 speakers, could not help for, unlike black teachers, they have no knowledge of nor an interest in the children's mother tongue. If they had knowledge of the pupils' mother tongue, they would use it to explain difficult concepts as black teachers do. Even the pupils who manage to pass appear to enter tertiary institutions with limited skills in English. They often find themselves having to attend bridging courses because the level

of English they have does not prepare them for the more complex academic and cognitive tasks required at tertiary level. This places them at a disadvantage. Unfortunately, the detrimental effects of teaching African children through English as a first language has not come to the attention of many black parents. Roodt (*Saturday Star*, 23.09.2000) reports that a recent survey showed that 98% of black parents in the Pretoria area want their children to be educated in English. Granville et al. (1998: 259) warns of a possibility of 'language death' which requires serious and immediate attention. Granville (ibid) further cites Day (in Pennycook 1994: 14) who calls this situation a 'linguistic genocide'. Granville argues that language diversity is crucially important for maintaining diverse cultural identities, knowledge and ways of reading the world, that are central to functioning with flexibility and innovativeness in the modern world. She therefore asserts that any policy that guarantees parents access to the language of power for their children has simultaneously to ensure the growth and development of all languages in a multilingual society. This is exactly what the present language in education policy aims to address. According to Sears (1998: 14) black children learning through English in English-medium schools should rather become balanced bilinguals with a high level of competence in both languages. This positive outcome of learning a second language as against the negative one, which is threatening, is best described in Lambert's concepts (Lambert, 1974) of additive and subtractive bilingualism.

According to Cenoz and Genesee (1998: 24), Lambert (1974) was the first to distinguish between additive and subtractive forms of bilingualism. They explain that additive bilingualism tends to occur in situations where the first language is valued and

acquisition of a second language does not replace the first language. On the contrary, subtractive bilingualism tends to occur in situations where there is pressure to replace a socially non-dominant first language with a second, more socially dominant language. Additive bilingualism is obviously the preferable option to subtractive bilingualism for black children and promotion of multi-lingualism in this country because of the benefits associated with it. For example, Ortiz (1999) refers to monolingualism as a handicap, and adds that even if the language is a world language, the speakers would see the world in a limited dimension. It is indeed stipulated in the South Africa's Language-in-Education policy document (1997):

"whichever route is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s). Hence the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our Language-in-Education policy."

This is also in line with Sears' (1998: 14) view of "balanced bilinguals" mentioned above. In this manner, both languages and their cultures are valued so that they both have a positive impact on a learner's social and cognitive development. This could be achieved by introducing English alongside the primary language of African children. The findings of this study indicate that educators are also aware of this fact. This is evident in their response to the question (3) requiring them to indicate the level at which they would favour the introduction of (3.1) English and (3.2) isiZulu as languages of learning. 59,3% of the respondents preferred to have English introduced as early as grade 0 (R or pre-

school), and a further 20,6% wanted it at grade 1 (see Table 5a). Responses about isiZulu also followed about the same pattern with 54,6% favouring grade 0 and 21,3% in support of grade 1 (see Table 5b). Teachers' attitudes here are that isiZulu should have a role in the education of African children. This attitude is parallel to Luckett's (1993: 22) opinion that for African pupils, the African languages should be taught both as subjects and media of instruction at least throughout primary schooling. Additive bilingualism is therefore more favoured by black educators and this augurs well for the promotion of multilingualism in this country.

On the contrary, subtractive bilingualism, as practised in most English-medium schools where isiZulu-speaking educators (and black parents in general) prefer to send their children for better education, is detrimental to the maintenance of black learners' first language and their academic success. A large number of parents who send their children to these schools actually do so under the false belief that English is more important than the vernacular and the sooner their children are exposed to it the better educationally. Unfortunately the opposite often happens as Slabbert's (1994) findings suggest. Slabbert (1994: 7) found that pupils' comprehension levels of very basic conversational English was very low thus suggesting that monolingual educational communication through the medium of English will deprive the majority of African pupils of effective communication in the classroom. The African parents' support for the early and sole use of English, however, needs to be understood in its historical context rather than as being naïve of those parents or black people in general. According to Kamwangamalu (2000:55) many black parents still view mother-tongue instruction with suspicion

because of its association with an inferior education, a legacy of apartheid. In the next section I discuss the history of Language-in-Education policy as far as black South Africans are concerned to demonstrate how it could have contributed to present dubious attitudes towards multilingual education.

2.3 History of language-in-education policy

According to St Clair (1982: 164), to understand fully how language attitudes develop it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation. This view is also shared by Verhoef (1998: 185) who argues that the South African community's past encounters with multilingualism would influence its present beliefs regarding multilingualism and would co-determine future language behaviour. I believe a review of the history of language-in-education policy for black people is relevant for this study as it will help to put into perspective the present attitudes towards multilingualism. This means that the attitudes of black teachers in this study towards the use of isiZulu as a language of learning would be better understood against the general past experience of black people with mother tongue instruction. In this section I therefore briefly review the history of mother tongue instruction for black people in South Africa as it helps to demonstrate how English became to be perceived as a superior language to indigenous languages. The discussion will focus on both missionary and apartheid education.

The early form of education for black South Africans was conducted through the medium of English. This was due to the fact that black education was largely run by English speaking missionaries who had the backing of the British colonial government (Christie, 1985). The use of indigenous languages was very minimal in these schools. According to Alexander (1989: 20) the result was

> For the colonised people themselves… that English language and English cultural traits acquired an economic and social value that was treasured above all else while their own languages and many of their cultural traits were devalued and often despised. A typical colonised mind… became one of the most potent weapons of colonial policy… .

The above quote shows how early the status of English over indigenous languages developed. Not only did black people learn the new language but they also took all that came with it. We also see the same thing happening today with African children who school at English-medium schools. Children devalue their own languages and as a result they end up being unable to speak or write in these languages. They also lose their cultural traits and adopt foreign customs that come along with English, of customs that are considered disrespectful in the African culture (see 2.1.3).

The situation worsened when the National Party (N.P) government came to power and took control of black education. The N.P saw English as a threat to Afrikaans and then did everything in its power to discourage it. Crucial to this was the passing of the

notorious Bantu Education Act of 1953 which among other things introduced Afrikaans alongside English as the medium of instruction for secondary schooling and the use of mother-tongue instruction in grades 1-4. Both these rulings reflected the Apartheid ideology. Gough (1986: 454) asserts that English and Afrikaans had to be learned so that blacks could function "as effective servants of the White state". Mother tongue instruction in primary education was favoured to serve as means to keep the 'Bantu' safely out of "the green pastures of European culture" (H.F. Verwoerd, 1953, quoted in Janks, 1990: 44). The emphasis on mother tongue instruction was also used by the Apartheid government as a means to 'divide and rule' in that

> ...even where it was possible in linguistic and political terms to allow the
>
> varieties of a particular language cluster or sub-group, such as the 'Nguni' group,
>
> to converge into a more embracing standard written form, they were
>
> systematically kept separate...(Alexander, 1989: 82).

Moreover, while there was emphasis on mother tongue instruction there was no corresponding development of African languages in the form of language courses, textbooks, dictionaries and written literature (Macdonald and Burroughs, 1991: 30). Due to the nature of this policy and the fact that it was imposed on black people, it was met with a lot of resistance from teachers and communities. The struggle against mother tongue instruction and compulsory use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in high schools culminated in the tragic events of the 1976 Soweto uprising. This made the government realise the need to grant black communities choice of medium of instruction.

As a result, according to The Education and Training Act (90 of 1979) ruling English would become the medium of instruction from standard three (grade 5). In this manner, English became a symbol of empowerment which indicated the educational, economic, political, and social liberation of black individuals and communities (Mawasha, 1995, 1996). According to Mawasha (1995), it is this perception of English being the ultimate goal in attaining self-sufficiency and worthiness that probably alienated black people from their indigenous languages and cultures.

The foregoing discussion clearly indicates that early use of indigenous languages in black education was negative. It was used as a means to control African people and make them dependent on white people for work. It is no wonder that many black people today have instrumental attitudes towards English. They believe that English is a language of success which will take them and their children to those green pastures they were denied in the past.

I have used the past experience of black people with mother-tongue language policy in education to show how it might influence the mixed results obtained in this study.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given the relevant definition of the concept 'attitudes' and illustrated it in relation to components of attitudes. The component discussed, first, is the one comprising of affective, behavioural and cognitive elements. Secondly, another way

of categorising attitudes discussed relates to instrumental and integrative motivations that

tend to influence attitudes of individuals and groups. I have outlined the theories that help

to shed light on how attitudes are formed. The theories reviewed are Critical Language

Theory, Accommodation Theory and the Theory of Bilingualism. I also felt that this

study would be incomplete without a brief outline of the history of language-in-education

for African people of this country as it also help to identify another source of attitudes. In

the next chapter, I discuss the methods of data collection I have employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods of data collection

3.0. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods employed in the collection of data intended to provide answers to the research questions noted in chapter 1 section 1.2. The chapter is divided as follows: Section 3.1 outlines the method of research that informed this study. In section 3.2 I focus on the two instruments I used: questionnaires and interviews. In section 3.3 I discuss how I designed these two instruments based on the information I intended to elicit. In section 3.4 I outline the procedure I followed to collect data for this study. Lastly, section 3.5 provides a summary of the issues I have discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Methods of research

In this study I have used the survey research method. In making the decision to use this approach I was informed by Cohen and Manion (1994) who point out that surveys are useful for gathering data aimed at describing the nature of existing conditions. More specifically, Johnson (1992) and Nunan (1992) state that survey methods are suited to studying a wide variety of linguistic issues including the investigation of attitudes of teachers toward language varieties, which was indeed the purpose of this study. Having

chosen a survey approach I then had to decide on a suitable instrument for my study. This is discussed in the next section.

3.2 Research instruments

According to Nunan (1992) survey data are typically collected through questionnaires or interviews, or as in the case of this investigation, a combination of the two. Combining the two enables the research to maximize the advantages and offset the limitations of each. This approach is congruent with Cohen and Manion (1994: 208) and Seliger and Shohamy (1990:105) who advise that triangulation, that is, "two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour", is one means of verifying and securing greater reliability of results. In an effort to ensure reliability, I therefore adopted the questionnaire as a means of gathering data of a factual nature and the interviews as a means of verifying the findings. Next, I discuss the advantage and disadvantage of each of these instruments and how I utilized them to optimum benefit.

3.2.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire survey offered the most practical means of conducting this study. According to various scholars, (Behr 1983; and Herbert and Herbert 1990), a questionnaire is the most economical available instrument for obtaining information from a sample of widely spread sources in order to learn about the distribution of characteristics, attitudes or beliefs. For this study, I was able to gather data from a wide

distribution of isiZulu-speaking primary and secondary school teachers in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal regarding their attitudes towards the role of isiZulu in education. Such a task would otherwise not have been feasible had I used any of the other available methods, such as the matched-guise technique, due to the scope and time constraints under which I undertook this study.

Another advantage offered by questionnaires over alternatives such as interviews is that the standardised wording and order of questions, as used in this study, means that the interpretation of questions is constrained and that responses can thus be compared and generalised to a larger population with known limits of error (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990). This characteristic proved to be very useful in this study since I had to gather data from teachers coming from different areas and teaching at different levels. The standardized wording made it easy for respondents to understand the questionnaires in the same way and respond accordingly. This in turn made it easy for me to analyse responses (see 3.3) without having to contend with incomplete, misinterpreted and spoiled questionnaires.

Although questionnaires offer a number of advantages, there are also some attendant weaknesses. To start with, Marshall and Rossman (1995) point to the difficulty of ensuring that the sample represents a broader universe and argue that the method of drawing the sample and the sample size is critical to the accuracy of a study and its potential for generalizability. However, these concerns are downplayed by Fowler (1988: 41), cited in Nunan (1992: 142), who argues that it is a common misconception that the adequacy of a sample depends on the fraction of the population included in the sample.

Fowler asserts that 'a sample of 150 people will describe a population of 15,000 or 15 million with virtually the same degree of accuracy, assuming all other aspects of the sample were the same' (1988: 41). It was impossible to obtain accurate statistics of teachers in this region because of the retrenchment and the redeployment of teachers that was taking place at the time the study was conducted. Therefore, I targeted a sample of 150 teachers. In the light of Fowler's argument I considered this number reasonable for the size of this study. To ensure that the sample was not from one part of Durban, I sampled teachers from different areas and schools. I found most of them in teachers' workshops and seminars held at the University of Natal and at the English Language Educational Trust (ELET) as well as those that were furthering their studies in these institutions. In addition, I requested some of these teachers to take the questionnaires to their schools and administer them on my behalf. By gathering data at these different places, I managed to get a wide range of teachers from different schools, areas and teaching phases in Durban to complete the questionnaire thereby strengthening the validity of my sample.

A further potential weakness of questionnaires, according to Behr (1983) is that even though they provide important information to the researcher, they are subjective in nature, making their validity and reliability difficult to determine. This view is also shared by Nisbet and Entwistle (1970: 53), citing Flexner, who point out that questionnaires show what people say, not what they do or are. This is one reason why many researchers employ indirect techniques such as the matched-guise technique, especially when trying to ascertain attitudes. In order to help overcome this drawback,

Behr (1983) recommends that lie detectors, or other techniques are used to cross-check results. In my case, I considered interviews as an easily available technique to deal with this shortcoming since they are easy to administer, and for a range of reasons considered in 3.2.2.

Finally, another weakness with questionnaires, cited by Herbert and Herbert (1990), is that they do not provide a way of checking whether respondents have understood questions in the ways intended by the researcher. Such a misunderstanding could be made possible by the fact that respondents might not be familiar with the concepts used or the issues in question. In anticipation of the impact such a shortcoming could have on the data collected by means of this instrument, I conducted a pilot study which enabled me to revise the questions so as to avoid any confusion or ambiguities (see 3.5). In addition to the questionnaire pretest, I included interviews so that I could verify the findings, as discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 Interviews

The interviews were selectively employed as a means of triangulating the results obtained through questionnaires. The type of interview I adopted was semi-structured in nature. This allowed me to enter the interview with a general idea of where the interview should go, rather then with a list of predetermined questions. That is, topics and issues rather than questions determined the course of the interview (Nunan 1992). In my case, issues

that seemed to form a trend in the responses from the questionnaires determined what type of questions to use as topics for our discussion.

The interviews enabled me to verify the findings from the questionnaire survey. They allowed for evaluative interpretation of initial findings. For example, in questions 3.1 and 3.2 there was a tendency to choose grade 0 and grade 1for both English and isiZulu as starting level for these languages as the languages of learning. I wanted to find out whether the respondents really meant that there should be a dual-medium instruction and how they envisaged this would take place and the interviews enabled me to do this.

Secondly, a few teachers were interviewed to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons for some of their responses which they might not have been able to reveal in response to the questionnaire, since the latter included 'closed' questions (requiring respondents to tick answers from a list). As Kitwood (1977), cited in Cohen and Manion (1994: 252-253), asserts:

> ... in an interpersonal encounter people are more likely to disclose aspects of themselves, their thoughts, their feelings and values, than they would in a less human situation. At least for some purposes, it is necessary to generate a kind of conversation in which the 'respondent' feels at ease. In other words, the distinctively human element in the interview is necessary to its 'validity'.

It was for these reasons that I also included interviews in this study. This was helpful in getting a discussion on questions such as 1.6 from the questionnaire which required educators to tick their preferred school for their children. A large number of them opted for English-medium rather than isiZulu-medium schools where they teach. I considered it important to get the reasons that influence this choice. I wanted to find out whether their preference for English-medium schools is driven by a desire to have their children learn English at the expense of their mother-tongue or whether they also perceive isiZulu as a desirable language in education. .

3.3 Design of the research instruments

Research design is the way in which the researcher plans and structures their research process so that it achieves the intended goal. This includes the steps the researcher takes to minimise biases. In designing the questionnaire and the semi-structured interview used in this study, I also considered this factor. In this section, I first discuss how I designed the questionnaire to elicit teachers' attitudes towards the language issues at hand, and how I subsequently designed the interview to verify certain points in the data collected from the questionnaire.

3.3.1 The questionnaire

The first part of the questionnaire focused on socio-demographic aspects which might possibly influence teachers' attitudes on the language issues. The remainder of questions

were intended to elicit teachers' attitudes towards the role of indigenous languages in education.

A brief explanation of the purpose of the questionnaire was first provided to allay suspicions often associated with filling in questionnaires. This is in line with the direct research technique adopted in the study. The questionnaire comprised eight sets of main questions with a varying number of sub-questions in each. Most questions were 'closed' in format, requiring the respondents to select one from among a limited number of responses. This was done to ensure that respondents were not burdened with a time-consuming task and were not caused undue stress while trying to think of a possible answer. There were only two questions (3.1 and 3.2) that were 'open-ended' in format which asked participants to support their choice.

The first set of questions (1.1 – 1.6) was meant to gather some personal information about the teachers who answered the questionnaire and to elicit the context in which they worked. This is in line with the view expressed by Peil (1982) that it is necessary to have biographical information at the beginning of the questionnaire as most people enjoy introducing themselves. Moreover, I needed such information for analysing responses across various variables since language attitudes are usually evaluated within the context of a certain society and are dependent on many interrelated factors such as age and sex (see Giles, 1970: 221, Lanham and MacDonald, 1979: 163). In this study, teachers were asked to first give demographic data pertaining to:

1.1 First language

1.2 Sex

1.3 Age

1.4 Teaching experience

1.5 Secondary or primary school and

1.6 Type of school their children go to.

I wanted to find out which of these variables affected language attitudes in major and minor ways (Baker, 1992). I considered it preferable not to require participants to include their names to allow for sincerity and openness. The most important aim of this survey was to ascertain teachers' attitudes to indigenous languages (the term used in the Constitution to denote African languages). The rest of the questions were for this reason directed at addressing this important aim.

Starting with question 2, teachers were asked to indicate a language they would recommend as a replacement for Afrikaans if the latter were phased out in their school, as the case was in most schools in this region. They were given a choice of two indigenous languages (Sesotho and Tshivenda) and two foreign/European languages (French and German) and asked to tick one they would recommend as a replacement, assuming that resources were available. Sesotho was included in the choice because it is the second most commonly used African language in this country that utterly differs from isiZulu. Sesotho is more difficult than isiXhosa which is easy to understand for an isiZulu-speaking person and would therefore not pose a challenge to those wanting to learn it. In

my observation, Sesotho seems to be commonly used on television soaps, sports and many other programmes. This would, I hypothesized, make it attractive to many teachers and learners in this region. On the other hand, some other African languages, such as Tshivenda are not that attractive because they are regionally limited and demographically small. The inclusion of this language was intended to determine how much chance it has for its development in other parts of this country. More importantly, the inclusion of these languages was to establish whether teachers' attitudes are positive towards the constitutional goal of 'elevating the status and advancing the use of the indigenous languages', (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Section 6(2)), through their choice of these African languages; or whether they would prefer the foreign languages to be taught.

Question 3 asked respondents to indicate the level of schooling at which they would introduce English (3.1) and isiZulu (3.2) as languages of learning (medium of instruction) across the curriculum if they had a choice. The choice of grades ranged from grade 0 (pre-school) to tertiary level as well as choice of not using the language at all. This was the only question that required participants to support their choice since it was the main focus of this study and there has been lot of debate around this issue. The use of English as a language of learning has often been blamed for a poor academic performance amongst African learners at matriculation and tertiary level. To counter this, many parents prefer to expose their children to English at an early age by sending them to racially integrated schools. Parents seem to believe that their children will be more empowered in these institutions where their first language is not used, i.e. subtractive

bilingualism. This is in direct contrast to the assumption of the South African Schools Act (1997) that learners learn other languages more effectively when there is the continued educational use of their first languages, that is additive bilingualism (Chick and McKay, 1999).

Question 4 asked teachers to indicate what variety of English they think African learners/children should be encouraged to speak. They had to choose one or more from among American English, South African Standard White English (SWE), South African Black English and Indian English. This was intended to gauge attitudes towards the varieties, that is, which varieties or accents enjoy most prestige. I wanted to establish whether black teachers see value in the use of Black English, which is now common in the media and amongst black politicians, or whether they prefer the other varieties of English. The other varieties, particularly American English is dominant in the electronic media where it is used by some television and radio presenters. American English is also made popular through the television programmes bought from that country which are often broadcast on South African television. Black children mostly get exposed to SWE and Indian English at English-medium schools when they school there. I was interested to find out whether black parents wish for their children to speak like the English first language-speakers (integrative motivations, see 2.1.3) when they school with them or whether they should maintain the African-ness in their speech.

Question 5 asked respondents to tick the language option they would recommend for matriculation examinations across the curriculum. This question was motivated by the

fact that the issue of language use has often been blamed for the high failure rate among black matriculation students. The new language-in-education policy also attempts to address this concern.

With regards to the issue of language status, question 6 required teachers to indicate what English (6.1) and isiZulu (6.2) meant to them. They had five similar options for each of these languages. The options related to public domains, viz., education, business, public affairs, regional unity and cultural heritage.

Finally, to establish what the respondents think about the likely future role of the two languages, isiZulu and English they were asked to indicate which of these languages they anticipated their learners or children would mostly use in a range of situations. The situations first covered personal domains - their family lives, interactions with other isiZulu speakers and in their places of worship. These were followed by public domains such as the use of these languages in interacting with public servants, in their own professions and in dealing with providers of legal services. With regards to the public domains, there are already policies in place to ensure that these are accessible in indigenous languages. The study therefore intended to gauge the awareness and attitudes of teachers towards the recognition of African languages. Would they tend to act as the agents of change or would they be inclined to maintain the status quo inherited from the apartheid era?

At the end of the questionnaire, teachers who were willing to be interviewed on their responses were requested to fill in their contact details.

3.3.2 The interviews

The design of the interview questions centred around the issues that seemed to emerge as trends in the responses gathered by means of the questionnaire. For this reason, this instrument was designed only after the analyses of findings from the initial gathered data. The responses that needed verification were those from questions 1.6, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 of the questionnaire. A discussion of these questions is presented in the next chapter together with the findings from the questionnaire.

3.4 Procedure for data collection

In this section I outline the procedure I followed in my collection of data for this study. Before embarking on the main investigation, I found it helpful to first pretest the questionnaire (see 3.5.1). In section 3.5.2, I discuss how I administered the questionnaire to collect data from the targeted sample. The administration of the second instrument, the interviews, is considered in 3.5.3. This section ends with an examination of some of the problems encountered during data collection.

3.4.1 Pilot study

A pretest is necessary to assist the researcher to correct and modify the research instrument because what seems perfectly clear to the researcher may be confusing to the respondent. This could be because the respondent does not have the frame of reference that the researcher has gained from thinking about a topic over a long period. In this study I also conducted the pilot run in order to help me develop the skill of seeing a problem through the eyes of both the expert and novice.

The initial pilot study involved 9 of the teachers at the secondary school where I was teaching and 5 primary teachers from a neighbouring school. All respondents were isiZulu-speaking teachers comprising of 10 females and 4 males.

Other research theorists (Bell 1993; Fink and Kosecoff 1985) also consider piloting of a questionnaire crucial in determining whether respondents will understand directions provided and also in determining the amount of time it takes to fill in a questionnaire. In this case I carried out the pilot study with a view to eliminating ambiguities in the phrasing or choice of words in question items and to making improvements from comments, queries, complaints and suggestions made by the respondents. After analysing the responses there were a few problems that needed to be addressed. This was not a once-off event, but a two-month process that involved a number of drafts and trial runs during which questions were revised, checked, added and rejected. For example, in asking biographic information in section 1, I had initially phrased questions in a manner that took long to read and to respond to. Through revision, I was able to simplify this

section by requiring participants to tick only what was relevant. The respondents took about 5 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

3.4.2 Administration of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was in most cases administered in my presence. The data collected in my absence was administered by individuals who had already participated in the study and therefore understood it very well and were able to explain any problems that might occur. The presence of trained administrators ensured a high return of fully completed questionnaires. In the course of about four months, I collected the targeted 150 questionnaires. This enabled me to analyse the data with the intention of identifying issues that needed to be verified through interviews.

3.4.3 Administration of the interviews

As stated in 3.4 those teachers who were willing to be interviewed had to supply their contact details. Thirty-eight of the respondents made themselves available for this purpose from which number I selected fifteen teachers for interview. The number of people to be interviewed gave me the 30% of the 150 participants. I considered this a reasonable and manageable amount of respondents to interview. The choice of the 15 out of 38 was influenced by accessibility and availability of interviewees.

Individual interviews were conducted informally at a range of convenient places and times. Due to their informal nature, interviews ranged in length from 15 to 30 minutes. Every attempt was made to make the interviewees feel comfortable and at ease. All interviewees were assured of anonymity and the confidentiality of the information they provided. Data was collected by recording the information with pen and paper rather than with a tape recorder which could have caused tension.

3.4.4 Problems encountered

Administering the data collection instruments was not without problems. For example, some teachers did not like the idea of completing the questionnaire. Some of the teachers who participated in the study also mentioned this when asked to take the questionnaire to their schools. They expressed the opinion that most of their colleagues do not take interest in things related to education. This reluctance was understandable given the fact that teachers were experiencing a lot of anxiety at that time. This was due to job insecurity, dissatisfaction with salaries, an unstable and unsafe working environment and a number of changes that were taking place in the system of education. These conditions probably contributed to other teachers wanting to be paid for their participation in this study, which shows a lack of understanding of the importance of research. Despite these difficulties, sufficient questionnaires were collected to ensure a representative sample of teachers' opinions.

3.5 Summary

In summary, in this chapter I have outlined the methods employed in the collection and analysis of data and the reasons for choosing them. Also, I have discussed the design and administration of the research instruments, viz. the questionnaire and the semi-structured interview. The findings from one hundred and fifty questionnaire responses and data collected from fifteen interviews are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

As indicated in Chapter 3 my questionnaires were administered to 150 teachers and semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen (30%) teachers in order to gather data on teachers' attitudes towards the role of indigenous languages in education. This chapter reports on the findings of this research. I describe and interpret the teachers' responses to the questionnaire, a copy of which is attached as appendix 1. In the process I make references to the reviewed literature and provide graphs where relevant. I also compare the responses to the questionnaire with the responses to similar questions in the interviews to verify the findings.

The chapter is divided as follows: Section 4.1 gives the description of the sample, with a focus on the socio-demographic aspects of the questionnaire. In section 4.2 I outline the findings with regards to educators' attitudes towards the role-in-education of indigenous languages with special reference to isiZulu. The conclusion in 4.3 provides the summary of the issues explored in this chapter.

4.1 Description of the sample

The first set of questions was intended to gather some personal information about the teachers who answered the questionnaire and the context in which they worked. The findings are provided in Tables, 1, 2, 3, and 4 with explanation and summaries.

Table 1: Sex of respondents and their teaching context

	SECONDARY	PRIMARY	TOTAL
MALE	36 (56%)	28 (44%)	64 (43%)
FEMALE	47 (54%)	39 (46%)	86 (57%)
TOTAL	83 (55%)	67 (45%)	150

Table I shows that out of 150 teachers who participated in this study 57% were females and 43% were males. This figure is made up of 47 females (54%) and 36 males (56%) from secondary schools. 39 of females (46%) and 28 of males (44%) were from primary schools. The close balance in the number of males and females found in primary schools shows a huge difference between this study and the findings of the Report of the Gender Equity Task Team on Gender Equity in Education. The report found that in 1997 the highest number of teachers were women at 73% (1997: 82). The past predominance of females in education can be attributed to the sexist and racist ideology articulated in Hendrik Verwoerd's introduction to the Bantu Education Act in 1954:

As a woman is by nature so much better fitted for handling young

children, and as the great majority of Bantu children are to be found

in lower classes of primary school, it follows that there should be far

more females than males. The department will therefore...

declare the assistant posts in ...primary schools to be female teachers

posts...Quotas will be laid down at training schools as regards number

of males [sic] and female candidates respectively which may be allowed

to enter for the courses...this measure will, in the course of time, bring

considerable saving of funds which can be devoted to more children at

school...(Truscott 1994: 22).

The huge change in gender statistics found in this study can be attributed to the democratic changes that continue to take place in this country.

Table 2: Age group

Age group	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	45-50
Total	30 (20%)	47 (31%)	38 (25%)	26 (17%)	9 (6%)

Table 2 shows that 20% of the respondents were between the age of 25 and 30 compared with 31-35 age group, which constituted 31%. The highest number of the 25-30 age group can be attributed to the fact that at the time of this study there were few newly qualified teachers who were being absorbed into the system of education. Even those who had recently been employed were still working on temporary basis, serving on monthly contracts until they were retrenched. This was part of the department of education's posts rationalisation and retrenchment and redeployment of teachers. The second highest age group is made up of teachers between the age of 36 and 40 at 25%. Only 17% of teachers were aged 41-45 while 6% were in the age group 45-50; reflecting the relatively small numbers of older teachers. The shortage of older teachers can be attributed to the fact that many older teachers had taken early retirement because of severance packages offered to them by the state.

Table 3: Teaching experience

Exp.	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40
Years	17 (11%)	64 (43%)	27 (18%)	29 (19%)	10 (7%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%

Table 3 shows that only 11% of the respondents had a teaching experience ranging from 1 to 5 years. This figure corresponds very well with the small percentage of teachers in the lower age group respondents. Again, teachers who had between 6 and 10 years experience outnumbered all other groups at 43%. This is also in keeping with the 31-35 age group whom I described above as the dominant number at 31%. The predominance of teachers with a reasonably high experience and age was considered good for this study. I expected their views to be representative of the new generation of educators who will have a better understanding and experience with issues investigated in this study. The rest of the table shows that 18% had between 11 and 15 years, 19% had between 16 and 20 years, 7% had 21 and 25 years, and only 2% had between 26 and 30 years teaching experience. The less number of highly qualified teachers corresponds well with the less number of older teachers, as per table 2.

Table 4: School which black educators' children attend

	Secondary teachers	Primary teachers	Total
Racially mixed	67 (45%)	47 (32%)	114 (76%)
IsiZulu only	16 (11%)	20 (13%)	36 (24%)

. The last question under personal characteristics asked respondents to indicate where they prefer to send their own children for schooling, providing a choice between isiZulu-speaking only and racially integrated schools. English-medium schools teach English at first language level and isiZulu, in the few schools that do, is taught as a third language after Afrikaans. According to Chick and McKay (1999), teachers in the English-medium schools have ambivalent attitudes towards the inclusion of isiZulu in the curriculum and the use of isiZulu among learners. Moodley's (1999: 83) study also found that 89% parents of isiZulu-speaking learners prefer for English to be taught as first language and show a slightly greater leaning towards Afrikaans being taught as a second language. This question on which type of school isiZulu-speaking educators prefer to send their children to was asked in order to establish whether there would be a link between the stated attitudes towards indigenous languages and the behaviour of respondents (see 2.1.1). On this issue it became very clear that a very high number of African teachers (76%) prefer to send their children to English-medium schools rather than to isiZulu-medium ones (24%). This alarming response immediately made me skeptical about the teachers' attitudes towards the indigenous languages. I then included a question on this behaviour to the list of questions to be asked during interviews. In subsequent interviews 40% of the teachers defended their decision to send their children to English-medium schools as merely a search for a better quality of education rather than evidence of a negative attitude towards African languages. This argument seemed to be valid when considering positive responses to some of the questions related to the issue of indigenous languages, as indicated below. 60% of the interviewees stressed the importance of the knowledge of English for their children to ensure their upward socioeconomic mobility, that is, an instrumental motivation focusing on self-improvement (see 2.2.2). I considered the latter response as the main reason for teachers sending their children to these schools. In my opinion, such beliefs should be understood as informed by past life experience of African people at a time when the pay-off for proficiency in English has been greater than that for African languages.

4.2 Attitudes towards indigenous languages

The main issue that this study set out to investigate was the isiZulu-speaking teachers' attitudes towards the role-in-education of the indigenous languages. It is for this reason that the remainder of the questions (2 to 8) were intended to elicit the perceptions of the respondents towards this pressing issue. In assessing the responses to these remaining questions reference is also made to the above socio-demographic answers. The focus of the remaining section was on ascertaining whether teachers' attitudes are changing towards 'elevating the status and advancing the use of the indigenous languages' as the National Constitution (Section 6.2) stipulates or whether they still favour the status quo which disregarded these languages.

Question 2 of the questionnaire required respondents to indicate the language they would recommend as a replacement for Afrikaans if it were phased out in their schools. They were given a choice of two indigenous languages (Sesotho and Tshivenda) and two foreign/European languages (French and German). A large percentage (44%) of the respondents opted for French. This was an unexpected response since there is no public use of this language in this country. My puzzlement prompted me to address this issue further in the interviews. The interviews indicate that French could be useful to those wanting to study tourism and to work as interpreters. It also provides opportunities for travelling abroad to francophone countries. However, to me these reasons do not seem adequate to warrant the teaching of this language as more imperative than the indigenous languages that offer immediate benefits for a majority of learners. For example, African languages are now commonly used and mixed by TV presenters and on popular soaps like 'Generations'. At tertiary institutions they will also meet many speakers of other local languages. When it comes to tourism, Durban is the most favoured destination by many South Africans who speak different languages of this country.

The second most favoured language was Sesotho, chosen by 34% of the respondents. In the remaining two choices 12% of the respondents opted for German with 4.6% choosing Tshivenda. The remaining 8 (5.4%) teachers chose not to answer this question. It is not clear whether this is an indication of lack of interest in other languages or whether they did not see it as feasible to have these languages taught in KZN. These findings reveal a general lack of interest in other indigenous languages amongst the isiZulu-speaking teachers. This would validate the often-made comment about isiZulu speakers' general lack of interest in learning other African languages.

Question 3 asked respondents to indicate a grade, if any, at which they would prefer to have (3.1) English and (3.2) isiZulu introduced as languages of learning across the curriculum. This question was open-ended requiring respondents to give reasons for their choices. The responses elicited by these questions indicate cognitive attitudes and I found them to be very intriguing. These responses to 3.1 and 3.2 are shown in Table 5(a) and Table 5(b) respectively.

Table 5(a) shows that 89 (59%) of the 150 respondents believe that English should be introduced as early as grade 0 (pre-school). The second choice was grade 1, favoured by 31 (21%) of the respondents. The high number of teachers in favour of early introduction of English are corroborated by the responses to question 1.6 which asked teachers to indicate the favoured school for their own children. A significant majority (76%) of the respondents favoured racially integrated schools where English is the sole language of instruction. Looked at together, these results are a clear indication that black parents who value English are anxious to introduce their children to it at an early age. Unfortunately, this happens before many of them have acquired a better understanding of their mother tongue; a subtractive rather than additive approach.

Table 5(a): English

Grade	Secondary	Primary	Total
0	46(30.6%)	43(28,6	89(59%)
1	21(14%)	10(6,6%)	31(20,6%)
2	4(2,6%)	3(2%)	7(4,6%)
3	9(6%)	6(4%)	15(10%)
7	2(2%)	5(3%)	7(4,6%)
10	1(0,6%)		1(0,6%)
Tertiary			
Not at all			

Reasons given by the teachers for favouring an early start in the use of English were:

* "It is a good time for learning a second language".

* "To be able to communicate with other races".

* "To master it".

* "Won't find difficulty with English if they start early".

* "Be able to express themselves clearly".

* "Be able to deal with many life situations that require English".

* "It will prepare them for formal education because it is a language of learning".

* "English is a global language".

The emphasis of the above responses lies heavily on an instrumental motivation for learning English. These responses indicate in one way or another the high esteem at which English is held. The emphasis is that the sooner a black child learns English the fewer problems they will have with it in their future lives. The reasons provided by teachers might appear to be sensible and beyond challenge. However, one can argue that they serve to perpetuate the present status quo whereby English has more prestige than any of the other African languages (see 2.3. 1).

Interestingly enough, the responses about the level at which isiZulu should be introduced are however self-contradictory when compared to the above about English.

Table 5(b): IsiZulu as a language of learning

Grade	Secondary	Primary	Total
0	52(34,6%)	30(20%)	82(54%)
1	20(13%)	12(8,3%)	32(21%)
2		3(2%)	3(2%)
3	2(1,3%)	6(4%)	8(5%)
7		3(2%)	3(2%)
10			
Tertiary	1(0,6%)		1(0,6)
None	11(7,3%)	10(7%)	21(14%)

When asked about isiZulu some of the teachers (19%) who favoured English at grade 0 and 1, interestingly also wanted isiZulu in the same grades. As presented in Table 5(b), 55% of the respondents wanted isiZulu at grade 0 and 21% wanted it at grade 1. These statistics are very close to those showing support for the early introduction of English.

Reasons given by teachers for early use of isiZulu were:
* "It is their mother tongue".
* "It is also an official language".
* "It will facilitate learning".
* "It is also important".

* "So that it does not disappear as a language".

* "Children can learn many languages at this stage".

* "It is widely spoken in this country".

These reasons show that black teachers also want to preserve their indigenous languages. They are an indication of optimism regarding the future of African languages. The confusing part about this demand for isiZulu is that it is self-contradictory since the majority of the participants in this study also indicated a large support for English medium schools where isiZulu is not awarded the same status as English. This is perhaps a good indication that they would support the teaching of isiZulu and its use across the curriculum in English medium schools; a point they should voice at the schools where they send their children. I thus conclude that, amidst confusion, there is a desire for additive, rather than subtractive bilingualism.

Only 20% of the teachers, spread across demographically and in age group, favoured the early introduction of isiZulu as the sole language of learning with English being introduced later in grades 2, 3, 7, or 10. These findings seem to be indicative of relative preference for English. The reasons provided by these respondents for their choice of isiZulu were:

* "Children need competence in their mother-tongue first".

* "It will set a foundation for second language learning".

* "It will instill a sense of pride in their culture".

These reasons show a positive attitude towards the constitutional goal of 'elevating the status and advancing the use of the indigenous languages' (Section 6.2). Furthermore, some of these reasons are in agreement with assumptions in the South African Schools

Act (1997) that learners learn other languages more effectively when there is the continued educational use of their first languages, that is, in the context of additive bilingualism (Luckett 1993). Although a minority view I considered these findings very encouraging as they indicate some recognition of the role that should be played by indigenous languages in education.

As table 5(b) shows, only 14% of the respondents in this study did not wish to see isiZulu used as a language of instruction at all. Their reasons were:

* "It has limited uses in day-to-day activities".
* "Not well developed to serve as a language of learning".
* "Must be learnt only as a language, not for teaching".
* "It is not used at tertiary level".

These reasons suggest the common myth that the African languages are inadequate tools in the modern world. The educators' reasons do not take into account the developments that are taking place in the promotion of the indigenous languages in this country.

When looked at together, table 5(a) and 5(b) show that there is very little difference between the number of those wanting English (grade 0 at 59% and grade 1 at 21%) and those wanting isiZulu (grade 0 at 55% and grade 1 at 21,3%) introduced early as languages of learning. In fact, a number of the respondents who wanted English early also wanted isiZulu early, too. I pursued this issue further with the teachers I interviewed in order to establish how they envisaged these two languages being used together. The responses I found indicated that they would prefer a dual-medium of instruction where isiZulu could be used alongside English to explain difficult concepts to isiZulu-speaking learners. Teachers also wished to see isiZulu-speaking teachers employed in these schools where they could

actually teach isiZulu as a subject. This therefore suggests that the governing bodies of the racially integrated schools need to consider these factors when deciding on the language policy of their schools.

Question 4 was designed to investigate the respondents' attitudes towards English varieties to determine how Black South African English is perceived by black educators. The results indicate cognitive attitudes. The majority of the respondents believe that 'standard' English is desirable and should be encouraged and maintained in South Africa. The findings show that South African Standard White English was very popular with the participants in this study. 71% of respondents favoured this variety over Black South African English, which received a mere 19%. American English received a 10% support, while none favoured Indian English. I considered this belief as an indication of integrative attitude to language. Black parents do not just want their children to learn English but they also expect them to speak like whites. Of course, black children who attend or have been to English-medium schools are distinct by their acquired white English accents. These results are also consistent with earlier responses to the question (1.6) about the favoured type of school by the respondents. Most black teachers send their children to racially integrated schools where standard white English is the norm and African languages are disregarded and discouraged. This phenomenon can perhaps be explained with reference to Scotton's concept of 'elite closure' where the socio-political elite frequently exploit the differences that exist between their language usage and that of the masses in order to maintain power and privileges (1993: 149). Scotton asserts that the variety spoken by the elite is invariably positively evaluated by the rest of society and that the elite have an obvious incentive to retain this evaluation for themselves by ensuring that their usage remains distinctive (1993: 151). The above response gives the impression that black teachers also believe that the maintenance of "standard" English is more important than the acceptance of a new Africanised variety in South Africa. An indication that status is attached to people who

speak 'white' English. It is associated with higher social and economic class. Such beliefs are possibly influenced by the observation of some successful black people who speak a distinct type of English. This gives the impression that English that differs from that of whites is inferior and will not take you anywhere as an African person.

In question 5 of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to choose a language option they would recommend for matriculation (grade 12) examinations. The findings indicate that teachers seemed to be divided on this issue. For example, 30% of the respondents favoured the status quo with English only throughout the curriculum. This was unexpected when viewed against the fact that many black educators mix African languages with English when teaching. Only 27% wanted a change whereby learners would have a choice to either answer in isiZulu or in English (a choice that has always only been available for Afrikaans learners). A smaller percentage (18%) favoured English throughout, with the opportunity to use isiZulu when stuck for English words. Another 25% of respondents preferred English throughout but to have scripts of second language speakers marked with some leniency when allocating and moderating marks. Only one person (0,6%) did not choose any of these language options. Overall, these results appear to show a demand for more equal use of both English and isiZulu in education. The matter was further taken up with those educators who participated in the interviews for more clarification. 60% of the interviewees justified the preference for English throughout the matriculation examinations as suitable since some of the learners would be going to different tertiary institutions where their home languages might not be in use. The mixing of languages by black educators was generally agreed upon as the means to help African learners understand the content of the subject matter. It was then left up to the learners to translate the information to their level of English since prescribed textbooks tend to be reader unfriendly. It was for the same reasons that interviewees stressed the fact that it would be proper that examiners be lenient towards black students when marking examination scripts for matriculants and at tertiary institutions. The

other 40% saw it fitting that there should be an English and isiZulu choice since Afrikaans speakers are also having the same option. A point was also made during the discussion that not all black graduates use English in their daily working environment. It is therefore important that while studying black students use the languages of the communities they will be working with. In question 6, teachers had to indicate what (6.1) English and (6.2) isiZulu mean to them in relation to similar public domains presented to them. This question elicited cognitive attitudes towards language. 57% of the respondents believe English is a dominant language in education, business, public affairs and for regional unity. According to 43% of the respondents isiZulu is more suitable as a language of cultural heritage than for any other uses. These findings indicate that most teachers have a limited view of isiZulu and consider English to be the dominant language. These results contradict those obtained in response to question 3.2 where isiZulu was positively evaluated as a language of education and the reasons that were given to show its value in this country. This self-contradiction was taken up for clarification with the interviewees. The discussions that took place still confirmed the belief that English dominates more than isiZulu in these domains. Changes were said to be minimal at this point of transformation. For example, English is still used as a language of instruction and assessment in black education. In the work places English is used during interviews and the wealth of the country is still in the hands of the white minority. English is often used as a language of unity by politicians when making public addresses. All these reasons were given to support the dominance of English by those interviewed.

In question 7, respondents were asked to indicate the amount of isiZulu they considered aceptable for content subject teachers to mix with English in their lessons. The choice was from none at all, rising to 50% and to no limit in the amount that teachers can use. The results presented in table 7 show that many teachers favoured the use of isiZulu during the teaching of content subjects. The choice that received the highest number of responses (23%) is that there should be no limit to the amount of isiZulu teachers can use. Only 13% of the

. respondents did not want isiZulu to be mixed with English. These findings confirm earlier studies by Adendorff (1993) that the use of code-switching among isiZulu- speaking teachers is common and is an extremely valuable resource that should not be legislated away. The fact that African educators tend to mix English with isiZulu is perhaps one of the reasons why other black teachers have no confidence in their own schools. It is no wonder that many of them prefer English medium schools. That is why it was not immediately clear to me whether the respondents believed that isiZulu should be mixed with English only at isiZulu-medium schools or whether they would also appreciate if this also happened at English-medium schools. I then decided to discuss this issue with the interviewees for clarification. The teachers interviewed corroborated the benefits and the role of learners' mother tongue in their lessons. 60% however did not believe that it should be used at English-medium schools as most of the educators in those schools are unable to speak isiZulu and learners do not have a problem with the use of English. IsiZulu was only favoured as a language that should be taught only to those interested to learn to speak it.

Table 6: The amount isiZulu acceptable in content subjects

	Secondary	Primary	Total
None	14 (9,3%)	6(4%)	20(13,3%)
2%	12(8%)	8(5,3%)	20(13,3%)
5%	21(14%)	9(6%)	30(20%)
15%	7(4,6%)	12(7,6%)	19(12,6%)
25%	5(3,3%)	12(7,6%)	17(11%)
50%	5(3,3%)	5(3,3%)	10(6,6%)
	19(12,6%)	15(10%)	34(22,6%)

The last question was designed to measure the respondents' attitudes towards English and isiZulu by using a behavioural index, that is by establishing how much use of these languages they anticipated would continue in future.

Question 8 in the questionnaire elicited information about which language teachers anticipated their learners and children would use mostly in their future. Respondents were given three private domains and three public domains to associate with one or two of these languages.

The private domains are:

        *In their families.

        *In the area where they plan to live interacting with other isiZulu

        speakers.

        *In their place of worship.

The public domains are:

        *In interacting with public servants.

        *In their future professions.

        *In their dealings with providers of legal services.

The question revealed intriguing results on this issue. 78% of the respondents believe that isiZulu is a language that would continue to be used for private domains rather than for public domains. There was a tendency to simply allocate isiZulu to the first three categories related to private domains and English to the last three, relating to public domains. I took this as an indication that respondents believe that the relationship between English and isiZulu is diglossic, i.e. one in which two languages are used for quite different functions. English is the 'high' variety used in most prestigious public and isiZulu the 'low' variety

used in less- prestigious local community and domestic domains (see 1.3). This suggests that teachers anticipate a future in which the status quo will not change in terms of language hierarchy. English will continue to be the language of power with more instrumental value than African languages.

Only 22% of the respondents anticipated the mixing of the two languages in both private and public domains. This correlates with the respondents' tendency to send their own children to English-medium schools (see Table 4) and the reasons they gave in response to question 3.1 and 6 of the questionnaire. The use of English by black parents with their children schooling at English-medium schools is indeed very common. This happens at their homes and in public places. Such children grow up not knowing how to speak, and worse, to read and write their home languages. I see this as a disadvantage to those children as they would fail to cope with the future demands of the black clients of their work places. I also took this matter up with the teachers I interviewed. It was confirmed that it is a general practice at homes to speak in English with children from English-medium schools. This is done with the purpose to maintain continuity between what happens at school and at home, an instruction respondents indicated is often given by educators in these schools. The interviewed teachers also stated that some of them attend church services conducted in English because these are nearer to the former white areas where they now live. They further stated that even though some of their neighbours are isiZulu-speaking, however their children address each other in English. These are some of the reasons that came up in support of the attitude that English is going to continue to dominate the lives of African people. These findings confirm Granville et al.'s (1998: 259) warning of a 'linguistic genocide' which will lead to 'language death'. I discuss this issue of language death as an indication of 'language shift' (Holmes, 1992) in 5.2.

4.3 Conclusion

The results of this study reveal conflicting attitudes to indigenous languages. There is no single set of attitudes. Respondents gave a rather complex set of contradictory beliefs on this matter. It seems that the respondents are to a certain extent in favour of the use and further promotion of indigenous languages in education. This is despite the fact that 76% of the respondents send their children to English-medium schools where isiZulu is not well supported. Their support for indigenous languages was evident when they were asked to indicate the level at which isiZulu could be used as a language of learning and the amount that should be used during the teaching of content subjects. Respondents expressed the belief that isiZulu should have a role in the education of their children. The few interviewed made it clear that they would also like to see this happening in the English-medium schools where they send their children for better quality of education. The reasons given indicate that the demand for the use of isiZulu is based on their awareness of the official status it has and their pride in it as a language of cultural heritage. This positive attitude towards the role of indigenous languages in education augurs well for the new Language-in-Education policy and the maintenance of African languages in South Africa.

On the other hand, the study also found that teachers do not see the current dominant role and the power of English changing in this country. This was evident in the instrumental value they attach to English. They believe it is the language for self-improvement, career opportunities and upward socio-economic and social mobility. They also favour the use of South African standard white English and the use of English throughout the matriculation examinations. Teachers anticipate a future where the new generation of Africans will use mostly English in their private and public lives. This type of negative attitude suggests a language shift or decline for indigenous languages and it implies that the language policy will not succeed. In the next concluding chapter I discuss the implications of the language

- attitudes by teachers for the language policy and the maintenance of indigenous languages with reference to isiZulu.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES BY TEACHERS

5.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes my investigation into isiZulu-speaking educators' attitudes towards the role of isiZulu in education. I first summarise some of the issues I found most revealing in my analysis of the findings. I then outline the implications of the findings for the language policy and language attitudes for language shift and maintenance, with reference to isiZulu. I close this dissertation by proposing potential research areas for the future.

5.1 Summary of findings

This study shows that there are various sets of attitudes towards the role of isiZulu in education. The respondents seem to have mixed feelings about isiZulu and English. While there is some indication that educators would support the use of isiZulu in education they equally favour the use of English. The findings on the respondents' preferred school for their children served as an early indication of teachers' attitudes on the issue at hand. 76% of respondents have opted for English-medium schools rather than for isiZulu-medium ones in which they are actually teaching. Their attitudes seem to be influenced by an instrumental orientation towards language. The respondents view

English as the language that will secure a better future for their children. They feel that the more their children are exposed to English the better for their academic success. At the same time, however, they would like to see isiZulu play a role in education. This is evident from the respondents' responses to other questions. For example, when asked at what level of education English or isiZulu should be used as languages of learning across the curriculum, the respondents said that isiZulu should be introduced as early as pre-school and primary level as a language of learning alongside English. 59% of the respondents wanted English as early as pre-school education, at the same time 55% also favoured the early use of isiZulu. The question concerning the amount of isiZulu teachers considered acceptable during the teaching of content subjects reveals parallel results. Many respondents believe that mixing English with isiZulu is beneficiary to the education of their children. This implies an awareness of the important role played by indigenous languages in education. This is also in line with common practice in black schools where educators mix English with isiZulu to facilitate learning (Adendorff 1993). Even though many black educators prefer to send their children to English-medium schools (typical of the black elite) they still value the use of African languages in the education of African people. Sadly, the use of African languages in English-medium schools has not started on a full scale yet and is viewed negatively by some educators and administrators in these schools (Chick and McKay 1999 and Moodley 1999).

Furthermore, the questionnaire reveals consistent cognitive attitudes. The respondents indicate in various ways that their attitudes are based on their experience with isiZulu and English. Even though there is a desire for using isiZulu in education there is however also

a strong support for English. The respondents believe that isiZulu alone is not enough without English. This goes against what politicians and businesses are doing, even though on a small scale, to acknowledge the status of African languages. It is now common for politicians to mix English with African languages in their speeches. A recent example is when Trevor Manuel, the Minister of Finance, delivered his 2001 budget speech. The Minister delivered a small portion of his speech in isiXhosa. We also find this acknowledgement of African languages in major national and regional campaigns such as ASIPHEPHE, let's drive safely and TIRISANO, the concept of working together towards better quality education. There are numerous advertisements that attempt to give recognition to the status of African languages. For example, the national lottery slogan is Tata amaChance Tata amaMillion, take a chance and take millions. Even though most of the advertisements on television are presented in English, a few of them are also available in some of the African languages. The continued support for English is perhaps a good indication that these attempts by business organisations and politicians to promote indigenous languages are too isolated and minimal. They fail to make an impact on black people's attitudes towards indigenous languages.

Finally, it was not surprising to find that most of the respondents view English as the language that is likely to continue dominating the lives of their children in the near future. This type of assessment is a true indication of what is already happening in many urban African homes. English, rather than home languages, is being used in families where children attend English-medium schools, a sign of language shift (see 2.1.3). For example, in response to question 4 on the issue of English varieties, 71% of the

respondents favour the South African Standard White English over Black South African English which received a mere 19% support. In response to question 6, 57% of the respondents view English as the dominant language in public domains. The remaining 43% classified isiZulu as only suited as a language of cultural heritage. The results suggest that the respondents are only loyal to their language as a vehicle for cultural inheritance and for use in private domains. They do not see it as a language that can be used in education, business, public affairs and for regional unity. Responses to question 8 on the future use of isiZulu and English are also in favour of English. English is considered as a language that will dominate the future lives of the respondents' children, both privately and publicly. IsiZulu is mostly viewed (78%) as a language that would likely survive only in private domains. Very little or no change at all is anticipated in the public domains. Only 22% of the educators anticipated the mixing of these two languages in both private and public domains. These findings reveal a lack of total support for indigenous languages as medium of instruction, especially isiZulu. This is an indication that:

> People do not necessarily want to be educated in their first language
>
> if that language has no cachet in the broader political, economic context
>
> (Eastman 1990:9)

The preceding summary of findings shall be used to draw up the implications of language attitudes (as discussed in this study) for the language policy and language maintenance, with reference to isiZulu. Recommendations will be incorporated in this discussion.

5.2 Implications of language attitudes for the Language-in-Education Policy and language maintenance.

The findings of this study indicate that there are a number of contradictory attitudes concerning the role in education and in society of indigenous languages. This contradiction is evident when subjects indicate that they hold a positive attitude towards indigenous languages while they prefer English for economic, educational and administrative purposes. Indigenous languages are mostly favoured as languages for cultural inheritance rather than for personal advancement. This implies that the implementation of the current Language-in-Education Policy will not be a smooth process. Other community members will resist it and this could lead to policy failure. Macdonald and Burroughs (1991: 30) contend that mother tongue education can only succeed when the community acknowledges its own language and gives it the status to enable it to grow in use. However, this study reveals a rejection of mother tongue education by black teachers. Despite the presence of a multilingual language policy that gives recognition to indigenous languages in this country, it seems there is a shift towards monolingualism. English continues to be valued as a language of power and economic success. This situation should not be left to go on like that.

There should be a major language-in-education awareness campaign directed at all educators across racial lines. The driving force behind this campaign should be to make

educators aware of the issues and implications of language choice in education. This should be done through workshops organised by the Department of Education and teacher organisations or unions as they tend to have more influence on teachers. Other than workshops, different media such as newspapers, pamphlets, circulars and radio and television talks could also go a long way towards educating educators and the public at large about the positive role of indigenous languages in education.

The issue of language status is another area that requires awareness with African people. Politically and constitutionally indigenous languages have been accorded the same status as English and Afrikaans. However, the findings of this study reveal that English is valued as more powerful than African languages. It is imperative that the African people be made aware of the long-term effects of giving more value to English rather than their own home languages. In particular, this practice serves to perpetuate the maintenance of unequal relations of power between African languages and English (and to some extent Afrikaans). Moreover, it could contribute towards language shift.

As Holmes (1992: 64) points out, 'language shift generally refers to the process by which one language displaces another in the linguistic repertoire of a community'. The factors that cause language shift that are identified by Holmes (ibid) and Makele (2001), are also evident in the findings of this study. Holmes (1992: 65-70) identifies the following:

* economic factors - "...obtaining work is the most obvious economic reason for learning another language."

*   demographic factors -"...resistance to language shift tends to last longer in rural than in urban areas."

*   social factors -"...rapid shift occurs when people are anxious to 'get on' in a society where knowledge of the second language is a prerequisite for success."

In addition to the factors as identified by Holmes, Makele (2001), citing Ngubane, head of the University of Natal's Zulu language department, in *Sowetan Sunday World*(Opinion), 5 August 2001, p16, identifies the following:

a lack of pride in the languages, young people with no role models who take pride in their languages, a failing school system, hostility from parents to mother-tongue instruction and the unwillingness of public officials to speak in African languages.

These factors could serve to accelerate language shift in urban areas if they are allowed to go on unchecked. Urban families seem to be more concerned about economic success when it comes to language learning. This is consistent with the viewpoints of Maartens (1995: 9) who contends that the shift for South African languages would be in the direction of English. She states that this is because of the fact that throughout the world most people are committed to the accumulation of material wealth through upward mobility. Black children mostly from urban areas are introduced to English before they have acquired their mother tongue. This happens when they are sent to English medium creches and pre-schools. When these children are at home parents communicate in

English with them and go to the extent of forbidding them to speak their mother tongue. Sadly, these African children end up being English first language speakers. Unfortunately, this impacts negatively on the survival of indigenous languages. Black people need to realise that they can use their African languages to challenge this situation. As Kress argues (cited in Vahed, 1994: 68):

Language is a powerful weapon- it can challenge, subvert, transform

and alter the distribution of power (1989: 53).

For example, when black people insist on using their languages when doing business with those in control of the economy these companies will feel obliged to employ speakers of indigenous languages who will be able to serve African customers. Those who deal with black people a lot in their daily lives will also feel the need to learn African languages if black people always speak indigenous languages around them. This I have observed to be working in black schools that have Indian staff members. Educators in these schools often speak in their mother tongue during staff meetings. Their argument is that if a non-African applies for a promotional post at a school where an African language is used it means they are prepared to learn that language.

African languages mostly need to be promoted for administrative and working purposes at higher levels of this country for ordinary people to appreciate the status of these languages. Indigenous languages should be used in government offices, in education and by big business. Particularly at all levels of education indigenous languages must be

given the same status as English. This can be made possible by adopting a bilingual language policy, whereby English would continue to be the principal language of learning and instruction yet indigenous languages would be used as secondary languages of learning and instruction. This would mean that the use of African languages during lessons, as it presently happens in black schools, would not end in class but it would also be there during tests and examinations. Examination papers would be in both English and the local African language and the learners would be allowed to choose the language they prefer to answer with, a privilege often available to Afrikaans speakers. These transformative practices would probably contribute towards mind shift and language maintenance. Fishman (1991: 112) calls such activities "Reversing language shift".

Language maintenance denotes the efforts made by a community to prevent the erosion or decline of their language. In this regard, Fasold (1984: 214) argues that "the choices made by the members of a particular speech community, reflecting their cultural values, add up to language shift or maintenance in that community." It is therefore what African people are prepared to do in an effort to save indigenous languages that would contribute towards the success of the multilingual policy. The policy is now in place to protect indigenous languages. The South Africa's new Constitution (Act No. 200 of 1993) elevates nine African languages to national official status alongside English and Afrikaans. On the other hand, the findings of this study indicate a lack of awareness about this policy by the respondents. This calls for language policy awareness campaigns. This awareness should be done through newspaper articles, letters to the editor of newspapers and magazines and radio and television talks. The government should be at

the forefront of these campaigns for their maximum effect. Most importantly, educators can be active contributors to transformative processes of language maintenance. McCarty (1996) argues that "while schools cannot in themselves 'save' threatened indigenous languages, they and their personnel must be prominent in efforts to maintain and revitalize those languages." Teachers should indeed play a vital role in the implementation of a language in education policy. To do this successfully, they need to have a better understanding of the policy and what it aims to achieve so that they can give it their full support.

5.3 Further research

I acknowledge that the findings of this study cannot be taken as final on this matter regarding the Language-in-education Policy. It is for this reason that I wish to propose further research topics on the issue. The questions could be phrased as follows:

a) How are selected schools in the region responding to the need to develop multilingual language policies appropriate to their changing school populations?

b) What are the black parents' views on an additive approach to bilingualism?

c) What impact does the use of L1 alongside English have in the classroom?

d) Are indigenous languages under threat of language shift and death in urban areas?

5.4 Conclusion

This study has reported on attitudes of isiZulu-speaking educators towards the role of isiZulu in education. The review of literature on attitudes issues was conducted. This was intended to give background information that would assist in the understanding of how attitudes are generally developed. I elicited the attitudes of the teachers through the use of questionnaires and interviews on a small scale. The findings indicate that while the respondents favour the use of isiZulu in education they also see the demand and value of English as more imperative. This was taken as an indication of their reading of the situation in this country where English continues to dominate and their lack of deeper understanding of the Language-in-Education Policy and what it is intended for. This has led me to recommend that there should be campaigns aimed at educating teachers and black parents in general about this policy to prevent the decline of African languages. The government should also be seen to be doing more to promote and support this policy.

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Appendix 1
THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS INTENDED TO FIND OUT WHAT
TEACHERS THINK ABOUT THE ROLE- IN- EDUCATION OF
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES (IsiZULU).

YOU ARE NOT REQUIRED TO PUT YOUR NAME TO THIS DOCUMENT

1.The first set of questions is meant to gather some information about the teachers who answer this questionnaire and about the context they work in. Tick with a cross where possible.

1.1. What is the first language that you spoke as a child?....................................
(If you learnt more than one language simultaneously write both / all)
1.2

MALE	FEMALE

1.3

AGE GROUP	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50

1.4 Teaching experience in years.(Tick one)

1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40

1.5 Type of school where you teach.

SECONDARY	PRIMARY

1.6 Which type of school do (would, if not yet) your own children go to?

Racially integrated	IsiZulu speaking only

2. If Afrikaans was phased out in your school, assuming that resources were available for another language, which of the following would you recommend as a replacement . (Choose one)

SOTHO	VENDA	FRENCH	GERMAN

3. Read both questions below before you decide on your choices.

3.1 If you had a free choice, when would you introduce English as a language of learning (medium of instruction) across the curriculum? (Mark with a cross)

Grade 0	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 7	Grade 10	Tertiary	Not at all

Support your choice. ....

....

3.2 If you had a free choice, when would you introduce isiZulu as a language of learning across the curriculum. (Mark with a cross)

Grade 0	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 7	Grade 10	Tertiary	Not at all

Support your choice. ....

....

4.Since English is a world language different varieties of English are made the target for instruction in different countries. What type of English do you think we should encourage our African learners/children

to speak? (Tick one or more)

	American English	S.A. Standard White English(as at present)	S.A. Black English (mostly used by politicians)	Indian English

5. Which language option would you recommend for matric examinations across the curriculum? Just tick one option :

A. English throughout (as at present)

B. English and isiZulu choice (as it used to be with Afrikaans)

C. English throughout but opportunity to also use isiZulu when stuck

D. English throughout but leniency for second language speakers when allocating/moderating marks

6. Indicate what these two languages mean to you by ticking one or more of the following boxes.

6.1 English is a language of

Education	Business	Public affairs	Regional unity	Cultural heritage

6.2 IsiZulu is a language of

Education	Business	Public affairs	Regional unity	Cultural heritage

7.How much of isiZulu do you consider acceptable for content subjects teachers to use in their lessons. (Tick one choice)

0%	2%	5%	15%	25%	50%	No limit

8. Which language, between isiZulu(Z) and English(E), do you anticipate your learners would use mostly in future in the situations stated below? Write the language (use Z or E) next to the situation. If you anticipate they would use more than one language, indicate which will be more, less or both equally.

In their families ....

In the area where they plan to live interacting with other isiZulu speakers................................

In their place of worship..

In interacting with public servants ....

In their future professions..

In their dealings with providers of legal services...

IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO INTERVIEW SOME OF THE TEACHERS WHO ANSWERED THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. IF YOU ARE AGREEABLE TO BEING INTERVIEWED ABOUT YOUR RESPONSES, PLEASE FILL IN YOUR DETAILS BELOW:

Name

School

Phone No.

SIYABONGA/THANK YOU