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**A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE
LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY HELD BY
ZULU SPEAKING PARENTS IN A FORMER MODEL C
SENIOR PRIMARY SCHOOL**

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I hereby confirm that the contents of this dissertation,
unless specifically indicated to the contrary, are my
own original work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


ANC	:	African National Congress
AL	:	Additional Language, usually learnt after the Home Language
BICS	:	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALP	:	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CNE	:	Christian National Education
HL	:	Home Language, usually first language
LOL	:	Language of Learning
NEPI	:	National Educational Policy Investigation
NLP	:	National Language Project
PANSALB	:	Pan South African Language Board
PEI	:	President's Education Initiative
PRAESA	:	Project for the study of Alternative Education in South Africa

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the perceptions of Zulu speaking parents of the new language-in-education policy. The context for the study, which is explained in Chapter one, is an ex-Model C senior primary school in KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter two consists of a review of the literature and examines South African language policy before 1989 as well as early ANC language policy up to the present language-in-education policy of additive multilingualism. The research entails a critical examination of the popularity of English as a language of learning (hereafter referred to as LOL), weighed against the need to maintain and sustain indigenous languages. There is also a focus on the current debate surrounding language policy and the notion that, historically, language policy has never been a neutral issue.

Chapter three describes the research methodology. A qualitative approach was used, drawing on the interpretive paradigm. Some quantitative data, however, was necessary to support the research. Data was drawn from a sample comprising 30 Grade 4 Zulu speaking parents at a former Model C school, who completed a questionnaire. Interviews were conducted to probe and clarify the responses to

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the questionnaire. Three main issues were addressed: parents' reasons for choosing an English school; any concerns they might have over the neglect of culture; and their knowledge of the new language-in-education policy.

Chapter four describes how these three broad issues were tested against the perceptions of two other participants, namely the Principal of the school (Mr B) and an outside educator (Dr L).

Conclusions are discussed in Chapter 5. A key finding that emerges from the study is that parents do not favour an English only policy; they want **both** unfettered access to English **and** the assurance that their indigenous language and culture will be safeguarded. However, these findings need to be discussed in the context of rapid social change and it was concluded that parents were not well informed about the new language-in-education policy of additive multilingualism, and the options that this affords them. The government needs to disseminate information more efficiently if the new language-in-education policy is to impact on the decisions that parents make regarding their children's education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

1.1 Reasons for choosing the topic

With the demise of apartheid, new choices opened up for black parents with regard to their children's education. The opening of former Model C schools has had important demographic ramifications. As middle class blacks settled in middle class suburbs a wide range of educational facilities, which had formerly been denied to them, became accessible. Most important for this study is the eagerness with which black parents embraced English as the language of learning (LOL) rather than their own language (Luckett 1995) and this, in the light of other issues potentially in tension with it, is a phenomenon which the government will have to address.

Enshrined in the Constitution and the 1994 ANC Discussion Document is the principle of promoting previously disadvantaged and neglected languages. Also protected in the Constitution is the parents' right to choose the language of learning, and it is the exercise of this right which, paradoxically, undermines the government's efforts to promote indigenous languages.

In this study, I attempt to uncover the reasons for parents' choices, looking further than just the residues of apartheid's legacy. Mother tongue education is associated

with separate but unequal education as it fulfilled the apartheid government's aims of an inferior Bantu education system. English was recognised by blacks as the language of access to economic and social empowerment and they were rightly suspicious of the official policy of mother tongue instruction. Therefore, the attraction of open access to English schools has proved most compelling to many black parents. It is important for educators and planners to understand the range of social and linguistic motivating factors for parents to send their children to such schools. NB

1.2 Research context

The issue of mother tongue instruction and the danger of English overpowering indigenous languages has been the subject of much research, especially in other multilingual countries like Australia (Smolicz 1988), Canada and the United States (Cummins 1984). Researchers, such as Alexander (1990), Heugh (1995) and Lockett (1995), have addressed the question of **additive multilingualism** in South Africa, while the President's Education Initiative (PEI) Project (1999) has given valuable insights into the general education as it is interpreted on the ground.

1.3 Reasons for choosing the school concerned

✓ This particular school was chosen because it is a senior primary school, not attached to its own junior primary. This was significant in that I needed to study

parents who had had to remove their children from one school and choose another. I was interested in their reasons for choosing an English ex- Model C school. I deliberately chose Zulu speaking parents of Grade 4 pupils (the entry grade of the school) and the questionnaire and interviews were designed to probe their reasons for their choice of school. I chose this level of entry rather than Grade 1 or Grade R because I was interested in parents who already had some experience of the school system, which would have informed their decision. There was also a possibility that children would be moving from township schools into the ex-Model C type school system for the first time. Their reasons would also be significant. As it happened they all came from other junior primary ex-Model C schools.

This school has always been accepted as a "good" local school and its Principal known for his progressive views. He had welcomed black pupils into his school long before it was "legally" allowed.

Another reason for targeting this school was that it is the only senior primary parallel medium (English and Afrikaans classes) in the area and as such would throw into relief the parents' decision to put their children in an English class.

I also chose this school because I am familiar with its ethos and the general running of the school. Indeed, the level of cooperation was most helpful, both

from the Principal and the staff, who distributed and collected the parents' questionnaires on my behalf.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to probe parents' perceptions of the new language-in-education policy of additive multilingualism, the following questions needed answers:-

- Do Zulu parents favour English as language of learning? What reasons do they have for their opinions?
- Do parents see any need to promote indigenous languages as LOL?
- What awareness do Zulu parents have of the current Department of Education language-in-education policy?
- What are the implications arising from the match / mismatch established between parental attitudes on LOL and research-based recommendations?

While there is considerable debate on LOL, parents' perception of language policy in guiding their choice of school has not been directly addressed. What may be indicated in this regard is to establish the degree of match or mismatch between parental expectation and policy planning : the more common the understanding that parents and policy makers share, the more optimal the learning environment becomes. Should it become apparent that parents' choices are not in the best interests of their children's learning, an information campaign may be indicated.

A pilot study, such as this one, will form the springboard for more extensive research that could be generalised to the population at large and give valuable feedback to policy developers and educators.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the current debate on language policy in the light of past language policies. An historical overview will reveal the ideological underpinnings that undergird all language in education policies. It will be seen that language policy is never a neutral issue, but is embedded in the social engineering of the time. Secondly, the present language-in-education policy will be examined as well as the match or mismatch of parents' expectations and understandings. Finally issues around mother-tongue instruction will be interrogated.

2.2 South African Language Policy before 1989

Any study that attempts to account for the suspicion with which black parents view mother-tongue instruction (being taught in their home language) has its roots in past language policies in this country. An understanding of the ideological underpinnings that form the basis of South African language policy is therefore a crucial starting point for this chapter.

Governments have always found language-in-education policies useful in expressing their ideology at grassroots level. Norton in her survey of the language policies in education in South Africa 1948-1989 states:

Language cannot be assumed to be neutral ... It is a social, economic and political force which can be used to create or overcome barriers (Norton 1990:28).

The tendency for language-in-education policies to create barriers may be seen as long ago as the time of the British missionaries in the late 1800's. The missionaries may have had the sincerest motives but they imposed a foreign value system on the indigenous people which denigrated their cultural identity. Under British colonial rule missionary schools provided the only schooling outside the home. They became formalised to some extent by the British government, as only English schools received monetary grants. At this early stage English was already the language of advancement although it was clearly understood that black people should be educated only for their station in life and not for any meaningful participation in society (Vinjevold 1999:207).

Owing to representations made by teachers and the missionaries, Zulu was introduced in Natal in 1885, mainly as a means to more effective evangelism. By 1935, school children were taught in their mother tongue for the first six years and thereafter schools could choose one of the official languages as LOL. Most chose English after Union in 1910, Shepstone's education policy kept Africans apart in separate schools (Laufer 2000:6). This was the beginning of segregated education which the Nationalist Government was later to refine. African parents had no

voice and no choice in the education of their children, except to remove them from school, as education for Africans was not compulsory.

Language policy demonstrated the potential conflict between British and Afrikaners during the bilingual experiment of 1910. According to the Union Constitution, Article 137, English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) were both declared official languages, but the experiment failed due to a lack of bilingual teachers and facilities. As Luckett states:

The bilingual experiment ... was not backed by social and political will to overcome the deeper social conflict between speakers of English and Afrikaans. English remained the language of commerce and industry ... and as such continued to form a social barrier to Afrikaners seeking work in the cities. (1990:5)

Afrikaners resented the overwhelming strength and hegemony of English and tried to develop private Afrikaans schools to preserve their cultural identity. They instituted Christian National Education (CNE) for the first time and promoted mother tongue education. However, they lacked the infrastructure to sustain and maintain these private schools which gradually died out. The idea of promoting Afrikaans, however, did not die but gained momentum as Afrikaans fought for its existence. Afrikaners resented their exclusion from economic power and their desire to control education according to their own ideology was fuelled by the rise

of Afrikaner nationalism. Once Afrikaners were in power, these ideas were soon translated into practice with an almost vindictive force.

The Nationalist government won the election of 1948 and immediately set in motion measures to promote Afrikaans in all sectors of society. They used education as a tool to achieve this and to engineer Africans into a subordinate position where they were prevented from participating in economic or social affairs. By January of 1949, the Eiselen Commission on Native Education had been appointed and recommended that mother tongue instruction be extended to the first 8 years of education. Although there are sound educational reasons (to be discussed in Section 2.4.2) for being "grounded" in one's mother tongue, these were not the considerations used by the Nationalists in devising their education policy. They aimed at a divide and rule strategy - keeping people apart in ethnically segregated schools and providing an inferior and cheaper education for Africans. Blacks rightly perceived enforced mother tongue education as discriminatory, denying them access to English, the language of power and economic success. The suspicion with which black parents today view the promotion of HL instruction derives directly from the enforced Bantu Education of the Nationalist Government.

The sort of condescension to which Africans were subjected can be appreciated in this quote from Article 15, CNE pamphlet:

We believe that the teaching of the native must be grounded in the life and world- view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior trustee of the native (Quoted in Luckett 1995:9).

The Nationalist government consolidated its control over education through the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which stated that all schools should be registered with the government. This effectively meant the demise of the mission schools and night schools. Language policy was effectively wielded as a tool of oppression in the infamous 50:50 policy which held that although primary school education was conducted in the vernacular, except for English and Afrikaans, there should be a sudden change at secondary school level. Religious Instruction, Music and Physical Education were still deemed innocuous enough to be taught in the vernacular, while the remainder of subjects were taught in English or Afrikaans on a 50:50 basis. As Vinjevold puts it:

Although the Soweto uprising of 1976 is the best known manifestation of the resistance to the language policies which were introduced by the Nationalist government in 1953, it is worth noting that the language policy sparked immediate opposition. (1999:205)

This inflexible top-down strategy achieved no acceptance at community level - a significant point which the present drafters of language policy should be very sensitive to. Blacks were further disempowered by the language policy in

education as, even where implementation was attempted, teachers were ill-equipped to do more than provide rote learning of Geography, History, Maths and General Science in garbled, incomprehensible English and Afrikaans.

Dissatisfaction continued and the government was undermined by its own policy of separate development as the Bantustans, as soon as they had the power to do so, reduced vernacular tuition to the first four years, with English thereafter. The choice of English seemed a symbol of resistance to the apartheid education system and this perception has persisted to the present time.

As the government became more draconian in its insistence on the 50:50 policy and deaf to clear indications of the failure of the policy, black schools were in an impossible position. In the first five years from 1970 to 1975, the number of black schoolchildren had increased 160% (Norton 1990:19). Norton makes the point that:

This caused vastly overcrowded classrooms together with which the difficulties of the 50:50 teaching system produced, by 1976, a classroom atmosphere fraught with simmering tension. (1990:21)

On the 16 June 1976, learners in Soweto took to the streets in a vociferous demonstration against Bantu Education and the 50:50 language policy in particular. The watershed of June 1976 produced some far-reaching reforms and,

by July 1976, the Department of Bantu Education had agreed to a single medium of instruction after the fourth year, to be decided by the school. The Education and Training Act of 1979 formalised the change in language policy, but by then most schools had made the change to English. This abrupt switch to English brought its own difficulties as discussed in Macdonald's extensive research during the Threshold Project in 1990 (see Section 2.4.2 below).

One of the recommendations of the de Lange Commission of 1981 was a more gradual transition but this was delayed until 1991 when, for the first time, parental consultation was introduced:

The language or languages to be used as the medium of instruction at a school and the extent and duration of such use shall be determined by the Minister after consultation with the parents of pupils enrolled at that school (D.E.T. 1991:1 quoted in Lockett 1995:12)

This "consultation" with parents was, in effect, inconsequential since not much was done by way of advocacy and information programs to disseminate the new possibilities. Although schools were opened to all races at this time, a strict quota system meant that parents' choice was somewhat curtailed. The ANC had a huge backlog in service delivery to address, when it took power in 1994, with regard to language policy and a stigmatised view of mother tongue education to contend with.

2.3 Early ANC language policy

The ANC language policy was developed over a number of congresses and careful investigations and was never merely a knee-jerk reaction to Bantu education. The policy is approached from a completely different inclusive philosophy. Elements of the United Nations Freedom Charter of the 1950's echo through the new language-in-education policy, for example: "All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and customs" (Hartshorne 1995:316). Ironically, the Nationalist government used this quotation to justify its own policy of separate and unequal schools, but with entirely different political intent.

Various models were discussed at the ANC Congress in Lusaka in 1989. The special position of English as the main linking language of the liberation movements was considered. English could provide a strong focus for National unity but there were reservations about the dominance of English, as strong evidence pointed to literacy acquired most successfully through HL for the first few years of education (Schoon 1989:1)

Various post-independent African models were also discussed, e.g. Angola's acceptance of a European language with no recognition of any other indigenous language, and the Tanzanian model which chose one indigenous language (kiSwahili) with a switch to English only in Grade 8. At another ANC language workshop in Harare in March 1990, this latter option was jettisoned by the ANC

because of potential conflict engendered by elevating one cultural group.
(Hartshorne 1995:315)

The National Language Project (NLP) has placed heavy emphasis on the need to develop indigenous languages which have been marginalised and devalued. Aggressive affirmative action was needed to redress the inequities of the past. This is a theme which resonates through the present language- in- education policy. The ANC adopted the orientation that the many indigenous languages in South Africa are a rich *resource* instead of a *problem* as the Nationalist government had viewed them. In the 1999 Draft Discussion Document, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) made the observation that:

The resources which African languages have to offer need to be uncovered and developed in order that the people of this continent are able to take charge of their destinies. (Government Gazette 28 May 1999).

This significant shift in paradigm is one of the issues that this study will probe as part of parents' perceptions of the new language-in-education policy.

The work of the National Educational Policy Investigation (NEPI) committee in 1992 also outlined various language models, describing the implications of each and expediting PANSALB's task of advising government on a language policy for the new South Africa. Ricento and Hornberger's view that "...planning language

is not much different from planning society" (1996:415) supports former Education Minister Bengu's description of the new language in education policy as:

An integral and necessary aspect of the new government's strategy of building a non-racial nation in South Africa ... Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African (1999:38).

2.4 Additive Multilingualism

The cornerstone of the new policy was additive multilingualism where the child's mother tongue, or home language, is maintained and developed throughout schooling and a second and possibly third language is added. It is vital to emphasise the difference between additive multilingualism and subtractive multilingualism where HL is gradually eroded and replaced by the additional language (AL). The danger of English overwhelming the indigenous languages has been countered in the policy by a commitment to promote and develop the previously neglected languages. The drafters of the policy would have been aware of previous research, such as that carried out by Pennycook, who observed that:

In many countries, particularly former colonies of Britain, small English-speaking elites have continued the same policies of the former colonizers, using access to English language education as a crucial distributor of social prestige and wealth (1994:14).

In probing the parents' perceptions of the language in education policy, I shall be seeking to ascertain whether the policy has filtered down to ordinary people, to the community, without whose support and acceptance the policy cannot be expected to thrive. My findings will then be tested in triangulation interviews with two educators outside of the study participants.

Another guiding principle in the policy, also enshrined in the Constitution, is the parents' right to choose the language of learning and it is the exercise of this right, which paradoxically, may undermine the government's efforts to promote indigenous languages. In emphasising the importance of parental choice, Laufer quotes the ANC's 1992 Language Commission, "Any language policy must reflect the voice of the people and this voice is more important than any model which emerges" (2000:18).

2.4.1 Evaluation of new Language-in-Education Policy

In an early evaluation of the implementation of the new language policy, Taylor and Vinjevold, editors of the 1999 President's Education Initiative Research Project (PEI), found that not only were the parents and the community ill-informed about the new language policy, but the schools themselves did not have structures in place by which to implement the new languages policies. Taylor and Vinjevold studied the de facto policy as it was being worked out in the schools. As Ricento and Hornberger state:

... language policy must be evaluated not only by official policy statements or laws on the books but by language behaviour and attitudes in situated, especially institutional, contexts. (1996:417)

Two findings of the PEI were firstly, that "learning through the primary language in the early years of schooling is on the decrease" (1999:224) and secondly, that "the more realistic option is a Straight-for-English approach..." (1999:225) have been hotly contested by Heugh (2000) and Alexander (2000). Heugh refutes the claim that most schools use English as the medium of instruction. At the Department of Education's National Colloquium: Language in the Classroom in June 2000, Xola Mati, a researcher for the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (Praesa), reported that very little, if any, English is heard in rural and township schools which serve the majority of learners (Heugh 2000:18). Heugh maintains that it is erroneous to give the impression that parents want to replace the home language with English; in fact, what they want is "improved and greater access to English alongside the home language for their children" (2000:18). She quotes a study by the Department of Education and Training in 1992, which showed 54% of parents opting for Gradual Transfer to English as against 22% who wanted Straight-for-English. Heugh also refers to a PANSALB survey in 2000 which showed:

... the majority of people, at least 88% favour the maintenance of the home language throughout education or the maintenance of the home language alongside a second language/English (2000:19).

Alexander also disputes this recommendation of the PEI report, even calling it unconstitutional in "going diametrically against the existing language in education legislation" (2000:16). My study will attempt to gain some clarity amongst my sample as to their preferences for the introduction of English.

The PEI was responding to what they perceived to be the result of parents' pressure for English. After all, the ANC Language Commission in its document Language Policy Considerations (1992:5) stated:

Though language experts argue that initial education is best conducted through the "mother-tongue" (a contentious term), large sections of black communities have already pressurised primary schools into beginning with English as the medium of instruction from day one. In matters of this kind, the ANC regards opinions and preferences of parents, teachers and communities as very important. At the same time, children need to be given the best education possible. Any language policy must reflect the voice of the people and this voice is more important than any model which emerges (Quoted in Laufer 2000:18).

However, what parents *really* want needs to be probed further, as it would seem to involve far more complex factors than a wish for Straight-for-English. While it is clear that parents want unimpeded access to English and its perceived advantages for success in the economic and tertiary spheres, this is not necessarily at the expense of their home language. The issue is further complicated by the legacy of

apartheid's mother tongue education which black parents rightly interpreted as denying them the chance to participate socially and politically in any meaningful way. The issue may rather be a need to understand their options in order to make an informed choice. Several researchers, such as Heugh (2000), Alexander (2000) and Lockett (1995) have stressed the importance of a "bottom-up" approach to language policy reforms. After years of imposed fiat, black parents need to "own" this contentious area of education policy; they should have the sense of it being democratically driven by the community's needs. This may mean that the demands of parents are in conflict with what is educationally and psychologically best for their children; which emphasises the need for a massive information campaign, because while "the ANC regards the opinions and preferences of parents, teachers and communities as very important" (1992:5), the 1997 Language in Education Policy has this to say about individual rights:

The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual. This right has, however, to be exercised within the overall framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism (1997:2).

On paper, at any rate, multilingualism appears to be the sine qua non of the new education policy. Heugh (2000) and Alexander (2000) imply that this principle is being threatened either by government merely paying lip service to the idea, or by misguided lobbies for a Straight-for-English approach. Heugh describes the danger of not following through on this policy thus:

The policy has not been accompanied or followed by any significant government initiated implementation plan. It has, however, been met with several arguments against its implementation and these have found their way into publications which are now being used to deflect government's responsibility regarding implementation (2000:3).

She adds a final caveat: "Whilst government remains inert on the matter, the discriminatory policy of the former apartheid government continues to be practised in schools"(2000:3).

2.4.2 Research influencing Additive Multilingualism

Linguistic specialists like Luckett, Heugh and Alexander spent many years leading up to the formulation of the new language policy, researching and critiquing various models and their implications for the new South Africa. I should like to examine some of this earlier research that formed the foundation of a policy of additive multilingualism.

Macdonald (1990), in her Threshold Project research, was struck by the difficulties that black Grade 4 Tswana speaking pupils experienced when they crossed the "language threshold" into Grade 5. Because of the sudden volume of content in the curriculum they needed to increase their vocabulary from 800 words (sufficient for Grade 4) to 5000 (required for Grade 5). She conducted her research in the period after 1976 when black pupils switched abruptly from

learning in their mother tongue to English. This set the scene for failure as they lacked the conceptual and linguistic tools necessary for the new learning situation. Added to this, their teachers were often not fluent in English, having been through the impoverished Bantu education system and denied even social contact with English speakers, as they were geographically separated.

The paucity of teaching was only one of the reasons which impacted on the failure of pupils to learn but was certainly a major factor in the first model that Macdonald examined, i.e. Straight-for-English. This model has been favoured by many ex-colonial African states, but history has shown that it is not a recipe for success. The Straight-for-English approach seems to offer access to modern Western science and technology but, in fact, only privileges a small English-speaking middle class elite and in effect emphasises the urban/rural divide. The result of this approach is subtractive bilingualism and children tend to become assimilated into Western culture. This means that their home language becomes devalued and there is a danger of cultural alienation.

From the above it may be seen that the Straight-for-English approach is not an option under the new language-in-education policy which supports additive multilingualism and the promotion of indigenous languages. However, a more telling disadvantage of Straight-for-English is that research (Cummins 1986) indicates that it is educationally harmful for a child to be forced to learn in an AL without a sound foundation of HL enliteration.

Cummins's frequently cited linguistic interdependence thesis (Lockett 1995, Ricento & Hornberger 1996, Heugh 2000) which was first developed in 1984, postulates that high levels of proficiency in a second language are dependent on the child having first reached high levels of competence in the first language. He distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and maintains that a child needs to develop from BICS to CALP in HL before starting to learn in AL. Based on his research in Canada he found that this was the most efficient way to become proficient in AL. However, it is important not to view his theory as advocating the most pragmatic route to AL. He stresses that CALP in HL will only be attained if the learning environment is conducive, that is, if HL is affirmed and the child empowered to be an active learner. Cummins's stress on HL education is endorsed in the new language- in- education policy which aims to support and promote indigenous languages and which prescribes additive multilingualism - adding languages while maintaining the home language. According to the Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement:

Learners' home language should be used for the purposes of learning and teaching wherever possible. This is particularly important in the Foundation Phase where children learn to read and write (8 August 2001).

I shall be investigating parents' attitudes to learning in the home language to see whether negative connotations of mother tongue instruction do persist in the face of what is educationally desirable.

Macdonald considered a second scenario in the South African context - the gradual transition to English model which she saw as preferable to a sudden switch to English at the end of Grade 4. However, this model does not fulfill the requirements of additive multilingualism as the dominance of English may still result in indigenous languages being undervalued. In her critique of subtractive/transitional models in education, Heugh says that "these subtractive/transitional programmes reinforce the notion of a hierarchy of languages and linguistic racism (linguicism)" (1995:47). Luckett, Alexander and Heugh are proponents of additive multilingualism. Luckett, in her 1992 NEPI Working Paper and in other articles, stresses the importance of maintaining and sustaining indigenous languages that were previously disadvantaged. She says: "It is precisely the advancement of these languages which will serve to empower the majority who do not speak English as their first language" (1995:74). This is in line with Cummins's linguistic interdependence principle and it **will** empower those who do not speak English as their first language because it will provide them with the most efficient route to that end, as well as being cognitively and psychologically beneficial. Skutnab-Kangas (1998), amongst other theorists, stresses the psychological damage caused by non-affirmation of a child's HL. Cummins even goes so far as to state that HL education on its own is not

sufficient to ensure the success of a bilingual programme "but the extent to which educators work to reverse rather than perpetuate the subtle institutionalised racism of society as a whole" (1986:66). There needs to be a wholehearted commitment on the part of educators to the child's language rights.

Within the additive multilingualism paradigm, Alexander (1995:80) proposes a multi-medium model reproduced below as **Table 1**.

PRESCHOOL – RECEPTION YEAR	Spontaneous usage of all language varieties present in the child's environment. L1 should be emphasised but not forced.		
GRADE 1	L1 across the curriculum	L2 oral (mainly listening skills)	
GRADE 2	L1 across the curriculum	L2 oral (more emphasis on speaking skills, especially songs and rhymes)	
GRADES 3 – 4	L1 across the curriculum	Consolidation of L2 reading skills. Writing introduced gradually.	
GRADE 5	L1 across the curriculum except Maths and Science	Maths and Science in L2 where this is likely to be English for most pupils, at present.	L3 introduced with emphasis on oral skills
In the next phases (Grades 6 – 12) of the curriculum, the proportion of subjects provided in L1 and L2 will vary according to circumstances determined by parents, teachers and students. Technical and career-related considerations will affect the choice of medium.			
GRADES 6 – 8	L1 and L2 as languages of learning	Oral skills in L3 consolidated	
GRADE 9	L1 and L2 as languages of learning	L3 formally introduced as a subject	
GRADES 10 – 12	L1 and L2 as languages of learning	L3 as a subject	
GRADE 13	Preparation for tertiary education: research and study skills in L1 and L2		

Table 1 The multi-medium school

Clearly, this model would satisfy the requirements of an additive multilingual policy, in that:

All learners learn their home language and at least one additional official language. They become competent in their additional language while their home language is maintained and developed (Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement 2001:52).

Parents would also be satisfied if they perceived this model as providing enough access to English and if they were informed about the cognitive and psychological benefits of a solid foundation in the home language.

Heugh's model of the multilingual school is similar to Alexander's multi-medium model in that it aims to maintain and develop the home language while adding a second or third language. Heugh's model, however, introduces dual-medium instruction in Grade 4, where half the content subjects would be taught in the first language and the other half in a second language. She suggests that it "may be more practical to phase in the dual medium approach, i.e. gradually increasing the AL content until the 50-50 stage is reached" (1995:85).

Both Alexander and Heugh foresee disaster ahead in education if the government does not demonstrate a serious commitment to its own additive multilingual policy. The present drift towards a Straight- for- English approach will favour a small middle class elite and seriously disadvantage the majority of learners who are left to sink in the confusion which marks rural schools. Heugh describes the problem thus:

The reality of the classrooms where the pupils come from exclusively African language speaking backgrounds is that

teaching and learning through English is
neither viable nor is it taking place"
(2000:23).

In this paper, provocatively entitled **The Case Against Bilingual & Multilingual Education in South Africa**, Heugh says: "If the preferences and perceptions of a mere tiny middle class are taken as the point of reference for educational decisions, then the *status quo* will be presented as the most attractive option" and "What is happening is that the preferences of a minority are presented as if they were valid for the majority" (2000:20,21). Luckett (1992) makes the point that it is the rising black middle class who are best suited to lobby for the promotion of HL instruction but, because their present position is owing to their strong command of English, it is unlikely they will do so.

It seems that it is communities themselves who must recognise the benefits of additive multilingualism and since it is the school governing bodies who are responsible for determining a school's language policy, an advocacy programme should begin here. The Minister of Education, Professor Kadar Asmal, at the International Literacy Conference in Cape Town, 2000, is quoted as saying: "So we have an enormous task to persuade teachers and parents of the value of the use of African languages as academic languages" (Focus 2002 No. 1:18). The purpose of this dissertation is to critically examine the extent to which parents are persuaded of the advantages of additive multilingualism.

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to contextualise my study in terms of previous research in the area of language policy in this country and elsewhere. Firstly, an historical overview suggested reasons for parents' suspicion of the present language-in-education policy of additive multilingualism, in particular, HL education. Secondly, a discussion of issues around HL instruction formed the link between the historical background and the new language-in-education policy. Much of the theoretical input for this was drawn from the research of Macdonald (1990) and Luckett (1992). Finally, the present language-in-education policy was examined including the apparent mismatch between the policy and its de facto manifestations. The research of Heugh (1995, 2000) and Alexander (1995, 2000) mainly informed this section of the review.

It is clear from the literature that very little research has been done into parents' attitudes, hence the topic for this study, which will be discussed in future chapters.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction : Research Paradigm

The aim of this investigation is to gain an understanding of the views of Zulu HL parents and to acquire insight into their experience of and attitudes towards the new language-in-education policy in a Senior Primary School in KwaZulu-Natal.

In locating this research within an interpretive paradigm, I have adopted a qualitative approach to what is essentially an exploratory/descriptive study. The interpretive paradigm is appropriate for this type of social science research as I was attempting to explore and understand the attitudes of Zulu HL parents, rather than collecting data to “measure” them. As TerreBlanche & Durrheim state "... interpretive researchers typically work with material that is richly interrelated and would lose its meaning if broken into discrete bits"(1999:127). I was seeking to probe the **meaning** of their views within their cultural context. Meaning is central to interpretive, qualitative research. (Ely 1997: 238)

Interpretive researchers are able to use small samples as they are not concerned with generalising to the whole population. In this study, 24 out of a possible 30

5) parents responded to a questionnaire, while 5 parents were studied intensively
6) by means of interviews. Triangulation of the data was achieved by linking data from the questionnaires and the interviews and by interviewing the Principal of the school concerned as well as an outside educator. A small sample can often provide material for hypotheses which later researchers may test empirically
7) using quantitative methods (which will be discussed later).

My aim was to study how individuals, in their role as parents, construct meaning out of a particular social context, namely that of being Zulu HL parents with children at an English former Model C school. Although they share certain characteristics, it could not be expected that they would all make the same responses, or have the same understandings. An interpretive, qualitative approach was accordingly called for. This approach is not concerned with "hard data" but with exploring and describing social interactions and the meanings that individuals give to those interactions. Positivist principles, on the other hand, express the view that "value judgements, since they cannot be founded on empirical knowledge, cannot be given the status of valid knowledge" (Carr & Kemmis 1986:62). However, values and feelings are an integral part of this study and an interpretive approach allows the researcher to admit values into the orbit of a study. It does not attempt to produce value-free data, but sees values as vital for empathising with participants and attempting to analyse their responses.

Interpretive research of this nature emphasises the use of qualitative methods. ✓

Qualitative research tends to be reflexive and non-linear (Neuman 2000:154).

Data emerges as the study progresses and can alter the course of research in an

ongoing, inductive way. In my study, the responses to a questionnaire formed

the basis for more in-depth questioning in the interviews. In addition, in order to

obtain a fuller picture of the social perspective, the analysis of both the

questionnaire and the interviews was expanded by further interviews with (a) the

Principal, who had implemented the policy and (b) an outside educator, who has

experienced earlier apartheid policies and been involved in transformatory

education policies for many years. These three perspectives, in triangulating

views, helped to strengthen the validity of the research. *

In qualitative research the relationship with subjects is a close one, based on

trust and the acceptance of values and personal views. As TerreBlanche and

Durrheim put it: "... people's subjective experiences are real and should be

taken seriously" (1999:123). Data is in the form of words, i.e. answers to a

questionnaire and the researcher's observations of the subjects. This is often

known as "soft data" and is analysed differently from the sort of data produced

by quantitative research.

Quantitative research relies heavily on the positivist approach to social science (Carr & Kemmis 1986). This is seen as a way to legitimise social research and to accord it the same standing as scientific research. The aim of positivist research is to obtain objective, distortion-free data by controlling for all variables, including the researcher's subjective bias. This is one reason why this type of research is inappropriate for an interpretive study, as the researcher's perceptions as well as those of the subjects are considered valid in obtaining a full picture of the social context.

A positivist paradigm sees the social world as consisting of neutral facts and laws that simply need to be discovered. A more interpretive view is that the social world is too fluid and too rich in experience to be reduced to definite causal connections. Quantitative research, as informed by positivism, tends to be mechanistic in that it hopes to obtain accurate readings of the social world by applying set methodological procedures. This type of deductive approach is unsuited to the cyclical nature of qualitative research design in the interpretive paradigm. This particular study is cyclical in that the research questions are tested in the questionnaire and then revisited in relation to the answers in order to formulate the interviews. Also, a data-driven approach that sees the social world as consisting of neutral facts, would miss out on the richness of experience that an interpretive researcher hopes to uncover. The uniqueness of

localised constructions of meanings by people in a specific context was what I wanted to study.

Qualitative research, however, is not without its constraints and limitations. In contrast to the ease of use of the quantitative methodology, qualitative research produces data which is difficult to reduce and explain. The non-linear process meant that there was a continuous revisiting and revising of data. Often my role of researcher was participatory as I sought to probe the values and social understandings of the target group. Since an interview is largely constructed by the participants' perceptions of each other's identities and agendas, I endeavoured to engage with the interviewees, and often my own views were asked for and commented upon. This placed us on an equal footing and the interaction was therefore more natural and relaxed.

Qualitative research has been criticised for lacking the rigour of quantitative research and one is tempted to envy the high acceptance that structured statistical proofs are accorded. However, a qualitative researcher is looking for a more holistic picture, focusing on “how” and “why” questions rather than closed questions.

In qualitative research, it is impossible to duplicate the investigation exactly, as

social activity is dynamic – people and contexts change. This gives rise to questions of reliability. But since data collection is an interactive process, qualitative researchers accept that different researchers will get different results and see this as merely opening another facet on the study.

Time, however, has been seen as a very real drawback to qualitative research.

Many quantitative studies are short-term with the researcher remaining distant and the data is relatively quick to process. Qualitative data is difficult to gather and is time-consuming to analyse, as I found in transcribing the taped interviews. Because one is looking at issues like people's personal views on the status of their own culture, there is no easy formula by which to present data.

The two research styles should not, however, be seen in opposition to each other, or as mutually exclusive. Although I was working within a qualitative paradigm, the questionnaire yielded largely quantitative data which was used to support the interpretive analysis of the interviews.

In the following section I shall discuss the methods of data collection and conclude with a personal observation.

3.2 Methods of data collection

3.2.1 Questionnaire (see Appendix A)

Questionnaires (see Appendix A-2) were distributed to all Zulu HL parents of Grade 4 learners at a former Model C, English medium, school. Grade 4 is the entry level for Senior Primary education. The parents would therefore have taken a recent decision to send their children to a former Model C, English medium, school, and should thus be able to give an account of their reasons for this decision and their views on the school's language policy.

At first I was concerned about the sensitivity of distributing questionnaires to Zulu HL parents only. However, the Principal was reassuring on this point as he has previously canvassed only Zulu parents for assistance in cultural events and has never encountered any resistance. Also, it was preferable to target my focus group as other groups did not have to make the same decisions in their choice of school. The Principal offered his co-operation in signing and school-stamping the covering letter. This may account for the high return rate.

The questionnaires were handed out by the class teachers on the Tuesday and parents were requested to return them on the Thursday of the same week. This time-scheme was suggested by the Principal as being most efficient, and indeed, of the 30 questionnaires distributed, 24 were returned.

The questionnaire was kept as concise as possible, bearing in mind that this was a voluntary exercise and that a burdensome questionnaire would result in a low response rate. The questionnaire consisted of a mix of open-ended and closed questions so that it would elicit both quantitative and qualitative data. I was aware of the disadvantages of closed questions, as enumerated by Neuman (2000: 261) - that of forcing respondents to make choices even if they have no opinion or have not considered the idea before. There is also the possibility of clerical errors, with respondents marking the wrong box. However, these disadvantages were offset by the advantages, which are that dichotomous questions are quicker for respondents and easier for the researcher to code, as closed questions reduce ambiguity to some extent for the researcher. Neuman also points out that less articulate respondents are not required to work out complex answers to what are often complex issues (2000:261).

Every effort was made to clarify the layout as well as the questions, in order to minimise any initial resistance or misunderstanding. Question 5, for example, may appear to be merely a corollary for Question 4, but it was included in the hope that it would elicit important information about the degree of bilingualism practised in the home.

The first 9 questions required a **YES/NO, AGREE/DISAGREE** response, and a middle choice was not offered. It has often been found that respondents mark this option as a way of evading a considered opinion. Breakwell et al state that -

Five- or seven- point scales can suffer from people's over-reliance on the neutral response ("Neither agree nor disagree") rather than committing themselves to expressing an opinion (1998:186).

After the more general questions on page 1, the questions on page 2 focused more narrowly on views on language policy. Different permutations of additive bilingualism were offered and respondents were required to choose one.

Finally, to allow participants to clarify their choices and to add any additional information, a completely open-ended question was added, i.e. **Add any other views of your own**. With such a free question, there is always the risk of irrelevant detail, making it difficult to code these responses. However, it was felt that at this stage of the questionnaire respondents would wish to give expression to their own views and that these would enrich and add depth to the other data.

A Response Sheet (see Appendix A-3) was appended to the questionnaire, which included a personal appeal to parents to make themselves available for a brief discussion (interview). This yielded three replies.

In both the covering letter (see Appendix A-1) and the Response Sheet, care was taken to adopt a friendly, personal tone, using the first person and thanking participants for their help.

3.2.2 Follow-up interviews (see Appendix B)

The follow-up interviews (which were conducted with five respondents) were designed to probe the perceptions elicited from the questionnaire. The qualitative and reflexive nature of this study permitted the interview probes to emerge from the responses to the questionnaire. The interviews were intended to clarify the questionnaire responses and to give the researcher an opportunity to explore parents' perceptions of the language-in-education policy.

A core framework of seven questions was developed, followed by questions directly related to the participants' individual responses to the questionnaire.

The framework addressed three issues:

- reasons for choice of English school
- concerns over neglect of culture
- perceptions of the new language-in-education policy.

It was hoped that six respondents would form a self-selected sample for the interviews, but in the event only three volunteered. Two more names were suggested by this small pool, so, by a process of "snowball" sampling (Miles & Huberman 1994:28), five subjects were eventually interviewed and audio-taped.

8
Step out
of 24

The interview was piloted with some Zulu HL colleagues to gauge the accessibility of the questions. Some leading questions had to be rephrased. It was also decided that a question on language policy could require some explanation, depending on the depth of understanding possessed by the interviewee. TerreBlanche & Durrheim describe an interview in the interpretive paradigm thus:

Interpretive approaches see it [the interview] as a means to an end (namely, to try and find out how people really feel about or experience particular things), and will therefore try and create an environment of openness and trust within which the interviewee is able to authentically express her or himself (1999:153).

4) The interviews were intended to be as informal and natural as possible, despite the presence of a tape recorder, so the interviewer had to be prepared to adapt the framework and to deal with questions out of order if topics naturally arose in the course of conversation.

Although an open-ended interview of this nature proved extremely time-consuming, it was worth it for the richer response it yielded. Open-ended questions reveal insights into individual feelings which do not emerge from closed or dichotomous questions. Three interviews were fully transcribed (see Appendices C-1, C-2 and C-3). The interviews which were transcribed were with mothers in their thirties who were all wanting something better for their children than their own experience. **Z** (Interviewee 1) and **M** (Interviewee 3) have moved into the suburbs while **L** (Interviewee 2) remained in the township.

3.3 Conclusion

I should like to conclude this chapter on research methodology with a personal observation. For me, the interviews were the most rewarding part of my research. Even when interviewees were incomprehensibly obtuse, or steered the discussion off at a tangent, there was still a sense that this was real and authentic. I was also conscious of the privilege of being admitted to people's private homes and to their private thoughts on the status of their own culture. For the qualitative researcher there is always a tension between needing to remain sufficiently distant in order to allow parents to have their own voice, and being intrinsically part of the interaction. I found myself wanting to pursue points that interested me even when my question had been answered. For

example, with Interviewee 3, I began engaging in a "normal" conversation with M, rather than sticking to the script:

M: *Um, in terms of the government I think they must make sure that everything has - that is written in English has got a Zulu version.*

Interviewer: *Mm - on my leave forms I still see English and Afrikaans.*

M: *Yes, you see, so there must be Zulu, too, in there. As a result let's say you go to Home Affairs, most of the black people are using Home Affairs and they cannot help themselves because there are terrible queues at the Home Affairs. People are standing on their queues.*

Interviewer: *I hope I never lose my ID book, oh no!*

M: *(Laughs) - you've been to that place already? Ja and that is just because people do not understand. They just got to the counter with the entire form. The workers there they just start from the scratch with filling in someone's details.*

Interview 3: Exchanges 26-30

A "chat" like this, was not focused strictly on the topic, but was important in building up rapport and allowing us both to relax.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 Questionnaire (see Appendix A)

Twenty-four out of a possible thirty questionnaires were returned. An 80% return was a gratifying response, as Neuman states that "a response rate of 10 to 50 percent is common for a mail survey" (2000:268). The questionnaire could arguably be classified as a mail survey since the questionnaires were sent to respondents who read the instructions and recorded their answers. However, school parents are accustomed to responding to requests from the Principal, especially when his signature and the school stamp are appended to the covering letter. A summary of Questions 1 to 9 is set out in **Table 2** below.

		Agree	Disagree	Yes	No
Qn 1	When learners are taught only in English, they succeed in life	5	19		
Qn 2	When learners are taught only in English, Zulu is neglected and forgotten	14	9		
Qn 3	English is the language of national unity	18	5		
Qn 4	I speak English at home			8	15
Qn 5	I speak Zulu at home			24	0
Qn 6	Learners should be punished for speaking Zulu in an English medium school	4	19		
Qn 7	English is the language of oppression	1	21		
Qn 8	I use Zulu at work			17	7
Qn 9	The first language I learnt to speak was: Zulu : 24 Eng : 0 Afr : 0 Other : 0				

Table 2 : Summary of Questions 1 to 9

When responding to **Question 1**, which offered the statement : *When learners are taught only in English they succeed in life* - 79% disagreed. On the face of it, this appears to be an unexpected finding as it seems to run counter to the studies of several theorists. Theorists like Pennycook (1992), Hornberger (1996), Tollefson (1991) and Skutnab-Kangas (1996) have long seen the impact of English on other languages as problematic and have vigorously debated and critiqued the hegemony of English. Luckett, too, asserts that "... it is proficiency in English which opens the doors of learning and enables people to get ahead in life" (1995:74). Similarly, Chick and Wade found that "The majority of South Africans continue to see proficiency in English (and to a lesser extent Standard Afrikaans) as the key to social mobility and economic advancement" (1997:273). In addition, recent studies such as Hadebe's state that:

Zulu is not regarded as a suitable medium of instruction by learners, parents and teachers
 ... English is the language of status and power
 (2001:42).

The response to **Question 1** also seemed contradictory in the light of some of the later responses, for example, **Question 3**. It is possible that the wording was not clear to the respondents or, more likely, they were focusing on the word **only**. They do believe their children will succeed if taught in English, but they want some Zulu as well. This would be consistent with 58 % of respondents to **Question 2** who agreed that *When learners are taught only in English, Zulu is*

neglected and forgotten. This would seem to indicate a concern for the Mother Tongue and a desire to preserve and maintain Zulu.

In response to **Question 7** (which, together with **Question 1** and **Question 3**, probed attitudes to English) only one person agreed that *English is the language of oppression*, while two respondents left this question out. This may mean that the question was beyond some respondents' linguistic proficiency, but it certainly does not indicate any negative bias towards English. Seventy-three percent agreed with **Question 3** that *English is the language of national unity*; and many echoed this in their comments at the end of the questionnaire. These responses accord with Lockett's findings that English is not seen as the language of oppression in the same way as Afrikaans may be (a comparison between English and Afrikaans is not investigated in this study) because it was used as the common language of communication by the black liberation movements (Lockett, 1992).

In the boxed section dealing with language policy respondents marked only boxes **A** and **C**, with almost equal numbers voting for each. Boxes **B** and **D** were options advocating more teaching in Zulu.

The overwhelming choice of **A** or **C** was echoed in the comments at the end of the questionnaire. Parents stressed the importance of learning English from an

early age because of its pragmatic value: *It is a fact, your chances are good if your language is English medium.*

There was also a sense of the need to value and develop Zulu, but not at the expense of English. *Ideally kids should learn Zulu, but Zulu and English are not the same status and introduce English at an early age but don't discourage Zulu.*

However, some respondents responded in the following vein: *It is not wise to teach in Zulu - you will be restricted in future life* - indicating less regard for Zulu as an academic language.

4.2 Analysis of Interviews (see Appendices B and C)

The procedure followed in the analysis of these interviews is as follows : firstly, the data quoted from interviews is exactly as recorded and remains uncorrected.

This is to ensure that the authentic "voice" of each respondent is heard, and secondly, I have not followed any complex transcription conventions as my interest is in content rather than any finely nuanced speech patterns.

The first issue that the interviews intended to probe was the reason for choosing a former Model C school. All five respondents rejected the idea of choosing a Zulu school even one as well-resourced and staffed as the Model C school on the grounds that this would disadvantage children in later life. They took the pragmatic view that children needed to be prepared for tertiary level which would naturally be in English. **Z** (Interviewee 1) showed awareness of English

being the universal language of communication. None of them seemed to resent the dominance of English in the wider society but merely to accept it as part of life. Interviewee 5, for example, maintained that: *We are living in a global world, so even if you are knowledgeable in science, you can't converse unless you have learnt it in English. English does have an edge over other languages*

This may have been what Gerrit Brandt was describing when he referred to "the colonisation of the African mind" (Mail & Guardian 21/09/2001). It is also important, however, to interpret responses in the context of Heugh's pertinent observation that:

Popular misconceptions about how languages are best learnt, together with the legacy of Bantu Education's mother-tongue policy, currently influence parents and many African-language speaking parents believe that transition to English will most benefit their children educationally and economically (Heugh 1995:49).

The same issue is closely tied to language policy which will be discussed later.

The second area of interest for this study was the relationship between language and culture and concerns about their neglect. **Z** (Interviewee 1) was the most articulate interviewee and the most confident in expressing her ideas. However, she became agitated at the suggestion that black children could lose their language and culture and turn into *Westernised Zulus* (Exchange 8). See also

Exchanges 39-48 where she outlines the dilemma of a family caught between two cultures: *We, as parents, are not able to transfer the knowledge that we've got, the pride that we've got in our language, to our kids because from age two they've been at a non-racial English medium crèche right through to where my bigger son is in Grade 9. So for them, expressing themselves in English comes easier than in Zulu. But what I try and do with my kids if we go to the farm or the township I always remind them that it's strictly Zulu speaking because I don't want them to feel superior to the kids that do not understand English (Exchange 48).*

Z advocated a proper educational programme to balance the strong influence of Westernised Christianity, for all South Africans, but especially black families (Exchanges 8-14). For example, in Exchange 8 she says: *Unless something is done to introduce a programme where all black children learn more about their culture and language, it will be lost. They gonna turn into Westernised Zulus and forget all about their culture.*

L (Interviewee 2) had some difficulty understanding and expressing herself in English. This interview was particularly challenging as she had to be drawn out on some points and then wished to introduce her own topics on others.

Exchanges 25-48 have hardly any responses longer than a few words. However, she makes a significant point in Exchange 48: *So I don't want my child to experience the problem that I experienced.* She expressed a concern about

English overpowering Zulu: *But I see our languages are going down* (**Exchange 50**).

L (Interviewee 2) did not agree with Gupta's ideas about empowering children in English instead of putting resources into maintaining indigenous languages. The following interaction highlights this point:

L: *Mm, I think it's not going to work. Especially we have got customs - our customs, so which means they will take the Western culture.*

Interviewer: *So what will happen to the cultures?*

L: *Ai, I think it's no longer there, Western culture is dominating*

(**Exchanges 106-108**).

M (Interviewee 3) was also concerned for her child to maintain Zulu: *It's very important because he is not dealing with English speaking people only. Also he will be dealing with those, um, Zulu speaking people who didn't have an opportunity to go to school and to learn good English as he did* (**Exchange 12**).

She lamented the fact that most Zulus do not take care to nurture their mother tongue (Exchanges 19-24). She states in Exchange 20: *It is in danger of dying*

out, because most of the Zulus they - how am I going to say that - they just ignore their progress in Zulu but they just divert into English because they want to advance themselves in English.

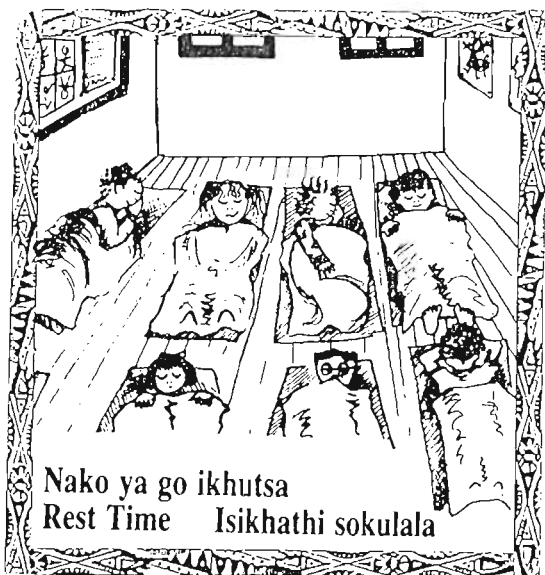
Interviewee 4 was a retired pre-primary teacher who has taken over the education of her grandson. When asked about maintaining Zulu her comments revealed her pedagogical background: *He will have better insight into the foreign language if understanding his mother-tongue.* This is a view held by de Klerk who states: "What research has shown is that when a child's first language is well-developed and maintained it is easier for the child to learn a second language" (1995:9). Cummins (1983 and 1984), quoted in Garcia,O and Baker, C. (1995:106), maintains that the most successful bilingual programmes are those that emphasise and use students' first language.

Interviewee 4 also blamed parents for not making more of an effort to encourage Zulu: *Parents should change attitude about mother-tongue. One day your child will say "you say we are Zulus but we can't speak it, we have no identity"*

When asked what the Government should do to encourage mother-tongue education, Interviewee 4 thought time should be made available for cultural lessons, which should include singing and dancing to Zulu music for the enjoyment of all children. Interviewees 2, 3 and 5 advocated educational programmes starting in pre-school. L (Interviewee 2) described practically what

she meant in Exchange 93-96: *At the same time, you see because if you put a chart here for skeleton and you say "ikande" and then in English you put a word in English -"head" (Exchange 94).*

Helen Robb (1995 : 20-21) also suggests promoting pre-literacy in home languages in the classroom and provides the following illustration:



This practice could be seen to fit Heugh's dual medium model where "two languages are used in the classroom interchangeably each day for the content subjects ..." (1995 :83).

Mosibuda Mangena, the Deputy Minister of Education, sums up the issue in his article in the Sunday Times (22/07/2001):

The point of all this is that culture is crucial in anchoring an individual's balance and personality. But culture is inseparable from language . . . This is one reason all our languages need to be taught and nurtured in our schools.

The Minister's comments lead on to the third issue to be addressed in the interviews - that of parents' perception of the new language-in-education policy (additive multilingualism). Not one of the interviewees was aware of a new language policy and explanations were necessary. Interviewees saw this as an opportunity to reminisce on their own school experience:

Z (Interviewee 1) described her own difficulty when changing from a Zulu primary school to an English secondary school in Exchange 30-34: *When I got to St Francis College and there was English, I was completely lost for the first six months (Exchange 30)*. She advocated a gradual introduction of English

from a very early age: *When they were two they went straight into English, ... they started at crèche at age two all the way up to where they are now. So I'd say if it's introduced gradually - that would be the best option (Exchange 66).*

In Exchange 66, L (Interviewee 2) delivered a baffling non-sequitur to a question on additive multilingualism: *What always worries me - if Grade 12 is writing a paper you find that if you reverse it, it is written in Afrikaans (Exchange 66).* A real concern for her was what she perceived was a lack of promotion of Zulu by the education authorities and she returned to this theme when, in this brief interaction, I tried to link her response back to government language policy :

Interviewer: *... I think if the government is serious, they would - they would write it in Zulu.*

L: *Ja, yes, so because you see if you know Afrikaans you can turn and read it. So what about our children? (Exchanges 71-72).*

L's solution to rural schools being ill-equipped to cope with English was to send white teachers to rural areas: *Rural schools they do know Zulu. They are lacking English. So if you - I think this policy for government R and R-redeployment - I think they take whites to rural areas (Exchange 78).*

Interviewees 3 and 4 focused on teacher training to address the bilingual issue but **M** (Interviewee 3) had a novel approach to additive multilingualism. She demonstrated that she understood the government's policy as I explained it to her :

M: *Like me, I must maintain my Zulu and add English as a second language?*

Interviewer: *Yes, yes (Exchanges 52, 54).*

But after some discussion she came to the conclusion that the first language should indeed be maintained, but that the first language should be English. She meant predominant language, not home or first-learnt language. I found it interesting to see how far she would proceed with this idea. The discussion extends from Exchange 51 to Exchange 84 during which time she became more sure of her views:

M: *What I'll suggest - we should just maintain English as the first language...*

Interviewer: *First language?*

M: *And individually, I add my Zulu as a second language, but English must be the first language (Exchanges 62-64).*

Her views appear ironic in the light of her earlier assertions in Exchanges 19 to 24 on the danger of Zulu dying out: *They just ignore their progress in Zulu but they just divert into English because they want to advance themselves in English* (Exchange 20).

However, on closer analysis of her interview, she clearly wants both English and Zulu, not an "either - or" situation. This is borne out in her response to Gupta's suggestion that empowerment is what counts, not preserving the mother tongue (see Exchanges 95 to 98):

- M:** *The main is that you have to be happy, you see. Um - I can have money and everything, but if I am not, like, free to speak my language, that doesn't help either. It sounds like we are forced to, to learn English because it's giving us opportunities to get work* (Exchange 96). In common with the other interviewees, **M** was adamant that Zulu should be taught by a native Zulu speaker:
- M:** *Ja, I am entitled to it. I am speaking Zulu, it's my language you see* (Exchange 88).

Interviewees 1,3,4, and 5 favoured the introduction of English at a very early stage (Grade R), while interviewee 2 wanted only Zulu to Grade 4 and then an abrupt change to English. None of these reflects additive multilingualism as envisaged in the new language-in-education policy.

The suggestion that, if the government were serious about encouraging indigenous languages, they would make it possible to write Matric in Zulu found no favour with any of the interviewees. Interviewee 4 responded with a rhetorical question: *What would become of them thereafter?*

In the analysis of the questionnaires and interviews three broad themes emerged (which were tested in the two triangulating interviews). The first attitude to be identified was that ex-Model C schools were chosen for their resources and good teachers, but most of all for the access they afforded to English. This was seen as promising a better future than the interviewees themselves endured in the Bantu education of the township schools. This was a pragmatic choice on the part of the parents and had to be held in tension with the second theme to emerge, namely a deep desire for their children not to become alienated from their indigenous language and culture. There was some debate as to how this should be achieved and whose task it was. Thirdly, and encompassing both of the first themes, parents, in the small sample selected, have very little knowledge of the new language-in-education policy, other than that it affords them the right to choose their children's school.

4.3 Triangulation Interviews

These three observations were put to the Principal of the school as well as to an outside educator who has been involved in formulating and practising

transformatory education policies. Two informal interviews were conducted to triangulate findings and give validity to the study.

As Methison (1988) notes, triangulation "does not in itself make sense of events but rather provides more and better evidence for the researcher to construct an explanation" (quoted in Walker 1996:43). The two triangulating interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. The interviews were fairly informal and issues arose that were, strictly speaking, not part of my "agenda", but which extended and enriched the data. The Principal (a white teacher of long standing) will be referred to as Mr B and the outside educator (a black activist) as Dr L. Dr. L's critical and probing analysis will emerge in his responses to the issues.

In considering the first question, why parents had sent their children to a former Model C school, Dr L concurred with my finding that it afforded easier access to English. He maintained that it was not at all surprising since English is a language of economic power: "If you engage in the economic sphere, you engage in English. Even new black empowerment groups use English." He also saw English as a language of political power: "Despite all the government's attempts to promote eleven languages, the provincial parliaments' proceedings are all in English." He ascribed this to the colonial legacy and compared our situation to that of the East where indigenous languages remain in use. Dr L recalled his own education in a township school with good black teachers

indicating that it is not necessarily correct for black parents to assume that English is best taught at a former Model C school. However: "... it is true to say that kids at Model C schools stand a better chance of using English more often - during break, interacting and mingling with kids from other groups. The cultural environment is largely English - it's not just English in class."

Mr B, in his comment, added another reason for parents choosing ex-Model C schools, namely that they were looking for white schools. He based this observation on examples of other ex-Model C schools from which "... more academically minded and better-off" black parents removed their children when the majority of learners were black. However, my own feeling is that this "black flight" could rather be a quest for an English environment. Also the fact that these parents are identified as "more academically minded and better-off" could indicate that their choice has more to do with class differences than race.

Reverence for Zulu culture and language, running parallel to a desire for access to English, was the second issue the interviewees were asked to comment on. Mr. B agreed and wholeheartedly supported efforts to preserve Zulu culture and language. He maintained that the encouragement of Zulu customs took place in all isiZulu lessons - "You must never suppress culture, you must give it its full richness." He described the early days of integration and how it had come to his attention that children were under the impression that Zulu must never be spoken, not even on the playground. Now he is satisfied that proper recognition

is given to Zulu with the translation of the school song into Zulu and black parents well represented on his Governing Body. He said that financial restrictions do not permit more than one Zulu specialist, but that in the classes children are grouped according to first or third language, and given appropriate tasks.

Dr L also supported the finding that parents have a deep desire to protect indigenous culture and language, but voiced a more cynical view of the recognition afforded Zulu in schools: "I am aware of various groupings of people who have voiced serious concerns about the teaching of isiZulu in former Model C schools." In spite of there being sufficient numbers of Zulu learners, the only Zulu on offer is a "basic introductory, tourist Zulu". He said it would require a massive shift in mind-set on the part of School Governing Bodies whose employment of staff clearly demonstrate that Zulu is not a priority. He also placed the blame with the government which "has an obligation to ensure that the dominant indigenous language is taught, it is not a matter of choice". However, the government's lack of resources and finance means that "the government quietly acquiesces with this non-teaching of indigenous languages because it simply does not have the money". Dr L is of the opinion that it will become more important to know Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal because "as the date of liberation or independence recedes, the indigenous group gains substantial power and there is pressure on the indigenous language to be spoken at local

level". He continued: "In my view, if you don't know Zulu in this province in 15 years time, you will be in serious trouble".

Both interviewees concurred with the third finding, namely that black parents know very little about the present language policy of additive multilingualism. Mr. B saw this as perfectly understandable in the light of tremendous changes in education that black parents have had to contend with. He also noted that it is "not common for black parents to participate to the extent of finding out about policies for themselves". This could be a carry-over from the previous regime when discussion was not invited on proposed policies. Dr L was also "not surprised" that parents have not ascertained their language rights and the advantages of mother-tongue instruction: "Many black parents think that learning in English is learning at a higher standard than learning in Zulu." When considering Heugh's assertion that English ex-Model C schools privilege a small elite group, Dr L noted that "school remains essentially a middle class enterprise and middle class black children have an advantage over their rural counterparts, particularly in the modern era of technology". He described how the Outcomes Based Education policy further marginalises rural working class learners: "If teachers are expected to generate their own materials from the contents of dustbins, you must remember that the dustbins of Sandton have very different contents from the dustbins of Ingwavuma". Part of the solution could lie in government ensuring that every school has "massive stocks of books". This could go some way to closing the divide between middle class children,

who are used to lots of books, and working class children who are not. He also suggested that teacher training needs to change to accommodate code switching. White teachers need to study Zulu to be able to "access the Zulu child's attention". He concluded with a wider observation: "If whites felt the incentive to learn Zulu, the cultural and power dynamics would change."

4.4 Conclusion

The two sets of responses from the triangulation interviews served as a useful corroboration for my findings, while at the same time offering different points of view. Mr B considered mainly the school milieu, while Dr L saw much broader sociological implications in the government's tardiness in implementing its own additive multilingual policy.

In this analysis of my data Ricento and Hornberger's view remains apposite: "planning language is planning society" (1996:415). The government should not underestimate the power of a language policy and will not only have to assess its available resources but its bona fides as well.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

I should like to introduce this concluding section of my study with a quote from Skutnabb-Kangas (1988):

If you want to have your fair share of the power and the resources (both material and non material) of your native country, you have to be able to take part in the democratic process in your country... You must be able to communicate with your fellow citizens, in order to be able to influence your situation, to be a subject in your life, not an object to be handled by others. Language is the main instrument for communication (Quoted in Laufer 2001:6).

Under the previous regime the majority of citizens of this country did not have a voice that was recognised as influencing political decisions. Their languages have been devalued and viewed as a problem instead of the rich resource needed for the democratic process to be completed. It may be said that language policy has undergone as many changes as the South African society. However, at last, there seems an undertaking from government for a policy that redresses the omissions of the past, at a level that can promise change for future generations - at school level. The new language-in-education policy, as articulated in the Revised National Curriculum Statement

Grades R - 9 (April 2002) states that:

In a multilingual country like South Africa it is important that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages, and that they are able to communicate in other languages.

The Languages Learning Area Statement follows an additive or incremental approach to multilingualism:

- All learners learn their home language and at least one additional official language.
- Learners become competent in their additional language, while their home language is maintained and developed.

Thus the government is demonstrating a commitment to additive multilingualism, and a departure from the Straight-for-English approach which has proved unsuccessful in many post-colonial African states. According to Luckett it is "impossible to organise equal and adequate access to the ex-colonial language" (1992:22).

It now seems feasible for genuine change that would properly empower communities to participate in the democratic process as well as to realise personal ambitions and also preserve their cultural heritage. However, this study has found that it is not easy to rid language policy and planning of its negative political overlay.

Reference has been made to the suspicions with which black parents view mother tongue as LOL (see 2.2 above - South African Language Policy before 1989).

To quote from the Revised National Curriculum Statement again:

Learners' home languages should be used for learning and teaching whenever possible (2002:20).

The spectre of Bantu Education and its use of home language/mother tongue to deliver a grossly inferior product continues to haunt parents' memories. This, coupled with parents' inalienable constitutional right to choose the LOL for their children, is certainly in tension with current language-in-education policy and may undermine it before it is properly implemented (Alexander 2000).

In order to draw conclusions from this study and make recommendations for further research it is necessary to revisit the research questions that occasioned it. In considering parents' perceptions of the language-in-education policy I have found it vital to respond on a psycho-social level to the fluidity that still exists in the tension between what parents want and what research recommends about sound educational practice.

With regard to the first question, "To what extent do black parents favour English as LOL?" - there is no doubt that English is perceived as the language of social advancement and of access to economic progress (Heugh 1995, 2000, Alexander 1995, 2000, Lockett 1995). Parents definitely want the education system to

deliver proficiency in English to their children; so the question becomes **when**, rather than **if**, English should become the LOL.

The interviews conducted with parents who had answered the Questionnaire reveal a strong ambition for their children to experience a more effective education than they suffered under Bantu Education:

L: *Especially we are having a problem in our schools. When our children they go to tertiary level they lacking background in English even to understand questions.*

Interview 2: Exchange 3

L: *Ey, mm, I really - what is important in this question is just to teach the child in English, to empower English.*

Interview 2: Exchange 104

M: *Ok, I found it very useful to send my child to a Model C school to get a better education than the education I got from the normal school, from the Zulu school, so I thought for my child it would be better for him if he gets a better education so that he will not have the same problems I had.*

Interview 3: Exchange 2

It appears, from the analysis of the data collected from the questionnaire and the interviews, that parents need assurance that their children will have unimpeded

access to English. As Heugh, and other South African researchers maintain, additive multilingualism is the ideal instrument to bring that about (Heugh 2000, Alexander 2000, Lockett 1995). However, there is a view, which has recently gained in popularity (PEI Report 1999), that most blacks are so eager to embrace English that they are prepared to jettison their indigenous languages and assimilate entirely into English language and Western culture. But, as Deputy Education Minister Mangena puts it: "... culture is inseparable from language, implying that we have to give attention to the development, use and respect of all our languages for a healthy society" (Sunday Times 27/07/2001).

But the eagerness with which black parents exercised their right to choose ex-Model C schools did not mean that English was the only drawcard. Other issues include the desire for better resources, a safe environment and well-trained teachers who had not been subjected to Bantu Education. The point that emerged clearly in this study was that blacks are not prepared to abandon their language and be immersed in English/Western culture. Parents showed a deep concern about maintaining their culture. The following comments represent the majority view:

Z: *Unless something is done to introduce a programme where all black children learn more about their culture and language, it will be lost. They gonna turn into Westernised Zulus and forget all about their culture.*

Z: *Yes they need - you know - my emphasis there is, um, please don't take this badly, but I don't believe that an English speaking person like yourself can teach my child Zulu. That's where I was coming from because the kids come here and go "sabona" that's not the way (laughs) that's not the way they should be saying it, it should be "sawubona" they - you know - the accent, and you know my kids went to St. Charles and they had a Mrs. "Something" that was teaching them Zulu and for me that is out of the question. You need a Zulu speaker to teach the kids Zulu, that's where I was coming from.*

Interview 1: Exchanges 8, 44

Another respondent made the same point:

L: *I think we have to try to introduce Zulu. That is why I say it must start in Grade R to Grade 4. So where we are going to introduce all these things using the culture.*

Interview 2: Exchange 114

This parent agrees but takes a slightly different perspective:

M: *It's very important because he is not dealing with English speaking people only. Also he will be dealing with those, um, Zulu speaking people who didn't have an opportunity to go to school and who didn't have an opportunity to learn good English as he did. So reading and writing his language is very*

important so that he will be able to communicate with other people.

Interview 3: Exchange 12

It seems clear from this study that parents want a **both and** situation rather than an **either or**. This is confirmed in studies cited by Heugh, for example, the Mark Data - PANSALB 2000 Survey "shows that, at best, 12% of South Africans over the age of 16 believe in English only or English mainly education" (2000:21). My questionnaire showed that 79% of respondents disagreed with the statement:

When learners are taught only in English they succeed in life. (See Appendix A, Question 1)

Despite these findings there is a danger that the government's inertia in implementing their stated policy of additive multilingualism will result in a Straight-for-English approach, or at best, a gradual transition to English. As Luckett points out, this privileges a small English speaking elite, and will exacerbate the divide between urban areas and the rural areas where teachers themselves can barely speak English (1995:78). It also means that "the power of English and the low status of the African languages will simply be reinforced" (Luckett 1995:74). However, the most cogent reason to implement a policy of additive multilingualism is that it is educationally sound. (See Chapter 2 of this dissertation where Cummins's linguistic interdependence thesis is discussed).

5.2 Recommendations for further research

The reasons for Government's apparent reluctance to implement the new language-in-education policy may be due to lack of political will or lack of resources. As Dr L observed "the government quietly acquiesces with this non-teaching of indigenous languages because it simply does not have the money" (see 4.3 above - Triangulation Interviews).

Research is necessary into this mismatch between policy statements and the de facto implementation in schools. As well as Government delivering on its promises, impetus should ideally come from communities themselves. A "bottom-up" reform of the language policy is more desirable than misunderstood fiat coming from above (see 2.4.2 above - Research influencing Additive Multilingualism). To this end it seems that a massive information campaign is indicated, aimed at parents, teachers and school governing bodies. In my study, and corroborated in the triangulation interviews, parents are not cognisant of a new language-in-education policy and are not empowered to investigate.

This means that the government's "cascade" model of disseminating information (where a few people are in possession of the facts and are supposed to inform others) has failed and interesting research could be undertaken to uncover where the resistance lies. As things stand, parents are expected to make choices about their children's education, based on ignorance or misinformation. The decision that most urban parents make to send their children to ex-Model C schools may be

their best option at the moment, but if they were empowered to insist on additive multilingualism, while still enjoying the benefits of a well resourced school, they would have the best of all worlds. However, for the majority of children in the rural areas the possibility of choice is non-existent. They are experiencing what Heugh terms "the third phase of Bantu Education, i.e. the status quo continues" (2000:32). **Z**'s opinion that Zulu speaking learners are "gonna turn into Westernised Zulus" stands as a central and critical caution to government, to policy makers and teachers. If we are finally to move beyond apartheid's dream of keeping the majority of people as "hewers of wood and drawers of water", everyone involved needs to act and to implement - both with advocacy workshops for communities and in-service teacher training to empower them to cope with additive multilingualism. In a country which can draw from such diverse and rich resources this goal, despite obstacles and difficulties, remains an achievable one.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Covering Letter : Appendix A-1

Questionnaire : Appendix A-2

Response Sheet : Appendix A-3

APPENDIX A-1

DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
PIETERMARITZBURG

Dear Parent

I am conducting research at the University of Natal into parents' attitudes and opinions about the languages taught and spoken at school.

Please complete the attached questionnaire and return it to the school on Thursday, 6 September 2001. You do not need to put your name on it

Your views are very important.

Thank you for helping me with this project which I hope will help to develop the kind of education that the whole community wants.

Yours faithfully



Anne Winterbach

Tel: 3862547

question.let



PRINCIPAL

APPENDIX A-2

QUESTIONNAIRE

Mark the box you choose with an X, e.g.

YES	NO
-----	---------------

1. When learners are taught only in English, they succeed in life

AGREE

DISAGREE
2. When learners are taught only in English, Zulu is neglected and forgotten ..

AGREE

DISAGREE
3. English is the language of national unity

AGREE

DISAGREE
4. I speak English at home

YES

NO
5. I speak Zulu at home

YES

NO
6. Learners should be punished for speaking Zulu in an English medium school

AGREE

DISAGREE
7. English is the language of oppression

AGREE

DISAGREE
8. I use Zulu at work

YES

NO
9. The first language I learnt to speak was:

AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	ZULU	OTHER
-----------	---------	------	-------

PLEASE TURN OVER

QUESTIONNAIRE (continued)

In KwaZulu-Natal, there are different views about the best time for Zulu children to be taught all their school subjects in English.

*Please put an **X** in **one** box that shows your view:-*

- (a) *Children should be taught all their subjects, except Zulu, in English from Grade 1 to Grade 12* ☐
- (b) *Children should be taught all their subjects, except English, in Zulu from Grade 1 to Grade 12* ☐
- (c) *Children should be taught all their subjects in Zulu until Grade 4 and then be taught in English. English should be introduced as a separate subject in Grade 1* ☐
- (d) *Children should be taught all their subjects in Zulu until Grade 8 and then be taught in English. English should be introduced as a separate subject in Grade 1* ☐

Add any other views of your own: _____

Thank you for answering this questionnaire

APPENDIX A-3

**DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
PIETERMARITZBURG**

RESPONSE SHEET

Once I have received your responses, I shall need to speak to some parents. If you would be prepared to see me for a brief discussion, please fill in your name and contact details below:-

Name:

Address:

Tel. no:

Thank you very much for your help.

Anne Winterbach
Tel. 3862547
question.res

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Core Questions

1. What was your motivation for sending your child to a former Model C school?
2. What would you have done if a school with facilities and qualified teachers had been available in your child's first language?
3. How important is it to you that your child has fully developed language skills in his/her first language?
4. What do you think is the future of S.A.'s black languages and their associated cultures?
5. What do you think of what the government is doing about language education?
6. How effective/successful do you personally think the new language-in-education policy will be in (a) urban schools and (b) rural schools?
7. A researcher, Gupta, says that empowerment is the issue rather than guarding/preserving the indigenous language - what is your response?

B. Specific Questions

Depending on the answers to the above core questions, the following questions would target -

Respondent No 21 (Z : Interviewee 1)

- (a) Can you clarify /explain why you disagree that if children are taught only in English they will succeed in life, yet you chose Option A i.e.- children should be taught all their subjects except Zulu in English from Grade 1 to Grade 12?

2/...

- (b) Can you tell me more about why you speak English at home? How do you relate your use of English at home to your concerns about Zulu?
- (c) Are you aware of yourself mixing languages? If yes, where do you find yourself doing it? How often?

Respondent No 22 (L : Interviewee 2)

- a) Why do you say that if children are taught only in English they will succeed, but then you agree that Zulu will be forgotten and neglected - does this matter?
- b) You have indicated that you only speak Zulu at home , not English - is there a particular reason?
- c) You did not mark an option, but commented that children should be taught both Zulu and English from Grade 1-12 or Zulu will be neglected - how would you envisage /see this in practice?

Respondent No. 23 (M : Interviewee 3)

- (a) You have indicated that you do not agree that when children are taught only in English they succeed in life AND that being taught only in English means Zulu is neglected - yet you do speak English at home - is there any reason for this?
- (b) Are you aware of mixing your languages at all?
- (c) You indicated in your comment that there should be a switch to English in Grade 3 with only one period of Zulu a week. Can you explain a little further?

TRANSCRIPTS

In the following transcripts, the numbers along the left margin indicate the turns of conversational exchanges in the interviews.

INTERVIEW 1

The interviewer is referred to as **A**(Anne) and the interviewee as **Z**(Zanele)

1. A: Z, what was your motivation for sending your child to a former Model C school?
2. Z: My kids have always been at private schools and the reason I chose this school is that I wanted the best I could afford.
3. A: What would you have done if a school with facilities and good teachers had been available in your child's first language?
4. Z: I'm not terribly keen on my kids doing every subject in Zulu because although Zulu is our mother tongue English is a universal language, so for me English medium school is more important than a Zulu medium school because wherever they go, if they can express themselves in English, the chances of them being heard are like 90% compared to Zulu. If you went to Gauteng today and tried to speak to a black person in Zulu today, the chances of them understanding it are much less than understanding Sotho and Tswana so whereas if you conversed in English, the chances of you being understood are higher.
5. A: Getting back to Zulu, how important is it to you that your child has fully developed language skills in his first language, Zulu?
6. Z: It is important because it is our mother tongue and I don't want him to lose it. I'd be happy if he is taught to read and write Zulu as a subject like he is learning all the other subjects.
7. A: A bit more generally - in your view - how do you think South Africa's black languages will fare in the future?
8. Z: Unless something is done to introduce a programme where all black children learn more about their culture and language, it will be lost. They gonna turn into Westernised Zulus and forget all about their culture. Our parents knew every little bit about their culture, I knew half of it and haven't been able to transfer it to my kids because - um - of the way they live. So if there is no programme in SA for black children, then they're going to lose it.

9. A: Would that be in a school?
10. Z: Um, whether in - I think it would be more effective if done at school for for them to learn, you know. Um, there's a project that my kids did recently on ways where they were learning about different cultures and everything. If something like that were to be done with the kids on a regular basis, or perhaps once a month let them learn about South Africa as their culture and different - um - how shall I call it, like the Zulus, the Tswanas and different cultures and things like that for South Africa, something like that should be done.
11. A: But if that was just for black children, aren't we getting back to segregation again?
12. Z: I wouldn't recommend it just for black children, but for all the kids.
13. A: All South Africans?
14. Z: Ja, all South African kids. Then they could learn more about their country, so to speak.
15. A: I don't know how much you know about the government's language policy?
16. Z: Very little.
17. A: What do you think of what the government is doing about language policy?
18. Z: I wouldn't know unless perhaps you perhaps briefly explain it to me.
19. A: The policy is additive multilingualism. They want to maintain the indigenous languages as they have been neglected so they want to sustain and maintain these languages so bilingualism or multilingualism does not - um - take the place of the home language. But together with that comes the parental choice which almost works against the policy because parents are not choosing schools...
20. Z: ... with that criteria in mind. OK, I don't know it's a good policy. It's a good idea because they are trying to do exactly what I was saying earlier on. We need to catch up that way. We don't want our kids to lose that. Um, the practicality of it I can't see. I can't see it being applied practically because my understanding was if you live in KwaZulu Natal the black dominant language is Zulu so the choice is going to be Zulu language.

Then in other areas like the Eastern Cape it's Xhosa - so they implement - so Xhosa is going to be one of the languages - that is my understanding which I think is sufficient.

21. A: And then what about Gauteng - as you said, in some areas no-one can actually say what the home language is?
22. Z: Ja, what the home language is. It's going to be a bit more difficult there because of all the languages, all sorts. There I think the parental choice will play a bigger role because if they are Tswana by origin, then they would want their kid to do Tswana as a subject and I think in places like Gauteng, the parental choice will play a big role, whereas for a parent living in KwaZulu Natal they might not have that wider choice because, like in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, I'm not sure if there is a school that would do Xhosa as a subject.
23. A: So then, do you think this language in education policy will be successful in rural schools or urban schools, or both, or neither?
24. Z: Depending on how they are wanting to implement it, it may be successful but - I can't say - the chances of it being successful in urban areas are slim. Um, because I don't know how many teachers they are going to head hunt - the black teachers - I don't know how they are going to manage teaching Zulu, Xhosa in Model C schools for instance, whereas in rural areas the chances of it being successful are higher because the people speak the language.
25. A: What about the bilingual aspect - English teachers?
26. Z: Um, the English teachers are not there. It depends on where the teacher went, to which school. I find I went to what at that time were best schools, I went to St. Francis College at Marion Hill and I went to Amanzimtoti College, those were like the best schools. Although they were black schools for black children, the medium language was English. We did Zulu, we did Afrikaans but we were, like, forced to speak English and that's how we learnt.
27. A: When did you start learning in English?
28. Z: Primary school was in the rural area - everything was done in Zulu. I remember my kids laughing their heads off when I say we did Maths in Zulu at that time.

- speaking in English are much greater than if you are going to do everything in Zulu than try to speak to someone in English.
41. A: You said in the questionnaire that you disagree that "when children are taught only in English they succeed in life".
42. Z: I disagree with that - it's not only in English - that's the part I disagree with.
43. A: And then in the Options you said children should be taught all their subjects except Zulu in English.
44. Z: Yes they need - you know - my emphasis there is, um, please don't take this badly, but I don't believe that an English speaking person like yourself can teach my child Zulu. That's where I was coming from because the kids come here and go "sabona" that's not the way (laughs) that's not the way they should be saying it, it should be "sawubona" they - you know - the accent, and you know my kids went to St Charles and they had a Mrs. "Something" that was teaching them Zulu and for me that is out of the question. You need a Zulu speaker to teach the kids Zulu, that's where I was coming from.
45. A: And then you said you do speak English at home.
46. Z: Yes, Zulu and English, yes.
47. A: Um, how do you relate your use of English at home to your concerns about maintaining Zulu culture?
48. Z: This was what I was saying earlier on. We, as parents, are not able to transfer the knowledge that we've got, the pride that we've got in our language, to our kids because from age two they've been at a non-racial English medium crèche right through to where my bigger son is in Grade nine. So for them, expressing themselves in English comes easier than in Zulu. But what I try and do with my kids is if we go to the farm or the township I always remind them that it's strictly Zulu speaking because I don't want them to go into a township or a rural area and feel superior to the kids that do not understand English. So sometimes they forget because English is just in them - whatever they say they'll say in English. Sometimes they speak to us in the rural area in English and I just simply say in Zulu "I'm sorry, I don't understand that language" and then they quickly remember and they go back to Zulu.
49. A: But now - would they come and talk to you in - what?
50. Z: In English.

51. A: Do you mix languages, English or Zulu?
52. Z: We do, all the time because you find - I'm guilty of that as well I speak English in the office all day long. I find there are things that are easier to say in English than in Zulu and sometimes you completely forget a Zulu word and an English word jumps at you and you say that. Sometimes I lose people when I talk to them and they misunderstand me because I've used maybe a difficult English word and depending on who I'm speaking to and then I have to rephrase sometimes, but kids do it all the time.
53. A: Do you think it affects their language development?
54. Z: Not necessarily except that Zulu again is not getting enough attention because we would be speaking Zulu and we would throw in an English word and it is very rare that we speak in English and throw in a Zulu word.
55. A: Oh really?
56. Z: Ja, so Zulu again is not getting the attention it deserves for it to be on par with the English language.
57. A: What I understand you to suggest is a proper educational programme?
58. Z: Yes.
59. A: To address culture?
60. Z: To address culture, for all South Africans and I was going to say the language as well, like in our family we are losing the language let alone the culture and all the rituals that we should be doing. We've lost all that between Christianity and Westernisation it's completely lost. So it would be important for all black families to ensure that that is not lost.
61. A: Ja?
62. Z: The reason I'm saying - it's not only the English it's the religious aspect as well. It's because I grew up in a different environment totally from my kids. Their religious beliefs were you don't get involved in cultures, in cultural rituals. Although we were Christians at home but we still did the cultural rituals and I can see my kids caught in-between. So if we can have a programme at school that can teach them about their cultural rituals as well as instill the Zulu language especially in KwaZulu Natal it would be, give them a balanced choice in life so to speak. It's like Christianity. If you don't teach your kids about Christianity, if you don't take them to church they'll never know about Christianity and so it's the same with culture - if they don't learn it at school and they don't learn it at home they

won't know it. Instead they're going to adopt, fully adopt, English culture. I can see the Zulu language dying out. There is such a clash already, I can see it with our kids - the way we think and the way we used to do things is completely different from the way they think. You take them to the farm and it's one-hour and they want to go back home. We only go to the farm when we see like distant relatives or there's a function or something like that. But on my husband's side we've got a grandmother who lives in Inchanga. They are Westernised enough but their house is nothing like ours so when we get there we adapt.

63. A: The educational view at the moment is that it is better to start in your first language, OK, because of conceptual development and then only introduce the second language after about four years of schooling.
64. Z: The kids that start in black schools in the medium of Zulu they battle when they get to a Model C school. So I don't agree with that.
65. A: Do you think it is better to introduce English gradually?
66. Z: Yes - gradually. Simultaneously has worked for our family and my kids spoke the two languages for the first year. When they started talking they learnt the mother tongue. When they were two they went straight into English so although it wasn't actually simultaneous they started at crèche at age two all the way up to where they are now. So I'd say if it's introduced gradually - that would be the best option.
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INTERVIEW 2

The interviewer is referred to as **A**(Anne) and the interviewee as **L**(Lungile)

1. A: L, what was your motivation for sending your child to a former Model C school?
2. L: Especially we are having a problem in our schools. When our children they go to tertiary level they lacking background in English even to understand questions. So we have to rephrase questions in order to understand. You find the questions are very easy but because they are not used to English or they've got that problem. Even explain in English you have to reverse to mother tongue in order to understand.
3. A: OK, what would you have done if there was a school near you with good facilities and qualified teachers, but in Zulu?
4. L: Um...I'm looking a bit puzzled but I would send my child there but I still will have the same problem. But if they will teach my child further in Zulu or in English then OK. So it will be better.
5. A: Would you still send your child to an English school?
6. L: But the problem is that if they are going to teach my child in Zulu, at which level, which grade?
7. A: All grades?
8. L: Ai - no I won't because I think my child will be having a problem in tertiary level.
9. A: Tertiary?
10. L: Yes.
11. A: And employment?
12. L: Even in employment. When my child go to interview so even to rephrase the question. I hope you'll remember the Palmolive - what you call it?

13. A: Advert?

14. L: No, not advert, it was, I'm trying to remember this word - model - so they were modellers in Palmolive so that child was supposed to be the first princess. The problem - that child didn't understand the question. She even said "uthini?" - you see because she not used in English so when they ask question in English so they supposed to rephrase the question because she don't understand - so she lose.

15. A: Yes, so it's not just the good teachers and good facilities at Model C schools, it's actually the English that ...

16. L: Yes. So even our schools they don't have good facilities.

17. A: No.

18. L: So even the community, the parents they are ignoring, because if you say "Let's do donations" so they say "We haven't got money" (pause).

19. A: Yes.

20. L: "We haven't got money". But what I see in Model C schools - they do donations, most of the things they do for themselves.

21. A: Yes, there's more money.

22. L: There's more money. Even say you are going to do a cake sale, they say "We don't have money". OK, let's do jumble sale. "OK, we don't have money". All the time, all the time.

23. A: Um, but now, going back to Zulu, how important is it to you that your child is able to read and write and express herself in her mother tongue?

24. L: OK especially at home we usually speak in Zulu, read Zulu, Zulu Bible, we even do tales, even idioms. If she don't want to give me something I use idioms and I explain all those idioms. She have got literature, Zulu, she even listen to the stories in Zulu.

25. A: On the radio?

26. L: On the radio - all those things.

27. A: So you look after the Zulu at home?
28. L: Yes at home.
29. A: I noticed on the questionnaire you said you speak Zulu at home and you said you don't speak English.
30. L: No we don't, sometimes, but I use Zulu.
31. A: On purpose?
32. L: Yes, yes.
33. A: So, does your child speak English in any other context, like church or...
34. L: No, they speak Zulu.
35. A: You go to a Zulu church?
36. L: Yes, a Zulu church.
37. A: And friends?
38. L: Zulu friends. But it happens if they together with those children coming from Model C so they speak English together. But if we are at home we speak Zulu and those children who don't go to Model C - they speak Zulu.
39. A: And did she go to a Model C school for Grade 1, 2 and 3 as well?
40. L: Mm, the Pre-school.
41. A: Even the Pre-school?
42. L: Mm.
43. A: So she didn't battle with English?
44. L: No.
45. A: Because she heard it from the beginning?
46. L: Yes.
47. A: And is she managing now?

48. L: Nicely, she enjoys it. She even explain to me something that I don't, you see. So I don't want my child to experience the problem that I experienced.
49. A: Yes. And thinking of South Africa's black languages in general, what do you think is the future of the languages and their cultures?
50. L: I think English is the communication language. Even if you go somewhere, anywhere, they don't use your mother tongue they usually use English. But I see our languages are going down.
51. A: They are...
52. L: Going down. But we have got no alternative other than if they can emphasise to use our languages. Even in Model C's they can use because we are struggling to learn English but they are not struggling to learn Zulu you see. If I'm talking to you now if I can reverse, I talk Zulu, you are supposed to talk with me in Zulu.
53. A: I'm supposed to be able to talk Zulu - yes.
54. L: You see, but I'm trying to explain in English in order to understand because it is a communication language.
55. A: So do you think the government should encourage programmes for indigenous languages in Model C schools?
56. L: Yes.
57. A: For all the children?
58. L: For all the children.
59. A: White? English? Afrikaans?
60. L: White, yes.
61. A: In this province they should learn Zulu?
62. L: Yes everybody because if I can go to Gauteng so I don't understand Sotho the best language not to have a communication breakdown is to use English.

63. A: But now - to encourage the black language the government should do something in the schools?
64. L: Yes I think so it will be better.
65. A: Um, now the new language in education policy that the government is encouraging is to encourage the indigenous language and to add other languages. They say they don't want to replace the mother tongue with English or whatever. They want to maintain the mother tongue. That's their policy. Now at the same time they give the parents the choice so you are free to choose an English school. So sometimes it works against what the governments' policy is because they want to keep the mother tongue for the first few years and only change to English later.
66. L: What always worries me - if Grade 12 is writing a paper you find that if you reverse it, it is written in Afrikaans.
67. A: Oh, is it?
68. L: Mm, yes.
69. A: Not Zulu?
70. L: No Zulu, there's no Zulu.
71. A: Now you see, I think if the government is serious, they would - they would write it in Zulu.
72. L: Ja, yes, so because you see if you know Afrikaans you can turn it and read read it. So what about our children?
73. A: Yes, and it's possible because Afrikaans did it and Afrikaans is a new language.
74. L: Yes.
75. A: And they translated everything?
76. L: So even in mapwork in Geography you find there are other words written in Afrikaans. They write English word or in Afrikaans.
77. A: Mm. This policy of the government to maintain the mother tongue and add other languages, do you think it will be successful in rural schools or urban schools?

78. L: Um, I think it will be - rural schools they do know Zulu. They are lacking English, yes, they are lacking English. So if you - I think this policy for government R and R - redeployment - I think they take whites to rural areas.
79. A: That would be the thing to do?
80. L: You see.
81. A: To have an English speaker teaching English?
82. L: Yes, not to take blacks to rural areas because they will use Zulu.
83. A: And then at Pelham they must have a Zulu person teaching isiZulu?
84. L: Yes.
85. A: So - but what about the urban areas - is it going to work there, the government policy of maintaining mother tongue?
86. L: Yes, it is going to work.
87. A: Urban?
88. L: Ja, I think so because they will use two languages. They will be used to two languages so they will learn mother tongue - Zulu, Sotho - at the same time they will be also using English.
89. A: How many periods would you give to each?
90. L: Pardon?
91. A: How many periods a week? How would you share it out?
92. L: Mm, it will depend with the policy of the school because the policy is not the same, you see.
93. A: But would it be mainly in English with Zulu as well, or...
94. L: At the same time, you see because if you put a chart here for skeleton and you say "ikande" and then in English you put a word in English - head.
95. A: So all the subjects you would teach in both languages?

96. L: Yes I think so, but maybe we can start with English - it depends on the grade where we start from Grade R to Grade 4, then for Grade 4 you introduce English.
97. A: So you start with Zulu for Grade R to Grade 4, OK, then would you change completely to English or still have some Zulu?
98. L: Ja, we'll still have some Zulu so we'll adjust - maybe in Grade 5, OK.
99. A: Do you think parents will accept that - to send their children to a school where it's only Zulu from Grade R to Grade 4?
- 100.L: It will depend. We don't have the same interest you see. But if the results for that are good maybe they will send their children. Maybe it will work for the first year, but for the second year they will take their child.
- 101.A: Mm, but you know what is good about the Model C schools that the children are mixed. Now if you go back to the mother tongue then we must separate the children. I feel that it is a problem for the society - to separate again.
- 102.L: Ja, I see, but what if maybe I can say there is a school. You take one school, you choose one school, you introduce this system whether is working or not. If it's working then you try to distribute it.
- 103.A: Mm, now I want you to comment on this:- There is a researcher called Gupta and she says that empowerment is what is important not maintaining the mother tongue - don't put resources into maintaining the indigenous languages - empower the children in English because that is going to make them successful. What do you think?
- 104.L: Ey, mm, I really - what is important in this question is just to teach the child in English, to empower English.
- 105.A: To empower them in English?
- 106.L: Mm, I think it's not going to work. Especially we have got customs - our customs so which means they will take the Western culture, for instance, respect. In our culture we have respect, so we used to say a girl must not go together with the boy when the adult comes so they must run away. So you see that culture is no longer there, you see, you used to, you knew you are going to get a punishment. This new system for child abuse/human rights what, what, what? So you see. (Laughs)
- 107.A: So what will happen to the cultures?

108.L: Ai, I think it's no longer there, Western culture is dominating.

109.A: Already?

110.L: Ja, it's dominating.

111.A: So are they going to disappear?

112.L: Altogether. Because you see the child is moving around together with boys - they don't care.

113.A: So what can be done?

114.L: I think we have to try to introduce Zulu. That is why I say it must start in Grade R to Grade 4. So where we are going to introduce all these things using the culture.

115.A: What about introducing the Zulu customs for the other cultures, so...

116.L: It's better...

117.A: ... that they know about...

118.L: That they know because we'd like to know about Western culture. It's up to you whether you like it or not, but you know, to be able to choose - which way you have to behave.

INTERVIEW 3

The interviewer is referred to as **A**(Anne) and the interviewee as **M**(Mandisa)

1. A: M, what was your motivation for sending your child to a former Model C school?
2. M: Ok, I found it very useful to send my child to a Model C school to get a better education than the education I got from the normal school, from the Zulu school, so I thought for my child it would be better for him if he gets a better education so that he will not have the same problems I had.
3. A: Then leading on from that, what would you have done if a school with facilities and qualified teachers had been available in your child's first language, Zulu?
4. M: That I would appreciated because although he is in Model C school, I still feel he needs Zulu language, um, because it's very embarrassing - he is doing very well in English but Zulu of which it is his mother tongue, he cannot read and write it as he does in English. So I feel that Zulu in, um, Zulu A will be very much helpful.
5. A: Yes, so it's not the English that made you send him to a Model C school?
6. M: The facilities and the benefits too because education in the Zulu schools, their standard is very low. Not that they haven't got much facilities - the language itself, the subject itself, the way the books were written, something like that, you see. Apart from other facilities like videos, computers, all those sort of things, but basic things like their education - it's very, very low.
7. A: So do you think an English education will advantage him?
8. M: Yes, I think it will advantage him because when he goes to tertiary school he won't have any problems. He can do the work by himself because at the English schools they are exposed to researchers, while when he is at the Zulu schools, he will start learning how to research when he is at tertiary level which is keeping him a little bit behind.
9. A: And the English itself - I don't know what you answered for that question that if a child is taught only in English he will succeed in life?

10. M: They are taught only in English - Yes he will succeed in life because basically everything especially at work everything is done in English, the computers are programmed in English. So, and in the country itself the most common language is English. So I think it is advantageous for him to learn English and even overseas and even if he goes out from his country he will have to speak proper English. He will have to gain listening skills and understand English and speak English with other people.
11. A: Um, then just going on to Zulu, how important is it to you that your child has fully developed language skills in his first language?
12. M: It's very important because he is not dealing with English speaking people only. Also he will be dealing with those, um, Zulu speaking people who didn't have an opportunity to go to school and who didn't have an opportunity to learn good English as he did. So reading and writing his language which is Zulu is very important so that he will be able to communicate with other people.
13. A: What other contexts are you thinking of - the wider family who speak Zulu?
14. M: Talking with other family and community.
15. A: The church - is it Zulu or English?
16. M: Zulu, ja, he must be able to read the Zulu bible and sing the songs from the Zulu hymn book.
17. A: So what do you think is the future of South Africa's black languages and their associated cultures?
18. M: In that - um - I haven't got an exact answer - (pause)
19. A: Is Zulu in any danger of dying out?
20. M: It is, it is in danger of dying out because most of the Zulus they - how am I going to say that - they just ignore their progress in Zulu but they just divert into English because they want to advance themselves in English.
21. A: So the next generation...
22. M: ... the next generation will marry others like that.

23. A: So the next generation?
24. M: (laughs) - the next generation - Zulu will be dead by then, I don't think it will be as much important as now, if we not putting an effort to it.
25. A: What do you think the government can do to encourage or develop disadvantaged languages?
26. M: Um, in terms of the government I think they must make sure that everything has - that is written in English has got a Zulu version.
27. A: Mm - on my leave forms I still see English and Afrikaans.
28. M: Yes, you see, so there must be Zulu, too, in there. As a result let's say you go to Home Affairs, most of the black people are using Home Affairs and they cannot help themselves because there are terrible queues at the Home Affairs. People are standing on their queues.
29. A: I hope I never lose my ID book, oh no!
30. M: (laughs) - you've been to that place already? Ja and that is just because people do not understand. They just go to the counter with the entire form. The workers there they just start from the scratch with filling in someone's details.
31. A: And, so that's in general, but what should the government be doing in education to encourage black languages, the home languages?
32. M: Here languages - I - at the moment I've noticed that Zulu is offered at the Model C schools. It's sort of like third language.
33. A: Like a third language and yet you've got first language taking the class?
34. M: Ja, but maybe from Pre-school where they teach these young children, let's say, about shapes - the triangle, square and the rectangle - but I think from the scratch, the triangle there must be a Zulu version that says...
35. A: Now how are you going to get the teachers to do that?
36. M: The teacher must be taught.
37. A: The teacher must be bilingual?

38. M: Ja, the teacher must be bilingual.
39. A: So it goes back to teacher training?
40. M: Ja, it goes back to teacher training. They must take Zulu.
41. A: What about in Gauteng?
42. M: In Gauteng it is difficult. There are so many languages in Gauteng - Xhosa, Sotho - it is not as simple - yes. But basically I think in KZN it will be easier - all the teachers can be trained to teach Zulu. And I say it must be offered at a very low level - at a pre-school level, it's, the children are learning quicker than we do so if they are given at least three languages, for sure they will be able to master those at the same time - as they do in English. I remember my son when he went to pre-school at Khulenati he was battling, but he loved English but for the first week he was just mixing all the words.
43. A: Oh, really?
44. M: Ja, after that he was fine - after one year he was just like an English speaking person of which I think if he was taught Afrikaans at that level he would have understood Afrikaans as he did in English. So the same thing applies to Zulu. All the white children will be able too.
45. A: So now we're looking at a generation that will start at the beginning?
46. M: Umm, which generation?
47. A: I'm saying we're looking for changes only when that generation is grown up.
48. M: Yes. Of course it will be easier because there will be people like me - Zulu is not dead yet so there will be some helpers.
49. A: Otherwise you don't see a rosy future for Zulu?
50. M: Ai - I don't see a rosy future for Zulu.
51. A: The new language in education policy that they have just developed is one of additive multilingualism, so what they want to do is maintain the first language and add languages.

52. M: Like me, I must maintain my Zulu and add English as a second language.
53. A: Yes, yes.
54. M: OK.
55. A: That is their stated policy. They want to maintain and encourage and sustain the first language and then just add however many other languages that you want, but the main thing is to promote the first language. But at the same time they have given parents the choice. You can choose - you can send your child to Voortrekker if you want to or to Pelham or to Mehlokazulu or whatever.
56. M: (Laughs).
57. A: Sometimes that choice can contradict their policy because a lot of parents choose an English school so they are not maintaining that first language. That's the policy and that's the dilemma.
58. M: Ja, what will happen in terms of communication breakdown? Because I can maintain my first language, but the fact that everything is done in English - what if I lack communication because there is nothing wrong with my language, but now I am unable to communicate properly with other people from other regions - how are we going to communicate if we both - if I am Zulu, she is Sotho and we both cannot communicate in Zulu and Sotho? Again our English is not as good as we can communicate well, how are they going to help that in terms of the policy?
59. A: I think this is what parents have to deal with because they acknowledge English as a means of national communication.
60. M: Ja, ja.
61. A: And also of getting ahead in their jobs.
62. M: What I'll suggest - we should just maintain English as the first language...
63. A: First language?
64. M: And individually, I add my Zulu as a second language, whatever language, you see, and somebody might have Xhosa, but English must be the first language.
65. A: Oh, really?
66. M: You see?

67. A: But you are doing this - you talk to your children in Zulu at home...
68. M: Yes I do talk to children in Zulu at home.
69. A: But the government is concerned...
70. M: Let's say I go out I have to communicate with you. Some of this communication now I... (cell phone rings - loses track)
71. A: Well the next question I wanted to ask you, do you think that policy will be successful in urban schools and rural schools?
72. M: This new policy for the government? I don't think it will succeed because as I've said before they won't be able to communicate properly in English. Let's say my children are going to the urban schools from the rural schools, he is just good in Zulu...
73. A: Mmm.
74. M: ... very good, now, he wants to communicate with these children he meets at urban schools. That will be a little bit of a problem.
75. A: Yes. But they are you saying it should happen in the urban schools?
76. M: What do you mean "happen in the urban schools"?
77. A: Maintain the first language...
78. M: They will maintain their first language as English.
79. A: But as Zulu?
80. M: And Zulu as a second additional language.
81. A: Would you take that as a policy - make English the first language and add Zulu?
82. M: Ja, rather than the other way round because it won't be like it's abolished or it's dying. Zulu will be used to those particular people who doesn't speak English.
83. A: It makes sense what you said - I haven't heard that view before, you know. Make English the first language, make sure the others are taught properly.

84. M: Ja, I think for everyone, so, English is a first language. Why I'm saying this, I'm just talking in terms of foreigners. They will be coming to our country, we will be going out from South Africa to other countries. How are we going to express ourselves?
85. A: It is, it is an international language.
86. M: Ja, an international language. Then Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho are added.
87. A: And properly taught by a first language speaker?
88. M: Ja, I am entitled to it. I am speaking Zulu, it's my language you see. But I'm not using Zulu for the entire day.
89. A: No.
90. M: Like from 8 o'clock I have to change my tongue (laughs) to English because within thirty minutes that I come to the office, someone phones from Japan "I'm looking for someone who used to work there and I need his forwarding address". How am I going to communicate with that person if I'm not 100% sure with my English?
91. A: But now I have this other question:- most of them said children should be taught all their subjects in English from Grade 1 - 12 except Zulu. Is that what you would recommend?
92. M: It's been like that and it should be - I'm repeating myself to what I've just said.
93. A: But you would not like Zulu as a third language, you would like proper isiZulu for the children.
94. M: Yes, Ja, Zulu first language.
95. A: And - um - I just want your comment on this: There's a researcher called Gupta and she says that empowerment is what counts not preserving the home language. English is your passport to empowerment and so forget about putting resources into the black languages because you want people to be empowered - your response to that?
96. M: The main is that you have to be happy, you see. Um - I can have money and everything, but if I am not, like, free to speak my language, that doesn't help either. It sounds like we are forced to, to learn English because it's giving us opportunities to get work.
97. A: But there's a price to pay?

98. M: There is a price to pay, you see. We must be free to do what we like to do.

99. A: Yes - which we are. And then how much is the culture related to the language? I mean if you ignore Zulu - is it possible to maintain the culture?

100.M: What I know, I don't think fifty because - um - I think about 50% of the Zulu speaking people have abandoned their culture and they're diverting to English.

101.A: Really?

102.M: Ja, so most of those Zulu speaking people, those who have an opportunity to learn English or to be exposed to English - they do not understand why we keep our culture because they just adopted the Western culture, you see.

103.A: Yes

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