UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL'S STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION AT THE INSTITUTION

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that this work is the author's original work and that all the sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged. Furthermore, this document has not in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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ABSTRACT

Theories regarding the role of language in education state that if a student is taught in a language they do not understand adequately, they will find it difficult or impossible to understand the meaning of academic content. The democratic government suggests that the current nationally official languages of tuition continue to be some of the main barriers to epistemological access for black South African students in public institutions of higher education. In an effort to reform this, they have recommended that these institutions include at least one major provincial indigenous South African language in their institutional language policies and make concentrated efforts to further develop that language as an official language of academia. There have been both celebratory and disapproving reactions to these recommendations from different stakeholders, including tertiary students. The University of KwaZulu-Natal is one of the very few institutions who have heeded the call by including isiZulu in their language policy. In order to explore this university's Black African students' perspectives and perceptions of bilingual instruction at their institution, this study held individual open-ended interviews with fourteen purposefully selected students at the Edgewood and Pietermaritzburg campuses. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the interview transcriptions. All the participants' perspectives on bilingual instruction appeared to be intertwined with their perceptions of language use and esteem in wider social and economic contexts. The students from Edgewood had been undertaking an Honours degree that was officially making use of bilingual instruction. Their perspectives were only positive, and they spoke comprehensively about the pedagogical benefits they had perceived in their experiences. The Pietermaritzburg students had no experience with bilingual instruction at the institution. While some of them disapproved this inclusion of isiZulu, some expressed support, but they stated that this inclusion should be limited to the lower phases of study as a remedial means to improve students' proficiency in English.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

After observing a consistent trend of racial differences in academic performance between White and Black South African students in South African public institutions of higher education (hereafter SAPIHEs) (CHE, 2013), the Ministry of Education (2002) identified language of tuition as one of the main barriers to academic success for Black South African students. They then recommended that all SAPIHEs include at least one major indigenous South African language (hereafter ISAL) as a language of tuition alongside English (CHE, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2002). Some institutions heeded the call, including the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) which, in its language policy, has included isiZulu to be developed as a language of tuition alongside English at the institution (UKZN Language Policy, 2014). These national and institutional changes have been hotly debated by various stakeholders. Academics have cited pedagogical theories and studies that have found that tuition in students' mother tongues, which are presumed to be the languages they are most familiar with, is more effective at transferring knowledge than attempting to do this in a language students are inadequately proficient in (Heugh, 2000; Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht, 2010; Paxton, 2009). Although students seem to agree that tuition in their mother tongues does facilitate better understanding, some have also argued that this is useless if their mother tongues cannot facilitate upward socioeconomic mobility like English can. They instead suggest that mother tongue tuition is more suitable for lower levels of study and that after first year there should be a greater focus on improving ways of teaching English to Black South Africans who are currently excluded from socioeconomic contexts because of their inadequate proficiency in the language (Chetty, 2013; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Taunyane, 2013). Furthermore, in a multilingual and multinational country with institutions of higher education that have similar demographics, Mashele (2013) and de Vos (2013) have argued that imposing ISALs on people who are not their native speakers is unjust.

The reason language is currently the main focus of change in an effort to increase Black South African students' chances of epistemological access, is that language is the form in which educational content is represented and conveyed to students (CHE, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2002; UKZN Language Policy, 2014). Over the centuries, studies have explored how using an unfamiliar language to teach students can act as a barrier to their academic success whereas a more familiar language, like a student's mother tongue, can by contrast act as a facilitator (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Elliott & Gurrey, 1940;

MacDonald, 1990; Paxton, 2009; Phillipson, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; van Dyk, 1967; Webb, 2002). In South Africa, until the democratic government came into power in 1994, the choice of the language of tuition used in the different phases of education had been in the hands of a White racially-oppressive government. Its main aim in providing Black South Africans with an inadequate formal education was to ensure that those Black South Africans remained inferior to their White counterparts academically, economically, and thus socially as well. In elevating the status of the apartheid government's own Western languages and ensuring their dominance, the state put much effort into marginalising ISALs. Studies in the colonial and apartheid eras found that learning in a foreign Western language hindered epistemological access for Black South African students, but the White government ignored this in favour of elevating the use and esteem of its official languages (Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Department of Bantu Education, 1962). As a result of these South African politics, English is still perceived and used as a powerful resource socially and economically, while ISALs remain underdeveloped, stigmatised and under-valued (Banda, 2000; Figone, 2012; Granville, Janks, Joseph, Mphahlele, Ramani, Reed & Watson, 1998; Heugh, 2000). This is despite the fact that Whites have been a minority in the country, constituting approximately 9% of the population, compared to Black South Africans who have ranged around 80% (StatsSA, 2013).

With the realisation of democracy in 1994, the government has been amending discriminatory policies in an effort to elevate the livelihoods of the majority of South Africans who remain underprivileged (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002). It has achieved this by facilitating the inclusion of Black South Africans in contexts where they were previously excluded by Whites; an example of this being public institutions of education which used to be reserved for different race groups according to the quality of education they could provide. The government has also recommended that such contexts change the policies that govern their processes to accommodate the racial and social differences that Black South Africans bring to them. This aims to ensure meaningful participation by Black South Africans in these contexts, such that Black South Africans are not limited to just being physically present in them (Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002). With language being the general form of communication and representation of content in any context, the continued use of English and Afrikaans is seen as a barrier to the majority of Black South Africans' access to the meaning of this content. The government is focusing on reforming education so that Black South Africans can gain appropriate knowledge that they can meaningfully apply in their desired context. The government hopes that by including ISALs in educational contexts, South Africans who do not know these languages can now learn

them and learn in them. This could lead to speakers of different languages finally being able to communicate meaningfully in various contexts in this multilingual and multiracial country, especially with the majority of the population who remain excluded from some of these contexts (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002).

1.2.   Research Problem

The fact that languages in South Africa are not just mediums of communication and representation but also used to facilitate and hinder access to various contexts, continues to obstruct efforts towards transformation in the country (Alexander, 2001; Silva, 1997; Webb, 2005). It is the view of this researcher that while arguments supporting the changes to the national and some institutional policies of language in education concentrate more on pedagogical factors, and arguments against changes emphasise social and economic factors, both sides ignore the social constructions of the contexts within which these arguments are formed. This study argues that both factors are intertwined in the South African context and should not be dealt with separately in discussions of language in education.

1.3.   Research Objectives

The objectives of this study were thus:

1.1) To explore UKZN Black African students' general perspectives on the IsiZulu/English bilingual instruction programme at the institution;

1.2) To identify the possible benefits and challenges of bilingual instruction, from the perspectives of those students;

1.3) To document their recommendations for the implementation of the UKZN policy on bilingualism.

1.4.   Research Questions

The study asked the following questions:

1.4) What are UKZN Black African students' general perspectives on the institution's isiZulu/English bilingual instruction programme?

1.5) What are their perceptions of the benefits and challenges of bilingual instruction at the institution?

1.6) What are their recommendations for the implementation of the bilingual policy at UKZN?

1.5.   Rationale

UKZN has started the incremental process of implementing the bilingual policy at the institution, but it has been widely reported that its students are resistant to and frustrated by these changes (Chetty, 2013; Rudwick, 2015; Taunyane, 2013; UKZN Teaching & Learning Office, 2013). This could become a hindrance for full implementation of the policy as they are the group of stakeholders most responsible for a successful implementation process. According to Figone (2012), for the revised language policy to have a chance of successful adoption, UKZN students need to be willing to learn in isiZulu; those who do not know the language need to be willing to learn it and learn in it, and potential students need to be willing to apply to study at the institution. If the students perceive isiZulu as a hindrance to the attainment of what they deem a desirable higher education they could either protest against its inclusion or simply leave or avoid the institution (Figone, 2012). As Granville et al. (1998) point out for example, as admirable and well-meaning as a democratic language policy may appear it will most likely not be readily accepted by the same Black South Africans it intends to empower, for as long as they continue to perceive their languages as stigmatised and useless. As evidenced by the Soweto student uprising against Afrikaans in 1976 and the current #Fallist (fees must fall) protests in various SAPIHEs, South African students are capable of protesting against what they do not want in their institutions and the government has been known to accommodate them (Figone, 2012; Makhele, 2016). If UKZN policy is dictated by students who are opposed to the inclusion of isiZulu as a language of tuition at the university, this may continue to deny struggling Black South African students epistemological access. This study thus aimed to explore UKZN students', management, and teaching staff's perceptions of the bilingual policy and of bilingual instruction at the institution within the context of South Africa's sociopolitical and historical perspectives on language use, development and esteem, in order to gain a better understanding of their perspectives. A few hurdles to enlisting a diverse sample however resulted in the final sample consisting of only Black African students from different countries and language groups. These sampling challenges and how they were overcome are explained in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.6.   Methodology

Fourteen Black African students at UKZN were interviewed individually according to principles that inform qualitative studies. A semi-structured interview schedule guided each discussion and an audio tape recorder was used to capture the discussion verbatim (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Sylvan, 1989). The interviews were then transcribed and analysed following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step guideline for Thematic Analysis.

1.7.   Definition of terms

Black South Africans: In the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (2003), the term Black people refers to Africans, Indians and Coloureds. For the purposes of categorisation in this dissertation however, the term Black South Africans only refers to Black Africans from South Africa.

Black Africans: For the purposes of categorisation in this dissertation, this term refers to Black people from any country on the African continent, i.e. including but not limited to South Africans.

Mother tongue/Home Language: The language spoken by the ethnic group that one is born into (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

Foreign/Additional/Second language: A language belonging to ethnic groups other than those that one is not born into (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

Linguistic proficiency: The ability to speak, understand, and perform in a language (Figone, 2012).

Monolingual: Where only one language exists, is used, and/or is officially recognised (Ministry of Education, 2002).

Bilingual: Where two languages exist, are used, and/or are officially recognised (UKZN Language Policy, 2014).

Multilingual: Where multiple languages exist, are used, and/or are officially recognised (Ministry of Education, 2002).

Stakeholder: Someone who is involved with the management of processes in a particular context and/or is affected by them (Hornby, 2000).

Perception: How something is viewed and interpreted (Hornby, 2000). In this study this term refers to how language and the language policies are viewed and interpreted by the various stakeholders.

Perspective: The point of view from which something is perceived (Hornby, 2000). In this study this refers to the contexts within which stakeholders view and interpret language and the language policies.

Pedagogical: Pertaining to education, specifically the practice of teaching (Hornby, 2000).

Epistemological access: The means by which the meaning of educational content can be clearly understood (Morrow, 2009).

Ideology: A perspective subscribed to by one or more social groups regarding social relationships and processes in a particular context (Webb, 2002). Webb (2002) adds that within a context where social inequality exists, the dominant social group uses their ideologies to construct ideas and processes that regulate and legitimise the status quo.

Upward mobility: The capacity to rise to a higher socioeconomic position (Hornby, 2000).

1.8. Outline of this study

This first chapter contains the summary of the overall dissertation. Chapter Two provides the theoretical background and framework that informed the study. Chapter Three describes the study design and processes. Chapter Four contains the main extracts from the study results along with an analysis and discussion of the themes that capture the essences of the interviews in answering the three research questions. The final chapter ends with summaries of the participants' perspectives regarding each of the three research questions followed by the study's unique contributions.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1.   Introduction

The current chapter discusses the changes made by the democratic government to the national language policy governing SAPIHEs, and how UKZN has responded to these national developments (Ministry of Education, 2002; UKZN Language Policy, 2014). These linguistic policy changes will be located within the context of racial differences in academic performance in the country, and how these are as a result of a deliberately unequal historical academic system. The chapter will also show how the sociopolitical ideologies of languages of the past were used to rationalise the creation of this unequal system. The current conflicting perspectives that have been presented by various stakeholders regarding the recent changes in policies of language of tuition will also be presented, as well as the pedagogical theories that the policy changes are based on. This review will be presented as the crux of this study's argument, that current perspectives on language of tuition in higher education should be understood within the context of South Africa's sociopolitical and historical ideologies regarding language use, language development and the esteem of the different South African languages, and how they shaped the current education system.

2.2.   Academic performance in South African public institutions of higher education

Vital Statistics released by the CHE in 2013 indicate a trend of consistent racial differences in participation rates as well as in academic success and failure between Black South African and White students in SAPIHEs. From 1989 Black South African and White students have had equal access of entry to the same SAPIHEs, but after 22 years Black South African students were found to still be lagging in academic performance (CHE, 2013). In 2013, only 16% of Black South African youth were participating in higher education compared to 55% of White youth (CHE, 2013).

2.2.1.   Undergraduate degrees

The cohort of students who enrolled for three and four-year degrees in 2008 in SAPIHEs, excluding those who enrolled in UNISA, were monitored for throughput (graduation and dropout) rates. Accumulative rates are reported for each year, meaning that they include the rates of that year as well as the previous years. Out of the total number of students who enrolled for undergraduate degrees in all SAPIHEs including UNISA in 2008, 64% were Black South African, 22% were White. Even though UNISA's enrolment rates were calculated together with the rest of the SAPIHEs, their throughput rates were tracked separately because they offer distance and part-time learning, which has an impact on the students' individual periods of

study. From the other SAPIHEs, of the Black South African students who had enrolled for three-year degrees in 2008, 23% had graduated by 2010, and 36% had dropped out. Of the White students who had also enrolled in 2008, 43% had graduated by 2010, while 32% had dropped out. Of the Black South African students who had enrolled for four-year degrees in 2008, 38% had graduated by 2011, and 30% had dropped out. Of the White students who had also enrolled for four-year degrees, 51% had graduated by 2011, while 28% had dropped out. These figures indicate that while the dropout rate amongst the Black South African students exceeded the retention rate for the three-year degree cohort, more White students graduated compared to those who dropped out in both cohorts (CHE, 2013).

2.2.2.   Postgraduate degrees

Of the students who had enrolled for postgraduate studies up to the Honours level in 2013, 67,7% were Black South African, 19,6% were White. Of those who were awarded postgraduate qualifications up to the Honours level in that same year, 57,7% were Black South African, 28% were White. Of the students who had enrolled for a Masters degree in 2013, 52,7% were Black South African, 30,7% were White. Of those who graduated with a Masters degree in that same year, 43,3% were Black South African, 40,5% were White. Of the students who had enrolled for Doctoral studies in 2013, 50% were Black South African, 34,3% were White. Of those who were awarded Doctorates in that same year, 43,7% were Black South African, 43,7% were White. Although these figures are not indicative of throughput, they do show a consistent trend of there being a higher percentage at enrolment and a lower percentage at graduation for Black South African students, while White students display an opposite trend with higher percentages at graduation than at enrolment (CHE, 2013). (See Appendix 1 for a tabular representation of these undergraduate and postgraduate academic performance figures).

2.3.   Linguistic proficiency and academic performance

While a number of factors contribute to academic performance, language of tuition has been identified as one of the main barriers to academic success for Black South African students (CHE, 2001). Language plays a vital role in the process of learning. The content of academic knowledge is represented and communicated in a specific language. For students to understand their subject content, they need to understand the language that it is taught in in order to gain meaningful knowledge and be able to effectively demonstrate it (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Webb, 2002). Studies in language learning and language use around the world have found that the most pedagogically appropriate language in which to teach students is the language that the foundation of their initial

knowledge is in and the language that they know best, their mother tongue (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Department of Bantu Education, 1962; Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Paxton, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). In South Africa, public higher education is conducted in English or Afrikaans, with the exception of specific language subjects. These languages are additional languages to Black South African students and are the mother tongues of only about 20% of the country's total citizens. Research shows that most Black South African students in SAPIHEs are inadequately proficient in either of the two official languages of tuition to meaningfully learn in them (CHE, 2001; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Granville et al., 1998; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009; Webb, 2002).

Black South African students have faced the challenge of learning through an unfamiliar additional language since the late 1700s when English missionaries first introduced formal education to native Black South African citizens in a foreign language (Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Figone, 2012; van Dyk, 1967). Since then, education has been provided to the majority of Black South African students from primary school up to the end of higher education in languages that they have not been effectively taught (Angelil-Carter & Moore, 1998; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009; Webb, 2002). The democratic government, in an effort to redress this situation in the higher education system, changed the language in education policies, to include ISALs as recommended languages of tuition, as per the recommendations of established pedagogical theory (Ministry of Education, 2002).

2.4.   A multilingual policy for a democratic higher education system

Since the abolition of apartheid, the student population in SAPIHEs has become more racially and linguistically diverse to an extent where Black South African students comprise the majority of the student body. However, these institutions continue to use English, and in some institutions English and Afrikaans, exclusively as their institutional languages of tuition (CHE, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2002). It has been established that, because of the inferior Black education system created by the apartheid government, Black South African students lack proficiency in English and Afrikaans to effectively acquire their higher education in these languages (Ministry of Education, 2002; CHE, 2013). In an effort to redress the persistent racial inequalities – the result of this pedagogically-flawed apartheid education system – the Ministry of Education (2002) formulated a more pedagogically and democratically-sound language policy for higher education.

South Africa has eleven official languages. During the colonial era English was imported and made the only official national language until Afrikaans was proclaimed an official language in the apartheid era (Figone, 2012; Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Reagan, 1987; van Dyk 1967). The White apartheid government used language policy to advance English and Afrikaans by making them the only official languages of national use in economic, education, political, and social sectors thus marginalising ISALs, leaving them under-developed, and thereby plunging them to an inferior status. As a result, patterns of inequality were further entrenched where Whites were privileged in all sectors while people of other race groups – Black South Africans especially – were under-privileged, oppressed and exploited. Formal education was one of the vital tools that was used to ensure inequality between White and Black South Africans. The apartheid government created a Black education system where language was used as a barrier to academic growth for Black South African students. This ineffective education system also ensured that Black South Africans were placed at inferior levels in other sectors as well (Banda, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Reagan, 1987; Ministry of Education, 2002).

The ultimate goal of the democratic multilingual policy is to create a public higher education environment where students from different language groups can enjoy equal access to knowledge and opportunities for academic success (Consitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2002). An important step towards achieving this is by providing all students the choice to learn in a language they understand best which, according to pedagogical theories and studies, is their mother tongue (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; CHE, 2001). Currently, the mother tongues of Black South African students are academically under-developed and can therefore not be used in an institutional capacity. To address this, the Ministry of Education (2002) has recommended that all SAPIHEs select at least one ISAL to develop and elevate to the same status and level of use as that of English and Afrikaans. As the main functions of institutions of higher education are to conduct academic and scientific research and impart higher knowledge to a potential body of professionals, they are the best equipped to conduct the necessary research required for the development of ISALs and elevate their levels of use (CHE, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2002).

While most institutions of higher education have been found to espouse a remedial perspective in that they believe that the best solution to remedy the problem of Black South African students who lack proficiency in English is to offer them specialised courses for improving their literacy skills in English, the CHE (2001) suggests that this is not as effective as tuition

in one's mother tongue would be. And, despite all SAPIHEs offering these specialised English remedial courses since they started receiving an influx of Black South African students, they do not seem to have provided knowledge that is meaningful enough to facilitate academic success for these students (CHE, 2001; CHE, 2013). UKZN is one of the few SAPIHEs that has amended its language policy. The institution is currently in the beginning stages of a long-term process of developing isiZulu as a future language of tuition alongside English (UKZN Language Policy, 2014; UKZN Teaching & Learning Office, 2013). A handful of courses at the University have translated their teaching material from English to isiZulu. Additionally, in 2013, the university announced that every student who registers for undergraduate studies at the institution would be required to complete a prescribed introductory isiZulu course before they graduate unless they are found to already be adequately proficient in the language (UKZN Teaching & Learning Office, 2013). These national and institutional linguistic changes, however, have been met with both commendations and criticisms from academics, newspaper journalists, students as well as the general public.

2.5.   Conflicting perspectives on language choice for higher education

Various media articles and research studies have explored perspectives on the inclusion of ISALs in different institutions across the country. Their reports indicate that different stakeholders perceive this inclusion in different ways and thus seem to hold conflicting perspectives.

In UKZN's Teaching & Learning Annual Review Report (UKZN Teaching & Learning Office, 2013), Professor Vithal, UKZN's Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Teaching and Learning, suggests that the announcement of the then- impending compulsory isiZulu course sparked national and international media attention and approval. She also stated that it generated an interest amongst staff members at the institution to also learn isiZulu. It would seem though that a number of staff, students, and members of public have come out in opposition of what some of them term a 'Zulurisation' of the country (Mashele, 2013, p.1; Molefe, 2013a). Some members of the public have questioned the introduction of isiZulu at UKZN, deeming it more appropriate for the University of Zululand, which is situated in a rural area largely populated by isiZulu speakers, perceived to have more isiZulu-speaking students than UKZN (Balfour, 2014; Mashele, 2013; The Witness, 2006, in Ndimande-Hlongwa et al., 2010). Balfour (2014) and Ndimande-Hlongwa et al. (2010) state that such views are reminiscent of the apartheid era, when indigenous South African languages were deemed inferior, and not worthy of use in academia nor in any other public sector except for within the confines of their first-language

speakers. They echo the democratic government's insistence that now is the time for indigenous languages to be developed, for their esteem to be raised and for their national use and usability to be increased to the same level as that of English and Afrikaans. By contrast, Mashele, the Chairman of the Centre for Politics and Research, in a scathing report strongly cautions against other SAPIHEs following UKZN's example of what he suggests is shocking 'homeland mentality' and 'cultural invasion' (Mashele, 2013, p.1). He suggests that UKZN is in danger of no longer being a university, but rather a cultural academy with rural isiZulu speaking students only, as non-isiZulu speaking students will be put off by being forced to learn the language. He recommends that teaching through an ISAL should rather be maintained at departmental level and universities ought to only teach through English, the international language of commerce, and afford their graduates the opportunity to become globally acclaimed professionals. The South African Anglican Archbishop, Makgoba, echoed these sentiments and cautioned that a 'Zulufication' of the nation could lead to a genocide similar to the one in Rwanda (Molefe, 2013a). Molefe (2013a; 2013b) argues that the notion that UKZN is tribalistic is itself a tribalistic perception informed by the colonial perspective of Black South Africans who are unaware of the multi-contextual consequences of language use, and who seemingly misunderstand the rationale behind the need to develop all different ISALs in different SAPIHEs, not just isiZulu at UKZN. Coming from a constitutional perspective Dr de Vos, a lecturer of Constitutional Law at the University of Cape Town, argues that those who say that what UKZN is doing is unconstitutional have an elitist perception that all educated and smart people speak English, which he says is a very odd misconception. He suggests that requiring students to learn a regionally predominant language is a brilliant means of promoting multicultural awareness and interlingual tolerance. However, in the same breath, he also argues that elevating ISALs beyond a language course to a language of tuition may be found to be unconstitutional and is in fact not a wise move as it unfairly discriminates against 'good White students' who are not proficient in the language (de Vos, 2013, p.1).

Looking at language choice pedagogically, academics such as Angelil-Carter and Moore (1998), Morrow (2009) and Boughey (2002) have argued that the reason why some Black South African students struggle to understand the English used to teach in higher education is because of the still impoverished Black schooling system. They therefore suggest that the focus should be on improving facilitation of the acquisition of the English language in higher education. They argue that it is not the use of the English language per se that is a challenge to Black South African students, but rather the fact that academic English is a specialised discourse and higher education requires an ability to understand and communicate effectively

in this discourse (Angelil-Carter & Moore, 1998; Morrow, 2009; Boughey, 2002). Others have also argued that because indigenous South African languages are underdeveloped, translations and the entire process of language development would cost too much of the nation's already dwindling resources (Mohamed, 2000, in Heugh, 2000). Heugh (2000) responds by pointing out that the state is already wasting too much money on students who repeat the same academic year or grade for numerous years or who enjoy state-funded or subsidised education for a number of years and thereafter drop out without completing their studies. Eventually, these students do not contribute to the nation's economy in a professional or other capacity. She argues that the costs towards the development and use of indigenous languages in education can eventually not only be recovered, but also lead to national profits with the larger surge of professionals that a more meaningful education system can produce (Heugh, 2000).

Reactions from Black South African higher education students have also been mixed. UKZN students interviewed by Taunyane (2013) were resistant to the possibility of learning isiZulu, suggesting that learning a language that will not help their degree was unnecessary, and that learning ISALs should rather happen in pre-primary and primary schools. Rudwick (2015), whose research explored language dynamics and ideological constructions in South African higher education, found that the introduction of the compulsory isiZulu course at UKZN has alienated some students and staff at the institution, including the isiZulu lecturers that she interviewed. Some of these lecturers reported that their students were resistant, and they themselves saw the teaching of the course as an impractical and useless exercise. Some even likened it to the apartheid regime's attempt to force Black South African students to learn Afrikaans, resulting in the infamous massacre of those students. Rudwick (2015) also argues that imposing isiZulu upon lecturers and students at UKZN seems to have ideological and political motives rather than a pedagogical one. She suggests that learning ISALs should rather be fostered in primary and secondary schools and that trying to force it in higher education is too late.

Other studies have found that students insist that they only need to learn English in an academic context and learn primarily in English as it is the language of power and development, nationally and internationally (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Chetty, 2013). Students suggest that an education in their indigenous mother tongues would be useless to them as they would not be able to share their knowledge, no matter how vast, with anyone except people who can also speak their language. This would mean that they would not be able to find work in regions where their language is not spoken, such as internationally. But, when it comes to pedagogical

considerations, the same students insist that the use of their mother tongues facilitates the understanding of subject content. However, they point out that this would only be necessary for junior undergraduates who still need to get used to the higher education system, because once they progress in academic years learning English and learning in English becomes more essential (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005).

Chetty (2013) suggests that focusing on language as a barrier to accessing meaningful education overlooks other critical barriers such as financial problems and poor secondary schooling and home environments, the impact of which can be misconstrued as having been caused by language. He suggests that a more holistic investigation of the impact of such factors needs to be conducted before a radical and possibly unnecessary change to the language of tuition can be implemented. He interviewed isiZulu speaking first year Physics students at UKZN to ascertain their perceptions on the then-impending possibility of being taught in isiZulu. Over half of the students said that teaching through isiZulu in higher education was unnecessary and that students who were not adequately proficient in English should rather make better attempts at learning and improving their English as the more proficient Black South African students had done. These students expressed that learning in isiZulu would place them at a disadvantage when it came to seeking jobs internationally. Some of them suggested that teaching through isiZulu should rather start in primary schools and that isiZulu textbooks should first be developed and standardised before tuition in isiZulu could be implemented. Only a third of the students in the study expressed that teaching through isiZulu at UKZN was necessary for the empowerment of students with inadequate proficiency in English. They suggested that it would enable those students to participate equally in academic activities without the constraint of being unable to express themselves in English or being too embarrassed to try. Furthermore, a mere six percent of the students said that bilingual tuition would benefit every student in the institution (Chetty, 2013).

Giving a more positive view, in a study conducted by Paxton (2009) at the University of Cape Town, isiXhosa speaking students suggested that learning in their mother tongue facilitated their understanding of subject content. They said that this was different to experiences of learning in the more unfamiliar English language which sometimes brought challenges of not understanding the vocabulary used and thus not understanding the meaning of the knowledge they were trying to gain. These students revealed that in their own study groups, comprised of speakers of the same language, they often translated difficult sections into their own mother tongue and negotiated meanings through their language. They pointed out that if they could

not figure out the meaning of the English content in their mother tongue they would resort to memorising the English terms and paragraphs in order to reproduce them verbatim in formal assessments (Paxton, 2009). Paxton (2009) cautions that when students translate their work into their own languages by themselves they run the risk of coming up with inaccurate definitions. In fact, during interviews when students revealed some definitions they held it surfaced that some of them had mixed up some similar terms and misunderstood some. Paxton (2009) suggests it would be more academically sound for their educators to do the translations for them instead. This would ensure that what students learn in any language is standardised and accurate.

Educational challenges posed by inadequate proficiency in the language of tuition, for students for whom it is an additional language, are not unique to South Africa. A number of countries in the African continent are introducing their mother tongues as languages of tuition to overcome the residue of inappropriate language teaching left by their former colonists in Black education (Adegbite, 2003; Akinnaso, 1993; Bunyi, 1999; Kyeyune, 2003). In some of these countries too, not all have welcomed the introduction of indigenous African languages as languages of teaching and learning. Teachers and students interviewed by Kyeyune (2003) in Uganda expressed frustration and difficulties with teaching and learning in English as an additional language. The teachers blamed students' negative attitudes and lack of interest in the English language as the reason why they found it difficult to acquire proficiency in it. Some of them even punished students who spoke a mother tongue in the school environment. The students, on the other hand, complained that when they tried to ask for clarification from teachers, the teachers shouted at them and said that they were wasting their time. They said learning thus became a difficult task when they did not understand the difficult English vocabulary used by their teachers but were at the same time prohibited from asking for further explanations. One student pointed out that having to speak English all the time was too much of a burden for him, and it made learning difficult. He added that even after a number of years of learning in English, he still did not know it enough anyway and was more comfortable with his mother tongue (Kyeyune, 2003). Kyeyune (2003) however suggests that completely switching the language of tuition to a mother tongue would not be useful for language development, and that there should rather be a focus on teacher training in communication skills which should include a reciprocal bilingual dialogue with students without teachers trying to dominate.

Adegbite (2003) suggests that the current dominance of English over Nigerian indigenous languages is a result of the Nigerian elite's positive attitude towards English and their negative attitudes towards their mother tongues as English serves their interests of social and economic advancements. He further suggests that the perceptions of the rest of the Nigerian public are influenced by those of the elite because the latter are responsible for policy-making in the country and are perceived to be serving public interest. Thus, the literate and pre-literate in Nigeria express a preference for learning English and learning in English above their mother tongues. Adegbite (2003) points out that Nigeria is plagued by underdevelopment in the education sector with illiteracy and a lack of communication skills further perpetuating the inability of some citizens from participating fully in other national activities such as politics. He cautions that the lack of use of the more familiar indigenous African languages in education will maintain the divide between the elite and the uneducated masses especially with future generations as some parents prevent their children from learning in their mother tongues, which could provide better epistemological access, in preference of the acquisition of English (Adegbite, 2003).

2.6. Locating perspectives on language choice for Black South Africans' education within an interpretive theoretical framework

The foundation of the interpretive paradigm is the model of 'verstehen', which means 'understanding'. It postulates that in intending to understand and interpret the meaning of a person's spoken or written words, actions, or any other creation, one has to embed that which is to be understood in the context within which it was created with a focus on the personal, social, historical and cultural elements within that context. It is only within context that a person's perspective may be understood, as that perspective is itself based on the person's interpretation of that specific context. So not only does one need to understand the meaning of what a person says but also understand the context within which that meaning is embedded. All meaning within any context is socially constructed, reconstructed, and shared. The meaning of anything only makes sense if the agents within a context understand it. No single person has an understanding of the world and the objects and processes within it that is of their own creation from its very genesis. Even when a person forms a unique perception of something it is still through a cultural framework that has historical and social origins. It is this cultural framework that gives meaning to a message that any person conveys (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1987; Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2014).

The perspectives that informed the colonisers' and apartheid government's choices regarding the best methods for language learning and use in Black education in South Africa can be interpreted by understanding the ideology of their eras. In the same way, the aspirations of racial transformation and equity of the current era have informed the democratic government's language policies for higher education (Alexander, 2001; Silva, 1997; Webb, 2005). All other perspectives regarding this policy thus have to be understood within this context of South Africa's linguistic historical and contemporary culture (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Maxwell, 2005).

2.6.1.   Social Constructions of Language and Privilege in Africa

In South Africa, in other African countries and in other parts of the world, social constructions of languages have, throughout the ages, informed society's perspectives about their usefulness and legitimacy in different sectors, which has led to the use of some languages dominating over others while resulting in other languages becoming extinct (Granville et al., 1998; Phillipson; 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). These perspectives are critical because not only are they the representations of how people make sense of and interact with their socially-constructed reality, but they can also be reconstructed by those same people which, in turn, changes the way they perceive, form constructions of, and interact with that reality (Granville et al., 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Granville et al. (1998) caution that unless perceptions regarding the social and economic values of South Africa's languages are addressed their pedagogical effects can remain under-valued especially by the students who are directly affected.

So, to simply argue that Black South African students and staff are against the inclusion of ISALs in their institutions without contextualising their perspectives within the linguistic ideologies of South Africa's sociopolitical history ignores the argument that their, and others', perceptions of language are socially constructed (Alexander, 2001; Silva, 1997; Webb, 2005). It is not enough to legitimise these arguments with the circular notion that English is in reality the only means for upward mobility while ISALs would only serve to segregate the nation. Instead, it is a necessary exercise to first demonstrate how none of the languages in South Africa are neutral entities but, rather, are all value-laden and perceived primarily according to their pragmatic and symbolic power or lack thereof. This demonstration could in turn illuminate how any discussion regarding language in education is inextricable from linguistic ideologies and how, to Black South Africans, the former is secondary to the latter. The current language policy acknowledges that ideologies of the past still operate in economic, social, and educational systems and processes (Ministry of Education, 2002). Despite this, reports and

studies on perspectives regarding the choice of language in education make Black South Africans' perceptions of languages of tuition seem mutually exclusive from their perceptions of language. The argument put forward in this study is that interpretations of current perspectives on the choice of language in education for Black South Africans should take into account that these perspectives are contextualized within the linguistic ideologies of the country's sociopolitical past. One first has to have a thorough understanding of the pedagogical role of languages and then look at how this was acknowledged but blatantly dismissed by the colonial and apartheid governments in designing an education system for Black South Africans (Figone, 2012; Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Reagan, 1987; van Dyk, 1967). The current effects of this inherited, flawed education system on Black South African students' academic performance should then be taken into account.

2.6.2. Pedagogical theories on the role of language in teaching and learning

Language is the primary mechanism by which the meaning of academic content is conveyed and clarified between educators and students. Baker (2001) makes a distinction between language learning and language acquisition. The former occurs when formal or academic aspects of a language, for example terminology, grammar, et cetera, are learned. The latter occurs when one learns how to communicate in a language, whether colloquially or academically. He points out that learning a language does not always lead to acquiring it; it depends on how the language is taught. Additionally, Cummins (1980, 2000) makes a distinction between proficiency in communicating colloquially in a language which he terms BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and proficiency in using a language appropriately and accurately in an academic context which he terms CALP (Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency). He points out that possessing BICS is not necessarily an indication of possessing CALP. And lastly, Inglis (2000) and Gravett (2004) explain the differences between deep meaningful learning and surface, or rote, learning.

2.6.2.1. Cummins theory of Linguistic Interdependence

The main principles in Cummins's (1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986) theory of language in learning clarify the role of the mother tongue in the acquisition of additional languages as well as their interdependence in the cognitive and intellectual development of primary and secondary school students. This theory is based on numerous studies that he has reviewed from different continents and language groups as well as on the numerous studies he himself has conducted over the years. The first two principles are BICS and CALP. Cummins (1980, 2000) has found that CALP is most effectively developed through a student's mother tongue.

Children typically enter school possessing BICS in at least one language which is usually their mother tongue. Because the meaning of the vocabulary of the mother tongue is already known by a first-time pupil, that language is the most appropriate to use in teaching new, often abstract and cognitively-demanding, academic concepts. To grasp the meaning of academic concepts and develop cognitive and literacy skills a student needs to sufficiently understand the vocabulary used in teaching. In cases where an additional, less familiar language is used this level of understanding and acquisition of skills becomes very difficult. But when a student has sufficient levels of cognitive skills and academic knowledge in their mother tongue, learning and successfully acquiring additional languages becomes possible. Which is what the third and fourth concepts then go on to explain. The third principle is that of 'common underlying proficiency', and it points out that behind the same term in various different languages, lies the same meaning. Therefore whether one calls an object with four wheels a 'car' in English, 'imoto' in isiZulu, 'motor' in Afrikaans, 'koloi' in Sesotho, or 'voiture' in French, one is referring to the exact same object. If Sesotho speaking students, for example, understand what the surface term 'koloi' refers to and understand the meaning of what is being referred to, it becomes easier for them to replace the label 'koloi' with 'voiture'. If one takes an English-speaking student, for example, who has never heard of a car nor can fathom the existence of one and someone tried to explain what 'imoto' is in unfamiliar/unknown isiZulu vocabulary it would be hard for that student to comprehend what is being explained. Even if a student is faced with learning a new concept in a foreign language, Cummins (1980, 2000) suggests that as long as that student has acquired academic knowledge and cognitive skills at the threshold level in their mother tongue it is possible to transfer those skills and develop them further in that additional language. The threshold level is the level at which a student has acquired a sufficient body of academic knowledge and skills that they adequately understand in their mother tongue to be able to meaningfully translate them to a different language, which ideally takes eight years of formal schooling to reach. This process of learning is termed additive bilingualism. It simply means that any additional language that is used to instruct a student adds onto existing knowledge in that student's mother tongue and does not take anything away from it (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986).

The fourth concept, 'linguistic interdependence', states that each of two or more languages can facilitate the learning of the other provided that knowledge and skills in the mother tongue have reached the threshold level and the languages continue to be learned side by side (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986). Therefore, if a student is still in the process of acquiring their primary body of academic knowledge, but is being taught in an unfamiliar language, that

student will most likely proceed having gained minimal knowledge. The student will miss gaining further knowledge by not being taught in her/his mother tongue and may continue through the academic phases with inadequate levels of cognitive skills to learn efficiently and successfully. What is most likely to happen is that a student may memorise and recognise words based on how they look or sound but may not know their meaning. This type of learning is termed subtractive bilingualism as the continued exposure to an unfamiliar dialect takes the experience of meaningful learning away from a student (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986).

This is what has been found to be the experience of most Black South African students in SAPIHEs. They lack adequate meaningful knowledge and proficiencies in either of the languages they can speak including their mother tongue (Angelil-Carter & Moore, 1998; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009). Cummins (1980, 2000) points out that the common assumption is that if students possess inadequate proficiency in an additional language they need maximum exposure to that language through being taught solely in it. However, research has shown this to be inefficient and ineffective in cases where exposure is limited to the school environment only, as is the case with most Black South African school and tertiary students (MacDonald, 1990; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Paxton, 2009; Setati, Adler, Reed, & Bapoo, 2002).

2.6.2.2.   Deep versus Surface Learning

Inglis (2000) makes a distinction between meaningful learning and rote-learning. The former can be achieved if students understand new information, can organise and assimilate it, and integrate it with their existing knowledge. The old knowledge is either modified by the inclusion of new knowledge or is discarded and replaced by the new knowledge if the latter is more relevant than the former. In this way, meaningful learning allows later recall of the latest information as well as meaningful application and demonstration of it. Rote-learning on the other hand is the memorisation of new information with little or no understanding of its meaning. Without adequate understanding this information cannot be linked with existing knowledge and often can only be recalled within a short-term period but forgotten over time. So for example, a student can rote-learn and pass a test or exam, but go through their school years without gaining much meaningful knowledge that they understand and can remember even in the long-term, not just for the short-term purposes of passing an exam.

Bowden and Martin (1998, in Gravett, 2004) suggest that students tend to approach learning in one of two ways. The first is termed the deep approach, which Gravett (2004) suggests is associated with higher education. It entails a focus on the underlying meaning of the terminology used in linguistically representing academic concepts and on seeking the relationships between them. The second is the surface approach. Here students focus on memorising the words used to explain a concept instead of on the meaning that those words are conveying. Memorisation of these words rests on rote-learning and regurgitation of content that is perceived to be required in completing academic tasks, namely assignments, tests, and exams. The approach that students adopt in their learning depends on the context within which learning takes place, including the teaching resources within it as well as their reasons for seeking to acquire academic knowledge (Gravett, 2004). In South Africa, the learning context and teaching resources that the majority of Black South African students are subjected to has led to them to resorting to rote-learning to just pass and get through the system. Studies conducted since the introduction of formal education to Black South Africans have found that the unfamiliar language used for tuition hinders meaningful acquisition of knowledge; despite these findings over the centuries this unfamiliar language continues to be used and Black South African students continue to rote-learn right up to the end of their higher education (Department of Bantu Education, 1962; Figone, 2012; MacDonald, 1990; Masitsa, 2004; Paxton, 2009; van Dyk, 1967; Webb, 2002).

2.6.3. Policies for language in education in South Africa

Black South Africans have not had much choice when it comes to the availability of the most effective teaching resources since formal education was first introduced during the colonial era. The resources and reasons for educating Black South African students used to be determined by a White government whose main aim was to ensure that while Black South Africans could communicate in Western languages they were, at the same time, not to achieve the level of education that was comparable to that attained by Whites (Banda, 2000; Figone, 2012; Reagan, 1987). Even in the post-apartheid era teaching resources have still not been developed to an adequate level for effectively teaching Black South African students (Banda, 2000; Figone, 2012).

2.6.3.1. Colonial era: English government

British missionaries were the first to bring formal education to South Africans towards the end of the 18th century. Their aim was to convert who they perceived as uncivilised Black South African heathens to civilised Christians. To the missionaries, this meant that the Black South

Africans had to abandon their African culture and adopt what they suggested was a more morally and intellectually elevated Western culture (Figone, 2012; van Dyk, 1967). In addition to learning how to read and write, Black South African students had to acquire this formal education in English, not their mother tongue. Mission schools used the same curriculum that was used in Britain at the time. Education for Black South Africans was therefore only made available to them in a foreign language and was based on a foreign culture which was completely different and separate from the African reality they knew and the knowledge they had established. Students were found to be struggling with understanding the meaning of subject content, they lost interest in gaining formal education and resorted to rote-learning. At a later stage, when some of the mission teachers had become more familiar with ISALs, they introduced them as subjects. But it was found that the Black South African students did not understand academic content in their own languages either as their academic vocabulary and cognitive skills were limited. Despite this, the Superintendent-General of Education at the time emphasised the need for English to be used as the general language of tuition as none of the ISALs was considered to be of value in academic or economic development (Figone; 2012; van Dyk, 1967).

Elliott and Gurrey (1940) state that although the aims of teaching Black South Africans English were to train them for employment and to introduce them to European culture and civilisation, the use of a foreign language became a barrier to meaningful acquisition. Studies found that if English was introduced too early, as a language of tuition, linguistic and intellectual development were impeded. Elliott and Gurrey (1940) point out that English as an additional language could have been learnt more effectively and efficiently if initial educational development had been in the more familiar mother tongue and that resources were instead being wasted on methods that did not follow established principles that prescribe language teaching. Because students were already familiar with the vocabulary of their language, academic activities such as reading, writing in correct grammar, thinking in abstract terms and constructing scientific arguments would have been easier to learn as they would have been more meaningful. Once the skills were adequately developed they could then be transferred to an additional language. But the choice of English as a language of tuition in Black schools remained an ideological principle. Because ISALs had no social, scholarly, nor economic value Black South Africans themselves had also come to aspire to acquire sufficient proficiency in English (Elliott & Gurrey, 1940).

2.6.3.2.   Apartheid era: Afrikaans government

After the Union in 1910, Afrikaans was added as an official national language alongside English, but its use was largely limited to its first language speakers as most of the attempts for its inclusion in national sectors including public education in non-Afrikaans medium schools were unsuccessful (Reagan, 1987). When the Afrikaners took over from the English government in 1948, one of their main goals was to elevate Afrikaans to the same level of esteem and use in the country as that of English and to eventually change the ideology of the country to that of Afrikaner nationalism. One way of doing this was through teaching public formal education in Afrikaans to Black South African students who constituted the majority of the country's student population and labourers. At the same time, this Afrikaans government was introducing the system of apartheid. The basic principle of this system was separation of peoples by race group – in residential areas, in social settings, in political processes, in education, and in economic management and growth. The Department of Education and Training (also referred to as the DET) assigned different racial groups to separate schools and learners were not allowed to be enrolled in a school that was not of their racial categorisation. Black South Africans were confined to schools built in their townships and rural areas, and Whites were assigned to Whites-only schools (Banda, 2000; Reagan, 1987). In 1949 tuition in the mother tongue was extended to a duration of eight years, not for pedagogical reasons but to keep students in these segregated schools and to provide Black South Africans with a more inferior and cheaper education than that of Whites. Black South African students perceived this enforced education in their less developed languages as discriminatory, and as a means to deny them access to English, a language that was seen as a powerful resource for economic and political participation and growth. The Bantu education act of 1953, which started being implemented in 1955, reduced mother tongue tuition to four years and introduced a switch in the language of tuition to 50% in English and 50% in Afrikaans. This meant that half of the subjects would be taught in English while the other half would be taught in Afrikaans, and ISALs were to be taught as subjects. Some of the Black DET schools adopted this change while others resisted. This education system was also based on ideological objectives. One was to ensure that the knowledge and skills that Black South African students left the education sector with were inferior to those possessed by Whites and more suitable for their designated subservient positions of manual labour in the economic sector. Another was to ensure that Black South Africans were exposed to White culture, as well as to the two official national languages at the time (Banda, 2000; Reagan, 1987).

A commission of inquiry into language learning and language use in Transkeian (currently known as the Eastern Cape province of South Africa) Black DET schools was conducted and published its findings in 1962 (Department of Bantu Education, 1962). It found the standard of English in Grade 8 learners in Transkei to be very low for a subject that had been taught for eight years, and teachers stated that it was still deteriorating. Many pupils were unable to express themselves in the simplest English. Their reading, writing and pronunciation skills were deemed terrible, which the educators suggested forced them to spend a greater part of the year than allocated to teach the language and especially its pronunciation, so as to be able to use it effectively as a language of tuition. But this did not seem to help as the commission still found evidence of attempts at regurgitating English content in students' formal assessments. The commission attributed the low English proficiency to poor teaching methods in primary school. Although in the report they stressed the usefulness of the mother tongue as a language of tuition as they saw it as the language in which Black South African students think and understand, they completely rejected the possibility of its use as a language of tuition from Grade 9 or even in higher education. They also stated that the people of Transkei unanimously expressed a desire for English to be learnt by all teachers and all students in all schools. The Transkeians perceived English to be a useful resource for furthering their education and for international contact. The Commission expressed full agreement with the people's desire and stressed that sound knowledge of the English language had enormous value (Department of Bantu Education, 1962).

After Afrikaans was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1955 in all Black primary, secondary, and training schools, the people of Transkei expressed a desire to learn Afrikaans as, although it had Dutch origins, its modified dialect originated in South Africa, so they claimed that it was easier to learn than English. The Commission, though, found the standard of Afrikaans of Grade 5-8 educators and learners to also be very poor, and neither were able to recognise their language errors when they spoke or wrote in Afrikaans. Even the educators expressed that they were not confident in their proficiency in the language to teach through it. The commission recommended that White English and Afrikaans-speaking educators be placed in all Black DET schools whilst Black South African educators went through intensive language training programmes. They also recommended that English again be used as the only language of tuition from Grade 9 and suggested that the recommended use of 50% English and 50% Afrikaans by the government would have detrimental effects as the simultaneous use of unfamiliar languages would put the already struggling Black South African learners through more hardship unnecessarily. Another recommendation was for educators to stop using mother

tongues to explain subject content after Grade 8 as they saw this as taking away from the use of English. Parents, primary school educators as well as the people of Transkei also complained that the use of the mother tongue as a language of tuition in primary schools was lowering the standard of English and that its exclusive use up to the 8th Grade made the switch to English as the language of tuition from Grade 9 difficult. They suggested that isiXhosa, the major mother tongue in the province, was not suitable as a language of tuition in primary school as it lacked the necessary vocabulary and there were very few suitable textbooks available. They also suggested that isiXhosa had no future and it would therefore be a waste of energy and time to develop it as a language of tuition. Parents and educators expressed that the use of isiXhosa as a language of tuition was unnecessary as the pupils learnt the language at home and their whole reason for even attending school was to learn something that they did not know (Department of Bantu Education, 1962).

The Commission rejected the suggestion for the language of tuition to be switched to English before Grade 8 as they deemed this to be educationally unsound. They pointed out that educators did not have adequate proficiency in English/Afrikaans to teach through it. There was no recommendation or efforts, however, towards the development of ISALs so that they could be used effectively for the teaching of adequate and meaningful primary education. The Commission only stressed again that the mother tongue should neither be introduced as a language of tuition after Grade 8, nor in Higher Education. The Commission re-emphasised the undeniable value of English in the country, especially in the higher education and economic sectors, and as an international language. They suggested that successful acquisition of the English language in Black DET schools relied on learners listening to the meaning of what was being said by their educators, and speaking it in an attempt to convey meaning, instead of merely parroting it like they had been doing (Department of Bantu Education, 1962).

2.6.3.3. Democratic era: Multilingual and multiracial government

After the abolishment of apartheid in 1994 and adoption of the concept of democracy by the newly-elected multiracial democratic government, nine ISALs were included as official languages in the Constitution. Furthermore, education rights were revised, and now granted every student at all levels of study the right to learn in any official language of their choice where practically possible (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Studies have found, however, that almost all former Black DET schools still choose English as their sole official language of tuition, despite there being no improvement either in its acquisition by learners, or in the level of general education taught using the language. It has also been found

that there is not enough educational material available for schools to use ISALs for general subject tuition, and the ISALs are underdeveloped when it comes to scholarly and technical concepts. Currently, some former Whites-only Model C (a term used in the apartheid era) schools are still either English-medium or Afrikaans-medium, with other languages taught as optional subjects. In former Black DET schools the language of tuition from Grades 1 to 4 is still in the major ISAL of the community where the school is located. English is introduced as a subject in Grade 2 and becomes the language of tuition from Grade 5 to Grade 12 (Masitsa, 2004; Nel & Müller, 2010; Probyn, 2001; Setati et al., 2002; Vermeulen, 2001). All SAPIHEs are still either English-medium, or parallel medium using English and Afrikaans (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Paxton, 2009; Webb, 2002). Until 1989, different SAPIHEs were designated for different race groups, but all of them were either English-medium or Afrikaans-medium; tuition in the mother tongue in higher education was also only available for White students, while Black South African students had to continue to learn in an additional language. Since 1989, when the legislation that made institutions exclusive according to race was abolished, institutions that had been designated for Whites only have experienced an influx of the other three race groups, the majority of whom are Black South African (Heugh, 2000). The highest failure rates, readmissions and dropouts started being observed for Black South African students, most of whom were found to lack adequate proficiency in English or Afrikaans (CHE, 2013; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Paxton, 2009).

2.6.4. Academic performance and language of tuition in former Black DET schools, post apartheid

In comparing academic performance in language subjects, MacDonald (1990) found that the Grade 5 learners in her quantitative and qualitative study performed very poorly in English but performed much better in their mother tongue. This was also reflected in their poor listening, speaking, writing, and reading skills in other subjects, which were all in English. They did not possess adequate vocabulary required at their grade, while spelling and grammar was also found to be very poor. When presented with questions, students were unable to answer them even though the answers were also provided. Because they did not understand most of the terminology, they were unable to recognise that the answers were also there. When asked by the researcher to execute the same tasks in their mother tongue, the students were found to do much better in those same subjects. This indicated an existence of knowledge of subject content and cognitive skills, albeit insufficient for their academic level. This limited knowledge, though, was hard to discover because of the inability of the students to express themselves in English. MacDonald (1990) points out that, in general, teaching tasks in these schools -

explanations and discussions between educators and their learners – were conducted in their mother tongue. When it came to teaching subject content in English, the learners would either copy text as it was in their textbooks or on the board, or if a particular task was conducted verbally, they would chant the exact words that their teacher had read out to them and had asked them to repeat. This content would then be memorised for attempts at reproduction in formal assessments. MacDonald (1990) also discovered that the English proficiencies of the teachers themselves were not adequate for them to be teaching through the language. She found that these factors contributed to the loss of meaning of subject content for the learners, and a missed opportunity to acquire new English vocabulary and cognitive skills.

Other studies conducted more recently have found the same challenges amongst Black South African learners in former Black DET schools, all the way up to the end of the 12th Grade. Probyn (2001) recorded lessons conducted by Grade 8 and Grade 9 teachers of different subjects in a former Black DET school. These teachers were later interviewed regarding their perceptions of teaching through an additional language. All the teachers pointed out that their students had poor proficiency in the English language. They expressed that learners looked confused when the educator spoke in English and would hardly attempt to respond in the language. When educators questioned this lack of response, the learners claimed that it was because they did not understand what the educator was saying, and either did not know how to say what they themselves wanted to say or were too embarrassed to express themselves in broken English. To overcome this challenge, educators end up teaching through both English and the mother tongue. They expressed that, in as much as they want their students to understand English, they were also concerned with ensuring that their students acquired meaningful knowledge of subject content, which they found was more possible if explained in the mother tongue. Learners' inability to become proficient in English has led to high failure rates because exams are conducted in English (Probyn, 2001). These challenges were also discovered by Vermeulen (2001), and by Masitsa (2004) and Setati et al. (2002) amongst Black South African Grade 12 students. Nel and Müller (2010) explored the impact of Black South African teachers' limited proficiency in English on their Black South African learners' development in the language. They found that students reflected the exact same phonological, spelling and grammatical errors as their teachers. The educators seemed to be unaware of this transference and had misperceptions of their own English proficiency. They expressed that they had adequate levels of proficiency and did not need further training in the language, but also expressed that they were not confident enough to teach through English.

All educators in the studies conducted in former Black DET schools expressed that they use their mother tongues to explain the meaning of subject content and to allow the students to communicate their confusion and understanding, and then use English to expose the students to the vocabulary that the subject is represented in and which they will have to use in formal assessments (MacDonald, 1990; Probyn, 2001; Setati et al., 2002; Vermeulen, 2001). Although students understand their subjects in their mother tongue, they end up rote-learning the English content. This then becomes the default method of learning for the students throughout their primary and secondary school years. The damaging effects of such methods of teaching and learning can be seen in the high failure rates in former Black DET schools, in dropouts, and in the inadequate English proficiency of the few students who do manage to qualify for tertiary education (Masitsa, 2004; Paxton, 2009; Setati et al., 2002; Webb, 2002). Researchers have pointed out that even though the method of code-switching between the mother tongue and the additional school language is unofficial in the formal education system, it is the most effective and efficient way of teaching meaningfully as the mother tongue is the language that the learners know best (Banda, 2000; Cummins, 1980, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Phillipson, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

2.6.5. Academic performance and language of tuition in higher education, post apartheid

The poor academic skills developed by Black South African students in school negatively impact their academic performance at a tertiary level, where they continue to have to attempt to learn in an unfamiliar additional language (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Granville et al., 1998; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009). Webb (2002) notes that tertiary students need to: understand the scientific and scholarly concepts of specific disciplines; understand the processes and principles of the application of those concepts; and acquire specialised cognitive skills to identify and interpret information in their chosen field to succeed in higher education. In a typical institution of higher education, this is achieved through interactions between educators and students, where educators introduce students to discipline-specific academic concepts and relations between ideas. Students are given the opportunity to respond with clarification questions or demonstrations of their own interpretations and understanding, which is negotiated with the educator, thereby facilitating the students' development of their knowledge and skills. A demonstration of successful acquisition of academic knowledge consists of appropriately completing tasks set out in formal assessments according to specific questions.

Some Black South African students in SAPIHEs have revealed that they do not understand the bulk of the meaning of what they read in their subject materials, do not understand some of the vocabulary used by their educators, and usually do not know how to formulate what they want to communicate to their educators in the language that they are required to communicate in at their institutions. Educators have also revealed that some of their Black South African students do not seem to possess adequate proficiency in the languages of tuition and are not able to communicate appropriately in them, either verbally or textually (Paxton, 2009). Webb (2002) points out that in formal assessments at the level of higher education, if students have not spoken or written appropriately and effectively in the particular language of academia, they are evaluated as not yet equipped for academic progress or membership in their aspired profession. Judged by their lack of comprehension and appropriate use of language, students are seen to have inadequate knowledge and cognitive deficiencies. In SAPIHEs, the general assumption is that Black South African students from disadvantaged former Black DET schools have missed out on the academic experiences which are necessary to develop some of the concepts and cognitive skills that they need to function in higher education. In an attempt to help these students catch up with their counterparts, some are first put through bridging subject courses, which teach what the students were supposed to learn in secondary school. Some students are also provided with English language classes that attempt to teach them the appropriate use of academic English (Angelil-Carter & Moore, 1998). Despite decades of the existence of such programmes, Black South African students are still performing poorly. Some have argued that it is because these bridging courses are also taught in the unfamiliar English language, which remains a barrier to the acquisition of meaning for the students (Paxton, 2009).

2.7. Conclusion

The preceding discussion illustrates how the education system designed for Black South Africans by the colonial and apartheid governments was based on ideologies that ignored appropriate pedagogical theories, in favour of placing White people in positions of socioeconomic power and privilege, while subordinating Black South Africans (Alexander, 2001; Elliott & Gurrey, 1940; Silva 1997; van Dyk, 1967; Webb, 2005). The effects of this flawed education system can still be observed in Black South African students' poor academic performance, which continues to lag far behind that of their White counterparts (CHE, 2001; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; MacDonald, 1990; Paxton, 2009; Probyn, 2001).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) suggests that teaching students in a language that they are not adequately proficient in is a contravention of those students' linguistic and educational human

rights. She highlights that empirical evidence worldwide has shown the effectiveness of mother tongue tuition, or bilingual education that includes the mother tongue. She adds that tuition in an unfamiliar language only leads to subtractive academic development, where a student progresses in academic stages, but at each stage misses the opportunity to acquire the linguistic and academic knowledge that they are meant to acquire at that stage. She points out that despite the irrefutable evidence, education in an unfamiliar additional language is still widespread. In Africa, the academic development of second-language speakers continues to be hindered, and their first languages remain neglected, underdeveloped and stigmatised. She suggests that the maintenance of such a situation is not based on sound pedagogy but rather on ideologies, held in that particular context, that construct a particular language as the dominant and only legitimate language while stigmatising other languages and thereby diminishing their use. This creates social inequalities not only in the education sector, but in the rest of society as well. She recommends that education in contexts such as these be reformed to reflect sound pedagogical theory, and that stigmatised languages be acknowledged as equally legitimate languages that can be further developed and used in education just as effectively for their first language speakers as the currently dominant Western languages are for theirs (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

The view espoused by Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) is shared by the South African Ministry of Education (2002), who suggest that linguistic human rights are a necessary condition for racial equity in South Africa. In an effort to elevate the status and use of ISALs, to provide Black South African students with the most effective and efficient linguistic tool for the acquisition of meaningful education, and to promote multilingual proficiency and interracial communication, the Ministry of Education (2002) has commissioned SAPIHEs to develop at least one major ISAL in their respective provinces, and to replace the policy of monolingualism with multilingualism by implementing the ISAL as a language of tuition alongside English. In following this recommendation, UKZN has elected to develop and incrementally introduce isiZulu as a language of tuition alongside English (UKZN Language Policy, 2014). The biggest and most controversial step taken by the institution to date has been requiring all students who register for undergraduate studies from 2014 to complete an introductory isiZulu course, unless they have already been found to be adequately proficient in the language (UKZN Teaching & Learning Office, 2013). The changes to these national and institutional language policies are reported to have sparked both outrage and praise from different stakeholders in the country, including Black South African students in various SAPIHEs (Chetty, 2013; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Mashele, 2013; Molefe 2013a, 2013b; Rudwick, 2015; Taunyane, 2013). It is the view

of this study that the perspectives of Black South African students on what they perceive as differential roles of languages in education should be contextualised within the country's sociopolitical ideologies. The following chapter will detail how this study went about exploring and interpreting UKZN's Black African students' perspectives on the current bilingual policy within an interpretive theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1.   Introduction

This chapter describes the paradigm that informed the conceptualisation of this study and the research design that guided the processes. This is followed by details of the method employed, that is the sample, the sampling technique, as well as the data collection instrument and procedure, and the data analysis method. The chapter ends with a description of how credibility, validity, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations were ensured.

3.2.   Paradigm

This study explored UKZN students' perspectives on the bilingual policy that is currently in the implementation phase at the institution. The conceptualisation of the entire study was informed by a qualitative paradigm, which seeks to understand phenomena in the contexts in which they occur, and from a subjective point of view. This is different from quantitative approaches, which seek to objectively quantify and compare different magnitudes of variables using experimental methods to control different interactions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Sylvan, 1989). Within the qualitative paradigm, perspectives explored in this study were situated within the interpretive theoretical framework, which locates and interprets them within their social, cultural and historical contexts (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1987; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2014).

3.3.   Study Design

The research design model that informed this study was Maxwell's (2005) interactive qualitative model (see Appendix 2 for a diagrammatical representation of this study's specific model). Maxwell (2005) describes research design as the logic of an entire study; how its different components influence the formulation and development of each other in a manner that makes the study a coherent process from conception to conclusion. These components are the study goals, conceptual framework, research questions, methods, and concerns regarding validity (Maxwell, 2005). The relationship between the components is interactive and not linear or circular, meaning that throughout the study's life cycle, each component influences and is influenced by the others. To ensure that each relationship remains coherent, researchers need to keep track of the implications each component they work on has for the other components. The study goals are the reasons why the study is formulated and what it seeks to influence, for example policies, practices, or theory. The conceptual framework includes the literature, theories and prior studies about the contexts and the people the study is concerned with, which informs how the researcher perceives them. The research questions are the individual issues

the study will focus on and explore. These questions may be separate but still need to be related to each other and to the overall topic and can elicit answers that are coherently applicable to the context under study. The methods are the procedures that the study employs to select the sample and its setting, and to collect and analyse data. Lastly, the results and conclusions drawn about the data should be valid and defensible (Maxwell, 2005).

3.4. Method

3.4.1. Sample, Study Area, and Sampling Technique

The sample consisted of eleven Black African students from UKZN's Pietermaritzburg campus in South Africa, where the researcher is registered as a Masters student. In addition, three Black African students were sampled from UKZN's Edgewood campus as that is where the only fully bilingual Honours class was at the time of data collection. The snowball sampling technique was employed to enlist participants. This is a non-probability sampling technique that is used to identify potential participants based on the conceptual framework and objectives of the study; those participants identified initially are then asked to refer the researcher to participants from the same contexts as themselves (Durrheim & Painter, 2014; Kelly, 2014). Kelly (2014) explains that non-probability sampling techniques are typically used in qualitative research because such studies seek cases that possess features that can provide subjective, rich and relevant information about the particular context being explored.

In this study, students were identified as participants of interest because as students they are most directly affected by the implementation of the bilingual policy at the institution. Their current studies and future career opportunities are heavily affected by institutional policies (Chetty, 2013; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). To gather the sample, the researcher first approached students as they were walking around campus and asked if they would be willing to participate in a confidential interview about their perceptions of the institution's bilingual policy. Those who agreed gave their contact details to the researcher, and a time and private place were agreed upon for the interview. After each interview the participants were asked to refer the researcher to other students who may be interested. The sample size was not predetermined; the researcher sampled to the point of information redundancy, which is when new interviewees seem to be mentioning the same issues as previous interviewees and no new critical information is arising (Kelly, 2014; Silverman, 2005; Wengraf, 2001). The sample comprised three males and eleven females, nine of whom were isiZulu speaking, and included one representative of each of the following language groups: Tswana, Chichewa, Xhosa, Shona, and Igbo. The students varied in their

courses and levels of study (for a diagrammatical representation of these demographics see Appendix 7).

3.4.2. Data Collection Procedure

Data collection consisted of semi-structured separate interviews between the researcher and each of the participants. Interviews are a good method for exploring subjective perspectives as they allow freedom of expression. Interviewees can talk about an issue in the way that they wish to, without being limited by the space provided for answers on paper, nor by the specific way a written question is formulated (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Silverman, 2005; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2014). Each student that was approached by the researcher had the study described to her/him and was asked if s/he was willing to participate in a private interview. Those who agreed to participate were provided with informed consent forms (see Appendix 5), the contents of which were also explained by the researcher. They then provided consent and confirmed that they understood by signing the form and handing it back to the researcher. These forms also granted the researcher permission to record the interviews with audio tape recorders, and the researcher also made quick, short notes (Silverman, 2005).

3.4.2.1. Instrument

The data collection instrument was an interview schedule (see Appendices 6A and 6B) created by the researcher. It consisted of open-ended questions that were formulated by the researcher based on the literature and previous studies related to the topic (Chetty, 2013; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Mashele, 2013; Molefe, 2013; Paxton, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Each question sought to explore the participants' perspectives on an issue identified in this literature. The questions were open-ended in that they identified the specific issue to be discussed, but also allowed the participants the flexibility to elaborate in their own ways. In this way, participants were able to describe how they perceived the issue and provided rich descriptions of their perspectives. This flexibility also allowed the researcher to pursue cues and seek further elaboration on related issues that the participants raised during their answers (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Silverman, 2005; Wengraf, 2001).

3.4.2.2. Challenges

This study had initially aimed to explore the perspectives of a diverse sample of UKZN students, UKZN lecturers as they are expected to implement the policy, as well as selected members of UKZN management who had been involved in the amendments made to the institution's language policy. Some staff members initially said that they were willing to be

interviewed but were never available each time the researcher requested an appointment, others stated they did not have time, while the rest said that they were simply not interested. Most of the students who were approached by the researcher were not willing to be interviewed. Some said that they did not know anything about the policy, others said they did not want to talk about it, referring to the policy in negative terms. Some White and Indian students and some White staff members stated that they did not want to appear racist by saying what they truly felt about the policy. This possibly came up because the researcher in this study is a Black African student. The researcher acknowledges this possible researcher bias but is confident about the steps taken to ensure diversity, even within the demographics of the eventual sample. Additionally, the data offered by the fourteen willing student participants – identified as the stakeholders who are the most directly affected by any changes in the institution's language policy – was rich enough for a comprehensive analysis and understanding of perspectives of UKZN's bilingual policy. Furthermore, literature and language policies state that as Black African students, they are the students who have been and continue to be most affected by language choice in education generally in South Africa (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002; Paxton, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; UKZN Language Policy, 2014).

3.4.3. Data Analysis

Analysis began from the first interview. Theoretically relevant issues that were raised by each participant were noted by the researcher and explored with that participant as well as with consequent participants. All the audio tapes were transcribed by the researcher during the data collection period. The notes made during the interviews were also summarised on each transcription (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Silverman, 2005). All the interviews with participants who had an English-only learning experience at the university were conducted mostly in English as per their preferences, with only a few terms uttered in isiZulu, which the researcher typed out verbatim with their translations in brackets next to them. The participants from the bilingual Honours class each asked to be interviewed in isiZulu after the researcher asked them which of the two languages they preferred that the interview be conducted in. These interviews were also transcribed verbatim. Extracts that were selected as examples for the Results and Discussion chapter have been presented verbatim alongside their English translations. The researcher employed thematic analysis, following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide, to identify patterns within and across interviews. They state that the key to identifying a theme is to ask whether it contains crucial information that answers one or all of the research questions. Although the guide to identifying these themes is in step-by-step form, the authors

highlight that it is a recursive process, where an analyst can move between different steps as needed, and not necessarily in a linear or circular fashion. The steps followed were:

(a) Familiarisation with the data

This involves reading the entire data set repeatedly in order to be familiar with everything that was said by all participants, and to do the initial identification of possible patterns within and between interviews. The researcher in this study conducted all the interviews and transcribed all of them herself. While transcribing she made notes of issues that were brought up that were relevant to her topic and were of interest in terms of the objectives of the study. She also made notes of similarities and differences between what was said by different interviewees, as well as things that may, interestingly, have been contradictory to what a single interviewee may have said initially. She also consolidated the notes that she had made during the interviews, with their corresponding transcript. She then printed all the transcripts and read through each one.

(b) Generating initial codes

When reading the transcripts for the second time, the researcher started highlighting and underlining, and putting stars above key terms and utterances that appeared to be of particular interest in answering the research questions. These initial codes were then categorised numerically on each interview. The same numerical categorisations were used within and across interview transcriptions.

(c) Searching for themes

This step involved identifying broader themes amongst the coded data. Some of the codes became initial broader themes, some became their sub-themes, while other codes remained as just that, for later review. The initial names given to the themes were based on the key words in the data extracts, in relation to the broader linguistic ideologies and social constructions identified in the literature.

(d) Reviewing themes

Data extracts from the electronic copies of the transcripts were copied and pasted under each theme, then the researcher reread each transcript in its entirety to see if she had missed anything, if an extract seemed to belong under a different theme, or if some needed to be discarded. Some of the extracts no longer seemed to belong under certain themes in relation to

other extracts that were also pasted under it; the researcher then came up with new themes, collapsed some into one theme, and came up with new sub-themes for other broader themes.

(e) Defining and naming themes

The researcher then read the entire list of themes and their extracts again, typing out her interpretations as she went along, based on the significant issues contained in the literature she had reviewed.

(f) Producing the report

After reading the entire Review of Literature chapter again, the researcher went back to the Results and Discussion chapter containing the themes and her interpretations of the data. She did this to see if the entire chapter flowed coherently and answered all the research questions and to make sure she had not misinterpreted the data in relation to the literature.

3.5.   Credibility, Validity and Trustworthiness

To defend their claims, research studies need to show that their design and processes are valid and dependable (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 1999; Silverman, 2005). Quantitative studies generally adhere to the rules and regulations of validity and reliability. The former requires that the study show how the instrument chosen to collect data measures what it claims to measure. Standardised units of measurements are therefore used in a standardised manner to objectively measure the same units across different contexts. Reliability requires that the results of the study be replicable in those different contexts (Golafshani, 2003; Silverman, 2005). The quantitative definitions and requirements of validity and reliability have been found to be inapplicable in qualitative research because in the latter the instruments of measurements tend to be the researchers themselves, who bring their subjective theoretical perspectives into the study processes, thus shaping the study processes and having an influence on the context under study. Additionally, data that tends to be measured in qualitative research is perceived as context-dependent and interpretation thus has to include the particular features of that context and how it influences the conclusions arrived at. These conclusions therefore cannot be expected to be generalised and replicable outside the context within which they were formed. Qualitative researchers instead focus on demonstrating credibility, validity and trustworthiness of their research processes and conclusions. This is done by displaying how decisions made for a qualitative study design are coherent, that the methods chosen were applied rigorously, and that the conclusions arrived at are valid and defensible. This is typically done by leaving an audit trail

for potential readers (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 1999; Silverman, 2005).

An audit trail is a rich, exhaustive description of a study's design and processes, detailing how the study was formulated and conducted, right up to how the conclusions were arrived at. This detailed description allows reviewers and other readers to audit the credibility and validity of the research. This entire dissertation serves as an audit trail for such purposes. Each interview has been transcribed verbatim and one of them is attached under the appendices section (see Appendix 8) as a representative example. Another aspect of the dissertation that serves to demonstrate the credibility of this researcher is the use of researcher reflexivity. This is when a researcher illuminates the theoretical perspective within which they perceive the research problems, study design, and study results. This allows any reader of the study to contextualise the concepts used to describe the research problem, the selection of methodology, and the framework within which the results were interpreted. This dissertation makes it clear that this study's design and processes have been formulated within an interpretive framework. During the analysis stage the researcher went back and forth between the interview transcriptions and the Review of Literature and Results and Discussion chapters in an effort to seek out any theoretical misinterpretations. This ensures that conclusions arrived at by the researcher are embedded in literature and not just assumed by the researcher (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Patton, 1999).

The validity of the data has been ensured by the use of rich exhaustive data, comparison, triangulation, and member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 1999; Silverman, 2005). Sampling to the point of information redundancy ensured that participants' accounts were not selected due to bias but were instead explored exhaustively. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to allow interviewees to speak exhaustively about the pre-identified issues as well as to elaborate on aspects that may not have already been identified by the interviewer. All interviews were recorded with audio tape recorders to ensure that all this data was captured. Comparison entails that researchers do not just seek participants who will confirm their study hypotheses, but also search for potential disconfirming cases, in other words participants from the same context who might provide different perspectives to those already identified. Seeking a diversity of perspectives is also knows as triangulation, which is data collection with different instruments and/or from different perspectives. This study opted to interview students from different levels of undergraduate and postgraduate studies, from different faculties, from different linguistic

and national backgrounds, and select both males and females. The participants' differences in terms of their experiences with bilingual instruction contributed different angles of perception of the bilingual policy. Additionally, the questions in the interview schedules were worded to ask about the same particular issue in different ways, to ascertain whether participants remain consistent in their perspectives or change them according to the way a that issue is asked. Comparison also applies during the process of data analysis, by seeking themes that may potentially disconfirm those that have been identified. This was also done by the researcher. During the interviews, member checking, a form of validating the researcher's interpretation of the data by asking the speaker to confirm or disconfirm that interpretation in real time, was employed by the researcher. In instances of misinterpretation, the interviewees had the opportunity to clarify (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 1999; Silverman, 2005).

3.6. Ethical Considerations

There are four main ethical principles that researchers need to adhere to when designing and conducting research involving human participants (Wassenaar, 2014). First, researchers ought to respect the autonomy and dignity of their participants. Second is the principle of nonmaleficence, which states that no harm or wrongdoing should befall the participants as a consequence of taking part in the research. Third is beneficence, which states that the benefits that result from the knowledge gained through the research findings should apply to the participants and their communities the most. These benefits could either be a better understanding of the aspects under study in their context, or through positive changes that the research findings may influence in that context. Additionally, this principle also stipulates that the benefits gained from the research should outweigh any possible risk that the study processes may contain. The fourth ethical principle, justice, requires that participants be treated with fairness and equity by the researcher from the time they are selected to take part in the research. This means that only people who stand to benefit the most from the study results should participate in it, and the researcher ought to provide all necessary care and support that the participants may require as a result of taking part in the study (Wassenaar, 2014). Emmanuel, Wendler, Killen and Grady (2004) elaborate on eight guidelines that Wassenaar (2014) states can serve as practical implications of these four principles. These eight guidelines will be explained below, along with the application of each in this study.

To ensure that ethical principles will be adhered to, Emmanuel et al. (2004) caution that a study's proposed protocol should be reviewed and approved by an independent ethics

committee before it commences. This study proposal was completed on the UKZN Human and Social Sciences Masters/PhD research proposal and ethical clearance application form. The form was then submitted to the University's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, who reviewed and approved the study protocol, and sent a letter of approval to the researcher (see Appendix 3). The letter also contains this study's protocol reference number, which is HSS/0631/014M. In addition, the UKZN Registrar provided a gatekeeper's letter granting the researcher permission to conduct research at the University (see Appendix 4). All sampling and data collection processes only commenced once the researcher had obtained these letters.

When the study began, a fair selection of participants was ensured despite the challenges that were faced during the sampling phase. All the participants who were willing to participate in the study are recognised in literature as those who are most affected by educational language policies in South Africa, and therefore stand to benefit the most from any knowledge gained through this study (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002; Paxton, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; UKZN Language Policy, 2014). This fair selection also meant that the guideline of a favourable risk/benefit ratio was realised. The potential benefits to the participants were carefully considered by the researcher before the sampling process ceased. Potential risks were also considered (Emmanuel et al., 2004). The only possible risk that the researcher identified was that participants may feel coerced into participating if they perceive the research as having the potential to affect their studies. It was explained during the sampling process that the participants' confidentiality would be ensured, and that the research would not affect the students' educational life in any way. Nonetheless, some potential participants were unwilling to participate, some stating that they did not want to appear racist because of their comments. These perceptions were respected by the researcher and only those who were voluntarily willing to participate were selected to take part. Additionally, because the researcher was a bilingual instructor at UKZN at the time of data collection, her students and former students were excluded from the sampling frame to avoid any bias that may have arisen from interviewing them for the study.

Those who offered to provide their perspectives to the researcher were given informed consent forms to ensure that they knew everything they needed to know about the study and were able to exercise their autonomy by giving informed and voluntary consent to be interviewed (Emmanuel et al., 2004; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). Although none of the interviewees' anonymity could be ensured due to the presence of an interviewer, their confidentiality was

nonetheless ensured with the researcher assuring them that their real names would not appear on the research dissemination document. Furthermore, because their responses were recorded on audio tape and not written by them, there is no way anyone other than the researcher can identify participants through their transcribed responses. The informed consent forms where the participants' names appear, as well as the audio tapes where their voices can be heard, are locked away by the researcher and will be discarded at an appropriate time. The study posed no harm to any of the participants, and the informed consent form informed the participants of their right to withdraw from the study at any point that they wished to, without any risk of any consequences. They were also provided with the contact details of the researcher, the study supervisors, as well as the ethics committee in case they perceived any maleficence. The form's contents and the protection of study data material were included in the study processes as required by the ethical guidelines of informed consent, as well as ongoing respect for participants and study communities (Emmanuel et al., 2004).

The guideline regarding social value states that a study should add knowledge that will be of value to the participants under study as well as to their context (Emmanuel et al., 2004). The dissemination of this research aims to inform stakeholders at UKZN of perspectives regarding the changes that have been made to the language policy. These perspectives may have gone undiscovered without the use of this study's research design and processes. By reading the results of this study, policymakers may become aware of the perspectives of students on whom they rely for the acceptance and smooth implementation of the language policy. Lecturing staff and students may also become aware of the perspectives that informed the formulation of the language policy, perspectives that may not necessarily be made explicit on official UKZN documentation. The information contained in this study report is thus hoped to be of benefit to not only the individuals who participated, but also all stakeholders at the institution (Emmanuel et al., 2004; Wassenaar, 2014; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012).

The ethical requirement of scientific validity requires that a study employs a valid and rigorous design and methodology (Emmanuel et al., 2004). The researcher ensured this by following Maxwell's (2005) interactive model (Appendix 1) and by checking periodically that the study elements remained coherent and scientifically valid. Finally, as a requirement of the last ethical principle, collaborative partnership, this study also gave each of the stakeholders an opportunity to provide their recommendations for the implementation of the policy at the University (Emmanuel et al., 2004). They were also asked to raise any issues they wished to

raise in addition to the questions that were asked by the researcher, with the continued assurance of their identities remaining confidential.

3.7. Conclusion

The details outlined above provide a comprehensive description of the study processes and the guidelines that were followed. They also demonstrate that the data collection and analysis methods employed are valid and that the researchers' interpretation of the data is credible and trustworthy. Furthermore, the critical ethical issues that were considered are described in detail, along with the steps that were taken to ensure that all ethical guidelines were followed.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1.   Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis process are presented in the form of the themes and sub-themes that were identified in the participants' responses to the three main questions. These themes, and discussions of them, are supported with extracts that the researcher perceived as the best representation of them. The first portion of the discussion is about the participants' general perspectives on bilingual tuition, followed by their perspectives on the benefits and challenges, while the third portion is about their recommendations for the implementation of bilingual tuition at the institution. For purposes of identification, the isiZulu speaking participants who have experienced bilingual tuition are represented by the letters 'BZ'. IsiZulu speakers who have had English-only tuition are represented by the letters 'EOZ'. The non-isiZulu speaking participants who have only experienced English-only tuition are represented by the letters 'EONZ'. Finally, the latter two groups of participants are represented by the letters 'EO' when grouped together.

4.2.   UKZN Black African students' general perspectives on the IsiZulu/English bilingual instruction programme at the institution

4.2.1.   Othering

The EO participants seemed to perceive isiZulu-speaking students as existing in two different categories, according to their levels of proficiency in English. This perception formed the basis of their perceptions of the relevance of isiZulu as a teaching language at UKZN. They suggested that the only students who required what they perceived as remedial tuition in isiZulu were those who struggle to understand English, and who they described as coming from disadvantaged Black rural and township schools, which are commonly known as former Black DET schools (Department of Bantu Education, 1962; Banda, 2000; MacDonald, 1990; Probyn, 2001; Reagan, 1987; Setati et al., 2002; Vermeulen, 2001), and.

EOZ3: "*...we coming from different uhm families and those who had the better education of course they understand. And then there are people who are coming from like, from certain villages, those people it even I don't know, those people are shy to even participate, because they're scared that other students will laugh at them if they just speak and it's not the proper English….That's why it's I think it's quite important for us to to to introduce the language, so that the the people that are I don't know, that are coming from these backgrounds and coming to varsity can also you know be able to to what maybe participate.*"

The BZ participants also separated students into categories, but only by race, mother tongue, and nationality. Two of them mentioned that they come from rural schools but did not state this as the reason why they understand isiZulu better than English. In their perspective, they understand isiZulu better simply because it is their mother tongue. One BZ participant, though, suggested during one of her responses that some isiZulu speakers who have never been taught through isiZulu know English more and isiZulu is now like a second language to them. This seems to be in line with the EOZ participants' perceptions of their linguistic proficiencies.

4.2.1.1. IsiZulu is foreign to us

The BZ participants emphasised that isiZulu is a more familiar language to isiZulu speakers in general than English, which is a borrowed language and one that no Black South African will be as proficient in as English speakers.

BZ2:

IsiZulu	English
"*Well ukufunda ngesiNgisi, uma ufunda ngesiNgisi eh okokuqala iqiniso elikhona isiNgisi and akuyona i-first language yethu. Noma ngabe ungasenza nge first language esikoleni, but the fact is angeke uze ufane nomlungu, ngeke ufane nanoma ubani ozalwe nje kuyi first language yakhe.*"	"*Well studying in English, when you study in English eh the first thing is the truth is that it's English and it's not our first language. Even if you do it as a first language in school, but the fact is you won't be like a White person, you won't be like anyone who was born with it as their first language.*"

The perspective of these participants was that the only students who might find it difficult to learn in isiZulu would be those for whom it is not a mother tongue which was the opposite of the EOZ participants' perception.

All the EOZ suggested that studying in isiZulu would be hard for them and they find it easier to learn in English. This perspective could be perceived as ironic being expressed by isiZulu speakers, but as one of them explained, some isiZulu speaking students have acquired their entire education in English in former White Model C schools. Even in former Black DET schools the language of tuition is English from Grade 5 to Grade 12. IsiZulu is only used as a supplementary language of teaching informally by teachers when they speak. All formal

written work is in English, other than for isiZulu when it is learnt as a subject (Masitsa, 2004; Nel & Müller, 2010; Probyn, 2001; Setati et al., 2002; Vermeulen, 2001). SAPIHEs are also still either English-medium, or parallel medium using English and Afrikaans (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Paxton, 2009; Webb, 2002).

EOZ2: "*Because, I mean ngifunda ngesiNgisi (I study in English) I've I I I we- I've since creche I've been to like a multiracial school. English is the main language of communication that you use in class, and also because of the other races enidlala nawo ema groundini (that you play with on the playgrounds) and all of that, you have to use English. And the more you use English, the more you subconsciously you know underuse the the mother tongue. I mean I remember even for me, isiZulu ngangisikhuluma ekhaya (I spoke isiZulu at home). Uhm when I left home I would speak English simply because of my friends and and class.*"

Cummins's (1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009) concept of subtractive bilingualism talks about cases where students start learning in a foreign language too early, that is before they can establish sufficient levels of cognitive development in their mother tongue. The concept explains that a typical student in this case is likely to go through the education system with inadequate levels of cognitive development and vocabulary in both languages and misses the opportunity to gain adequate knowledge at each phase of their education. Cummins (1980, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009) goes on to explain that some of these students may appear to be proficient in those languages because they can demonstrate basic interpersonal communication skills in them, but that is what their proficiency is likely to be limited to. Studies in South African schools and SAPIHEs have found that most Black South African students lack adequate meaningful knowledge and linguistic proficiencies in either of the languages they can speak, which includes their own home languages (Angelil-Carter & Moore, 1998; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Heugh, 2000; Paxton, 2009).

All the EOZ participants perceived their proficiency in English to be better than their proficiency in their mother tongue, even though some of them said that they understood content better when they translated it into isiZulu in their heads, or when they discussed it in isiZulu with their friends. One of the participants had earlier described his former schools as ones where teachers made use of code-switching and said that this made content clearer, but he also later said that he finds it easier to study in English than in isiZulu.

EOZ1: "*I think coming from a background where it has been happening the most, the schools I go to, the high schools I went, there, you know, there were many Black teachers that were teaching in IsiZulu, which their home language is IsiZulu. So mostly when they taught us they would mix things up. So, in that way the student are more comfortable and eh, because their home language is infused within whatever subject they are, they are being taught and somehow I think most things they get, ya, they get clearer.*"

EOZ1: "*…even now I'm a bit intimidated now about learning in isiZulu than learning in English. Because there are many theories, there are many books that have been established in English. And of which I can easily relate to, when I'm reading in English than when I have to go in isiZulu.*"

Another participant had repeatedly said that her grandmother had always taught her isiZulu at home and that she had even created a pocket dictionary when she was in high school.

EOZ3: "*...at home, I still had to do my Zulu with my Gran, she taught me Zulu, like nje (just) as a home language. They were just like ya I need to learn Zulu. Which was more than the ones that were learning at school. My material was quite stronger than what they learnt at school. So I would help out the Zulu students AT school, which is more fascinating, very interesting actually. They would borrow MY material from home.*"

Then she also later said:
EOZ3: "*I was communicating with this lady in Zulu, and my Zulu isn't the perfect Zulu, so I brought my Grandmother with me, so even my transcriptions they're just like a hard thing to do. Ya, she she knew better. She knew the the best terms for that. But my spelling and writing it's not so bad.*"

One of participants simply said she does not like isiZulu, and strongly condemned UKZN's bilingual policy.

EOZ5: "*I like English. Uhm no I feel like okay I don't like isiZulu okay personally. I love okay I'm Black but I did my, when I was in Matric I did Afrikaans. Uhm so I feel uh for me it's just like uh for me I wouldn't think that there's a need.*"

When one looks at the different socioeconomic, intellectual and developmental associations the EOZ participants made with proficiencies in isiZulu and in English, it appeared that by suggesting that isiZulu is foreign to them they were distancing themselves from people who they perceive to lack proficiency in English.

4.2.1.2.   Socioeconomic and intellectual ranking

Another general perception that some EO participants highlighted is that Black Africans tend to rank each other socially, economically and intellectually according to one's proficiency in English. The closer a Black African's accent and vocabulary is perceived to be to White people's, the higher the socioeconomic ranking they are assigned by others. They are also perceived to be intelligent. When one sounds like they have poor proficiency in English they are perceived as academically challenged and of a very low socioeconomic ranking.

EOZ2: "*Uhm, okay I think English in itself is a it's a power language. If you know English VERY WELL, if you can speak English very well, you can write it very well it's good, uhm, you're at a level of power nje (just) just by being-, when you know people that speak English very very well they are highly esteemed versus umuntu opatanisayo isiNgisi sakhe and you know oshawa uJoji (a person who struggles with their English and you know sometimes gets it wrong). That person they actually become ridiculed by society just because they are not very affluent or their accent is not good enough. So English is a very powerful tool.*"

EONZ1: "*Well I mean in the current situation yes it does. Uh because people, I don't know, have an association of [English] fluency with intelligence. I think we all do it. If someone's got a funny accent you're like mhmm you tend to doubt what they're saying.*"

EONZ5: "*If if anything sometimes we feel that when when people are brought up in English because of this sense of uhm of being you know uhm [if you] speak very fluent English you feel like you're much better than than the rest. And so you find yourself in a situation where uhm if you like others others begin to feel oh I think I think this I do not belong to this class because this is [people who do belong in it] speak better English.*"

This perception could be the main reason the EOZ participants made it a point to distance themselves from the category of students they described as struggling to understand English and in need of remedial isiZulu tuition.

4.2.2. English represents modernity & the future, isiZulu represents the past and rural or township life

The EOZ participants who mentioned that proficiency in isiZulu would allow students to communicate better with people all over KZN tended to describe those people as old and rural. Also, those who mentioned the benefits of isiZulu speakers improving their knowledge of the language suggested that knowing their mother tongue was necessary because it represented where they come from. They mentioned this figuratively, making references to one's identity, roots, and cultural background, as well as literally, making references to grandparents' homes. Knowledge in English though was described as a better education, modern, and one that could facilitate a students' progress in life.

EOZ2: "*I mean I know maw' sebenzis' isNgisi (when you use English) you're at SUCH an advantage, that you even forget ukuthi (that) hey, you're actually there for other people as well, and if you are constantly using that language laba abany' abant' abangak' understand(i) kahle kahle (the people who don't quite understand you) they are excluded. And that also builds up some, I don't know, misunderstanding somewhere somehow. And also, this whole thing ukuthi uyay' tshela, ama model C (of being a snob, "model C's"), it comes from that. Because it's not because uyay' tshela or uyi model C (you're a snob or a "model C"), but it's because you're at a BETTER advantage of knowing MORE, and you know better than them, because they don't understand les' Ngis' os'khulumayo (the type of English that you're speaking).*"

EOZ3: ""*Well, I would want my kids to learn Zulu, well of course we all want our children to get a better education, of course they'll have to learn English....I had to choose between Zulu and Afrikaans, I chose Afrikaans. But when I came back, at home, I still had to do my Zulu with my Gran, she taught me Zulu, like just as a mother tongue. They were just like ya I need to learn Zulu....Like my grandparents you know I was brought up by my grandparents and they have really strong feelings towards the language. Well we don't really practice any traditions it's just a matter of knowing the language...we must know the language, we must, even though we are exposed to English and these modern and westernised ways, but still you must know where you come from and YOUR language that identifies you.*"

One participant also said that in his department he had observed that some students do feel that African art is inferior to Western art.

EOZ1: "*…an artistic expression is something that comes from within, so it can't always be as eh translated into another language, or you can't be taught well you know from that language. So people they need to be a bit more loose about that, and there is nothing wrong about it you know, eh because people some people they are looking for that essence, in fact some people they are feeling that eh the English eh culture is outweighing the African culture especially in South Africa. Uh because in most works, most works uhm are articulated or are presented in a sense that hints a lot of modernisation or Western influences within them. And then some people they think that that's the way to go, you know, and they started looking down on themselves, and hiding their, their individualistic voices, you know.*"

This perception appeared to be another limitation the EO participants perceived with learning in isiZulu; that because knowledge in it is limited to the past and rural life, that's where possessing such knowledge will limit you. By describing knowledge in English as better and modern, it seems the EO participants perceive it as synonymous with advancement.

4.2.3.   Blaming the victim

Some EO participants suggested that students who struggle to learn in English currently do so because they are too lazy to make the extra effort to learn English.

EOZ4: "*But for Black people, Black people who are lazy some of them will choose Zulu, and then they still won't know English. So it's not gonna, it'll benefit some people but it won't benefit everyone. Coz some people will choose their comfortable language.*"

These two participants added that they themselves make the effort to understand something better if they did not understand it in class, implying that if they could, then any other student can too.

EONZ4: "*I think that goes hand in hand with being lazy. If you know that you don't understand something, then try and understand it. What's the point of saying, 'no I don't get this then I don't wanna be a part of it I don't wanna know what it means', when it could probably improve something in your life? When I don't understand something I search for sources that will help me understand. So if you don't understand a language then I mean it's easier to try and learn the basic things, to understand what's happening. So if you're not trying to understand then it's not the [fault of the] person who's teaching you. It's your fault coz you're not trying. And*

we, it's okay for the lecturer to teach you, but if you don't go out and try to get some more information just for yourself then you're not learning anything."

EOZ1: "*And when you get to the university there are many modules you can choose from. I don't know now what it's called, but when I came here I did a course called Academic Communication Studies. Yes, of which uhm, there are some other courses also, that give you a brief insight on how to read and write effectively in an academic context. So in my understanding you can't pass your matric without passing English at school. So if you have basic English skill[s] from the school you came from, I don't feel really that you should [feel] excluded at the university, you know, environment. If there is that case, there are English language courses at the university, eh that can boost your language skills. And there's also like this effective writing, you know, module I was talking about, of which could boost your reading academic things you know or things that are in academic context or writing also....And then also it's up to the students also, to take opportunities to enquire. They MUST enquire. They MUST trouble themselves.*"

Some of the EO participants suggested that people who lacked adequate proficiency in English are unsuitable for access into tertiary institutions. They mentioned that for learners to be accepted into university it meant that they had a basic proficiency in English which meant that they knew enough to learn in it. They pointed this out because even former Black DET schools with only Black South African learners and teachers are English-medium schools. Even though the teachers informally make use of code-switching when they speak, all reading and writing of schoolwork, tests and exams must be in English (Masitsa, 2004; Nel & Müller, 2010; Probyn, 2001; Setati et al., 2002; Vermeulen, 2001)). The EO participants' perception, therefore, is that if learners can pass matric in any school in South Africa, they possess adequate proficiency of English to learn in it. This means that if a learner does not understand English well enough to learn in it like other students from schools similar to theirs, then that person should not have been accepted into university. Additionally, the university should not have to lower its academic standards for everyone else who is capable, just to accommodate those who are not, because in the work context that apparent incapability will not be accommodated.

EOZ4: "*Why come to university if you can't study in English?*"

EOZ5: "*But I feel as though like if you need to pass high school with that English then you can learn during varsity. I think we, like it's making. I'm thinking most varsity's like beebering like*

beebering [the participant meant to say 'baby-ing', as in treating them like babies] people...We're trying to make society so comfortable so that where everyone passes and everyone gets their degree but when people go out into the world then it's like okay well we're not equipped for this. So I feel as though like we have to sort of strip away a few things. If people are struggling I don't think we can accommodate that. I don't think we have to change the whole system to accommodate, just to accommodate for this particular time and then afterwards it's like okay well you got your degree goodbye, we're done."

An EONZ participant described fellow students from deep Zululand as not knowing basic communicative English and needing to use hand gestures when communicating with them, as if they were dumb or deaf. In actual fact, having passed matric in South Africa and qualifying for university entry meant that those students did have at the very least some basic proficiency in English, but this participant described them as not even being able to speak or hear English.

EONZ2: "*Because I know when you're doing group assignments and you come across a person who can't speak very good English they're like from deep Zululand or somewhere and you're trying to explain to them and they're getting frustrated at the fact that you as a Black person don't understand what they're saying. Which it would be different if they knew English, basic English, then it would help the movement of work coz we sit there and it's like 'how do I explain this to you?' And then you're doing hand gestures and all these things, it's it's a problem, it's a big problem.*"

These participants' perspectives do not take into account that academic content can be represented in any language, and that just because one does not understand content represented in English it does not automatically mean that they would not understand it if it were represented in a language that they are more familiar with (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Contrary to the EO participants' perspective that students who struggle to understand content in English are lazy and do not make the effort to study more to try to understand better, one of the BZ participants described her learning experience as an example of how working harder does not mean that one will now understand a foreign language better. She explained the differences she perceived in her learning experiences when she was taught using code-switching in high school, when she did her undergraduate studies in English only, and when she did her Honours bilingually.

BZ3:

IsiZulu	English
Mina nje uyabo njengoba ngikhuluma ngikhuluma ngingubufakazi obuphathekayo….ema high school thina ebesifunda ke sifunde emakhaya, othisha basemakhaya bajwayele ukusebenzisa i-switch-code, sithi i-switch-code kasiZulu kodwa i-code-switching ngesiNgisi. Bajwayele ukusebenzisa leyoyinto leyo. Ngingasho ukuthi ukusilekelela kwabo ukuthi ba code-switch(e) noma ba switch-code(e) kusisizile ngoba sakwazi ukuthi saphasa and sasuka lapho ezikoleni zasemakhaya sazi ukuthi sihlakaniphile siya understand(a) kanti asiboni ukuthi senziwa ilendlela ababenza ngayo….Uma ngifika la e-university ngathola ukuthi akukhali code-switching, ziyi English kuphela. Ngavele nje angazi kwavele kwaphela konke kwaphela konke. Ngagcina ngingumuntu manje kade ngizazi ukuthi nje yabo nje ngiyisqengqe ngagcina manje ngiyi hard worker ke ukuze ngiphase, kufanele ngisebenze kanzima, nakhona ngisebenzela ukuthi uma ngifike ku-60 ngiyobe ngibulele, uyayibo leyo yinto? Kodwa futhi uma sengibuyela esiZulwini sengifunda ngesiZulu kwacaca ukuthi cha, akusikho ukuthi ukufunda lezi zifundo okuyinkinga, okuyinkinga ulimi, engicabanga ukuthi kungcono ngisho nanokuthi kusetshenziswe bona labo switch-code labo, kunokuthi kusale sekuba nje i-English kuphela.	*I'm evidence of this….in high school we that went to we went to rural schools, teachers in rural schools usually use 'switch-code', we say 'switch-code' in isiZulu but it's code-switching in English. They usually use that. I could say that them helping us by code-switching or switch-coding helped us because we were able to pass and we left those rural schools knowing that we were clever and we understand but not realising that it was because of the way they did things. When I got to university I found that there was no code-switching, it's English only. And it just I don't know it all ended it all ended. I ended up being a person who now I had known myself to be a genius and now I was a hard worker so I could pass, I had to work hard, and even then working so that if I get to 60 [percent] I would have aced it, you see? But now when I came back to isiZulu when I was studying in isiZulu it became clear that no, studying these subjects is not the problem, language is the problem, and I think it's better to at least use that switch-code, than for there to just be English only.*

The participant describes herself as having worked hard to achieve average marks in her undergraduate years because she no longer clearly understood the meaning of what she was taught. Even though she says she worked harder than she did in high school and later in Honours, her marks were still much lower. She had said at an earlier stage that her marks in Honours where she was taught using bilingual tuition had improved greatly and were much

higher than the marks she had mentioned for her English-only undergraduate studies. She does not say that at the undergraduate level she sat back and expected the meaning of her schoolwork to be spoon fed to her without her making the effort, she says she worked harder. Despite this though, because there was no teacher or lecturer to explain those meanings in a language that she understood better, she found that she still did not understand fully.

4.2.4. Confusion and misinterpretations of UKZN's bilingual policy

The EO participants expressed that they did not know what the institution's bilingual policy actually said and were confused about some of the things that they had heard about it and about how it would be implemented. Some of them were annoyed with how they assumed it would be rolled out, and about the implications they assumed would result from it.

The BZ participants on the other hand did not express any confusion or frustration with the policy. They instead only expressed praise for the changes and highlighted that it not only now accommodates isiZulu speakers but also does not take away students' opportunities to learn in English.

4.3. UKZN Black African students' perceptions of the benefits and challenges of the bilingual instruction at the institution

4.3.1. Benefits

4.3.1.1. Epistemological access

The main benefit that all the participants mentioned is that including isiZulu as a teaching language at UKZN will afford isiZulu speaking students an opportunity to learn in their mother tongue, the language that they understand quicker and easier. They explained that two factors contribute to some students struggling to understand when they are taught in English. The first is that in their former schools, teachers taught in both English and isiZulu, and most probably used more isiZulu when explaining concepts, which then leads to the second factor. The participants acknowledged that teaching a student in their mother tongue is beneficial because as the teacher you'd be using terminology that the students understands best. One of the EOZ participants added that she had actually "proved" this in her study for a Master of Science degree.

EOZ2: "*I've come to conclude ukuthi (that) students, or learners rather, in high school where they come from like emalokshini (townships) sort of, uhm i'kole that lez' ey'semakhaya (schools that are in the rural areas), the teachers there they do use, I don't know if it's called*

bilingual, but they do code-switching. So that uhm their learners are able to grasp ama concepts better than just using pure formal English and uhm research does conclude ukuthi (that) those kinda learners, they do well because uhm the teachers explain concepts in a language that is familiar to them, so they are able to grasp concepts easier, if the teacher uses English and and isiZulu in class. Sometimes it's more Zulu than English, and they do very well, but the problem is when they come to varsity, and then it's just pure English and futh' hhay ukuthi (it's not that) it's the English that is your everyday English, it's formal English, because it's I mean they are lecturing, they are you know, teaching you new concepts, new theories you know. Can you imagine teaching a theory in isiZulu? Or [rather] teaching a theory in pure English? That the learner [in] first year phum' eskoleni es' seClermont (coming from a school in Clermont), their teacher was using both English and isiZulu. And if I didn't understand, I'd put up my hand and ask in my own language, and because the teacher is Zulu she would understand, and she would come back to me either in Zulu, or in English and is'Zulu for the- for me to understand. So that whole shift, from high school, code-switching, bilingual, to uhm university pure English, I think that's a bit of a shock uhm for most students and that was one of the findings, fortunately enough, uhm that I'd proved in my study uhm last year ukuthi (that) students that do come from disadvantaged schools..."

The BZ participants spoke comprehensively about their experiences of having learnt in English only in their undergraduate studies, and of doing their Honours using both isiZulu and English. Having suggested that anyone can understand academic content quicker and find it clearer if it is taught in their mother tongue, they then went on to describe how they perceived their own experiences. They seemed to share the perception that isiZulu speaking participants have to first translate English content into isiZulu in their heads, whereas they found that when they were taught in isiZulu they understood things immediately. Also, if there was any new concept that was initially unclear they were able to communicate this with their lecturers and understand when the lecturer explained. They stated that this was different from being taught by a lecturer who only spoke English because the students would be too shy to speak up in class because they did not know how to express themselves clearly. One of the participants described how sometimes if one did try to ask a question, they might fail to express themselves clearly enough and the lecturer may then not be able to answer what the student actually wanted to ask, resulting in a missed opportunity for the student to understand what they needed clarity on. One of the participants added that sometimes Black South African students perceive themselves as having understood academic content in English but found that in examinations that they did not fully understand a question to which they had responded incorrectly because,

having been misled by a particular (misunderstood) term, they wrote what they believed was being asked about although they were mistaken.

Although both the EO and the BZ participants agreed that learning in one's mother tongue better facilitates epistemological access than learning in an additional language, the two groups of participants differed in their perceptions of the levels to which the integration of isiZulu should be afforded at UKZN. EO participants want it to remain as a supplementary remedial tool at lower levels of study to assist students to understand English academic content better while they work towards understanding the English language better. BZ participants on the other hand perceived the formal use of isiZulu in their Honours class as not only a means to make the meaning of content clearer, but as also having given them an opportunity to speak freely with their lecturers and participate in discussions that led to further learning. The BZ participants were less concerned with learning the English language but were more concerned with understanding the meaning of their academic content.

4.3.1.2. Linguistic and social transformation
4.3.1.2.1. Language development

All the BZ and some of the EO participants suggested that including isiZulu as a general language of teaching and learning, would require that it be developed as a language of academia. Concepts and terms will have to be translated, while some will have to be developed. Some participants added that this could then place isiZulu on the same academic level as existing languages of instruction, such as English.

4.3.1.2.2. Language and cultural preservation

One of the benefits that the BZ and some of the EO participants mentioned was that isiZulu speakers who learnt in their mother tongue would now retain and improve proficiency of their own language and take pride in it; this contrasts with the current situation where the youth communicate amongst themselves in English only and perceive their mother tongue as inferior. Some EOZ participants expressed that because their academic knowledge is in English, they find themselves having to think harder when they want to write in isiZulu.

EOZ3: "*Because now mina (I) I stay in the township and there's a lot of that now, like people don't know the actual. It's either you just don't know English, or your Zulu is just is just wrong.*"

One of the EONZ participants also mentioned that developing isiZulu will also mean that its cultural practices and beliefs which are currently being passed down verbally, as per African tradition, may be preserved in writing and taught to a wider audience. This can ensure that the culture does not die with the elders who possess its knowledge verbally only.

EONZ1: "*So for me I think uhm there's a lot of knowledge, coming from a scientific perspective, there's a lot of knowledge that is not necessarily documented because we don't have the words for it. But, learning now in isiZulu and English would allow those people to also document what they know, because it's not that African people haven't been doing anything, they have, it's just that they don't record stuff. This could be a platform I think for that. So I think that it has a purpose.*"

Two of the BZ participants suggested that language preservation was the reason they chose to study their Honours in isiZulu instead of in English. They mentioned that they had observed that the current and most recent generations of Black isiZulu speaking school children prefer and know English more than isiZulu. One participant pointed out that the current generation also seem to be more knowledgeable of Western customs and have little or no knowledge of African culture, traditions and the ways that Africans are expected to behave and treat each other.

BZ1:

IsiZulu	English
"*Kuyenzeka ngoba izingane, akengithathe njengomzali ozozala ingane manje. Uzoyithatha lengane ayise esikoleni sabelungu noma sabamhlophe. Lapho esikoleni sabamhlophe uzofika afunde konke mayelana nolwimi lwesiNgisi, afunde amasiko, okubalwa kuyo inhlonipho, indlela yokuziphatha, ephathelene nje nosiko lwaseNtshonalanga. Uzobe eseyakhohlwa ngalolu olwakhe ngani ngoba akekho omgqugquzelayo, noma akekho omnakelelela ukuthi alukhulume, azi namasiko akhona, ahambhele nezindawo lezi zamagugu esintu akwaZulu. Kungenzeka kumshaye lokho, agcine nje esewele ngale unomphela, kulolu lwabamhlophe.*"	"*It does happen because children, let me take a parent who will give birth to a child now. They'll take that child to a school for White people. In that school [that child] will learn everything associated with English, learn their traditions, amongst them being respect, how one should carry themselves, to do with just Western traditions. [That child] will then forget their own [language] why because no one is encouraging them, or no one is taking care that they speak it, and that they know their traditions, and that they go to places that showcase African isiZulu treasures. That may damage [that child], they may end up crossing over to the side for good, the White people's side.*"

One of the participants added that she did debating in school and had an experience where she realised she was better at it in English than in isiZulu, which made her realise that the isiZulu language was slowly becoming extinct in the rural areas, so she wants to put a stop to that.

4.3.1.2.3. Social integration

Another aspect of transformation that the participants mentioned is that if speakers of other languages learn in isiZulu they'll ultimately learn the language as well, which will lead to them being able to communicate better with isiZulu speakers. Some pointed out that isiZulu is the most widely spoken language in South Africa. They all highlighted that KZN is the home province of the language, so the majority of UKZN students are isiZulu speakers, as well as most of the citizens in the province, some of whom cannot speak any other language. Being proficient in isiZulu, therefore, would allow UKZN students to be able to communicate better with people in the province. One of the EOZ participants suggested that this could lead to higher levels of tolerance between English speakers and isiZulu speakers, because the former would be able to understand the latter's culture and identity. She suggested that the lack of understanding between English and isiZulu speakers is what leads to clashes between the two social groups. Although all the EONZ participants mentioned that NZ students at UKZN will feel excluded in a class where isiZulu is being used to teach, all but one of them added that it

would be a benefit for those students to make the effort to learn the language and be able to communicate in it. When asked for their perspectives regarding the view that EONZ participants will feel excluded in lectures where isiZulu is used to teach, the BZ participants mentioned that those who want to continue to learn in English only should do so. They then added that Black South Africans from other language groups do have some understanding of isiZulu, and that students who do not know isiZulu completely can benefit from learning it as it the language that is most widely spoken in South Africa.

4.3.2.   Challenges
4.3.2.1   The unrelenting hegemony of English

The main challenge that EO participants highlighted is that if they learn in isiZulu, their knowledge will be in isiZulu, which would be useless in the context of work outside of KZN. The EO participants perceive the English language as a power tool that can facilitate upward social mobility for Black South African students with a higher education. They also perceive English as a universal language, one that speakers of different languages nationally and most importantly internationally can communicate in. Consequently, their view is that knowledge in isiZulu only is limiting, while knowledge in and of English can facilitate access to the rest of the world.

4.3.2.1.1. Employability

Employability seemed to be a major concern for the EO participants. They perceived proficiency in English as the main resource for gaining employment in any context, especially internationally, based on their perception that English is a universal language. EO participants pointed out that because tertiary institutions are where people go to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills they will need to gain employment, it is therefore the final opportunity for Black South African students to acquire sufficient proficiency in English to gain access into work contexts. They suggested that teaching Black South African students in isiZulu would take away this opportunity. They also suggested that possessing knowledge in isiZulu would render it useless as it would be unlikely that it could be communicated in a work context with employers and colleagues, who they described as most likely to be proficient in English.

However, some of the participants who insisted that proficiency in English is a prerequisite for employment also suggested that an advantage of UKZN graduates being proficient in isiZulu and knowing their industry's terms and concepts in the language would enable them to communicate better with possible future clients who may not know any languages other than

isiZulu. They stated that there are communication barriers between service providers and some KZN citizens, leading to the need to use the services of translators. The danger with this, one participant identified, is that some translators may know the language but not be experts in the specific context they are translating for, resulting in cases of misinterpretation and misunderstanding. This can be disastrous in life-or-death contexts or contexts of law.

When asked about their perspectives on the view that one needs to be proficient in English in order to gain employment, one of the BZ participants said that she agrees and disagrees with this. She suggested that because most employers are White, proficiency in English is important, but added that one also has a right to respond in one's own language in an interview. Another participant suggested that people who put this view forward use it as an argument against bilingual higher education and want to keep it in English only. She emphasised that all learners pass matric having learnt English and added that doing Honours in isiZulu did not mean that they did not learn anything in English. She suggested that Black South Africans only need English to communicate with White people, and that speaking broken English would not hinder them from gaining employment. The third BZ participant also mentioned that students learn the English language sufficiently in high school to be able to communicate in it, and that learning in isiZulu at a tertiary level does not mean that one will now no longer know English. She then suggested that people should rather ask themselves why South Africans even need to know English to gain employment when there are so many countries that are fully functional but do everything in their native languages. She mentioned China as an example of a country that is much more economically advanced than South Africa but has not needed English to achieve this. These participants' responses indicate that they do not perceive proficiency in English as a function of one's knowledge and skills, but rather perceive the language as required for communication purposes only.

4.3.2.1.2. English as a more legitimate language of academia and economy

The EO participants raised concerns about isiZulu being used to teach while it is underdeveloped as a language of academia and economy. They expressed being worried that while they were being taught in isiZulu, they would miss out on the opportunity to learn critical subject-specific concepts, which are currently only in English – or have been translated into English from other foreign languages – in their university. Their perception that one only needs to be proficient in English to gain employment is another aspect of their perception of English as a more legitimate language of economy. The EO participants perceived tuition in isiZulu as inappropriate for higher knowledge. Some suggested that isiZulu tuition should rather be

implemented at home or in lower levels of education, like pre-school, high school, or at the very latest, as a remedial tool in a foundation course in tertiary studies. This perspective was also expressed by participants in Chetty's (2013) and Dalvit and de Klerk's (date?) studies, as well as students interviewed by Taunyane (2013).

EOZ1: "*Ay, my thinking, is, uhhh, students who are at university, they should all have a basic of English....Ya, but if there are some problems of such, that there are some people being excluded, then the problem is with the Department of Education at lower degree or at lower levels in South Africa which means that where they should fix things. You can't have students coming from the university who are not as good, eh like in English, but to come into like eh university.*"

EONZ5: "*But now I feel like UKZN is fixing a problem that the Education Department should've fixed a long time ago. Why aren't these children being taught in high school and in primary school to be able to communicate BASIC English? Just the basic to be able to get to varsity. To to just for a university requirement to enter you should have basic English shouldn't you?...It should be that it should've been done before they come to university.*"

All participants perceived it as essential that students should rather only focus on improving their knowledge of and in English as they progress in years at the tertiary level. Some suggested that all scientific research is in English, so students need to be able to write their theses in English. When asked if they would be willing to enrol in a bilingual degree, two of the EOZ participants said only for the artistic modules, not for the "academic" ones. They both explained that for the artistic modules, using isiZulu would allow them to express their cultural influences, the essence of which sometimes cannot be translated. An example that one participant gave is that in one of her Drama modules which had a lot of African stories in it, their isiZulu-speaking lecturer could not tell isiZulu fables because some of the students were White, and said that it would have been better if she could. Additionally, two of the postgraduate EOZ participants said that because their research participants are rural and speak isiZulu, that was the only aspect of their studies they would like to include isiZulu in.

4.3.2.2   UKZN is a multiracial and multinational university

One of the challenges that has been brought up in literature, media and thus also explored by the researcher during the interviews, is that UKZN's student body is multilingual and multinational (Balfour, 2014; de Vos, 2013; Mashele, 2013; Molefe, 2013). Even though every

student at the institution is perceived to have sufficient understanding of English, there is also the general perception that a number of students have absolutely no understanding of isiZulu. All five of the EONZ participants agreed that if everyone at UKZN is taught in isiZulu it will disadvantage them and others who do not know the language and are not interested in learning it. None of them were willing to grow their knowledge of the language beyond basic communication skills to academic proficiency.

EOZ3: "*Others are just not interested. I've heard a lot of stories. Where people have really been dissing the whole thing of learning Zulu, especially, well not in my department, my department is very diverse, so, but I've heard a lot. Especially in this place [where she lives].*"

EOZ5: "*Some people don't understand isiZulu. So they now have to be forced to do isiZulu and English. It's not their language. So I really don't think it's necessary.*"

This EONZ participant first said that she because she was sufficiently proficient in isiZulu to communicate in it she would not mind learning more of the language, but then later she said that if she was not proficient in the language at all, she would not be willing to learn it and learn in it.

EONZ1: "*No coz that would mean that I'd have to start from the- from scratch?....So hmm, is it necessary? That that's the other question that you ask because I know that even in Russia, people who get scholarships to go to Russia or to go to China or to Cuba or whatever, the first question they ask themselves is, 'am I am I prepared to learn another language?' You know, and, 'will my proficiency in that language affect the way I perform?' So I think that would be the challenge then.*"

EONZ2: "*Instead of students being able to speak in English, now we're we are forcing, not forcing them but like we we ENCOURAGE the ignorance of 'I was brought up like this, we speak this language and that's it'. I think we're encouraging ignorance that is that. Because not only, as you said, are there South Africans, but there those of us who are from outside the country. And then what happens to the rest of us? You know. And most of us come here not because our places don't have universities but because the universities in South Africa are more better than what is happening at home.*"

EONZ2 later said that she was only willing to learn isiZulu because her daughter is half-Zulu and she was intending to live in KZN for the rest of her life, but if that was the case and she only needed to learn isiZulu so she could get her degree then she would not be willing to do so. It is interesting to note that she perceives the desire for isiZulu speakers to want to learn in their language as ignorant, and is one of the EO participants who stressed that Black African students should rather be forced to learn in English because it will facilitate progress for them socially and economically.

EONZ3 stated that although he did isiZulu 101, he would not be willing for isiZulu to be included as a language of learning in any of his other modules. He also added that the institution should not force non-isiZulu speakers to learn the language and learn in it if they are not interested.

EONZ3: "*Uhm and it's gonna also alienate some people, to some extent, in the same way that in Stellenbosch certain- one of the negatives for a person not- who isn't proficient in Afrikaans for example, would not want to engage in that kind of- in that that place because of language barriers.*"

EONZ3: "*I think the university has quite a big international body of students from other African countries, and that's where the problem really is. Uhm I think we have the most foreign students from Africa than any other university in South Africa. So they must consider that in their implementation of the program.*"

EONZ4 said that she could also communicate in isiZulu, but also perceived her proficiency in the language as terrible. She said that she would be confused if a lecturer had to speak isiZulu in class, and it would be a disadvantage for people who were not born in KZN to now try and keep up and understand the language. She added that she would be willing to learn in isiZulu for only one of her modules, because she sometimes interacts with rural uneducated people. When asked about her other modules, she suggested that it would be hard to talk about certain academic terms in isiZulu.

EONZ4: "*I think I would, considering what I do. Coz we interact a lot with rural people through...selling and advertising work...You find that there are people who aren't as talented, people who aren't as educated as some of us, and there are people more educated than we are.*"

EONZ5 said that he was struggling to accept that UKZN is in the process of becoming bilingual, and suggested that the biggest disadvantage for international students would be that learning the language would take too much time because most of their countries are English. He added that he would only be willing to learn in isiZulu for communication purposes because KZN had become like a second home to him so he has already learnt a bit of isiZulu and has Zulu friends.

EONZ5: "*Uhm it's very hard because if for example they begin to uhm inter-mix and and bring isiZulu maybe at the same time bring English, it it's it's it's very difficult it's not the best of an experience for people who do not fully know the language. You know you begin to think what exactly are they trying to say? Even though you have an idea of the little bits of it, of isiZulu. You find problems, especially if you are you you you are not uhm are Zulu. So you really have difficulties to to fully know what is being spoken about in class.*"

The EO participants seemed sympathetic when it came to the idea of non-isiZulu speakers being forced to learn in isiZulu when it is a foreign language and perceived it as unfair. Once again, the issue of isiZulu being perceived as useless for progress and English being perceived as a powerful resource came up. The participants suggested that it was preferable for isiZulu speakers and other Black Africans to learn English and learn in it, despite acknowledging that it makes it more difficult for them to understand academic content and that learning in their mother tongue would improve the learning experience.

4.3.2.3   A waste of resources

The EONZ participants also suggested that having to learn isiZulu and then trying to learn in it would require a lot of their limited time and financial resources. Consuming such resources on a language that one may perceive as unnecessary for their desired success was thought of as unfair. Some participants suggested that this could even lead to some potential international

students being put off studying at UKZN and not even selecting it as an option when applying for their tertiary studies.

EONZ1: "*...but then you know African poor people, it would add a year to university. So I think parents would be like 'Ah! An extra year just for language? Are you crazy?' But I think if that wasn't an issue, or the cost implication could be worked on somehow. It's a good initiative I think.*"

Furthermore, some of the other EO participants suggested that the process of translating English academic material into isiZulu, and equipping staff with proficiency in isiZulu, would unnecessarily waste limited time and financial resources. Given their perspectives on the usefulness of English for employment and social purposes, all the participants who suggested that it would be unfair and a waste of resources for non-isiZulu speakers to have to learn in isiZulu did not perceive this as the same as Black African students who are currently being forced to learn in English. They perceive isiZulu as a language they cannot use to gain any economic returns on their time and financial investments during their years of education, making it a waste of resources. Spending time improving proficiency in English and gaining more knowledge in the language, by comparison, is perceived as an investment because in future proficiency in the language may be used for upward socioeconomic mobility.

4.4. UKZN Black African students' recommendations for the implementation of the bilingual policy at the institution

4.4.1. Stakeholder engagement

All the EO participants recommended that the university needs to explain the policy and its implications to the students, as the stakeholders who will be most affected by it. They suggested that this could eliminate the confusion and misinformation that students are experiencing. Some also suggested that the university ought to request input from the students and other stakeholders like the public community, who might one day send their children to the institution, instead of the university management making all the decisions for them. One of the participants stressed that if stakeholders are not communicated with effectively, they might remain uninterested in adopting it, which would lead to the policy having to be abandoned.

EOZ2: "*Uhmm social networks, you know students are very vibrant on social networks. I haven't seen any discussions going on about this policy and it affects the students, you know. Uhm if I compare the this stage as there was voting for SRC, we knew everyday what was going*

on....we were informed with what's going on. But, why couldn't that happen with this policy? You know, why couldn't students get notified? Why couldn't there be debates and hear different sides of the coin that what are they saying? Uhm and I think HAD UKZN done THAT, if they haven't, then they would've gotten some rich information on how to BEST uhm prioritize THOSE people who are gonna be involved. The lecturers, the students, and and possibly the community. Coz it doesn't help to implement a policy that is BRILLIANT, but nobody is adopting it, nobody is claiming it for themselves you know, nobody can see themselves using it. Then it just becomes another policy, and it's shelved, for those who WANT to use it WHEN they want to use it. Like now, not every module is bilingual. Maybe it's because they weren't told, or they're not interested, or they weren't involved, I don't know what their issue is, but it would've been very good if, you know, they went through the policy cycle involving the stakeholders, engaging uhm that whole participatory process. Coz I mean we ARE a public institution. So the decisions that are affecting students shouldn't necessarily be made by the teaching and learning committees or you know management only. Coz ultimately WE are the ones that have to implement it and make it happen. So if we don't own it, it makes it very hard for it to be you know to be used, AND also to be sustainable. Coz we we, THIS is not just gonna be a once-off thing, we want to prolong it. So I think, that would've been a a very brilliant step. HAD they taken it. Maybe they're still going to do it I don't know. I don't think so coz it's already being used."

All the other EO participants reiterated that university management needs to communicate the contents of the policy, and plans regarding the implementation process, much more clearly with the affected stakeholders. They also emphasised that university management also needs to hear the views and suggestions of those stakeholders.

4.4.2. Freedom of choice

A number of EO participants emphasised the need for students to able to choose to learn in isiZulu or not, and to not be forced to; one of these participants said that she is actually confused about this point because if students are not forced to learn in isiZulu they will not choose it willingly, but if they are forced it is unfair.

EONZ3: "*Mm, I think if anything the university should put out a a memorandum, asking students and the teaching bodies, give everyone the voice that we supposedly have, uhm as opposed to decisions just being made. Uhm and that will give us or give the s- us as in everybody who's on the ground level the grassroots level the choice and a feeling, I think*

that's one of the problems, that the the grassroots levels are feeling alienated by the high ranks. Because these decisions are being made for them without consensus at the bottom. And they're affecting everybody at the bottom. And positive or negative is arguable. Uhm but uh that's yeah maybe the there should be an open forum, that we have and we can discuss and for them to put across why they're doing it, CLEARLY, so that everyone has the same perspective instead of people going and like creating these ideas of why they're doing it. So yeah. Yeah consensus would be great."

4.4.3. Changing social perceptions

Some of the EOZ participants suggested that the university needs to change students' perceptions of isiZulu so that they become willing to learn it and communicate in it. One suggested that the university could host festivities and other fun activities in which everyone in the institution, including staff, could participate. She suggested that if students feel excited about the idea of learning isiZulu and think it will be fun and interesting they might be less hostile about its inclusion at the institution. It appears the pedagogical benefits of learning in a mother tongue are not enough to convince the EOZ participants to perceive it as possibly being as useful to them as English, or possibly even more than the English they say they currently struggle to understand their academic content in. Social perceptions of language use and development were perceived by these participants as more important in decisions regarding the languages of teaching and learning, than discussions of pedagogical theories.

EONZ5: "*First of all I think it must be done in phases. Because it's coming in as a as a c- as a shock to many. Because they knew uhm UKZN as an institution that instructed in English. And and many flocked this university because of probably the the aspect that it's English uhmm uh inst- instructed university. But the fact that it will now change into bilingual institut- institution and probably bringing isiZulu as a predominant language, it becomes a problem for it to really be marketable at the level which it was moving previously. So I fear that that maybe it must be done in phases. First phase to see how very uhm how very successful can the programme be. And then pick it from there. But to do it like all of it now it has to be done like this I think it will not be very very attractive policy.*"

4.4.4. Capacity building

Another recommendation was that the university needs to ensure that its lecturers are equipped with sufficient proficiency in isiZulu to be able to teach appropriately in it before

including it as a language of teaching, and not go through a period of trial and error during their teaching processes.

4.4.5.   A greater focus on translating material into isiZulu

The only recommendation that the BZ participants had was that the university needs to invest more into translating academic material from English into isiZulu. Some of the EO participants who expressed support for the inclusion of isiZulu, albeit in a limited capacity, also mentioned the need to officially translating academic materials before using them for teaching.

One BZ participant stressed that subject-specific concepts should be kept in their original language and that only their explanations should be translated, because trying to develop new terms that could accurately capture the meanings of those concepts could waste time that could rather be used as time spent carrying on with teaching:

4.5.   Conclusion

Overall, the perspectives of the EO participants and those of the BZ participants seem to be on opposite ends of the spectrum. The EO participants' perspectives indicate that they perceive the academic, social, and economic implications of proficiency in a language as inseparable. For them, learning in a particular language not only means that the knowledge they possess will be represented in that language, it also means that that language is the one they are most proficient in. How proficiencies in different languages are perceived nationally and internationally appeared to have implications for which language they would rather be more proficient in. By contrast, the three BZ participants appeared to be more concerned with what they perceived as the pedagogical benefits of learning in one's mother tongue, as well as the prospects of isiZulu language and cultural preservation. Based on their perspectives on their positive experiences of bilingual tuition, they suggested that including isiZulu as a general language of tuition at the university would facilitate epistemological access for the majority of students, leading to a higher institutional pass rate. They were also more concerned with the prospect of further developing isiZulu's capacity and use.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.   Introduction

This chapter presents summaries of UKZN's Black African students' perspectives regarding the institution's bilingual policy, indicated in their answers to each of the research questions formulated at the beginning of the study. The first question sought to explore UKZN Black African students' general perspectives on the institution's IsiZulu/English bilingual instruction programme. The second question asked what their perceptions of the benefits and challenges of bilingual instruction at the institution are. The final question asked what their recommendations for the implementation of the bilingual policy at UKZN are. The summaries are followed by a discussion of the unique contributions of this study. These are recommendations for further research, for theory, for policy, and for future interventions. The study limitations are included.

5.2.   Conclusions about the research questions

5.2.1.   Conclusions about Research Question 1

What became apparent in the participants' responses is that because learning in a language is intertwined with learning that language, how languages are perceived socially has a great influence on perceptions of language choices. Three main general perspectives appeared to frame the participants' perceptions of the appropriate levels of use of English and isiZulu at UKZN. These are firstly, perceptions of the usefulness and relevance of languages, secondly, the way Black South Africans are perceived based on their proficiencies in English, and thirdly, the participants' perceptions of the institution's bilingual policy implementation plans and implications.

As a starting point, participants tended to base their responses on their perceptions of the usefulness and relevance of languages in South Africa and internationally. Historically in South Africa, English was the language of the White people who had sole possession of the best privileges socially and economically, while being a Black South African meant that you were a poor menial labourer who was denied access to contexts of luxury (Banda, 2000; Reagan, 1987). The perspectives provided by the EO participants indicate that they still perceive access to the English language as synonymous with access to social and economic privileges and contexts of luxury, while they perceive knowledge of their own home languages as unremunerative. EO students' perceptions of 'appropriate' levels of use of English and isiZulu at UKZN are thus informed mainly by their sense of how the level used impacts Black South African students' access to knowledge of, and in, English. They perceive English as the main

skill that Black South African students should gain from acquiring an education. They seemed to regard isiZulu as only relevant for communication purposes, so they viewed its inclusion as a language of teaching at UKZN as only a remedial means to communicate English academic content to those who are still struggling to understand English, but only while they improve their proficiencies in English. They also only saw it as relevant for providing non-isiZulu speakers a means to communicate with who they described as 'rural uneducated isiZulu speakers who do not know any other language'. By contrast, the BZ participants appeared to be more concerned with how the intended level of use of isiZulu at UKZN will elevate its use, value and relevance in the institution and wider society.

The second perspective concerns what the EO participants described as the ways Black South Africans are perceived according to their linguistic proficiencies. They mentioned how, in South Africa, Black Africans are ranked socially, economically and intellectually based on how well they communicate in English. They themselves appeared to use this same criterion to inform their perceptions of the type of students they described as the only ones who needed to be taught in isiZulu. They described isiZulu speaking Black South African students from former Black DET schools as most likely to struggle to understand academic content taught in English, making them the only type of students in need of remedial isiZulu tuition.

Based on the two perspectives mentioned above, the EO participants described what is perceived as a good proficiency in English as a skill that gives society the impression that as a Black South African you are capable of learning and performing well academically, and in addition, that you occupy contexts of a higher class. In contrast, the participants described a lack of proficiency in English as indicating that one struggles to learn and therefore also struggles to perform academically. Furthermore, this means that in a work context, someone who has an inadequate proficiency in English will be perceived by employers and colleagues as having been unable to learn sufficiently and who will therefore struggle to adequately understand and perform their tasks. Some participants even suggested that students who struggle to understand English at tertiary level are lazy and need to make more of an effort to improve their proficiency of the language on their own. While the EO participants provided their perspectives and perceptions of language use they also appeared to be quite concerned with how society perceives people and assigns them socioeconomic categories according to their English accents. This is perceived by the researcher as most likely to be the main reason all the EONZ participants suggested that they found it easier to learn in English and would find it difficult or impossible to learn in isiZulu, even though it is their mother tongue, thus

distancing themselves from people who are perceived as struggling to understand English. Despite their various school backgrounds some of the EO participants suggested that everyone understands better in their mother tongue, while some pointed out that they themselves first translate what they have learnt into isiZulu to understand it better, or discuss it with their fellow classmates in isiZulu. Despite this, all the EO participants said that learning in isiZulu would be harder for them than learning in English. The EO participants' perspectives of how society perceives languages and proficiencies of them is also regarded by this researcher as having a great influence on how EO participants perceive language use and relevance at the institution and in socioeconomic and professional contexts. The BZ participants, however, all stated that they found academic content taught in isiZulu much clearer and quicker to understand than content taught in English. Even when questioned about their perspectives on the perceived socioeconomic implications of linguistic proficiencies and language use in South Africa, these participants repeatedly emphasised the importance of using, developing, and elevating one's own mother tongue.

The third perspective that appears to frame both the EO and the BZ participants' views on bilingual tuition at UKZN was the way in which they perceived the contents of the language policy and the decisions being made by university management regarding its implementation processes. The EO participants had a number of questions regarding the policy and expressed frustration with how they assumed it would be implemented and the implications they assumed it would have on Black African students' future socioeconomic prospects. The BZ participants spoke about the policy in a way that implied that they understood its contents and the intended implications of its implementation plan.

5.2.2. Conclusions about Research Question 2

The participants anticipated two main benefits and three main challenges as possible results of including isiZulu as a general language of teaching and learning at UKZN. The primary possible benefit that was suggested by all the participants in this study was that including isiZulu throughout the institution could facilitate epistemological access for Black isiZulu speaking students. The consequential benefit of this was perceived to be linguistic and social transformation. A critical challenge that was perceived by the EO participants as likely to result from the inclusion of isiZulu as a language of tuition is a decreased use and exposure to the English language for Black African students, which they perceived would result in them acquiring education with a diminished value. The second challenge, which was perceived by all the participants, is that because UKZN is a multilingual and multinational university, non-

isiZulu speaking students are likely to experience challenges while attempting to learn, and learn in, isiZulu as a foreign language. A third perceived challenge is that the vast amount of translations and capacity building that is required for isiZulu to be fully included at the institution will require a large amount of time and financial resources, which some suggested would be an unnecessary waste.

Theoretically, all Black African students are supposed to benefit pedagogically by learning in their mother tongue (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Heugh, 2000; MacDonald, 1990; Paxton, 2009; Phillipson, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Webb, 2002). The BZ participants' perspectives concurred with this view. They described their learning experiences and academic performances as having improved greatly when they undertook their Honours studies in both English and isiZulu, compared with when they did their undergraduate studies in English only. They described firstly, how they understood lecturers better when they spoke in a language that they were more familiar with, and secondly their ability to ask questions and participate in discussions in class because they could articulate themselves better, which added to their acquisition of new knowledge and levels of understanding. They said that they were also then better able to independently translate English content because they now knew what the subject-specific concepts were about instead of just rote-learning without clearly understanding. They therefore expressed great support for the inclusion of isiZulu across UKZN, and perceived the use of isiZulu, as a general language of teaching, as having the potential to have pedagogical benefits generally for all isiZulu-speaking students. The EOZ participants had a different perspective. Even though they also suggested that the use of isiZulu could facilitate epistemological access for its mother tongue speakers, they perceive it as unnecessary and inappropriate for higher education. They instead suggested that tuition in isiZulu should be limited to a remedial capacity at lower levels of study while students improve their proficiency in English if they missed the opportunity to improve this proficiency in high school.

The benefits of learning in isiZulu that the EO participants identified as more relevant were not related to pedagogy; they instead perceived the potential primary benefit of the use of isiZulu in higher education to be linguistic and social transformation. This is different to the language policies suggesting this to be a potential secondary benefit to other races and international students in SAPIHEs learning in ISALs and becoming more proficient in them, and thereby improving their communication skills with ISAL mother tongue speakers (Ministry of Education, 2002; UKZN Language Policy, 2014). For some of the EO participants what appeared more important is that the inclusion of isiZulu vocabulary will also bring with it

content about its speakers' history, culture and traditions, some of which have been passed down – verbally only – by elders from generation to generation. Once isiZulu terms and concepts are used in tuition, that knowledge will be preserved in written form and spread to a wider audience. This, those EO participants said, will result in them and other current and future isiZulu-speaking youth learning more about their language and culture, an opportunity they say they have been missing out on because formal education is only in English. The BZ participants also stated that this was one of the main reasons they chose to study their Honours bilingually – so that they could learn more about isiZulu and the culture, and then use that knowledge to contribute to its development and preservation. All the participants added that once the isiZulu language and culture are taught in formal education, speakers from other language groups would learn the language and be able to better communicate with the majority isiZulu speakers in KZN. Some said that this could lead to higher levels of tolerance between different racial and language groups, while others suggested that if graduates became proficient in isiZulu it would greatly improve the communication barriers that exist in various sectors of service. However, the EO participants emphasised that even though it would benefit non-isiZulu-speaking students to learn to communicate in isiZulu, if they wish to work in KZN and other parts of South Africa, the institution should not force them to go beyond that and learn all their academic content in the language.

The EO participants' ultimate concern is that students need to graduate from a tertiary institution with an appropriate set of knowledge and skills to demonstrate to prospective employers that they are suitable for hiring. According to them, the best way one can demonstrate this is by communicating in English. It appeared that these participants perceive the inclusion of isiZulu as a medium of instruction in higher education as the construction of a barrier to learning English and acquiring knowledge in English, in preparation for employment and as a means of acceptance into contexts of a higher socioeconomic class. All the EO participants emphasised the need to strengthen Black African students' proficiency in English more than their home languages. This they perceived as the main means for students to gain access to socioeconomic contexts both nationally and internationally after graduating while proficiency in isiZulu, for example, was perceived as something that would restrict them to KZN and selected parts of South Africa, where they would mainly be servicing old and rural people. Although the EO participants perceive the opportunity to learn in isiZulu as guaranteed to provide epistemological access to its mother tongue speakers their bigger concerns appeared to be with the socioeconomic implications that a seemingly greater focus on knowledge of, and in, isiZulu will have for Black South Africans. From their perspective, possessing academic

knowledge is useless if one can only communicate it in isiZulu because it means that one can only communicate it with isiZulu speakers who they perceive as unable to provide access to upward socioeconomic mobility. They perceive proficiency in isiZulu as just a means to communicate adequately with poor, old, rural and township isiZulu speakers who are mainly in KZN. These are people they perceive as having no material benefit for them, and their concern seems to be more with people who can give one access to upward mobility, assumed to be English speakers or people who are highly proficient in English.

Essentially, the EO participants perceived an increased investment in developing and using isiZulu as a waste of either time – that Black African students should rather be using to gain more knowledge of and in English – and/or money that some suggested is already limited and should not be wasted on a language that will not return any gains on investment.

5.2.3.   Conclusions about Research Question 3

All the EO participants seemed to have misinterpreted UKZN's bilingual policy and expressed frustration with how they think it is and will be implemented. Their recommendations therefore were mainly that students should not be forced to learn in isiZulu, and that their opinions should be heard by university management. Some of the participants who mentioned the benefit of isiZulu language development, leading to linguistic and cultural preservation, also added that the university should work on improving students' social perceptions of isiZulu. The BZ participants' only recommendation was that UKZN needs to direct greater focus into translating academic material from English into isiZulu.

5.3.   Unique contributions of the study

When contextualising the perspectives provided by all the participants within the social and historical context of language choices for the education of Black South African students, it appeared that the perspectives of the EO participants and those of the BZ participants were framed by ideologies of different eras. The perspectives of the EO participants were similar to those of the colonial and apartheid eras while those of the BZ participants were more in line with the objectives of the national multilingual policy as well as with UKZN's move to a bilingual policy (Banda, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2002; Reagan, 1987; UKZN Language Policy, 2014; van Dyk, 1967). Recommendations put forth by this study are thus formulated to address this.

5.3.1.   Recommendations for Research

There needs to be further research exploring the ways in which school learners and teachers, tertiary students and lecturers, as well as other stakeholders who are directly affected by language policies for education, perceive language use, relevance and choice in South Africa, and how their perceptions affect language policy changes and implementation processes. History has shown that social perceptions of Western and South African indigenous languages have been the basis of the choices behind which languages are chosen for education, economic use, and development during the colonial and apartheid era, and during the early years of the democratic era ((Banda, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Phillipson, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; van Dyk, 1967). Now that the government and some SAPIHEs are making concentrated efforts to elevate the use, development and esteem of ISALs, research needs to explore social perceptions and perspectives nationally and institutionally that may facilitate or hinder the implementation of this inclusion. This future research should also focus on steps other countries, whose indigenous languages were previously marginalised, have taken to develop and elevate their esteem. One of the closest examples that could be studied is how Afrikaans was very quickly elevated to the same level of use and esteem in South Africa a century ago (Reagan, 1987). Research that concentrates on how mother tongue and bilingual instruction facilitate a better acquisition of knowledge, also need to continue and study this process in SAPIHEs where ISALs are now officially being used to teach and learn. Furthermore, research into language development and how dialects have changed over the years also needs to be conducted. Questions around which of the different dialects of a single language ought to be retained or adjusted need to be researched.

5.3.2.   Recommendations for Theory

Pedagogical theories on the role of language in education, that are widely cited by South African language policies and studies, were developed in European countries. Studies that have been undertaken in the African context ought to reconceptualise these theories to reflect the uniqueness of African history and social processes.

5.3.3.   Recommendations for Policy

Reported conflicting perspectives on the national and institutional language policies indicate that there is a need for studies that explore what informs these perspectives and how discussions towards an agreement can be facilitated. EO participants in this study expressed great frustration with what they perceive as a lack of communication from UKZN management regarding the policy content and implementation plans. Negative perspectives reported in the

media also display the students' and community's ignorance regarding the policy (de Vos, 2013; Mashele, 2013; Molefe 2013a, 2013b; Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2010; Rudwick, 2015; Taunyane, 2013). Policy evaluation needs to gauge the effectiveness of the communication of UKZN's policy with all its stakeholders within the institution and in the wider community. Some of the EO participants, for example, recommended that management could host festivals, campaigns and discussions to hear how students perceive the policy, instead of leaving them feeling alienated.

5.3.4. Recommendations for Interventions

The perspectives and concerns raised by the EO participants indicate that they do not seem to understand why the policy is now bilingual, how it will affect students – directly during their academic career, and indirectly their capabilities in their future career – and what impact the intended processes of bilingual tuition could have for South African society at large. For the new language policy to be implemented successfully, students need to be willing to be taught in bilingual tuition. They need to understand why this is important in their learning processes, why and how it is beneficial for them (Granville et al., 1998). If they perceive the policy as impeding their acquisition of a higher education that can facilitate their entry into their intended profession and subsequent upward socioeconomic mobility, they could either protest against the implementation of the new policy or pursue their education in alternative higher education institutions (Figone 2012; Makhele, 2016). UKZN management has changed the language policy based on certain theories and ideologies regarding current and future educational, economic, and societal benefits (UKZN Language Policy, 2014). This study recommends that UKZN management work with stakeholders on reformulating their perceptions of the use and relevance of Western and ISALs, and identify ways to best implement bilingual instruction at the institution. The BZ participants' emphasis on a greater focus on translations of academic materials is also recommended by this researcher. These translations should be in collaboration with students and not just academics and professional translators who are removed from the learning contexts of the students.

5.4. Study Limitations

This study only explored the perspectives of fourteen Black African UKZN students, who were selected using a non-probability snowball sampling technique. This means that their views cannot be generalised across the institution's widely diverse student body. The study also does not include the perspectives of the other stakeholders at the institution, namely the lecturers and management. Their perspectives could have illuminated even more social constructions

and linguistic contexts that frame perspectives regarding the institution's bilingual policy. Furthermore, as a researcher approaching the study from an interpretive theoretical approach, I did not have an objective perspective of the participants' views. My analysis of their responses is based on the assumptions of just one school of thought in this field of study. Different schools of thoughts in various other fields could arrive at different conclusions based on how the data aligns with their assumptions.

To conclude, this chapter has provided summaries of UKZN Black African students' perspectives of the institutions bilingual policy in terms of the three research questions formulated at the beginning of the study. This was followed by recommendations from the researcher based on these conclusions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Tabular representation of academic performance in South African public institutions of higher education

Table 1: Undergraduate degrees

		Black	**White**
Out of total student enrolments in 2008		64%	22%
Accumulative throughput rates in 2010 for 3-year degree cohort (excl. UNISA)	Graduated	23%	43%
	Dropped out	36%	32%
Accumulative throughput rates in 2011 for 4-year degree cohort (excl. UNISA)	Graduated	38%	51%
	Dropped out	30%	28%

Table 2: Postgraduate degrees

		Black	**White**
Postgraduate enrolments in 2013	Postgrad up to Honours	67,7%	19,6%
	Masters	52,7%	30,7%
	Doctorate	50%	34,3%
Postgraduate qualifications awarded in 2013	Postgrad up to Honours	57,7%	28%
	Masters	43,3%	40,5%
	Doctorate	43,7%	43,7%

Appendix 2: This study's research design based on Maxwell's Interactive Model

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Appendix 3: Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Approval Letter

15 September 2014

Ms Nolwandle Ntombenhle Dumisa (205504104)
School of Applied Human Sciences – Psychology
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0631/014M
Project title: University of KwaZulu-Natal's students' and academic staff's perceptions and perspectives on bilingual instruction at the institution

Dear Ms Dumisa,

                                                                                    Full Approval – Expedited Application
In response to your application r   on 24 June 2014, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisors: Professor Nhlanhla Mkhize and Ms Nontobeko Buthelezi
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor D McCracken
Cc School Administrator: Mr Sbonelo Duma

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Appendix 4: Gatekeeper's Letter of Permission to conduct research

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

15 May 2014

Miss Nolwandle Ntombenhle Dumisa
School of Applied Human Sciences
College of Humanities
Pietermaritzburg Campus
UKZN
Email: 205504104@stu.ukzn.ac.za
Lwandle.dumisa10@gmail.com

Dear Miss Dumisa

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"University of KwaZulu-Natal's students' and academic staff's perceptions and perspectives on bilingual instruction at the institution".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by interviewing UKZN academic staff and students.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR MC BALOYI
REGISTRAR

Office of the Registrar
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 **Email:** registrar@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE
Founding Campuses ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

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Appendix 5: Informed Consent Form

TITLE OF RESEARCH STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL'S STUDENTS' AND STAFF'S PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL Tuition AT THE INSTITUTION

Good day,

My name is Nolwandle Dumisa, I am the bilingual instructor for Psychology Statistics in the Department of Psychology at both the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses. I am also in the process of completing a Master of Art in Research Psychology, by undertaking a research project which aims to explore The University of Kwazulu-Natal's students' and staff's perceptions and perspectives on bilingual tuition at the institution.

As a registered student or a staff member at the aforementioned university, your participation in this study will be highly appreciated. If you would like to volunteer to participate, please note that I as the researcher will ask to explore your perceptions and perspectives privately in a one-on-one interview. For purposes of capturing all that will be discussed in the interview, it will also be recorded on audiotape.

Your participation will not disadvantage you in any way. Your name, as well as any other form of identification, will not be on any of the audio tapes, nor on any material that is used during data collection, so I will never know who said what in any of the interviews. And because I will only be recording audio, your face will not be visible. Your names will also not be in the final write-up of the study. Please also be aware that if you do decide to participate in this study, you may still withdraw freely at any point during the process. This will also not disadvantage you in any way.

This study is not expected to harm you in any way, but if you experience any grievances as a result of the study, please feel free to contact any of the following people:

1) Nolwandle Dumisa

   The student undertaking the study

   lwandle.dumisa10@gmail.com

2) Professor N. Mkhize

   Co-Supervisor of the study

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4) The Ethics Committee

   (031) 260 8350

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

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

Additional consent, where applicable I hereby provide consent to (participant to circle their choice):

Audio-record my interview   YES /   NO

…………………………………..   …………………………...
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   DATE

Appendix 6A: Interview Schedule for students who have been taught in English only

Good Morning/Good Afternoon, my name is Nolwandle Dumisa, and I would like to ask you a few questions regarding your perspectives on bilingual tuition at UKZN. In 2006 UKZN approved a bilingual policy allowing the use of isiZulu as an additional language of tuition, and since then a number of disciplines have begun to offer bilingual tuition. You have been selected to participate in this study as I have been informed that you have not been part of the bilingual tutorial/tuition programme, and for the purposes of the current study it is important to get the views of participating and non-participating students in order to get a balanced picture.

1. What are your general views on bilingual tuition at UKZN?
    a. In your view, what are the main differences between learning in English only, and learning through bilingual tuition which includes isiZulu?
    b. What in your view are the advantages of bilingual tuition in general and as implemented at UKZN?
    c. What do you consider to be the disadvantages/challenges of bilingual tuition in general and as implemented at UKZN?
2. Some people have said that English improves one's chances of being employed. What are your views on this?
    a. Others have said that because only a few people in the country are academically proficient in English, those who aren't have limited chances of employability. What do you think about this?
3. Some say that tuition in isiZulu will exclude students who cannot speak the language from the university. What are your views?
    a. And what are your thoughts on the suggestion that students who are not adequately proficient in English are currently being excluded from effective learning in the higher education system?
    b. Others have said that tuition in an African language entrenches ethnicity while English tuition promotes a unified South Africa. What are your views on this
4. Would you recommend bilingual tuition for your own children?
    a. Why/Why not?
5. What do you think about the suggestion that the more Black students acquire education in English only and speak mainly in English, the less and less African languages become useful for Black people, making them liable to extinction?

a. What, in your view, will sustain African languages?

6. What are your recommendations for the process of implementing isiZulu tuition at UKZN?

a. How do you think the translation process should be carried out?

7. If you were given an opportunity to take part in bilingual tuition in the future, and you had the time, would you participate?

a. Why/Why not? Please provide an explanation for your answer.

8. Is there anything else that you would like to mention that we have not covered above?

We have come to the end of the interview. Thank you very much for answering my questions patiently. For research statistical purposes, I'd like to ask you to please fill in your demographic factors on this list (provide list below).

(Once completed list is returned) Again thank you for your participation. Please do not hesitate to contact any of the people mentioned in the informed consent form if you have any queries. Enjoy the rest of your day.

Demographic Factors

Age	
Gender	
Race	
Nationality	
Mother tongue	
African languages (or additional if mother tongue is African) spoken	
Number of Years as a UKZN student	
Current School, and Discipline (e.g. School of Applied Human Sciences, Discipline of Psychology, OR School of Education, Discipline of Languages & Arts Education)	

Appendix 6B: Interview Schedule for students who have experienced bilingual tuition

Good Morning/Good Afternoon, my name is Nolwandle Dumisa, and I would like to ask you a few questions regarding your perspectives on bilingual tuition at UKZN. In 2006 UKZN approved a bilingual policy allowing the use of isiZulu as an additional language of tuition, and since then a number of disciplines have begun to offer bilingual tuition. You have been selected to participate in this study as I have been informed that you have been part of the bilingual tutorial/tuition programme, and for the purposes of the current study it is important to get the views of participating and non-participating students in order to get a balanced picture. May you please tell me your reasons for attending a bilingual class?

1. Please tell me about your experiences in this class.

    a. Possible probe for 'facilitated studies': Please give me some examples of English concepts that you have learnt in your bilingual class. How was learning those concepts in that class different from learning them in the English-only class?

    b. Possible probe for 'hindered studies': What do you find different between the isiZulu terms and the English terms?

2. What are your general views on bilingual tuition at UKZN?

3. Some people have said that English improves one's chances of being employed. What are your views on this?

    a. Others have said that because only a few people in the country are academically proficient in English, those who aren't have limited chances of employability. What do you think about this?

4. Some say that tuition in isiZulu will exclude students who cannot speak the language from the university. What are your views?

    a. And what are your thoughts on the suggestion that students who are not adequately proficient in English are currently being excluded from effective learning in the higher education system?

    b. Others have said that tuition in an African language entrenches ethnicity while English tuition promotes a unified South Africa. What are your views on this

5. Would you recommend bilingual tuition for your own children?

    a. Why/Why not?

6. What do you think about the suggestion that the more Black students acquire education in English only and speak mainly in English, the less and less African languages become useful for Black people, making them liable to extinction?

    a. What, in your view, will sustain African languages?

7. What are your recommendations for the process of implementing isiZulu tuition at UKZN?

  a. How do you think the translation process should be carried out?

8. Is there anything else that you would like to mention that we have not covered above?
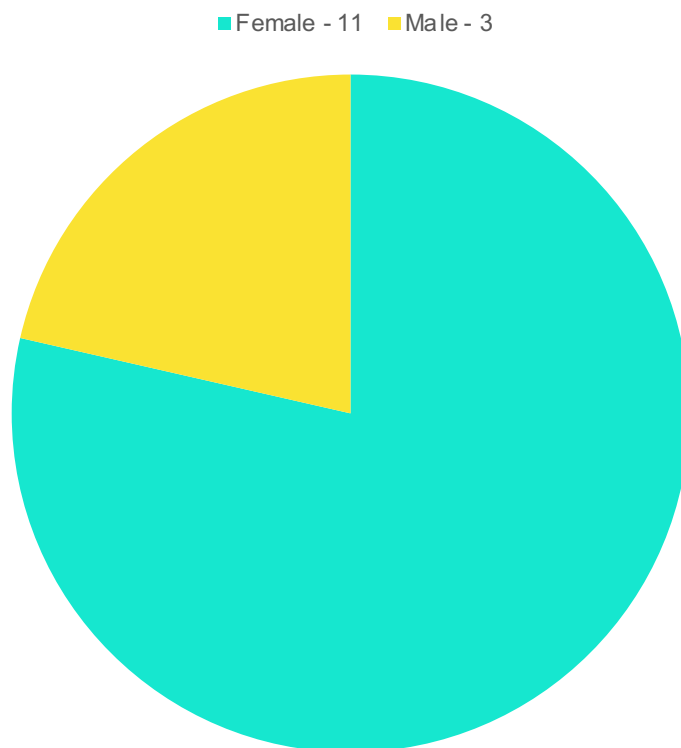

We have come to the end of the interview. Thank you very much for answering my questions patiently. For research statistical purposes, I'd like to ask you to please fill in your demographic factors on this list (provide list below).

(Once completed list is returned) Again thank you for your participation. Please do not hesitate to contact any of the people mentioned in the informed consent form if you have any queries. Enjoy the rest of your day.
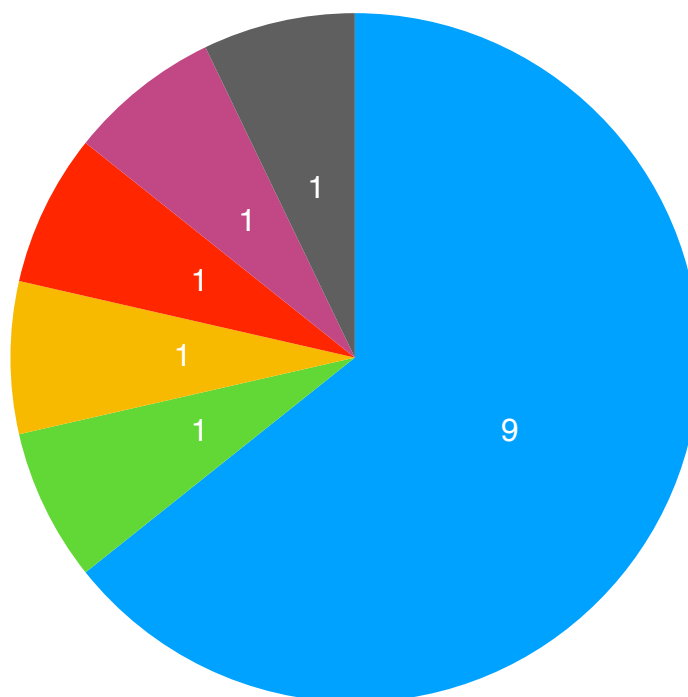
Demographic Factors

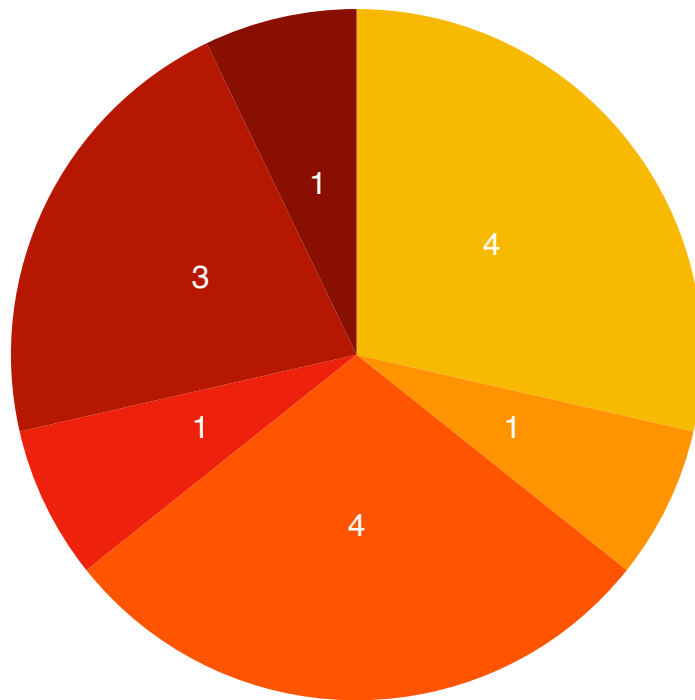|	
Age	
Gender	
Race	
Nationality	
Mother tongue	
African languages (or additional if mother tongue is African) spoken	
Number of Years as a UKZN student	
Current School, and Discipline (e.g. School of Applied Human Sciences, Discipline of Psychology, OR School of Education, Discipline of Languages & Arts Education)	

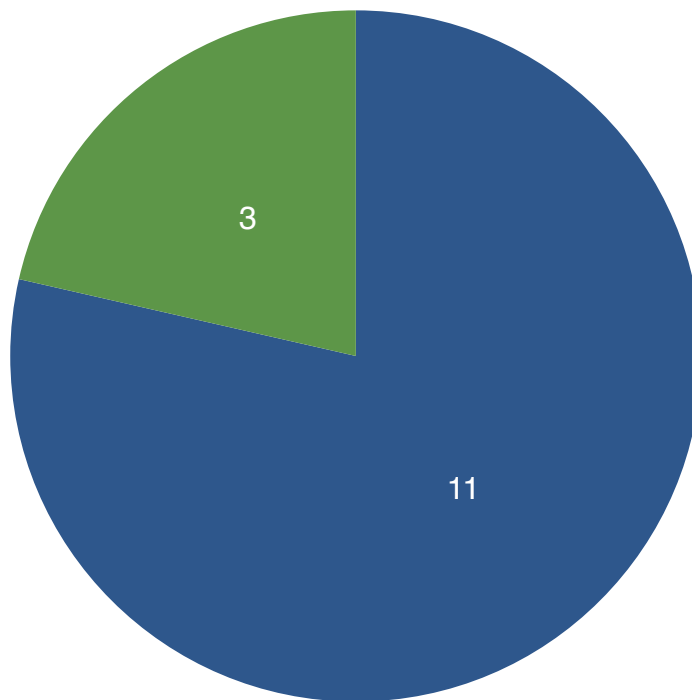**Appendix 7: Linguistic and Educational demographics**

Science - 4   Law - 1   Art - 4   Drama - 1   Education - 3   Politics - 1

Has experience with bilingual instruction at UKZN - 3

Has no experience with bilingual instruction at UKZN - 11

Appendix 8: Representative example of this study's interviews

Interviewer: What are your general views on bilingual instruction at UKZN?

EOZ2: Uhmm I think bi-, I think it's good. I think because also we're living in a province where majority of the students coming into UKZN are Zulu-speaking. Uhmm and then obviously there are some other languages that do come in English, Sotho, and all the other provincial languages. How many languages we got? Eleven official- [I: Eleven] Ya but mostly it's it's it's Zulu-speaking uhmm people, and I've come to conclude ukuthi (that) students, or learners rather, in high school where they come from like emalokshini (townships) sort of, uhm i'kole that lez' ey'semakhaya (schools that are in the rural areas), the teachers there they do use, I don't know if it's called bilingual, but they do code-switching. So that uhm their learners are able to grasp ama concepts better than just using pure formal English and uhm research does conclude ukuthi (that) those kinda learners, they do well because uhm the teachers explain concepts in a language that is familiar to them, so they are able to grasp concepts easier, if the teacher uses English and and isiZulu in class. Sometimes it's more Zulu than English, and they do very well, but the problem is when they come to varsity, and then it's just pure English and futh' hhay ukuthi (it's not that) it's the English that is your everyday English, it's formal English, because it's I mean they are lecturing, they are you know, teaching you new concepts, new theories you know. Can you imagine teaching a theory in isiZulu? Or [rather] teaching a theory in pure English? That the learner [in] first year phum' eskoleni es' seClermont (coming from a school in Clermont), their teacher was using both English and isiZulu. And if I didn't understand, I'd put up my hand and ask in my own language, and because the teacher is Zulu she would understand, and she would come back to me either in Zulu, or in English and is'Zulu for the- for me to understand. So that whole shift, from high school, code-switching, bilingual, to uhm university pure English, I think that's a bit of a shock uhm for most students and that was one of the findings, fortunately enough, uhm that I'd proved in my study uhm last year ukuthi (that) students that do come from disadvantaged schools, and disadvantaged in the sense that they're under-resourced uhm from rural areas or townships, when they come to university they have a harder time uhm learning. For them learning is longer because they first need to understand the language that is used, and THEN uhm apply that knowledge they unders-. So can you imagine translating, and THEN translating to understand, and THEN applying it again. So for those students, uhm they don't do as well as they ought to be doing had they been teach-, uhm been taught in in like a code-switching type of environment. So most of them they are under-performing not because they are not working as hard, but it's the whole language,

especially for uhm core modules that are a bit tricky, like uhm like your scientific courses uhmm sometimes, what is this course that they said Philosophy uhmm I'm not sure about the other modules that uh that the students major in, but it does become a problem, and this was just a small sample of students from Science and Agric, so ya. I think it's good but also, uhmm ama resources are how are the lecturers gonna be capacitated to actually implement that, the roll-out of the bilingual I think that needs to be looked at, I mean I haven't seen the policy or how they said they'll do it, but I would imagine ukuthi (that) that needs to be done in a way that doesn't confuse students. If- they should know ukuthi (that) okay I'll be sitting in a class where both English AND Zulu is gonna be taught, OR I can have an option of going just pure Zulu module, or just pure English. Uhm just also for comfort levels I assume. But I think it's a brilliant step, it's good. When you're teaching someone in their home language it- the understanding is easier than having to first translate, and then translating to understand, and then applying that knowledge. So it's very good.

I: And then do you think there are any disadvantages to implementing bilngual instruction at UKZN?

EOZ2: Disadvantages?

I: Mm.

EOZ2: Uhm, okay I think English in itself is a it's a power language. If you know English VERY WELL, if you can speak English very well, you can write it very well it's good, uhm, you're at a level of power nje (just) just by being-, when you know people that speak English very very well they are highly esteemed versus umuntu opatanisayo isiNgisi sakhe and you know oshawa uJoji (a person who struggles with their English and you know sometimes gets it wrong). That person they actually become ridiculed by society just because they are not very affluent or their accent is not good enough. So English is a very powerful tool. So the challenges that might come up is that-. English is universal, so if you don't know English really you may be stuck in a lot of avenues that you wanna take part in in the future. And if UKZN is teaching in isiZulu, uhm how then are the students gonna be equipped to counteract or I don't know to BUFFER from the English that they may be losing, in inverted commas, coz I don't know if they'll be losing it or how they're gonna compensate for that English that's gonna be lost. Coz if it's bilingual angithi (isn't it) I don't know bilingual in the sense that you're teaching both the module in Zulu and English? Or if it's an either or. So if in a case of being either or, those

opting to be taught in pure Zulu, uhm what happens then when they are losing that English uhm language aspect of the module, and they need to apply it maybe in their workplace? Or they need to apply it further in research? You know, what's gonna happen to tha-? If maybe there's a way that uhm they can close that gap, if assume there will be a gap, then it would be good. But if that's gonna be left hanging, to you know iy'ngane ezikhulunyiswa ngesiZulu (students that are made to speak in isiZulu), and that's it, I think there will be a problem. Somewhere down the line uhm there's gonna be a place where it's just gonna be English. In the workplace I mean professionally, you'll be working with people from all walks of life, all the languages. So you need to use a universal language which is English. And if you've missed it in high- in varsity because of the policy saying you have an option of just doing isiZulu, then you're limiting yourself to working with maybe just people who are speaking isiZulu, which is not very realistic. So it's good uhm and for that would be the only disadvantage ukuthi (that) is there anything done that will BUFFER that English that MAY be lost in the process of learning?

I: Okay. Uhmm, talking about employability, uhm there has been an argument that uhmm those who aren't adequately proficient in English, uhmm are not as employable, you know. Uhmm so bilingual instruction, in improving understanding, in improving knowledge, you know may make you know certain students more knowledgeable as opposed to when they learn in English only and leave with you know little knowledge. So what are your views on that? Do you believe that uhmm maybe bilingual instruction may help if if they are exposed to both languages?

EOZ2: Mm. If it will help them being more employable?

I: Mm.

EOZ2: I think it will. I think uhmm when students don't understand uhm lectures taught in English and they don't ask, coz I know a lot of students don't ask. Then a lot of information is lost, in the process of learning. But if there's a bilingual aspect, in the sense that uhm that lecture is available in both English and Zulu and if they have information nges'Zulu in isiZulu they can easily get information the SAME information but only in English, then it WILL aid in their learning and most probably their employability. Because they, instead of that of eish I don't understand so I won't ask and it's fine, but ey I don't understand let me check kwis'Zulu (in Zulu) what what they're saying. Okay this is what it means in English okay fine, let's move on. In in from that point of view, I think it will it will help. It will.

I: Okay. Uhmm and then there's been an argument that bilingual instruction that includes isiZulu will discriminate those who don't know isiZulu at UKZN. What are your views on that?

EOZ2: [Laughs]. I think for any campus there's a certain level of discrimination. Uhm if you go to I don't know, Cape Town, Rhodes, no is it Rhodes no no no Stellenbosch. I mean I THINK they also have some courses in Afrikaans, I'm not quite sure about that. Uhm that's a discrimination right there because they have English, they have isiZulu, there's they have Sotho, they have Pedi, all these other languages that could be represented, but because majority, or maybe the population there or the social structure I'm not sure, is Afrikaans-speaking, then they can cater for that freely. But for us in UKZN nathi (we also) we have the same we can have the same reason as they do. Uhmm and we can't really cater for everyone otherwise we'd be having eleven, it wouldn't even be BI-lingual anymore I don't know what it would be coz it wouldn't be two languages. So it would be impractical to have to accommodate every other language that is represented in a campus. Eh I suppose that's why they use English. And then another language is an option. So I think the way that UKZN is going using English and then isiZulu as an option as well, bilingual, it's good. And the discriminating fact, it will always be there. I mean c'mon you can't, you can't solve it. You can only solve it by having every other lecture in all the other languages and for me I don't think that's practical. And also financially speaking you can't hire so many lecturers teaching each and every module in every language. So there will always be a discriminating fact. [inaudible word] I'm sure I mean even in Pretoria or Joburg they have bilingual instruction in whichever, not formally, but just to aid in learning because of the majority of students in class are speaking maybe SeSotho or Tswana. And it makes it easier. So, there'll always be discriminating factors, mainly because of the demographics. And you can't really change that much. But as long as there's English still available, then it's fine.

I: And then what do you think of the view that uhm having African languages in in you know different African languages in universities will take us back to maybe apartheid times you know. It will entrench that whole view of ethni- ethnicity. Whereas English unifies everyone in South Africa.

EOZ2: Uhm your home language also unifies you [laughs] coz it serves as a you know you can identify with people from your own language. It's like if you go to the states, and uthole umuntu okhuluma is'Zulu (you find someone who speaks isiZulu), you're like, "ah you speak Zulu. Oh

my gosh where you're from?" That in itself it's it's there's a sense of belonging ukuthi (that) you guys belong to the same clan you know, you belong to the same province. Somewhere you know, somehow, you're from the same homeland. So, language as well I think one of the that was one of the the tools that colonisers used to make us I don't know this is my own thinking, just to erase some of our you know our sense of pride, ukuthi (that) okay we're learning a different language, uhm we can't no longer communicate in our own mother tongue. And if you look at isiZulu, isiZulu is very powerful as a language. I mean if you read the Bible in English and the Bible in Zulu I'm sure in the the Zulu version izoshay' eskhonkosini (it will hit the nail on the head) because lichaza (it explains) everything to detail, it calls a spade a spade. Whereas English, it calls a spade something else depending on how it sounds. So, I think it's it's very very good ukuthi (that) the language that we have as South Africans, no matter what language it is, you have an option of of learning in it. I think not only is it good for you as a student, but also for the people that you're communicating with. Coz when you talk about what you're learning in your own mother tongue, it's not just you who is uhm the communicating one, but the others who are also involved in that conversation they're also picking up something because nikhuluma nge language eniyaziyo nonke (you are communicating in a language you all know). Uhmm you can imagine emcimbini (in a function) uhm if your guest speaker is speaking in English, only those who know English will understand. And depending on the TYPE of English that they're using, then they will understand. For example if it's an academic, uzokhuluma ngendlela naye akhuluma ngayo e-varsity (they'll speak in a way in which they speak at varsity). Uhm and what about those omama laba bakoNquthu (women from Nquthu) who didn't go to university they are excluded completely. But if you find somebody who can relate to everybody IN their mother tongue, then that person will be easily welcomed and everybody will get to participate in the discussion that's going on. So learning in the mother tongue, it it aids for other people to also participate in your learning, not just you because you are empowered to use that language like in English. I mean I know maw' sebenzis' isNgisi (when you use English) you're at SUCH an advantage, that you even forget ukuthi (that) hey, you're actually [14:12 inaudible word] for other people as well, and if you are constantly using that language laba abany' abant' abangak' understand kahle kahle (the people who don't quite understand you) they are excluded. And that also builds up some, I don't know, misunderstanding somewhere somehow. And also, this whole thing ukuthi uyay' tshela, ama model C (of being a snob, "model C's"), it comes from that. Because it's not because uyay' tshela or uyi model C (you're a snob or a "model C"), but it's because you're at a BETTER advantage of knowing MORE, and you know better than them, because they don't understand les' Ngis' os'khulumayo (the type of English that you're speaking). But

lab' abakhulum' isiZulu, uhm mabexoxa about conversation, mabe debat(a) you know bephikisana (But those who speak isiZulu, uhm when they talk about conversations, when they debate you know have disagreements), everybody can understand, everybody can pitch in, so ngeke bash' ukuthi hhay bayay' tshela bazenza ngcono (they can't say no they're snobs and they think they're better), because everybody's participating. So, this whole uhm, what's your question, I think it's it's it's a good thing because it also aids in other people the same you know clan or language abakhulum' isiZulu, ba participat(e) in the learning process, not just lo owaz' ísiNgisi kuphela (those who speak isiZulu, they participate in the learning process, not just the one who knows English).

I: Okay and then uhmm moving just outside of the learning context a bit, uhmm there's been an argument that you know the more black uhm South African students learn in English, the more they start speaking English in general [EOZ2: laughs], you know during just in general conversations, and that may possibly lead to extinction of indigenous languages one day and you know in some countries it has happened that some of the indigenous language have become extinct. Uhmm what are your views on that?

EOZ2: I agree. [laughs]. I think I'm falling to that trap. Ya, I agree a lot. Because, I mean ngifunda ngesiNgisi (I study in English) I've I I I we- I've since creche I've been to like a multiracial school. English is the main language of communication that you use in class, and also because of the other races enidlala nawo ema groundini (that you play with on the playgrounds) and all of that, you have to use English. And the more you use English, the more you subconsciously you know underuse the the mother tongue. I mean I remember even for me, isiZulu ngangisikhuluma ekhaya (I spoke isiZulu at home). Uhm when I left home I would speak English simply because of my friends and and class. Uhm so it yoh it will big time it will.

I: And what do you think is the best way to prevent that?

EOZ2: To prevent it? [I: M-hm]. Conversations. Conversations and education educaTING people in their mother tongue. Coz the mas' ubafundise ngolimi lwabo (when you teach them in their language) they can converse about that topic in that language. And for me that's that's something big. I've never tried it. [both laugh]. I've never tried it. And now unfortunately in my days there was no bilingualism in university. So I think the more people learn IN their language and the more they can engage IN that language then th- it can be used. Definitely.

I: And would you recommend bilingual instruction for your own children?

EOZ2: I would. [I: Yeah?]. Ah without a doubt I would.

I: And the reasons?

EOZ2: The reason. I think you know indigenous language, it's, there's so much to it, you know. There's so much to your own mother tongue. Uhm identity-wise, you know, where you come from, who you are. So you can imagine when you are not speaking, you can't communicate to your own people, in a language that they understand. It's such a shame, you know. It's like you're losing ukuthi wena ungubani (who you are). And and knowing who you are for me it's it's quite important so I would like izingane zami ukuthi uma ziye kwaGogo they know ukuthi bakhuluma isiZulu (for my kids to know that when they go to their Grandmother's they speak isiZulu). Even amongst themselves or amongst me as their Mom they would need to speak isiZulu to me because singamaZulu (we are Zulu), we're not asibona abelungu (we're not white). This is a borrowed language literally, it's just that we've learnt it. But isiZulu you're born with it it's your mother tongue. That's why it's a mother tongue I think. It could've been a father tongue [I: laughs] but you're brought of your Mom, out of your mother's womb. Whatever that she is you then become. So if she's umXhosa and you're born Xhosa-speaking, you'd lose that coz you're in an English-speaking school. You know, that just doesn't make sense. So I I would recommend bilingual to my kids, definitely.

I: Uhmm do you have any recommendations? For the implementation of bilingual instruction? Or for the implementation of the policy in general?

EOZ2: I do. I think a lot of things that are happening uhm in many universities they, they are good, but the the problem becomes when it's being rolled out. Uhm even wha- before it's rolled out, the communication stage, what's gonna be happening, uhm stakeholder involvement. I hadn't seen much of that in the bilingual policy. Like, if you look at a policy cycle, I'm not quite because I mean I don't know, but I'm assuming because they didn't maybe follow it to the T, which is okay, but I mean the communicating of the stakeholders, uhm input from other parties that can be involved, input from the STUDENTS even, the ones who are gonna be affected by this policy. I haven't really seen that happening nor have I heard of it happening. Uhmm input from the lecturers, you know, input from the public, coz nabo futhi (they as well)

the public are the people that are sending their kids to university so they need to participate in what's gonna be happening. And I haven't seen any of that happening. Uhmm social networks, you know students are very vibrant on social networks. I haven't seen any discussions going on about this policy and it affects the students, you know. Uhm if I compare the this stage njengoba kade kuvotwa (as there was voting) for SRC, we knew everyday what was going on. Okay the candidates are out, these are their names, uhm okay kukhona ama-manifesto (there are manifestos), this is who's presenting, okay kuyavotwa namhlanje (votes are being held today) from this time, you know, we were informed with what's going on. But, why couldn't that happen with this policy? You know, why couldn't students get notified? Why couldn't there be debates and hear different sides of the coin ukuthi (that) what are they saying? Uhm and I think HAD UKZN done THAT, if they haven't, then they would've gotten some rich information on how to BEST uhm prioritize THOSE people who are gonna be involved. The lecturers, the students, and and possibly the community. Coz akusizi uku implement(a) i-policy (it doesn't help to implement a policy) that is BRILLIANT, but nobody is adopting it, nobody is claiming it for themselves you know, nobody can see themselves using it. Then it just becomes another policy, and it's shelved, for those who WANT to use it WHEN they want to use it. Like now, not every module is bilingual. Maybe it's because they weren't told, or they're not interested, or they weren't involved, I don't know what their issue is, but it would've been very good if, you know, they went through the policy cycle involving the stakeholders, engaging uhm that whole participatory process. Coz I mean we ARE a public institution. So the decisions that are affecting students shouldn't necessarily be made by the teaching and learning committees or you know management kuphela (only). Coz ultimately WE are the ones that have to implement it and make it happen. So if we don't own it, it makes it very hard for it to be you know to be used, AND also to be sustainable. Coz we we, THIS is not just gonna be a once-off thing, we want to prolong it. So I think, that would've been a a very brilliant step. HAD they taken it. Maybe basazokwenza (they're still going to do it) I don't know. I don't think so coz it's already being used.

I: Ya. And then if you uhmm, if right now, your PhD was available in isiZulu, or rather in bilingual instruction, or maybe even either or, uhm would YOU take that opportunity? To to to do it, if it was fully equivalent to the English version of it?

EOZ2: You mean translating it? The end product?

I: No doing it.

EOZ2: Doing it?

I: Doing it. If it was fully available in isiZulu. Would you take it up in bilingual? Would you take it up in Zulu? Would you stick with the English version? [EOZ2: English version]. Mm.

EOZ2: Uhmm. Okay, because of the people that I'm working with, they do not understand isiZulu, my supervisors, that would be English. But based on the work that I do, uhm it would be isiZulu and isiSwati, because I'm gonna be in Nelspruit as well. So a lot of my work it's bilingual in nature because of the people on the ground, abantu basemakhaya (people from rural areas). I mean you can't go there and start speaking English, it doesn't make sense. So, on the ground it's bilingual, or trilingual, but then on paper it's purely English, and that's a big mistake, because labantu laba engithatha kubona i-information (the people from whom I'm getting my information), that I'm working with and I'm trying to see how we can move forward in their farms and what-not, IF I'm gonna present to them the end product uhm in English, then the whole process has been futile to them coz abasizakali (they aren't assisted). But had, uhmm, IF I go the other route and say okay fine uhm I'm working with you ngikhuluma nani ngolwimi eniliujwayele (I am speaking to you in a language that you're used to), we're engaging in in in Zulu, isiSotho, isiSwati, whatever the case may be, and then I write the dissertation, and then somehow get it translated, that would work to THEIR benefit as well. Otherwise I'm just using them for me to get a a degree.

I: And is there anything else that you'd like to add that I haven't covered in your questions?

EOZ2: Ya hey, uhmm training. I'm not sure if the policy covers the training of the teachers, capacity-building? Uhmm ya, I think that's another area that uhmm doesn't, that shouldn't be overlooked. Because even the ones, I mean even becoming a lecturer, you don't get trained to be a lecturer, I think. Kuya ngama qualifications akho (it depends on your qualifications) do you have a PhD? Do you have a Masters? Have you taught this- I mean have you done this module? Or whatever requirements they have and then you're you're in. But there's no course that you go on a lecturing course, but now if it's bilingual, and it's in tertiary, I think ukuthi (that) there needs to be some element of capacity-building, simply because it's new in UKZN. So you don't want lecturers to be thrown into a deep end where it's just trial and error, ALL the time. And it's only after a LOOOONG while you realise ukuthi (that) okay this is how we should've done it. Sekuze kwaba khona izinkinga (and problems have developed already)

along the way. So I think uhm, some level of building capacity to THOSE who are implementing the language policy, or the bilingual instruction in classes. That should be taken care of by hopefully teaching and learning. [both laugh]. Ya.

I: Thank you very much for that input, uhm it's duly noted. And thank you very much for your time.

EOZ2: Thank you for inviting me. [I: Thank you].