

EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN RURAL SECONDARY  
SCHOOLS IN KWAZULU-NATAL:

THE IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES ON  
LEARNERS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES.

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Human Sciences, University  
of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

## **DECLARATION**

**Submitted in fulfilment/ partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of philosophy, in the Graduate Programme in the Faculty of Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu- Natal, South Africa.**

**I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was /was not used ( delete whichever is applicable) and that my supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu- Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.**

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## **ABSTRACT**

It was as Head of Department of Languages in a rural high school in Southern KwaZulu-Natal, and as an L1 English educator in a primarily Zulu-speaking environment that I first realised the extent to which language is not neutral, and became curious about learners' language choices in their community. My observation of rural parents sending learners to English multicultural schools made me similarly realise the extent to which language carries power. Language also carries ideologies and values, and can empower or disempower learners. At the same time, language is contextually and culturally embedded; and any attempt to explain language choice and language usage has to take a multiplicity of factors into account.

This thesis addresses the topic of emerging bilingualism in three rural schools and school communities in Southern KwaZulu-Natal. In these primarily Zulu-speaking communities, an increasing dominance of English is resulting in bilingualism in what were formerly primarily monolingual communities. In particular it would appear that the bilingual education prescribed by education authorities is causally implicated in this emerging bilingualism. As a result, rural communities, like urban communities, are becoming melting pots where different languages, cultures and value systems are interwoven to satisfy economic, political, social and cultural needs.

The South African Constitution speaks of multiculturalism and multilingualism as a defining characteristic of being South African. These principles are entrenched in broad national, provincial and local (school) educational policies. One such educational policy is the National Language in Education Policy (LIEP), which has considerable implications for schools in rural communities. While the LIEP postulates the eleven official languages as equal in bilingual education, in practice English is given an elevated position as the primary Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT). This paradox inherent in the

LIEP appears to be having considerable impact on language usage and choices in both urban and rural communities.

This investigation traces a group of rural communities which are currently experiencing a gradual transition from Zulu monolingualism towards increasing English and Zulu bilingualism. This study investigates this transition in the school and home context, as well as in its impact on the broader community. It considers whether additive or subtractive bilingualism may be emerging and the extent to which the educational policies of Outcomes-Based Education and LOLT may be causally implicated. The data collection methods employed include participant observation, questionnaires and interviews, which allow me to construct a detailed description of language usage, both in the school context, at home and in the community. In examining the patterns of the language choices of Grade 11 learners in the three selected high schools, I seek to allow the impact of the new educational policies on these learners and on their rural communities to become visible.

I then consider a number of explanations for the types of bilingualism emerging in these three communities, in terms of varying contextual factors, the educational environment and the social and cultural identities favoured by speakers.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>BICS</b>	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
<b>CALP</b>	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
<b>CNE</b>	Christian National Education
<b>CUMSA</b>	A new Curriculum Model for South Africa
<b>C2005</b>	Curriculum 2005
<b>ESL</b>	English Second Language
<b>FET</b>	Further Education and Training
<b>GET</b>	General Education and Training
<b>GETC</b>	General Education and Training
<b>HELPSA</b>	Help South Africans learn English
<b>HOD</b>	Head of Department
<b>IFP</b>	Inkatha Freedom Party
<b>KZN</b>	Kwa-Zulu Natal
<b>LIEP</b>	Language in Education policy
<b>LOLT</b>	Language of Learning and Teaching
<b>L1</b>	First Language
<b>L2</b>	Second Language
<b>NATED</b>	National Education
<b>NCE</b>	National Christian education
<b>NCS</b>	National Curriculum Statements
<b>NDOE</b>	National Department of Education
<b>NEPI</b>	National Education Policy investigation
<b>NQF</b>	National Qualification Framework
<b>NTSI</b>	National Training Strategy Initiative
<b>OBE</b>	Outcomes-Based Education
<b>RNCS</b>	Revised National Curriculum Statements
<b>SADTU</b>	South African Democratic Teachers Union
<b>SASA</b>	South African Schools Act
<b>SEMS</b>	Superintendent of Education Management Service
<b>SMT</b>	School management team
<b>SGB</b>	School Governing Body
<b>STATSSA</b>	Statistics South Africa
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The South African Constitution, as finally promulgated in 1997, proposes a new educational dispensation for democratic South Africa; educational policies specifying a multicultural and multilingual approach to education are now seeking to realise this. Human linguistic diversity is seen as contributing to the maintenance of unique cultures and as supporting South Africa's inherited languages. Multiculturalism and multilingualism are seen as the hallmarks of a dynamic, transparent, democratic and progressive society. The new educational policies Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) and the Language in Education Policy (LIEP), are attempting to transform social, economic, linguistic and cultural aspects of South African communities, in an environment increasingly characterised by broad technological advancement, information technologies, modernisation and globalisation. Language, too, has become a linguistic resource closely aligned to economic and social mobility.

To what extent are these social and economic expansions, and their associated linguistic consequences, also being experienced in rural areas? Have formerly monolingual rural communities too, over the past 10 years, gradually begun to absorb the new multicultural vision? In an educational environment where English is increasingly being advanced by the Language in Education Policy (1997), this project focuses on Zulu-speaking learners' choice of language/s in their school, home and community, and seeks to understand whether their increasing use of two languages derives from their educational environment, from contextual factors, or – as is most likely – from a complex interplay of both of these.

To understand these issues, we need to ask in some detail what functions English and Zulu serve in the communities under consideration. In South Africa more broadly, language choice plays an important role in creating and

constructing identities – as evinced, for instance, by the choice of isiZulu for cultural and traditional local identities, and the choice of English for social and economic identities with global potential. Are these South African rural communities, too, caught between the trappings of a modernising culture and their traditional African Renaissance? While it is clear that some prefer the alluring western, modern culture and values, and others hold on to their ancestral and traditional heritage, the vast majority appears to be caught between both worlds, and to be seeking the best from both worlds. Are rural learners, too, caught in this linguistic “push and pull”?

The literature survey presented in chapter two confirms the paucity of research into language practices, and especially bilingual language practices, in rural communities in South Africa. At the same time it confirms the need for language to be theorised, not as a neutral tool, but as closely implicated in societal power relations and in the construction of speaker identities. Bilinguals are appropriately conceptualised as speakers with multi-competencies, and any explanation of emerging bilingualism will need to take a wide range of factors into account, including in the proposed study education policies as possible agents of bilingualism.

Against this background, the thesis investigates the patterns of emerging bilingualism in Umzumbe, a rural educational ward located on the Lower South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal province, by focusing on the language usage of Grade 11 learners from three secondary schools. To achieve this, the thesis draws primarily on participant observation by myself as to language practices within the schools, and on reports by the selected learners as to their perceived language use in school, home and community.

As an initial step the socio-economic context of each community is mapped out, and within this context current language practices and language usage patterns are presented in some detail. This information is, in turn, used to discuss a series of topics: learner perceptions of their studying through the medium of English; the role and effects of educational policies on classroom

and playground practices; the nature of the bilingualism being developed in these schools, homes and communities; and the varying roles of further issues such as community attitudes, the influence of learners attending multi-cultural schools, the perceived and actual economic and social value of English and Zulu, the political constellation, and the identities supported by these two languages. Within this broader context I seek to understand the extent to which educational policies, in conjunction with other implicated factors, are furthering bilingualism, whether the present outcome is to be considered additive or subtractive bilingualism, and the likely longer-term linguistic outcomes on learners and their communities.

The detailed research questions which structure the investigation are to be found in 5.1 (Goal of Research) on pages 105 and 106 below.

Chapter one maps out the context of the investigation, within current debates in the educational sector, and more broadly in South Africa, as to the significance of multilingualism and multiculturalism versus the increasing encroachment of English.

Chapter two reviews the associated research literature. I consider the various approaches to bilingualism, and ways in which the intersections of language and society have been theorised, in terms of language and power, language and culture, the linkages between language and the economy and politics, language and identity. I conclude with an understanding of bilingualism and a theorised framework for this investigation, which will allow me to best explore developments in Umzumbe.

Chapter three presents the educational context, and explores the ways in which the approach to education of the former Apartheid government has to a large extent shaped the present educational dispensation. I discuss how the curriculum has evolved, and present the present Outcomes-Based approach. The implementation and practical applications of the present Language in Education policy are also considered here.

Chapter four maps out the socio-economic context of this investigation and the geographical, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions of Umzumbe ward. In addition the research sites are identified and the three schools and their environments presented, in terms of the above headings. Clearly, the social, economic, political and cultural context will impact on the linguistic repertoire of these three communities.

Chapter five presents the research methodology employed in this investigation. I present and justify the research strategy of a combined quantitative and qualitative approach which will enhance the validity and reliability of the data collected.

Chapters six, seven and eight present the detailed data from the three research sites: Schools and Communities A, B and C respectively. Quantitative and qualitative data is presented, in each case from the school, then the homes and finally the community surrounding each school. The information derived from learners, parents and educators as well as from learners attending multicultural schools is located within the socio-economic context.

Chapter 9 contains a brief discussion of the impact of the educational policies on the bilingualism emerging in these communities, drawing especially on data from the departmental officials who work closely with these rural high schools.

Chapter 10 presents the analysis of the data and my findings, within the context of the theorised framework developed in Chapter 2. The three research sites are analysed comparatively, some conclusions are drawn, and I consider the full

range of implicated factors in developing an explanation of the types of bilingualism found in these research sites.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by drawing together my findings, detailing their significance and locating them in the broader South African context. I also identify some areas for further research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Learners in Umzumbe are clearly located between languages. The language they first speak as children is isiZulu, but much of their school education takes place through the medium of English, and use of English appears to be extending into daily use in various domains. The two languages involved are by no means neutral means of communication, but are a conduit for, and come to represent, various values and ‘goods’ in their community: the traditional heritage, for instance, versus social and economic advancement. On a common-sense level, one might say that learners are ‘pushed and pulled’ between languages. The ‘pushing and pulling’ is done in part by authority figures such as parents, community leaders and teachers; but learners themselves make choices in terms of their communicative needs, and in terms of the ‘goods’ they wish to position themselves towards. Learners themselves undoubtedly feel ‘pushed and pulled’ by the various influences in their community.

Yet this commonsense understanding undoubtedly poses more questions than it answers, in terms of what transpires in the community, and why. The function of this chapter is to draw on the wide range of research literature and to develop a framework within which the patterns of bilingualism in Umzumbe can be properly analysed and understood. First of all, this chapter will consider language in its various intersections with society, by focussing on language and power (which must include economic and political power), and language and identity (which will include culture). Secondly, this chapter will consider approaches to bilingualism and the explanations currently being favoured as to the emergence of bilingualism.



## **2.2 APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE**

### **2.2.1 Language and power; the power of English**

Here I discuss what the power of language embodies and the ways in which language exercises power. I will then focus in particular on Kachru's (1986) and de Swaan's (2001) models. Studies of the power of language have increasingly become aligned with the hegemony of English, and I will examine how this spread of English has been perceived to impact on communities worldwide: what negative or positive associations are experienced by communities throughout the world. Finally I will focus on the increasing impact of globalisation on South Africa, as influencing the spread of English as well.

Let us begin with a discussion of language and power. Given that language intersects with every stratum in society, researchers such as Bourdieu (1991), Christie (1985, 1989, 1992, 1997), Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994, 1998) have unpacked this relationship of language and power by exploring the interconnectedness of language with social, political, economic and cultural power. Language has social, political, economical and cultural power.

Firstly language is seen as socially shaped and socially shaping since it intersects with society in a powerful network. It is a dynamic and complex communication system. Paola (2001) examines language policies, varieties and attitudes, and locates language within psychological, social and cultural dimensions and as inextricably linked to power relations in society. Recent studies by Ferrer and Sankoff refer to language as symbolically reflecting power relations of the wider society it serves (2004: 3).

Secondly language carries political power and can therefore be considered as never neutral. In particular the language of the dominant, of elites, carries political power. Christie compares language to a political institution: "those

who are wise in its ways, capable of using it to shape and serve important personal and social goals, will be the ones that are ‘empowered’... able, that is, not merely to participate effectively in the world, but also able to act upon it, in the sense that they can strive for significant social change” (1992: 142).

Finally language is a tool for economic purposes. Language as a tool of communication carries the economic power to shape and change a nation’s prospects in terms of a larger global market. Originally this would have been at local, regional or national levels; but with modernisation and globalisation and the associated need for international trade came the need for international communication. With increasing globalisation comes the need for a central, unified and universal means of communication. As a result countries experienced the demand and need for an international language to achieve economic viability. A language which can satisfy this need encapsulates built in power.

I now turn to the large body of literature which has focussed on the dominant role of English as a language of power and as a hegemonic language. We will begin by examining two models which examine power encapsulated in language with specific reference to English.

Kachru (1976, 1986, 1992) presents a three circle model which marks an inner, outer and expanding circle with direct implications for global language change. The inner circle refers to the traditional bases of English as used as primary language on a regional level (in the United Kingdom, United States of America, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). The outer circle represents the spread of English in non-native settings, forming speech communities of great diversity where English is the one of two or more codes in a multilingual context and is given an important status. The expanding circle represents the recognition of English as an international language with its varieties in other countries in the world. This circle involves nations such as China, Japan, Greece, Poland etc. which recognise the importance of English as an international language (1992: 38). Kachru talks of the expanding circle and

the temporary life cycle of languages. But English, unlike many other languages, seems to have an ongoing lifespan: English as language of power monopolises these circles. Kachru speaks of power and ideology in terms of the claim that English has created a culture of importance for itself in business, education and law. Through this conduit English has been identified as power. Abbas clarifies this argument when he states; “We do need English to be members of the world community....the world of nations” (1993: 155).

De Swaan’s (2001) global language constellation proposes a global language hierarchy linked to the political, social, economic and cultural stratum of every country. At the top of the global language hierarchy is a hyper central language, English, which, de Swaan claims, holds the entire world language system together. Next are the super central languages, and then the peripheral languages which are linked to the former through multilingualism. This language constellation is inherently unstable, especially because the language at the top (English) tends to expand at the expense of lesser languages. De Swaan elaborates on this political economy of language by focussing on the concept of collective cultural capital, which refers to the conservation of the cultural heritage embedded in a language. He quotes the example of the rivalry between Hindi and English in India. He uses a macro-perspective in which the present globalising process includes the global integration of the language system, with the attendant use of English. From a micro-perspective, the theory systematically assesses the rise and decline of languages through reference to the choice of individuals about particular languages. English enjoys pride of place by linking the system together from the top down and constantly attracting new recruits from the bottom up. De Swaan adds that in the research into the political sociology of language, languages have been shown to interact with one another to varying degrees, and this interaction no doubt has tended to increase as globalisation has acquired momentum. De Swaan’s theory argues that global language interaction is so intense and systematic that it constitutes a global language system and that the entire system is held together by one global language, English (2001: 250).

In addition to developing his three circle model, Kachru ( 1986, 1992) has also reminded us that linguistic power, like any other power, can be positive or negative, exploitative or beneficial (1986: 123). The case for each of these has been argued repeatedly, especially with reference to English.

Researchers have frequently argued the positive influence of English. Many studies world-wide have suggested that the use of English impacts positively on communities. These positive impacts include economic accessibility, social mobility, modernisation, globalisation, technology, and political advantages. English is seen as a developmental tool with regard to political, social and economic upliftment. Gonzalez (1995), Caullocks and Postlewaite (1988) and Christie (1989) provide strong arguments in favour of English within colonial countries. Further studies by Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwel (1995), Maher and Yashiro (1991), Kerswil (1994), Davies (1994), Banks (1995, 1998) Crystal (1997) and Hintel (1999) and Smith 2001, all highlight the importance of social status, multilingualism, economic and linguistic accessibility, as well as the concept of language as wealth or commodity in a global market. Even resilient countries like Japan have begun changing their language policy to assist the economic policy of the mother country. Maher and Yashiro depict how the Japanese economy opened the door to pluralism, with the resultant mixing of people and languages in the emergence of bilingualism (1995: 56). Gonzalez' investigation, too, has revealed the need for both Filipino and English to be recognised. His suggestion was to use the synergy created by two languages in society rather than treating them as separate hostile entities (1995 in Edwards: 211). Hundreds of other studies (for instance, Smith 1987, Sridhar 1989, Wade 1991, Chick and Wade 1997, Kamwangamalu 1996, Crystal 1997, Schuring and Calteaux 1997, Parushotam 1998 and Scotton 2000), reaffirm the positive influence of English.

Some researchers, however, focus on what is perceived as negative influence of English on communities. Many of these researchers see English as carrying separate traditions and norms and thus as having its own agenda. English is viewed as destructive of other languages, cultures, traditions and values.

Phillipson develops the notion of a “secret cabal” which he presents as a kind of world wide capitalist conspiracy which uses English as its instrument or tool (1992: 301). He sees the expansion of English as linguistic imperialism, although he notes that the language in itself is not imperialistic, because it is structural and cultural inequalities that assert and maintain linguistic dominance. His analysis includes the terms centre and periphery to designate the developed and less developed nations. He develops the concept of linguicism, which designates the ideologies, structures, and practices used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce unequal division of power and resources, with many implications for English as a powerful language (1992: ix). Pennycook (1998) agrees and considers language as intrinsically ideological, since language carries alien ideologies and values (to mother tongue speakers) and seeks to reproduce the socio-political institutions and opinions of its native speakers. Pennycook lists cases in Brazil where English is viewed as a superior language and those with knowledge of the language are considered to have a better way of describing the world (1998: 156). In his study of language planning and bilingual education in Catalonia, Strubell uses the telling phrase that bilingualism is a “wolf in sheep’s clothing”: language is not neutral. His recommendations are that there should be links between information sources in the classroom and the home, and that consumers’ language rights should be applied to an increasing range of commercial sectors (1996: 250).

Although some researchers have argued strongly against English, positive assessments predominate. Even Mazrui (1997) (who is known as an opponent of English) agrees that Pan-Africanist solidarity can be achieved through English. English has been viewed as a causal factor in the growth of the African national consciousness as a detribalising process (1997: 39).

This influence of English has spread across the globe. Even African countries reflect the increasingly hegemonic position of English and other international languages aligned with power. In countries like Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Namibia, English has gained ascendancy over the local or indigenous languages. English was adopted as an official language in offices, legal proceedings, and administration, and used in more elevated literary works. Other relevant studies include those by Mutasa (1998), Breitborde (1998) and Sommers (1995).

In South Africa, too, many of these issues have been considered. Here, too, it is agreed that English has gained hegemonic status. Lanham speaks of the instrumental motivation to acquire English, because English is seen as the language of international communities, of trade and job opportunities and as supporting upward mobility and status (1998 cited in Nortje and Wissing: 150). The English language as a tool of communication and empowerment, especially for global communication, is becoming increasingly important within rural communities. The language policy in high schools in particular emphasises the development and recognition of English in academic performance and achievement for all learners. Despite attempts to develop vernaculars, English is still viewed by parents and learners as the supreme language of economic and social mobility, and as the language of power. For instance, de Klerk (1995) and de Kadt (1993) have carried out investigations into language choice and usage patterns and focused on language acquisition within the urban communities of Grahamstown and Umlazi. Ndebele (1987), Dlamini (1995) and Van der Walt (1995) have examined the role of English and social change. Other local studies which resonate include the following: Ndebele (1987), Ngugi (1988), Magubane (1989), Kamwangamalu (1989, 1996, 2001, 2004), Alexander (1989, 1992), Pierce (1990), Khati (1992), Mesthrie (1992, 1995, 2002), Luckett (1992, 1993), Adendorff (1993), Nwaila (1993, de Klerk (1993, 1996, 2000), Wade (1995), Kruger (1995), Reagan (1986), Buthelezi (1996), Wright (1996), Bosch and de Klerk (1996) Extra and Maartens (1998), Parushotam (1998), de Kadt and Appalaraju (2001), Herbert and Bailey (2001) and Chick and McKay (2002). These researchers have

carried out extensive research on language acquisition and bilingualism, the role of English and language and identity in South African communities. They found imminent bilingualism and English as the dominant language in many contexts.

A recent debate on SABC3 News (10 May 2007) spoke of a second economy and the need for inclusion of those local businesses which have been disadvantaged as a result of language constraints. Many business people do not understand contracts in English and therefore need them translated into their indigenous languages. Further media debates reflect on the need for South Africa to be an integral part of the global market and economy, which carries further language implications which are likely to result in the emergence of multilingual identities.

### **2.2.2. Language and identity; identities associated with English**

Over the past decade, identity and identities have increasingly been used as a framework to explain a variety of language features and usages, and this appears a useful approach for the current piece of research as well. A number of models of language and identity have been proposed. Language is increasingly seen as one of the tools used in constructing identities, and in particular where identities are changing. In this regard, too, the roles of English feature increasingly, in juxtaposition with mother tongues and the identities associated with these.

Researchers have theorised identity in a number of ways. One older theory which has remained important is the social identity theory developed by Tajfel (1979). Tajfel speaks of a particular group identity, where social behaviour is a joint function affiliated with a particular group identity (cited in Herriman and Burnaby 1996: 135). On the other hand, Jacoby and Ochs (1995) argue that identities are not fixed, pre-ordained entities into which agents slip like overcoats; rather agents are involved in the constant process of negotiation, contest and co-construction which refers to the joint creation of a form,

interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, and other culturally meaningful realities (1995, in Landry and Allard 1996: 51). Post-modern approaches conceptualise identities as “fluid and constantly constructed in terms of social and cultural values, as well as within economic and political contexts” (Nero 2005: 190); and language is considered to play a central role in these ongoing processes. Researchers who conceptualise identity in this way include Giles and Bryne (1980, 1982), Pennycook (1994, 1998), Scollon and Scollon (1995), Piller (2000), Manning (2003) and Nero (2005).

Hundreds of studies have considered social and cultural identities as transmitted and created through language. Kuter’s example of English and French (as two dominant languages) and the decline of Gaelic identify three symbolic roles which ensure the survival of the majority code and loss of the minority code: political, socio-economic and cultural symbolism. The majority language represents an international and urban outlook rather than a rural and local identity (1990, cited in Dorian 1992: 348). Other researchers who have extended this understanding of language and identity are Davis (1994), Baker (1993, 2006), Masch (1993), Freeman (1993), Hellsten (1994), Goldstein (1997), Landry and Allard (1996) and Crystal (1997). Crystal speaks of language as synonymous with identity: “more than anything else language shows we belong; providing the most natural badge or symbol, of public and private identity” (1997: 18). These studies have also linked different languages with different identities.

Recent research has produced a wide consensus that language functions as an important force in constructing social reality, to form social identity in negotiations of power relationships. Johnson’s critical analysis of the cultural power of language and its effects on the development of an individual’s identity is viewed in terms of negotiated power relations. Second languages are means for those with power to oppress those who are powerless. Johnson’s analysis of the social and cultural impact on indigenous people of acquiring a second language highlights identity as pivotal to this process (1999: 143).



More importantly, research has revealed language as implicated in issues such as status, culture, education and identity. Extra and Verhoeven (1993) present an overview in their introduction to community languages in a cross-cultural perspective, which links the Dutch situation to the other international contexts. Ytsma and de Jong (1993) describe how the Frisian-speaking majority in the province of Friesland enjoy lower status than Dutch speakers in society as a whole. They also suggest that the educational opportunities currently available are insufficient to reverse the process of language shift and point to poor prospects for the long term survival of the only indigenous minority language in the Netherlands (cited in Extra and Verhoeven: 40). Culture is also seen as linguistically shaped. Language carries specific ideologies, traditions and values which can be considered modern or traditional. Williams talks of the old dichotomy between a dominant language associated with modernization and a vernacular associated with traditional cultures (cited in Fishman 1999: 5). Heidi's study of English in Shanghai (China) also reveals that access to alternative values and cultures leads to an alteration of identity (1993: 4). Breitborde examines the case of Kru and English in Monrovia, Liberia and concludes that historical consciousness has allowed the urban Kru to appropriate English, in addition to Kru, as a marker of their urban ethnic identity, which has yielded a rich and complex set of meanings and values for the English language in their lives (1998: 227).

Furthermore, many studies suggest that multicultural communities are encouraging different identities through different languages. Recent studies on language are proposing identity as a recurring and dominant theme affecting multilingual communities. Knowledges (1998) suggests that the right to decision-making in Latvia is reduced by 'supra-national agents' (international or European organisations) since language conflicts and issues on the one hand are about the social integration of a nation, and on the other hand, about democratic ways of managing linguistic diversity. He recommends a socio-cultural variant of multiculturalism as important for Kyrgyzstan, in that this approach would protect and promote the identity of linguistic minorities (cited

in Edwards 2004: 77). Researchers like Zhiming (2000), Aikhenvald (2001), and Vakhtin (2001) claim that language shift is not a matter of outside influences or constraints but rather a matter of individual or group choice.

But language and identity include further associations: in particular associations speakers have with the dominant language, as well as associations with their mother tongue. As already mentioned, English is associated with a number of identities: high status, educational upliftment, economic viability, social mobility and power. Here Scotton's (2000) model of marked and unmarked social functions is of relevance. Scotton explains that the selection of code (as marked and unmarked) is associated with social meanings. An unmarked choice is associated with objective and neutral situations and the use of the dominant, or expected, language in that particular context, while a marked choice is associated with a more personal and subjective situation and the use of a language which is not immediately expected in that context. Scotton's model presents speakers' choices as motivated by their social goals, interactions and identities. The model identifies three arenas as locales of all marked linguistic choices: an identity arena, a transactional arena and a power arena, which together offer a plausible explanation for bilingualism and multilingualism within South African communities (2000: 10). Exclusion from a specific language would imply disempowerment and the creation of a marginalised class. Scotton's model and its positioning of English (or any dominant language) and the mother tongue have been extensively used by Ellis (1985), Zuengler (1989), Sridhar 1989, Blommaert (1994), Pennycook (1994), Kerswill (1994), Heller (1995), Kamwangamalu (1996), Wright (1996), Janks (1993), Chick and Wade (1997), Parushotam (1998) and Hintel (1999). Scotton's (2000) marked and unmarked model impacts on the understanding of multilingualism since it clearly identifies empowerment or disempowerment through linguistic exposure. This in turn suggests specific social identities (as equal or elitist identities). Of relevance is Chick and Wades' application of Scotton's marked model in terms of *elite closure* where they insist that socio-political elites tend to exclude the masses from effective participation in

economic and political arenas through language exclusion, thus maintaining an elitist identity (1997: 258).

Many studies of language and identity have addressed the impact of the spread of English. These studies, including Canagarajah (1986, 1995), Kuo and Jernudd (1990), Ho Wah (1994, 1998), Gopinathan, Pakir, Kam and Saravanan (1994), Pan (1995) tend to confirm the strong links between language and identity. The Asian continent has been strongly affected by the rapid influence of English; the wide range of research undertaken makes it clear that the choice of English in bilingual communities, in most cases, is associated with status, social/economic mobility, opportunity, power and specific identities. Wei's study of British Chinese shift to English illustrates the younger generation's active involvement in the promotion of English and the associated modern cultural identity, resulting in the rejection of Chinese (1994: 105). Even a resilient country like Japan (a country which has always prided itself on its monolingual and mono-cultural identity and has always considered foreigners with suspicion) has been affected by English. Kanno's (2003) study of Japanese and English crystalises the 'push and pull' experienced by many bilingual communities: the deliberate choice of English for economic and social mobility, and the choice of Japanese for cultural traditions.

South Africa, too, has embraced the advantages of English and as such encourages the spread of English in local communities. Nortje and Wissing (1998) comment that in South Africa multilingualism is characteristic of many spheres of life. Rapid urbanisation in recent years has resulted in cities and townships becoming a 'melting pot' of many languages with English as the 'lingua franca' (cited in Hendrikse 1998: 140). According to Chick and Wade (1997), Zulu is a lingua franca principally among the working class, while English is the dominant lingua franca of intercultural communication among the educated elite in KwaZulu-Natal and in other provinces in the country. Not much research has been undertaken in South African rural areas. This project therefore sets out to gauge the influence of English on rural communities.

## 2.3 APPROACHES TO BILINGUALISM

A recent overview such as *The Handbook of Bilingualism* (Bhatia and Ritchie 2004) shows how broadly this field of research has now been conceptualised. The introductory chapter by Edwards (2004) begins by considering how bilingualism can be defined and measured, and then moves to the acquisition of bilingual competence. After summarising some theoretical perspectives, he focuses in turn on bilingualism and intelligence, borrowing, interference and code switching, some social aspects, and what is currently a core issue: bilingualism and identity. I will draw selectively on this body of research, focussing especially on aspects of societal bilingualism.

I begin with definitions of bilingualism. Bilingualism refers to the use of two languages in various domains. While most researchers describe it specifically as the use of two languages by an individual, the precise nature of this understanding has undergone much change over the years. Beardsmore, for instance, describes it as the alternate use of two languages by the same individual: bilingualism must be able to account for the presence of at least two languages within one and the same speaker, and the ability in these two languages may or may not be equal (1986: 3). Baker (2006) introduces some further distinctions: for instance, a bilingual individual may be able to speak two languages, but may tend to speak only one language in practice. On the other hand there may be the case of the speaker regularly using two languages, but competence in one language may be limited. In this way, Baker distinguishes between language ability and language use (a difference between degree and function).

Further attempts to describe individual bilingualism more precisely have resulted in a vast array of terminology. Lambert (1972), Fishman (1972, 1980, 1989, 1999), Swain and Lapkin (1982), Oksa (1983), Beardsmore (1986) (for instance) have introduced concepts such as stable and unstable

bilingualism, balanced, receptive, productive, incipient, primary and secondary, elective and circumstantial bilingualism, and semilingualism. Some of this terminology will be useful for this project. For instance, balanced bilinguals are speakers with equally strong competence in their two languages; this term assesses the level of competence in each language.

Some of these terms focus on the underlying reasons for bilingualism. Elective bilinguals, for instance, choose to learn an additional language (do learners have much choice in the classroom?); they may add a second language without losing their first language. Circumstantial bilinguals, on the other hand, learn another language to function effectively because of their circumstances. Their first language is insufficient to meet the educational, political, and employment demands, and the communicative needs of society in which they are placed. (This will often apply to immigrants.) These are individuals who must become bilinguals to operate in the majority language society that surrounds them. Clearly, their first language will be in danger of being replaced by the second language (Baker 2006: 4). A further question about bilinguals will be, do they use their two languages for different purposes? As Fishman has famously asked, who speaks which language to whom and when? (1965 cited in Baker: 5). Baker (2006), too, notes that language cannot be divorced from the context in which it is used. In particular the social environment in which two languages function is crucial to the understanding of bilingualism, as individuals use their two languages in various role relationships.

An important approach to individual bilingualism which has underpinned much recent research is the investigation of bilingualism as a transitional stage towards language loss (Anderson 1979, de Vries 1980, Giles and Bryne 1982). Bilingualism has often been seen and discussed as a midway stage, often intergenerational, between language acquisition and language shift. Beardsmore has spoken of the pre-bilingual stage as incipient bilingualism (1986: 21). In the acquisition of a second language, there is initially some limited language skill which increases and progresses through the receptive to

the productive bilingual stage until it includes the complex language skills necessary to survive in a socially demanding world. However, in many cases this individual bilingualism turns out to be unstable, and may finally result in language shift over several generations to what was initially the second language.

Beardsmore speaks further of covert bilingualism which occurs “in situations where a minority group, under pressure of social stigma, undergoes a process of assimilation to the majority’s group’s language, and in the quest for upward social mobility will conceal the cultural attributes as well as the language of origin /vernacular”. He notes however that “increasing signs of ethnic vitality amongst minority groups in all parts of the world are tending to minimise occurrence of covert bilingualism on a societal level although it may arise on the individual level” (1986: 22).

I will now discuss the two divergent approaches to individual bilingualism. Cook (2002) and Grosjean (2001) have distinguished two contrasting approaches to individual bilingualism, which derive from the anticipated levels of linguistic competency. The first, designated the monolingual or fractional view of bilinguals, evaluates a bilingual, so-to-speak, as two monolinguals in one person. The second is a more holistic view which argues that a bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but that on the contrary he or she has a unique linguistic profile (cited in Baker 2006: 9).

The monolingual view of bilingualism assumes that a bilingual speaker will be as fluent as a monolingual speaker in each language (Baker 2006: 6), and evaluates the speaker on this basis as more or less competent. This monolingual view of bilingualism has generated the much criticised concept of semilingualism. This term was developed to designate bilinguals who were seen as lacking proficiency in both of their languages. For instance, Hansegard (1975) claimed that some bilingual speakers, when compared with monolinguals, displayed deficiencies such as a lack of creativity in each language, and difficulties in thinking and expressing emotions in either

language (cited in Baker 2006:7). This claimed lack of linguistic competence was then used to explain under-development. According to Baker (2006), the term semilingualism has since been severely criticised as focusing on underachievement rather than achievement, and as a self-fulfilling prophecy which blames the victim (in most cases immigrant groups). He points out that it is, in reality, economic, political and social conditions that create under-development, and not language use. Most bilinguals use their two languages for different purposes and events, i.e. language use is specific to a context, and language use may require differing levels of competence. He adds that educational tests (which are often used to determine levels of competence in a language) are insensitive to the qualitative aspects of languages and to the great range of language competencies. He concludes that it is inappropriate to compare monolingual and bilingual language ability and use. Language loss (if this is the final outcome) is unlikely to be simply the result of being bilingual, as economic and social or educational factors are generally also contributing causes (2006: 9-10).

In contrast to the claims of semilingualism, Cook (2002) and Grosjean (2001) present a more positive alternative view of bilinguals. Bilinguals are viewed as those with “multi-competences”. Bilinguals are described here as complete linguistic entities, as an integrated whole, who have the ability to use their two languages with different people, in different contexts and for different purposes (cited in Baker 2006:12). As such, the levels of proficiency in each language will depend on the contexts as well as the frequency of language use. Thus communicative competence in one of a bilingual’s two languages may be stronger in some domains than in others. These complexities of when, where and with whom bilinguals use each of their languages reveal the multi-competences of bilinguals (cited in Baker 2006: 13).

At the same time, individuals who speak two languages also exist in a language or speech community, and this has resulted in a further core distinction, that between individual and societal bilingualism (see, for instance, Lambert 1972,

Fishman 1972, Oksaar 1983 and Beardsmore 1986).<sup>1</sup> There is a core difference in perspective between bilingualism as an individual characteristic, and bilingualism considered as the spread of two or more languages operating within a group, community, region or country. Romaine notes that the choices made by individuals in a variety of situations may become institutionalised at the societal levels in communities where bilingualism is widespread (1989: 2). Such societal bilingualism emerges from the linguistic forces present in a community, as well as from individual language choices. As Beardsmore (1986) claims, societal bilingualism is the outcome of individual linguistic behaviour.

Societal bilingualism has long been analysed by means of the concept of diglossia. Bilingualism has been positioned essentially as a characteristic of individual linguistic behaviour, and the term diglossia characterizes linguistic behaviour at the socio-cultural level (Beardsmore 1986: 39). Diglossia denotes the systematic spread of linguistic functions over two varieties, or languages, in a community – typically the spread of so-called high and low linguistic functions. This concept was first developed by Ferguson (1959), as follows: Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, super-posed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (1959: 10)

Subsequently, Fishman (1980) in Baker (2006) extended the concept of diglossia to the systematic use of two languages (and not just two language varieties) within a geographical area.

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<sup>1</sup> Hamers and Blanc (2000) speak of bilingualism as language contact at the societal level and bilinguality as language contact in the individual level.



Ferguson's (1959) distinction between what is often termed a high variety and a low variety, of course, is more about the status and power of languages than about the languages as language varieties. For instance it is the specific language context in a country that renders one language more prestigious or powerful than the other. In African countries colonialism is likely to be implicated in this, with the erstwhile colonial language often being seen as the more prestigious, elegant, educative language, a gateway to both educational and economic success ( cited in Baker 2006: 70).

Fishman (1980) in Baker (2006) has examined the ways in which bilingualism (as an individual characteristic) interfaces with diglossia. He distinguishes four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other. Baker has presented this in tabular form, as follows: (2006: 70-72).

<i>DIGLOSSIA</i>			
		+	-
<i>INDIVIDUAL BILINGUALISM</i>	+	<i>1. Diglossia and Bilingualism together.</i>	<i>3. Bilingualism without Diglossia</i>
	-	<i>2. Diglossia without Bilingualism</i>	<i>4. Neither Bilingualism nor Diglossia</i>

In the first language situation, all members of the community are competent in both the high and low languages. The high language is used for one set of functions while the low is used for a separate set of functions. (Typically, the high language could be used for education and government, whilst the low language could be used in the family and with neighbours).

In the second language situation, that of diglossia without bilingualism, two languages are used within a particular geographical area, but one group of inhabitants speaks one language, while another group uses a different language. In the third language situation (bilingualism without diglossia), most people are bilingual, but do not restrict either language to a specific set of purposes; either language can be used for almost any function. These communities are generally regarded as unstable and in a state of change: the majority language may become more powerful and extend its use, while the other language may decrease in its functions and decay in status and usage. The fourth language situation is where there is neither bilingualism nor diglossia. In this instance a linguistically diverse society might become a relatively monolingual society. An example would be a small speech community using its minority language for all functions and insisting on having no relationship with a neighbouring majority language.

Fishman (1980; cited in Baker 2006: 72) has argued that diglossia, with and without bilingualism, tends to provide a relatively stable and enduring language arrangement, which in today's world may be becoming increasingly rare. He notes that travel and communication, increased social and vocational mobility, a more global economy and greater urbanisation causes more contact between language communities (2006:72), and can be presumed to lead to increasing rates of linguistic change.

Spolsky (1995; cited in Bhatia and Richie 2004: 3) introduces a further aspect by referring to diglossia as cultural ambivalence. The implication is that diglossia is not merely about the use of two languages in a community, but more importantly about co-existence of two cultures through use of these languages.

### **2.3.1 Bilingualism and education**

While bilingualism can occur in any multicultural community at any given time, schools in particular are often the centres for second language acquisition and language change. Strubell accurately pinpoints the role of the school as a microcosm of society where its members reflect, inside the classroom and in the playground, the attitudes and aspirations of society as a whole. Language issues in society are reflected in this arena (1996: 274). Investigations into language acquisition within and around the classroom have, over the past three decades, given considerable impetus to bilingualism research.

What has become the core distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism was first coined by researchers in Canada, and focuses on possible outcomes of the acquisition of two languages.

Additive bilingualism, defined by Lambert in 1976, refers to the learning of an additional language alongside the primary language without any negative consequences for the mother tongue. The first language continues to develop and be promoted without interference from the second language; the second language complements the first, rather than replacing it (cited in Beardsmore 1986:19). Beardsmore sums up additive bilingualism as follows: this is achieved “when the second language brings to the speaker a set of cognitive and social abilities which do not negatively affect those that have been acquired in the first language but where the two linguistic and cultural entities involved in being bilingual combine in a complementary and enriching fashion” (1986: 22). He notes, too, that “such a situation is brought about when the society in which the individual evolves attributes positive values to both languages and considers the acquisition of a second language as an extra tool for thought and communication” (1986: 22). Luckett agrees with this definition and adds that additive bilingualism develops when both languages (and cultures associated with them) are valued and reinforced, so that both

languages have complementary and positive cognitive and social effects on the learners' development (1993: 43).

Subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, is the outcome when the second language is learned at the expense of the first language. The second language is acquired at the expense of aptitudes already acquired in the first language, and instead of producing complementarity between two linguistic and cultural systems, there is competition (Beardsmore 1986). Subtractive bilingualism is therefore likely to inhibit or impede cognitive and social development, especially where a child is being educated through a second language; it often occurs when the social conditions of learning devalue the learner's first language and its associated culture (Inglis et al 2004:44). Beardsmore adds that subtractive bilingualism can also be the origin of socio-political tensions in communities where linguistic identification and language loyalty play a significant role (1986: 23).

There has been considerable research undertaken in Canada, as to different forms of bilingual education. An example is a study by Swain on the immersion system of education practised in some parts of Canada (1996). Here researchers attempted to determine whether, under appropriate conditions, immersion can be successful, such that first language development and educational achievements are not impaired by using a second language as a medium of instruction, and a high level of second language proficiency can be added to normal first language development. This research showed that the second language proficiency acquired is not fully equivalent to that of the native speaker, but is a major advance on levels of second language proficiency achieved through simply teaching the target language as a subject.

Researchers have pointed to the various contexts from which additive, or subtractive, bilingualism is likely to emerge. It is clear that context plays an important role in language acquisition and bilingualism. Researchers such as Beardsmore (1986), Baker (1993, 1998, 2006) and Cook (2002) claim that language cannot be divorced from its immediate context. Baker has therefore

associated the terms ‘additive’ and ‘subtractive’ with language contexts, rather than with bilingualism itself, which foregrounds the role of the context in the outcome, rather than associating this with the individual speakers (2006: 277-278).

Many local studies have concluded that subtractive bilingualism is occurring in South African communities. McGrath and Whiteford (1994) explain that English usage is becoming increasingly less determined by ethnicity and more determined by economic class. Adendorff (1993) too speaks of this trend in his research on code switching in the classroom. Chick and Wade’s study (in six KwaZulu-Natal schools) also confirms this trend. Their study indicates that English is the dominant lingua franca and is preferred in the rural communities despite the low levels of proficiency in the language (1997: 260). They conclude that the Language in Education Policy is not promoting additive bilingualism but rather subtractive bilingualism; isiZulu is not being developed but is rather being replaced in these schools. The findings from these studies also allow researchers to ask whether South Africa is moving towards a situation of diglossia. They draw on research from Bughwan (1970) and Mesthrie (1992, 1995, 2002) who found subtractive bilingualism, diglossia and language shift in the South African Indian community. Research by McGrath and Whiteford (1994), too, draws interesting parallels between stabilizing diglossic relationships between English and Zulu and economic development. Further studies by Krige et al (1994) mention a diglossic situation existing in which English is the high variety used in most prestigious public domains and isiZulu is used in less prestigious local and personal domains. Schuring’s studies, too, situate Zulu as a lingua franca principally among working class people, while English is the dominant lingua franca of inter-cultural communication among educated elites in KwaZulu-Natal as elsewhere in South Africa (1995: 69). Chick and Wade’s further research on diglossia in educational institutions revealed the dominance of English in the schools. Questionnaires administered to 636 isiZulu learners from both rural and urban areas revealed that English was important for a number of reasons. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they anticipated using mostly English in the

area that they had planned to live in as well as in their present homes. Respondents from rural areas where the vernacular was deeply entrenched indicated a greater preference for English than respondents from the urban domain. Other research on diglossic situations include works by Giles (1977), de Vries (1980), Giles and Byrne (1980, 1982), Erickson and Shultz (1982), Ndebele (1987), Spolsky (1995), Samuel (1995) and Buthelezi (1996).

More recent researchers such as Appalraju and de Kadt (2001) and de Klerk (1996, 2000a, 2000b) have focussed on the possibility of incipient bilingualism and language shift as an outcome of education through a second language. De Klerk has investigated language patterns in urban Grahamstown schools. Parents' insistence on the use of English rather than isiXhosa in a multicultural school will quite possibly result in subtractive bilingualism. Similarly, Appalraju and de Kadt (2001) also foresee a comparable outcome in their study of language usage patterns of learners living in rural Murchison, on the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast.

Finality has yet to be reached on this matter. This could be due to the lack of research in this field (or gaps in research which need to be filled). An unresolved question is whether the emergence of a diglossic situation is likely, as suggested by some researchers. Debate around the issue of diglossia, as applicable to South Africa has provoked some controversy.

Local debates have also been triggered through the implementation of the Language in Education Policy. Two successive National Ministers of Education, Prof Kader Asmal and Naledi Pandor, have stressed the language in education policy and claimed that additive bilingualism can solve the problem of cultural identity as well as social mobility. Yet a number of researchers have argued that subtractive bilingualism (with English replacing the vernacular) is a growing outcome in urban schools (Adendorff 1993, Mesthrie 1995, 2002, de Klerk 2000a, 2000b, Smith 2001, Appalraju and de Kadt 2001 and Chick and McKay 2002).

A further distinction which has contributed substantially to the analysis of bilingualism, especially in schools, is the distinction, introduced by Cummins, between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICS refers to the language skills needed to conduct informal face-to-face conversations in everyday contexts, while CALP designates the language skills required for more complex academic and cognitive tasks. Cummins provided very strong arguments for mother tongue instruction in his discussion of BICS and CALP (cited in Inglis et al. 1991: 145). When one learns a language, one always starts by learning socially useful skills (BICS), but to be fully literate and succeed academically one has to achieve a more advanced level of language proficiency (CALP). According to Cummins, it takes two years to acquire BICS in the first language, and this assumes that language will be used every day in the home or the school playground. Developing CALP, on the other hand, is about developing a person's ability to speak and write at an abstract level. It takes five to seven years to acquire CALP in a first language if learners are provided with formal instruction in school. Cummins makes a strong case that children who learn in their mother tongue or primary language and achieve both BICS and CALP in their first language or mother tongue will more easily acquire them in a second or additional language. This thus becomes a very strong academic motivation for mother tongue instruction, or at least for an additively bilingual programme.

Cummins (1989, 1991, 1996) presents the case of South African study of Nathi as an example of the dangers of subtractive bilingualism. This shows how learners experience many difficulties as tasks become context reduced and cognitively demanding, if they do not own the required vocabulary needed to acquire CALP. Cummins also adds that while BICS is acquired before a child goes to school, CALP is only fully developed as schooling progresses. He argues that the acquisition of CALP in a second language is at least partially dependent on whether or not CALP has been sufficiently developed in the first language. If CALP has not been developed in the first language, then the

learner is likely to experience considerable difficulty with CALP related tasks in the second language. The crucial implication of his theory is that a second language should be introduced as a language of learning (as opposed to being learnt as a subject, which can begin earlier) only when the learner is twelve or thirteen. Cummins finally argues that any bilingual education should be additive in nature, so that when a second language is introduced it will never be at the expense of the mother tongue (cited in Inglis et al. 2004: 144). Research by Liew (1985) and James (1996), too, has confirmed that competence in the first language aids second language learning.

Romaine explains that choices made by individuals on an everyday basis in such bilingual communities have an effect on the long-term situation of the languages concerned. Language shift generally involves bilingualism (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to eventual monolingualism in a new language. A community which was once monolingual becomes bilingual as a result of contact with another (usually socially more powerful) group and may become transitionally bilingual in the new language until their own language is given up altogether ( cited in Bhatia and Richie 2004: 387). Yet, in spite of the significance of everyday linguistic choices, these merely respond to the economic, political, social and educational factors which are the major contributing factors ( cited in Bhatia and Richie 2004: 100).

Individual and societal bilingualism are models which provide useful frameworks for additive and subtractive language contexts and diglossia. The concept “ diglossia “ is more problematic when applied to the South African context (due to the diversity of the 11 official languages and its cultural implications). While the concept may be applicable in other countries, this may not necessarily be the case for South Africa. Spolsky ‘s reference to diglossia in terms of the existence of two cultures through use of these languages could be more useful to this project. Although the possibility may exist for certain urban communities in South Africa to be considered diglossic, this cannot simply be extended to the country as a whole. What may be more applicable to



South Africa may be Fishman's third language situation of bilingualism without diglossia.

### **2.3.2 Explanations for current advances of bilingualism**

Over the past 50 years, a variety of explanations for and contributory factors to what appears to be increasing bilingualism and multilingualism<sup>2</sup> (very often involving English) have been proposed. The initial focus in these explanations was on political, social, cultural and economic causes. More recent explanations have included language as a bearer of political, economic and social power, and most recently language as constructing political, economic, social and cultural identities.

Firstly, advances in bilingualism are often aligned to labour and to the global market. For instance Bailey has shown the influence of a global language like English which has increased its speakers from 26 million to 126 million. English has become transformed from merely a language to a valuable property, firmly incorporated into the capitalist economy (1995: 3). Many researchers have addressed globalisation and its alignment with English. Romaine has pointed to the spread of English through improved means of travel and communication (from the steam engine to internet traffic), leading to its dominance not only in financial institutions and corporations but also as the international language of business and publishing (2004: 387). The models proposed by Kachru (1986) and De Swaan (2001) also offer comparable explanations.

Secondly, political considerations may play a role in the emergence of bilingualism. Adams' recent study of ancient Greek / Latin bilingualism shows the prestige of Greece as a far more powerful sociolinguistic force than the

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<sup>2</sup> Clearly, bilingualism and multilingualism are not new phenomena; perhaps one should rather speak of increasing the *visibility* of bilingualism and multilingualism.

military power of the Romans. Issues of solidarity, identity, language choice and power have been shown to be affecting language change to Greek (2003: 2). Studies emphasising political considerations include Morris's (1995) study in Puerto Rico where language also became a political symbol (cited in Edwards 1996: 23) and Zentella's study of Puerto Rican children in New York (1997: 99).

Thirdly, researchers have focused on language as contributing to social and cultural construction. According to Kjolseth (1978), "language plays an important role in the differential social distribution of positive and negative social values of both a material and symbolic nature" (cited in Beardsmore 1986: 801). Mee shows how Singaporean education students were expected to use English for a wider range of functions than before: English was raised to the status of a first language with functions being extended to varying personal, social and cultural contexts, despite English not being a first language for many (1993 in Edward 1996:194). Further investigations have included Matsumori's examination of the socio-economic changes and nationalism which resulted in the language death of Ryukyuan and the shift to Japanese (1995 in Edwards 1996: 301-303).

At the same time, some signs are emerging of resistance to the growing dominance of English, with the revival of some vernaculars (which will also involve bilingualism.)

Recent studies by Mee (1993), Amara (1994), Crystal (1997), Nahir (1998) and Williams (1999a) identify four major sociolinguistic / socio-cultural factors in the revival of vernaculars: communicative, political, religious and literary needs for language revival. In addition attitudes towards language, choice of language code, choice of a first language, the impact of modernisation and technology on language all play key roles in the social struggles for the maintenance or revival of minority languages.

Turning now to research undertaken in African countries, here too political, economic, social and cultural factors have been identified as contributing to bilingualism and multilingualism. Putz' (1997) collection focuses on language as a major variable in the societal attribution of power, status and opportunities in most post-colonial African societies. Bokamba (1992) isolates the political aspects of language planning, raising the question of whether African languages are sufficiently developed to serve as national and official languages. He quotes the example of Afrikaans to prove that rapid development is possible and explains that English too evolved from a tribal language but is presently an international language (1992; cited in Kachru 1992: 125). Bloor and Tamrat too quotes political factors as responsible for language planning and changes in usage patterns in Africa. Like South Africa, Ethiopia promotes pluralism and multiculturalism due to its wide range of indigenous languages and their historical role in the country. Despite this, the outcomes of the language reforms are benefiting English at the expense of the significant African languages (1996: 322). Caullocks and Postlewaite explain that the situation in Nigeria is similar to the current linguistic experience in South Africa. They claim that bilingual education after independence favoured English as the language of instruction (1988: 182). Other research includes studies by Whiteley (1974), Kachru (1983, 1986, 1992, 1996), Schmied (1983, 1991), Magura (1984), Quirk (1985), Chishimba (1987),), Abdulaziz (1991), Mesthrie (1992, 1995, 1996, 2002), de Klerk (1992, 1996, 2000a, 2000b), Kamwangamalu (1996, 2001, 2004), Williams and Van der Merwe (1996), Wright (1996) and Crystal (1997).

### **2.3.2.1 Educational policies as agents of bilingualism**

Educational policy has been singled out as contributing a major impetus towards bilingualism in many countries. It is clear that certain links will exist between any language in education policy and the demands made of languages in society. Bernstein speaks of the role of education and language in shaping society, insisting that the structure of social relationships influences the structure of communication which in turn shapes peoples' consciousness and

identity (1975: 62). Educational policy is underpinned by the political, economic, social and cultural factors which largely shape the linguistic repertoire of a country. Pennycook concludes in his study that the classroom is a microcosm of the larger social and cultural world, reflecting, reproducing and changing the world since it is laden with meaning from outside and interpretation from inside, inter-twined with the complex cultural politics of the classroom (1998: 5). Language patterns in school directly impact on language choices of communities and future communities. These choices are determined by societal needs which in turn are governed by global needs. And, as already mentioned above, economic, social and political factors in turn dictate the linguistic needs of a country. Modern governments seem increasingly to be opting for bilingual or multilingual approaches. Studies by Bourkes (1996) and James (1996) reveal that many governments throughout the world are opting for bilingualism or multilingualism in order to adapt to international economic needs. Schools and their educational policies seem to have a substantial impact on bilingualism or multilingual phenomena in a country. Early researchers like Trudgill and Tzavaras also questioned the overriding significance of language as the symbol of cultural identity together with the impact of educational policies of the country (cited in Giles 1977: 2). School language policies are drawn from national educational policies and determine learners' linguistic patterns as well as the future linguistic repertoire of their communities. For instance Ng's (1995) and Martin's (1996) studies illustrate the role of language policy on bilingual patterns in Brunei.

Other researchers address various contextual factors which impact on the outcomes of bilingual educational policy, and which affect language patterns in schools. Of considerable relevance are Beardsmore's findings which identify situational or operational outcomes as an important consideration in bilingual education (1986: 114). In terms of language acquisition in bilingual classrooms, he talks about macro-variables, situational and operational outcomes in terms of population numbers, language policy and context as well as resources and attitudes towards language planning and policy. The situational variables refer to the context in which bilingual schools operates,

the population make-up, the languages involved, language policy, materials and resources available and attitudes towards the role of language (1986: 114). Attitudes towards the target language (which in most studies refers to English) as well as availability of resources and material in the mother tongue are critical issues here. Attitudes towards the target language and the vernacular have been highlighted as a serious issue affecting bilingualism in schools.

The impact of parental choice is another important consideration in bilingual studies. Many studies (Spaulding and Hussain 1988, de Klerk 1993, 1995, 2000a, 2000b, Wei 1994, 2002, Saravanam 1994, Larkins 1995, de Kadt 1995, Nothover and Donnelly 1996, Lotherings 1996, Schiffman 1996, Ammon 1998, Chick and McKay 1998, 2000, Williams 1999, Zhiming 2000, Skutnabb and Kangas 2000, Aikhenvald 2001, Smith 2001 and Appalraju 2000) confirm that both parents and learners deliberately choose specific languages for a variety of reasons. Most studies focus on positive attitudes towards the target language, which facilitate bilingualism in most communities. In particular, parental choice is instrumental in determining language policies in schools. Studies also speak of parental choice as critical in determining emerging language patterns in their community. Christie illustrates this involvement of parents in bilingual education with the demands of an Australian Aboriginal community for their children: “We want them to learn English, not the kind you teach in class but your secret English” (1985: 50). Yamamoto and Gaudart’s findings on bilingualism in international families reveal parents’ choice of English as a choice for their children’s future (1995: 173). (See also Pennycook’s investigation in Hong Kong (1998: 100)). Williams’ collection too confirms an increase of bilingualism in Wales due to parental influence. Here parents insist on their children using two languages in school (1999: 388).

Local studies by de Klerk (1993, 1996, 2000a, 2000b), de Kadt (1995), Chick and McKay (1998, 2001), and Appalraju (2000) also illustrate parents’ and

learners' desire for English in South African schools. The studies by De Klerk (1995) and Chick and McKay (1998), in particular, refer to the strong parental motivation for English in schools. Appalraju's (2000) studies in rural KwaZulu-Natal, too, reveal both learner and parental desire for English, with the goal of gaining social and economic mobility. Parents and learners see English as associated with power and powerful identities.

#### **2.3.2.2. Identity as a current explanation of bilingualism**

With the growing interest in the explanatory power of the concept of identity, research has increasingly focused on the roles of linguistic identities in the emergence and maintenance of bilingualism. The increasing positing of identity as an explanation for numerous social phenomena is closely associated with post-modernism and its assumption of the core role of language in human constructions of reality. My own Masters thesis on emerging bilingualism in Murchison, KwaZulu-Natal (Appalraju 2000) provided a framework in which more and less powerful identities were seen as offering a cogent explanation for the language choices of bilingual male and female learners.

In the following I discuss some of the many studies which have associated bilingualism with emerging identities. Suleiman's study of Arabic language and national identity shows Arabic as a symbol of group identity reflected in various domains. He quotes Fishman (1999) who states that the essence of the link between language and identity depends on the social context pertinent to the language group in question (2003:143). Dalby's study of endangered ancient languages (from around 100BC) compares the influence of Latin with the influence of English and identifies three routes of spread that these two cases share: colonization, government and what it brings, and long distance trade. Of relevance is his conclusion as to the importance of linguistic diversity: "It is only a bilingual who can really show us what there is to learn from the way the world is mapped and classified in another language" (2003: 1). Dalby argues that we need linguistic diversity in order to keep our own language flexible. Further Ferrer and Sankoff's (2004) study of Valencian

revival and Nero's more recent study on language identities and ESL pedagogy examine the multifaceted ways in which learners engage in acts of identity through language use. Nero draws on the postmodern understanding that identities are fluid, complex and multifaceted (2005: 190).

Of great interest to this investigation is Kanno's study of social and economic identities in a resistant community like Japan. He talks about bilingual individuals caught in two worlds - one in which they maintain their linguistic and cultural ties with their native country Japan, and another which allows for social mobility and jobs. The learners he investigated have to be proficient in both Japanese and English; they make conscious decisions about their linguistic choices: conscious decisions to maintain their culture and identity in Japanese, and to progress in the world of advancement by using English (2003: 1).

South African studies highlighting various aspects of identity construction (economic, political, social and cultural) include Bughwan's (1970) and Mesthrie's (1992, 1996, 2002) studies of bilingualism and language shift in the South African Indian community. Krige et al (1994), too, speak in terms of a framework of diglossia in KwaZulu-Natal, across prestigious and less prestigious domains. Chick and Wade's (1998) study also implies the role of various identities in learners' use of English in schools. Parents choose to send their children to English medium schools for a number of reasons, in which economic, political, social and cultural identities are implicated. De Klerk's (2000) investigation in Grahamstown, too, examines the inter-play of various identities (economic, social and cultural) as explaining parental choice of English in schools. My own dissertation, with its study of rural Murchison, also posited identity as an overarching explanation for learners' choice of English and isiZulu.

For instance, in their study of language and identity in contemporary Europe, Gubbins and Holt examine language in the construction of social, regional, national and supra national identities (hybrid identities in the context of post

colonial immigration). Identity here is interpreted as a socially constructed phenomenon, with language identities not being one-dimensional, but complex and multifaceted (2002:140). Clyne's (1984, 1990, 1994) research in Australia identified a complex of factors such as cultural distance, community attitudes (in relation to self-identification), political factors in homelands, inter-marriage patterns and learner support material (school, radio, TV, libraries), including status and usefulness of the ethnic language and presence of grandparents in the home. Moore explored cross-cultural attitudes regarding bilingualism to show that learning French as a foreign language in England could be part of the strategy of improving one's image for speakers of a low status language like Punjabi (1994:100). Similar studies include Gupta and Yeok's (1995) study of language shift in Singapore and of Malaysia's shift to English. Their study identifies differences in linguistic repertoire as responsible for the generation gaps in many communities. Edwards' (1996) collection of multilingual case studies, too, has much relevance for this project. Kloss (1966) identifies complexes of factors like immigration, linguistic enclaves, membership of a parochial, local church-based school and pre-emigration experiences as promoting language maintenance or language shift (cited in Fishman 1996: 78).

In concluding this section it is important to note that the factors underpinning the emergence of bilingualism are generally complex; and that in most cases, the interplay of a number of causes can be implicated.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION**

This review has established a framework within which my research questions can be analysed, and which will allow possible explanations of the language situation in Umzumbe to relate to international and local research findings.

This project will assume that language is not neutral but is used rather as a means or a tool for power. Language choices are in part shaped by situations and contexts; but are also choices in terms of perceived power. The power of English has been understood as social, political, economic and cultural; and as



both negative and positive: to what extent will these perceptions be reflected among learners and adults in Umzumbe?

A further useful analytical framework will be that of identity construction in a multilingual environment: in what ways do learners draw on both English and isiZulu to construct a range of identities? Particularly useful will be Scotton's model, which positions English in terms of empowerment and disempowerment, and thereby allows for the explanation of egalitarian and elitist identities. English as prestige language is frequently associated with modern culture and with shaping modern identities while the mother tongue or vernacular has tended to be associated with traditional and cultural values and with traditional identities.

In addressing bilingualism, my study will seek to adopt the holistic approach presented by Grosjean (2001) and Cook (2002), which describes bilinguals in terms of a unique linguistic profile and as speakers with multi-competences, who are able to draw on different languages for different purposes. The main lens used will be that of societal bilingualism, which is primarily described in relation to diglossia. My work will contribute to local attempts to apply the concept of diglossia to Southern African communities.

Local researchers have problematised diglossia in terms of its application to South African communities. Researchers have argued that diglossia may not be applicable to South Africa as a whole, although diglossia may well exist within individual communities. Spolsky has sought to extend the term diglossia to culture. Fishman has redefined ways in which bilingualism may interface with diglossia by distinguishing four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other – one of which may be particularly applicable to Umzumbe communities.

Research into the intersection of bilingualism and education has differentiated two outcomes: additive and subtractive bilingualism, with local studies favouring subtractive bilingualism as the usual outcome in South African

school communities. Additive and subtractive bilingualism have usefully been extended to the contexts within which these outcomes occur. My own investigation will consider the impact of different educational contexts. Cummins' distinction between BICS and CALP will be particularly useful in considering language acquisition in the school context. I will draw on these several frameworks when describing second language acquisition in the three rural high schools studied.

Research has identified numerous factors contributing to increasing bilingualism: globalisation and modernisation as well as economic, political and socio-cultural aspects. Resistance and challenges to a dominant language could derive from nationalism, and from attempts to preserve an ancestral language and a more traditional cultural identity. These will be drawn on in my investigation as well.

Educational policies as agents of bilingualism have been highlighted by many researchers. Associated explanations see educational policies as blueprints for social behaviour, and point to the roles of learners' linguistic choices, their attitudes towards the target language and the vernacular, as well as parental choice of language/s.

Current discussions of bilingualism have shown that this is a complex phenomenon requiring a complexity of explanations. While identity features strongly as an overarching framework (encompassing social, political, economic and cultural identities), considerations of power, and especially of English as a hegemonic language, cannot be overlooked. These explanations will be considered in my project.

The literature survey has revealed clear gaps in our knowledge: while studies are regularly being conducted in the urban areas, there are still few studies of rural areas in South Africa. Caution will be necessary in seeking to apply some of the above explanations to rural communities, where cultural and traditional links are likely to have remained more salient.

The next chapter will develop one of the contexts of the investigation by considering the past and present South African education systems.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE INVESTIGATION

The current language choice patterns of rural communities can only be properly understood within their educational and historic context. For our purposes we focus on education as one of the core agents of societal patterns of thinking and behaving within specific milieus. The new school curriculum identifies societal equity as the central pillar upon which the new South African identity is to be formed: a multicultural and multilingual identity. Being appropriately multilingual translates into a considerable transition for all South Africans, both rural and urban. While urban communities have already been initiated into multilingualism and concomitant identities, rural communities tend to be still grappling with these new identities.

Mesthrie (1995) has investigated language shift in the Indian community, but not in terms of identity; de Klerk (2000) and Chick and McKay (2000) have highlighted urban Black communities in the country, but very little research has been conducted in the rural communities.

In order to develop an understanding of the role education has played in the multilingualism available to South Africans over the past decades, I will discuss in turn the pre-1994 education era, post-1994 education and the emergence of Outcomes-Based Education as well as language as a learning area and medium of instruction. The Language in Education Policy in particular will be examined in terms of the guidelines that it provides for schools. Pre-1994 education, together with the NATED curriculum was notorious for its racist and sexist ideology; at the same time it has impacted considerably on the present educational ideology of social equity, multiculturalism, democracy and multilingualism.

### **3.1 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1994**

As mentioned above, the pre-1994 education context is central to our understanding of the present educational dispensation. In the following I focus on recurring themes or issues over past centuries: the early need to provide education, the types of education provided, separate education, the language issue and the responses from stakeholders which subsequently led to post-1994 education. To trace the social inequities of the NATED era I will draw on Malherbe (1977), Behr (1984, 1988), Christie (1992, 1997), Hartshorne (1992, 1999), Harley (1992) and Jansen (1999), as well as on Balladon's (2004) interesting insights into the historiographies of educational policy in South Africa..

Balladon traces the early beginnings, long before the Bantu Education Act of 1953, as responsible for Apartheid educational policy in South Africa. In 1658 the Cape Dutch East India Company provided elementary schools for white settlers' children, and the first formal school for slaves sought to inculcate Christian values. British occupation in 1806 saw a network of mission schools in the Cape. As High Commissioner and Governor of Cape, Sir George Grey's Integrationist policy (1839) sought to establish a department of Education with a sprawl of schools and missions throughout the country (2004: 4). According to Harley (1992), the missionary's role was that of teaching and conversion. He mentions further that in 1859 a Select Committee was appointed to look at education, and this committee reported on "the necessity of carrying out a comprehensive system of English education for the Natives. It is our duty as Christians, and as legislators it ought to be a matter of primary consideration, as the vindication of the law will be rendered more easy and certain, in proportion to discipline, intelligence, and morality imparted to the African. The Government will be rendered safe, laws more respected, and property more secure" (1992: 31). Education at this time focussed on Christian values for all. The role of the missionaries in the education of blacks consolidated the attitude voiced by the committee.

Separation of education began in the 1860's. Segregated schooling was first established by the Watermeyer Commission and entrenched in 1863. "A Schools" served the white community while "B schools" were mission schools for poor whites and Coloured children and "C schools" were for Aborigines, Khoisan and Black children. These recommendations were formalised into the Education Act 13 of 1865. After the Anglo-Boer war in 1902, segregated schooling was entrenched in terms of section 29 of the Education Act of 1907. Natal, however, was able in 1884 to establish the Council of Education which became responsible for Black Education in Natal. Despite this the missionaries impacted greatly on black education: mission schools provided mostly for black education while the state catered for white education. After 1910 the four self-governing colonies became provinces under the Union of South Africa. Black Education, termed Native Education, was controlled by each province although all other matters concerning blacks fell under the Ministry of Native Affairs. In terms of Black Education, Hartshorne talks about the Afrikaner domination of non-whites through the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. The teaching and education of natives must be based on the same Christian ideals of the Afrikaner: "natives" must be led to an acceptance of the Christian and National principles in education, since it was viewed as the right of the state to give and control native education (1999: 24). After 1948 numerous commissions were set up to investigate and align black education to National Christian Education principles. The first, the Eiselen Commission (1951), concluded that there must be no equality between white and black education and that segregation was important for black education. As a result of this report, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which controlled black South Africans for forty years, was promulgated: black children must be educated within black culture and speaking the vernacular characterised by their own ethnic values. White education focussed on intellectual and cognitive development, and black education on the learning of handicrafts (sewing, carpentry) along with basic numeracy and literacy. The policy specified that there was no place for Black citizens in the white community except for menial labour.

These recommendations did not regard or consider black parents' views. The Afrikaner nationalists believed that the state was meant to serve the people in power – the white Afrikaner. Malherbe points out that it was essential for Afrikaner survival that cultural, political and economic power be vested in their hands. Thus the black population was limited to unskilled and semi-skilled work which was already entrenched within the educational policy through the definition of curricula and provisions. As a result four separate ministries of education for the four racial groups were established under centralised control. The Department of Bantu Education now controlled black education, instead of missions and religious institutions. In addition there were discrepancies in the quantity and quality of educational opportunities: whites were given the largest proportion of financial resources and black education the least. The aim of education was segregation of the various race groups and total disempowerment of black education (1977: 735). Despite standardization of courses for all groups, educational opportunities were unequal: state contributions to white schools were ten times more, there were insufficient teachers at black schools, missionaries still assisted and employed unqualified educators, facilities were inadequate and schools were largely overcrowded. Afrikaans became one of the media of instruction, and this gave rise to much dissatisfaction.

The issue of language, in addition to the entrenched Christian ideology, featured strongly in Apartheid education and future educational policies. It must be noted that the influence of the English language was an overwhelming factor in this era and that language was always inextricably linked to culture. The language issue surfaced when the British took power in the Cape Colony and their Anglicisation policy in 1865 made English the sole medium of instruction in schools, despite the fact that the Dutch were in the majority (of white South Africans). Behr describes the consequences in the following way: "Language (the Afrikaans language) became the warp of the growing national consciousness, the symbol and expression of social and political independence. Part of the cultural struggle was a growing determination to have the principle

of mother- tongue instruction set in the matrix of the education of ‘het volk’: the people” (1988: 99).

After the annexation of Transvaal by the British (1877) the language question resurfaced, leading towards Afrikaner nationalism and the Christian National Movement. The founder, Reverend S. J. du Toit, as editor of *Die Patriot* and as the superintendent of education, made use of tenets of the new Christian National Movement to make religion and the Afrikaner language the dominant aspects of teaching and learning in the country. The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) gave rise to a further resurgence in Afrikaner nationalism. This tension and struggle for political domination reached a climax in the 1930s and gave rise to Christian National Education. The Institute for Christian National Education was founded and the concept of CNE was reformulated and further developed, and in 1948, when the Afrikaner party came into power, three main Afrikaans church denominations met to create a joint education policy based on CNE principles. The basic belief was that God had ordained that the Afrikaner nation have a land and language of its own and that education be based on Christian principles. With the National Party in power in 1948 there were limited initiatives for development of black education. The power struggle between the English and Afrikaner gave rise to the growth of Afrikaner Nationalism and the Christian National Framework in Education which is regarded as the cornerstone of Apartheid policy and which dominated South African politics and education for almost fifty years. The Afrikaner nationalists, feared English domination, and the loss of their identity and culture ( Balladon 2004: 19).

At the beginning of the twentieth century English was the dominant language of education and the mother-tongue was the medium of instruction in primary schools. But in 1948 when the National Party came into power, the Christian National Education system used its position to expand the influence of Afrikaans. While the mother-tongue remained the initial medium of instruction, the National Party imposed the learning of two official languages: English and Afrikaans. In the 1950’s all papers up to standard six in the primary school



were written in the vernacular. In the secondary school English and Afrikaans were made compulsory subjects and were also used as joint media of instruction: using a dual medium approach, half the subjects were taught in English and the other half in Afrikaans. This put learners at a serious disadvantage, in terms of both cognitive and linguistic development. In this regard, parent roles and parental responses to language in education become an important factor. Black parents believed at this point in time that mother tongue instruction in primary school was a way of disadvantaging their children and of denying them access to both economic and social upliftment, since full access to English was viewed as the key to economic development. Even today this issue is regularly debated within academic and educational circles.

Under the NATED curriculum the language issue remained a controversial one. A review of Bantu Education in 1972 led the department to decide to limit mother tongue instruction to standard 4, instead of continuing it to standard 6, in addition to moving standard 6 into the secondary school. As a result standard 5 became the final standard in primary school, and the standard 5 examination was now written in both English and Afrikaans after only one year's experience in using the dual medium approach. The issue of using Afrikaans as medium of instruction in both primary and secondary schools caused much concern and dissatisfaction within the black community: learners and educators had to cope with an unfair language policy which put learners at a disadvantage. Throughout 1975 parents, teacher groups, principals, school boards and the Soweto Urban Bantu Council appealed to the department of Bantu Education to address these unrealistic language expectations. These appeals fell on deaf ears, and as a result, on the 16th of June 1976, children and teachers took to the streets in protest of this language policy. This Soweto riots turned into a historical tragedy which continued the slow process of activism and radicalism against unfair and discriminatory educational practices. This turning point forced the government to change the language policy. In July 1976 each school was required to choose one language medium, to be used from standard 5 onwards. The issue of mother tongue instruction was left open ended, in that the vernacular had to be taught and maintained up to standard 2.

Certain responses from stakeholders during this period had an influence on the post-1994 era. One of these was the De Lange Commission, set up to investigate the breakdown in education. The report concluded that fairness and justice in education demanded equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of race. Restrictions on access to education and on the provision of educational facilities based purely on race or colour had to be eliminated. The report stressed the need for full involvement and participation of all concerned parties in decision-making processes and concluded by recommending the decentralisation of power and the removal of divisions created on racial lines. The five fundamental guiding principles were: equal opportunities for all in education irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex; recognition of language, religious and cultural diversity in the country; freedom of choice for individuals, parents and organisations in society; education to meet the needs of the country in terms of economic development; and lastly that the state be responsible for formal education, together with other stakeholders (individuals, parents and organised society).

The government responded very slowly to the De Lange report and continued with the policy of separation and discrimination, insisting on the principles of CNE, separate schools and separate education departments. The National Policy for General Education Affairs Act of 1984 took into consideration some of the recommendations of the De Lange report, although the policy of separation and division in education continued. The De Lange principles were amended to suit the needs of the government. For example, principle 3 was amended to “subject to the provisions of any law regarding the attending of a school for a particular population group by a learner of another population group” (Hartshorne 1999:74). It was obvious that the government was willing to consider implementing equality only in the context of separate education. Resources and finance continued to privilege the white group, and the status quo remained.

The unsuccessful attempts at reform resulted in resistance by learners and communities. This led to further dissatisfaction and protests, culminating in the 1984-1986 unrest and riots in schools. Stay-aways, boycotts and the rise of rebellious youth led to detentions and dismissals of subversive educators. Education in the 1990's was in a state of crisis, and the turning point was reached in the announcement that democratic elections would be held in 1994.

The National Education Policy Investigation, commissioned in 1990 by the National Education Crisis Committee with full representation of teachers, parents, and students mainly from disadvantaged black communities, set out to produce an analysis of education options for the new education curriculum and system. This NEPI report of 1993 produced the broad principles which were subsequently set out in the new national curriculum: equality, redress, development, commonality and diversity, non-racism, non-sexism and democracy. The National Curriculum Statements removed apartheid from schools and from curricula. Ironically the apartheid state was directly involved in the new curriculum model for South Africa (CUMSA) which gave rise to the National Curriculum Statements. The National Training Strategy Initiative, focussing on an integrated approach to education and training, resulted in the present National Qualifications Framework based on competencies (Christie 1997: 59). This National Qualifications Framework is the foundation on which the new educational system of education in South Africa was created. The National Training Strategy Initiative recognised the importance of competence-based education and training for South African labour and business. Workers could gain recognition for what they could already do, and thus would be ready to move on to more complex levels of training. The concepts of competence (the ability to perform a particular task) and outcomes (knowledge, skills and values which learners develop), which initially related to labour and Adult Based Education, were immediately transferred to general education. As a result the *1995 White Paper* was produced, reflecting key ideas of integration and competencies. Education and Training were now brought under a single National Qualifications framework, which further endorsed the Outcomes-Based Education Model. Subsequently, in 1996, *The Curriculum Framework*

*for General and Further Education* (Department of Education, 1996) was produced, spelling out the proposal for OBE, with specification of eight learning areas, specific outcomes and types of assessment. In March 1997 the new school curriculum was officially launched by the National Minister of Education. The new curriculum was called Curriculum 2005 (C2005), since this was the year by which it was to be implemented from Grades 0-9. Although the national curriculum statements were finalised in 1998, Curriculum 2005 was only implemented in 2001 and the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) in 2003 in primary schools.

### **3.2 POST-1994 EDUCATION**

The post-1994 era and the new constitution have impacted on our present educational policies, especially with the ideals of multilingualism and social equity. The new curriculum attempts to correct past inequities by embracing diversity and celebrating all cultures through societal equity and multiculturalism. Here I discuss post-1994 education in terms of the link between the constitution and the present curriculum, and its underpinning by the principles of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the curriculum.

Significantly, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1996, South Africa adopted a new post-apartheid constitution that embodied a unique set of fundamental human rights. Under it racial, religious, and gender discrimination are prohibited; education, health, housing, food, and water are fundamental human rights; and freedom of expression and other political rights are protected.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No.108 of 1996) provides the basis for curriculum transformation and development in contemporary South Africa, and expresses the nation's social values, knowledge and skills which the Revised National Curriculum Statement seeks to embody (Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9: Overview 2002: 6-7). The preamble pledges to recognise the injustices of the past, create a new citizen and create life long learning.

The Constitution aims to:

- *heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;*
- *lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;*
- *improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person and*
- *build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.*

These goals are sanctioned and underpinned by the International Human Rights Bill. The Bill of Rights recognises cultural diversity; setting out the basic rights which apply to all citizens. It states that everyone is equal before the law and may not be discriminated against on the grounds of race, ethnic or social origin, colour, or culture (Article 9, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1997:11) In addition it states that everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice.

▪ *Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language and to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society. (Article 31(1), The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1997:12).*

The National Department of Education's statement in 1997 announced the legislative change in the curriculum, with great implications for educational policy in South Africa: "SA has embarked on transformational OBE. This involves the most radical form of an integrated curriculum. There are several different forms of integration. This most radical form implies that not only are we integrating across disciplines into Learning Areas but we are integrating across all educational activities. The outcome of this form of integration will be

a profound transferability of knowledge in real life” (National Department of Education 1997: 32). OBE, C2005 and the subsequent RNCS were specifically realigned for the South African educational domain. The ideals of multiculturalism, multilingualism, societal redress and equity, transparency and democracy are cornerstones of South African OBE. Multiculturalism is based on the idea of social justice and the recognition of diversity. Multiculturalism is a process taking place in schools and educational institutions, with the goal of equalising educational experience. It is inherent in the curriculum which aims to develop in learners the values, skills and knowledge which would lead them towards social equality and a transformed society. Multiculturalism affirms diversity and prepares learners equally for the world of work. Banks (1998) succinctly points out the aims of multiculturalism in education: to create equal opportunities for learners from diverse racial, ethnic, social-class and cultural groups. One of its important goals is to help all learners to acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic, democratic society and to interact, negotiate, and communicate with people from diverse groups in order to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good (1998: 4).

The National Curriculum Statement proposes multiculturalism and equal opportunities through the principles of learner-centredness, relevance, regard for differentiation, redress and learner-support. This is pivotal to the design of the curriculum which aims to guarantee all learners equal access to success in school and to prepare them equally for life (with inclusion of learners with special needs and the aspect of cultural tolerance). Curriculum 2005 clearly states: *Learning programmes should, therefore, encourage the development of mutual respect for diverse religious and value systems, cultural and language traditions; multilingualism and informed choices regarding the language/s of learning; co-operation, civic responsibility and the ability to participate in all aspects of society; and understanding of national, provincial, local and regional developmental needs.* (Curriculum C2005 Lifelong Learning for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A User’s guide 1996: 5-6).

The present Revised Curriculum Statements, C2005 and RNCS are underpinned by the principles of redress, access, equity and development and are rooted in three sources: Outcomes-Based Education, learner-centred teaching, and the integration of knowledge. The Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement encapsulates the broad vision of the nation: *The challenge for the national Curriculum Statement is how the goals and values of social justice, equity and democracy can be infused across the curriculum. The promotion of values is important not only for the sake of personal development, but also to ensure that a national South African identity is built on values very different from those that underpinned apartheid education. The kind of learner that is envisaged is one who will accordingly be imbued with the values and act in the interests of society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice.* (Government Gazette, 8 August 2001, No. 22559: 22).

Multiculturalism and multilingualism are fundamental principles of the Outcomes-Based education model. OBE seems to be an effective choice for a process-type of curriculum, since it is about outcomes and competencies and real life and not about objectives, exams or content. This process approach is highly dynamic in that it is integrative, pluralistic, transformative and continually emerging, in keeping with the ANC's mission and vision for South Africa. As mentioned by many researchers, the curriculum serves the government of the day. The Revised National Curriculum Statements clearly demarcates their agenda: *it is to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; and to build a united and democratic South Africa to be able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.* (Revised National Curriculum Statements Grades R-7: Overview: 2002: 7).

### **3.3 OUTCOMES-BASED EDUCATION AS AN EDUCATIONAL POLICY**

I now explore OBE as an educational policy, with particular reference to the theories underpinning OBE.

Outcomes-Based Education is described by curriculum specialists as involving the recognition of competence and outcomes (required knowledge, skills and values) in the curriculum which support the economic and social needs of the country (Balladon 2004: 15). OBE as a model was developed in Canada, and many researchers have asked how appropriate it is to the South African educational context. As already mentioned, C2005 was structured to meet the South African educational vision of multiculturalism and multilingualism. The RNCS was introduced as the final South African educational package for South African citizens, which attempted to address the past imbalances and social inequities in education.

I here provide a brief discussion and illustration of OBE, C2005 and RNCS within the South African context. It is clear that OBE is one of the founding principles of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The term OBE was coined by Spady (1994) who described it as a system for the management of the curriculum and of assessment, with the intention of maximum effective teaching and learning in the classroom. In essence OBE is a philosophy and an educational model, and in terms of a methodological approach could be considered a critical or post-modernist approach. It is described by Guba and Lincoln (1994) as prevailing, competing and guiding enquiry in current debates: positivism, post-positivism, constructivism and critical theory.

According to Guba and Lincoln, the critical theory or postmodernist theory is considered the most transformative of all curriculum approaches. Current researchers and educationists view curriculum development in terms of power and social identities. These thoughts seem to culminate in the present critical



theory embedded in OBE. Critical theory is a name given to a way of thinking put forward by a number of influential thinkers and writers. Critical theory claims to liberate people from all forms of oppression and disempowerment, and this made it a powerful influence in South Africa during the struggle against Apartheid.

Critical theory sees knowledge as growing and changing through a dialectical process of historical revision that continuously erodes ignorance and misapprehensions and enlarges more informed insights. It takes into account the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender antecedents of the studied situation (Guba and Lincoln 1994:116). Since it is built on the constructivist notion that for all human beings there is only constructed knowledge, the critical paradigm points out that no one can claim to have privileged knowledge of the world as it is. Proponents need always to question and challenge to solve problems, rather than accepting traditional claims and beliefs previously imposed by society. Critical theory is not just critical thinking, but critical thinking in a careful and disciplined way and a force of ideas that gives the new curriculum a particular emphasis on learner centredness, critical reflection and critical awareness. Many of these ideas derive from Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was banned in South Africa in the 1980's, yet played an important role in South Africa. He used the critical approach to inspire and motivate learners and educators to combat their oppression, especially oppression of the mind. He provided the tools for challenging widespread ways of thinking that caused people to co-operate in their own oppression. (These ideas are presented by Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Balladon (2004:34-38) proposes two models of curriculum: the prescriptive and the process models. The following sections draw extensively on Balladon's work. The prescriptive model is planned, organised in a fixed, traditional, and prescriptive way. It prescribes the subjects offered by schools, lists the content of the subjects to be taught, organises and sequences the content by grade, suggests methodology for educators, stipulates manuals and textbooks, type of

assessment and mark allocation. Here the educator merely transmits knowledge from syllabus. This type of knowledge ensures that all learners are exposed to the same body of knowledge, irrespective of their socio-economic or cultural group. This curriculum views knowledge as fixed, unchanging and learning as linear.

The prescriptive (objective or product approach) emphasizes the transmission of knowledge from teacher to learner, leaving out the learner's learning context, interest, background, interest, aptitudes and needs. It does not prepare the learner for the future, for integration of skills, knowledge processing, transfer of knowledge from one discipline to the other or from one task to the other, which is necessary for the lifelong learner.

Cognitive theorists like Piaget (1966, 1972, 1974) and Bruner (1960, 1966) challenged this approach, stating that acquisition of knowledge involved integration of existing knowledge with new knowledge, which included the intellect, the social environment as well as the emotions.

This led to the process-type curriculum, which looks at teaching and learning as a process where the curriculum is conceived as a guide and not as a set of instructions. The curriculum is described as something which develops and changes in the context of learning. The teacher is mediator in the learning process and the curriculum plan is a guide adapted to various contexts. The teacher could assess the classroom situation and adapt the plan, or the curriculum according to the needs and the context of the learners placing more emphasis on participative and experiential learning. According to NCS experts the National Curriculum Statement is considered a hybrid of these two models/approaches.

The ANC's 1994 discussion document "A Policy framework for Education and Training", defines curriculum as "more than teaching and learning activities that take place in learning institutions" (cited in Graham-Jolly 2002: 28). A national curriculum, Balladon claims, is, to some extent, a political statement.

It is also the expression of a world-view. Of interest would be the values and attitudes that need to be transmitted, as well as the outline in terms of the minimum knowledge and skills that learners require, to pass on to the different stages of the educational system (2004:38). The four principles governing OBE include: clarity in focus – focussing on outcomes, which allows the teacher to teach and the learner to learn effectively; expanded opportunity, by giving the learners the time, the resources and the instructional techniques they particularly need to learn effectively; high expectations of learners, while enabling them to reach those standards; and designing down – structuring and planning instruction starts with what the learner is going to end up being able to do. OBE focuses on a clearly defined “performance result” or outcome which, according to Spady, is the determiner of all teaching and learning and is in opposition to the input-based traditional approaches. Secondly, it stresses that “what and whether learners learn successfully is more important than when and how they learn it” (Spady 1994: 5). The stress here is on competences that learners can achieve. Outcomes are important since learners are assessed on what they are able to do, as opposed to what they know at the end of the learning experience. Spady reiterates this point by stating: outcomes are what learners can actually do with what they know (1994: 2).

Finally there are various responses to the OBE model. Researchers and educationists in South Africa have viewed OBE in different ways. Some see it as a tool for societal equity and others as a radical system, but a large number view it as a political tool. Malcolm sums up the views of the majority of researchers on the essence of OBE in the following assertion: setting out what a nation thinks all students should know is a major political exercise. It is a direct statement of what the society believes schooling is about (1999: 87). Anstey talks about the new curriculum which motivates and inspires learners to explore their talents (Sunday Times 1997: 3). Jansen, on the other hand, firmly believes that the new curriculum, C2005, like the NATED curriculum, is strongly influenced by politics: “The historical account further suggests that politics remains a primary force in shaping the timing, focus and content of curriculum policy in democratic states. Indeed the sudden introduction of OBE

in South Africa was primarily a response to a long period of non-intervention (1994-1997) in the apartheid curriculum, apart from the superficial attempt to cleanse the apartheid syllabuses” (1999: 15).

The curriculum specialists, too, agree with this view that the curriculum is not only a political but a social construct and is designed in relation to the social, economic, political, moral, educational and ideological context. The ANC’s vision and motto is deeply entrenched in the curriculum: upliftment of the nation and unity in diversity.

In tracing and discussing the new OBE educational curriculum we also identify other policies that played a huge role in education. Language issues and tensions had been a thorn in the flesh of the Apartheid education system. Even now the language policy is still a sensitive one. This project investigates language choices and issues in rural Umzumbe. The Language in Education Policy (LIEP) as one of the educational policies will now be studied within the broader national policy of multiculturalism and multilingualism.

### **3.4 THE LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY**

The LIEP is the Language in Education Policy created by the national Department of Education, as a guiding educational policy for all schools in the country. Its principles are underpinned by the South African Constitution which aims to promote multiculturalism through multilingualism. It provides a policy framework for the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) and language learning areas.

The South African Constitution speaks of multiculturalism and multilingualism as a defining characteristic of being South African. It recognises the rights of people to express themselves in their own language:

*Every person shall have the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of his or her choice (Section 31);*

*No person shall be unfairly discriminated against on the ground of culture or language (Section 8);*

*Every person shall have the right to instruction in the language of his/her own (Section 8);*

*Wherever practicable, a person shall have the right to use and to be addressed in his / her dealings with any public administration at the national level of government in any official language of his / her choice; and at the provincial level of government in any of the adopted provincial official languages (Section 3)*

(Section 3, 8, 31 of 1993).

In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognises that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and respect for all languages used in the country, including South African Sign Language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution. This new policy is in line with both societal and individual multilingualism. It encourages the learning of more than one language. Arguments in favour of multilingualism refer to the cognitive benefits and cost-effectiveness of teaching through one medium (home language) and learning additional language/s as subjects. This paradigm creates a fluid relationship between languages and cultures which eventually should give rise to and sustain genuine respect for the variability of the communities that constitute our emerging nation.

In turn the national Department of Education inculcates the principles of the Constitution and echoes similar intentions in its language policy. The South African National Language in Education policy (Section 34) of the National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996) speaks of transforming society and creating a new South African identity: *being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South Africa*. The Act identifies additive bilingualism/multilingualism as the normative orientation of the Language in

Education policy. This means that learners learn other languages (including the dominant language) most effectively when there is the continued educational use of the learners' first language. (National Education Language in Policy Act 27 of 1996 Section 34).

The following policy documents have relevance for the discussion of these educational and language issues: The Language in Education Policy 1997 (LIEP), Revised National Curriculum Statements 2002 (RNCS); adapted from Outcomes- Based Education (OBE), Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT), the South African School's Act 84 of 1996 (SASA), General Education and Training (GET) and Further Education and Training (FET).

According to the RNCS, the Language in Education Policy (LIEP) (July 1997) provides the following guidelines:

- *Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African;*
- *The underlying principle is to maintain home languages while providing access to the effective acquisition of additional languages;*
- *An additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language- in- education policy;*
- *The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual;*
- *This right has, however, to be exercised within the overall framework of the obligation of the education system to promote multilingualism and the languages of learning and teaching in a public school must be an official language;*
- *The languages of learning include all eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga;*
- *In a multilingual country like South Africa it is important that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages, and that they are able to communicate in other languages* (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9: Overview 2002: 20).

The aims of the LIEP are: to promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education; to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth among learners, and thereby to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education; to promote and develop all official languages; to support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and the South African Sign language, as well as alternative and augmentative communication; to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching, and finally to develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages. The LIEP supports the South African constitution. The LIEP is an integral part of the RNCS.

As a result the SASA Act 84 of 1996 follows suit in entrenching the principles of the Constitution. In terms of each school's language policy, parents have a direct say in the linguistic choices of their children:

- *The governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act, and any applicable provincial law;*
- *No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined by this section;*
- *A recognised sign language has the status of an official language for purposes of learning.*

A closer examination of the LIEP as an educational policy will allow us to gain a clearer perspective of what may be realistically happening in South African schools.

- *The school governing body must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects,*

*and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education department;*

- *Where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language, and section 5.3.2 must apply;*
- *Section 5.3.2 states where there are less than 40 requests in grades 1 to 6, or less than 35 in grades 7 to 12 for a language of instruction not already offered in a particular school district, the head of the provincial department will determine how the needs of these learners will be met, taking into account: the need to achieve equality, the need to redress the injustices of past racially discriminatory laws and practices practicability with the advice of the governing bodies and principals of the public schools concerned.*

(Language- in- Education Policy 1997: 2)

Furthermore: the Department of Education's Language in Education policy gives School Governing Bodies (SGBs) the responsibility of selecting school language policies that are appropriate for their circumstances and in line with the policy of additive multilingualism. The Languages Learning Area Statement provides a curriculum that is supportive of whatever decision a school makes. (Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9: Languages 2002:4). Although the LIEP supports multilingualism as expressed in the National Curriculum Statement it does not provide guidelines to the SGB of schools for implementation. It does not explicitly mention how and to what extent this policy should be put into practice. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 highlights the problematic application of LIEP. However, schools are required to offer home language, first additional and possibly second additional language. The RNCS defines these concepts as follows: *The Home language refers to an official language which a learner understands and speaks when entering school for the first time. The first additional language is an official language that a learner may not know on entering school and the second additional language refers to*



*the third language/s that learners may want to learn* (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 Languages 2002:4)).

We conclude this section by noting the varying opinions from public and the academic world on this language issue, and in particular on the application of the LIEP. These debates have become a source of political, social and economic tension in the country. Many urban, multicultural schools have resisted language change and the application of the multilingual policy up to this point. Schools in these domains are facing language pressure from the various stakeholders such as the Department of Education, the Pan South African Language Board and the media. For instance the programme Good Morning South Africa on SABC 2 featured a language special on the 22 of February 2006 at 6.34 am which focused on Capricorn High School in Polokwane. The former ex-model C Afrikaans medium school was officially instructed by the National Department of Education to offer indigenous languages for African learners in the school. In terms of the LIEP, schools are expected to offer African languages as a content learning area, as well as a medium of instruction for other learning areas. This brought about mixed responses from parents and learners. A small number of learners insisted on the use of the present medium of instruction, Afrikaans, arguing that the use of this language was a strong reason for admission to that school. A substantial number of learners were also insisting on the need for indigenous languages to be introduced to the curriculum package.

These language debates seem to have swollen forcefully after the June 16th celebration of 2005 where youth demanded recognition of the indigenous languages and the equality of all languages. Radical language debates in other areas of the country include the Western Cape. In this case strong motivation for English was made by the majority of the learners and parents, despite the Language in Education policy. In addition the Eastern Cape, too, seems to with to invest in English as a powerful linguistic resource. This is evident in the large influx of learners into KwaZulu-Natal primary and secondary schools. Surveys on hostel learners in several Gauteng multicultural schools indicate 70

to 80 percent isiXhosa learners. This seems to be a common trend in these multicultural school hostels in all provinces. These language debates impact directly on the language being taught as subject and used as medium of instruction in schools. Language, it seems, operates as a powerful discourse in society: those who own languages of power become more powerful and influential than others. It is therefore important to question the importance of studying a language.

### **3.4.1 Language as a learning area in terms of OBE and the LIEP**

Here I examine the value of language as learning area, language in terms of literacy, and the approach of the LIEP to language as a subject or learning area.

Firstly the importance of language must be emphasised. In his influential work, *The Language Instinct*, Pinker outlines the importance of initial language acquisition thus: “Language is not a cultural artefact that we learn the way we learn to tell time or how the federal government works. Instead, it is a distinct piece of the biological makeup of our brains. Language is a complex, specialised skill, which develops in the child spontaneously, without conscious effort or formal instruction, it is deployed without awareness of its underlying logic, is qualitatively the same in every individual, and is distinct from more general abilities to process information or behave intelligently” (1994: 18). This initial language development, however, requires further development through education.

Other researchers and writers have also considered language as a tool for thought and communication. Learning to use language effectively enables learners to think and acquire knowledge, to express their identity, feelings and ideas, to interact with others, and to manage their world. More importantly, in terms of the linguistic and cultural diversity of South Africa, its citizens must be able to communicate across language barriers and foster linguistic respect and understanding. And lastly it is through language that cultural diversity and social relations are expressed and constructed (*The Teacher* October 2005: 2).

Languages are central to people and are necessary for communication and understanding of the world. As a result they shape identity and perceptions of the world.

According to the Curriculum 2005 document, language as subject or learning area develops reading and writing; it is used as medium for many of the other learning areas (eg. Mathematics, Social Sciences etc.); it encourages intercultural understanding; it creates access to other views, and a critical understanding of the concept of culture; it stimulates imaginative and creative activity; it promotes the goals of Arts and Culture, Science, Technology and Environmental Education; it provides a way of communicating information and develops the critical tools necessary to become responsible citizens. The Revised National Curriculum Statements spell out in greater detail the role of language in the GET and FET bands: *Language is a tool for thought and communication. It is through language that diversity and social relations are expressed and constructed. Learning to use language effectively enables learners to think and acquire knowledge, to express their identity, feelings and ideas, to interact with others and to manage their world* (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12 Overview 2002: 50).

According to the RNCS, language as a resource tool allows people to communicate and understand their world through language. Language thus shapes identity and knowledge. Language serves a variety of purposes, which are spelled out in the languages learning area statement, as follows:

- *Personal – to sustain, develop and transform identities; to sustain relationships in family and community; and for personal growth and pleasure;*
- *Communicative – to communicate appropriately and effectively in a variety of social contexts;*
- *Educational – to develop tools for thinking and reasoning and to provide access to information;*
- *Aesthetic – to create, interpret and play imaginatively with oral, visual and*

*written texts;*

- *Cultural – to understand and appreciate languages and cultures, and the heritage they carry;*
- *Political – to assert oneself and challenge others; to persuade others of a particular point of view; to position one's self and others; and to sustain, develop and transform identities;*
- *Critical – to understand the relationship between language, power and identity, and to challenge uses of these where necessary; to understand the dynamic nature of culture; and to resist persuasion and positioning where necessary. (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9: Languages 2002: 5).*

The documents then focus on the implications of these statements for learners, as follows:

- *It develops reading and writing, the foundation for other important literacies;*
- *It is the medium for much of the other learning in the curriculum, such as mathematics and the social studies;*
- *It encourages intercultural understanding, access to other view, and a critical understanding of the concept of culture;*
- *It stimulates imaginative and creative activity, and thus promotes the goals of art and culture;.*
- *It provides a way of communicating information, and promotes many of the goals of science, technology and environmental education;*
- *It develops the critical tools necessary to become responsible citizens.*

(Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statements grades R: languages, 2002: 4-5).

The RNCS also stresses the importance for learners to reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages, so that they are able to communicate fluently in other languages. (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9: Languages, 2002: 4)

The RNCS document is clear in the application of the languages. Language as subject or learning area follows an additive or incremental approach to multilingualism. All learners must learn their home language and at least one additional official language. Learners need to become competent in their additional language, while their home language is maintained and developed. The Languages Learning Area Statement distinguishes between Home (mother tongue/ vernacular), First Additional (language in addition to mother tongue) and Second Additional languages. The Home Language focuses on learners' ability to read, understand and speak the language at the respective level, while the First Additional Language starts by developing the learner's ability to read, understand, speak the language, and as such develops literacy. The home language assessment assumes that learners come to school able to understand and speak the language. Support is required for the development of this competence, especially with regard to various types of literacy (reading, writing, visual and critical literacy), and a strong curriculum is provided to support the language of learning and teaching. Learners are able to transfer the literacy they have acquired in their Home language to their First Additional language. The curriculum provides strong support for those learners who will use their First Additional as the language of Learning and Teaching at some point in the GET band. By the end of Grade 9, these learners should be able to use their Home and First additional language effectively and with confidence for a variety of purposes, including learning. The Second Additional language is intended for learners who need or wish to learn three languages. The Second Additional language may be an official language or a foreign language and could be used for general communicative purposes (2002: 4).

For our purposes we also need to understand the LIEP's provisions regarding language as a subject. The LIEP policy clearly offers the following guidelines for languages as subjects:

- *all learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2.*
- *from Grade 3 (standard 1) onwards, all learners shall offer their language of learning and teaching and at least one additional approved language as*

*subjects.*

- *all language subjects shall receive equitable time and resource allocation.*
- *the following promotion requirements apply to language subjects:*
  - *in Grade 1 to Grade 4 promotion is based on performance in one language and mathematics.*
  - *from Grade 5 onwards, one language must be passed.*
  - *from Grade 10 to Grade 12 two languages must be passed, one on first language level, and the other on at least second language level. At least one of these languages must be an official language.*
  - *subject to National Norms and Standards as determined by the Minister of Education, the level of achievement required for promotion shall be determined by the provincial education departments.*

In terms of the Languages learning area it is important that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages, and that they are able to communicate in other languages. The language policy recognises the promotion and maintenance of all 11 official languages as subjects to be offered at educational institutions. Here language as a communicative tool is emphasised with its own linguistic resources and skills and values. For example the teaching of Home Languages, First Additional and Second Additional Languages has its own learning outcomes (levels of attainment). Home Languages, for example, offer the following: learning outcomes for listening, speaking, reading and viewing, writing, thinking and reasoning as well as language structure and use (Department of Education: Revised National Curriculum Statements Grades R-9 Languages: English Home Language. 2002: 4). For instance Learning Outcome 5 deals with the use of languages for thinking and reasoning, which is especially important for the language of learning and teaching. This learning outcome is not included in the curriculum for Second Additional languages, since its aim is not to prepare learners to use this language as their language of learning and teaching, but rather for communicative purposes. Learning Outcome 6 deals with the core of language knowledge (sounds, words and grammar in texts). The knowledge addressed in Learning Outcome 6 is put into action through the language skills applied when

addressing the other five language learning outcomes. The six language learning outcomes together outline the particular kinds of knowledge, skills and attitudes to be developed in the teaching of languages. It is important to note that all six of the languages learning outcomes are interdependent, as one cannot function without the others. In Home Language and First Additional Language all six learning outcomes are equally important, while in Second Additional Language the listening and speaking outcomes should be given more attention.

Language as enabling literacy is critical for a multicultural and multilingual identity. Malkova elucidates the importance of language in terms of literacy as follows: “to be literate is to be empowered, liberated, to participate meaningfully and assertively in decisions that affects one’s life, to be self-confident and self-assertive, to be politically conscious and critically aware and to have access to written knowledge which is power”. Like Christie (1997) he adds that literacy is a political act: “it is not neutral: for the act of revealing social reality in order to transform it, or conceal it in order to preserve it is political” ( cited in Malkova 1989: 534).

The language learning area outcomes are integrated with the developmental (critical) outcomes in the following ways:

- *They assist the development of language skills and knowledge necessary for effective communication;*
- *Learners are introduced to values and attitudes found in all human interaction by means of texts, and are hereby assisted in the development of sensitivity and empathy;*
- *Problem solving and critical awareness are improved through various formal and creative activities which lead to the development of an imaginative, creative learner who has an enquiring mind;*
- *The ability to manage oneself and others, and develop as an entrepreneurial self-starter is enhanced by the analytic skills gained;*
- *The process of addressing literacy in the widest sense and exposure to a very wide range of texts from the full scope of life experiences, prepares all*

*language learners to be productive citizens.* (White paper on Language 1999: 5).

The language learning area outcomes are linked to the broad principles of the RNCS. The school plays a pivotal role in assisting learners to acquire critical literacy, thus contributing to social and environmental justice. Language rights are an aspect of human rights. In the past, languages have not all been treated equally. Afrikaans and English for example have been given an elevated status in the school curriculum, while African languages suffered. Thus all languages should be treated and taught equally. Wherever possible, learners should have the opportunity to be taught in their home language as language of learning and teaching. The language policy cannot exclude a learner from a school on the grounds of language ability. Furthermore they should have the opportunity to learn additional languages to high levels of proficiency. In addition literate learners should be able to assert their own rights, show respect for other religions and cultures, embrace diversity, challenge infringements of human rights, and fulfil personal and civic responsibilities.

It is obvious that language is pivotal to the functioning of society. Language as discourse operates as a gate keeper in society: only those who own it (by being skilled and effective in the language) become more powerful and influential. The school should therefore create an environment where multilingualism and multiculturalism is encouraged, supported and valued so that strategies can be developed for language learning. Despite this there seem to be a discrepancy between the position of language in education and the language demands of society. While many claim that the LIEP is constructing a multilingual and multicultural identity, others see society as demanding a global and international identity. Here language seems to be considered a linguistic resource for job and career opportunities, social upliftment and economic advancement.



In order for the broad transformative principle of multilingualism to be properly understood, the role of the medium of instruction (the LOLT) must also be seriously considered.

### **3.4.2 Language as medium of instruction (the LOLT)**

The language of teaching and learning or medium of instruction has many implications for the language policy in a school. The medium of instruction determines a school's status as a monolingual or bilingual institution. Here I explore the LOLT in relation to the LIEP, as well as in terms of the intended outcome of additive bilingualism. Furthermore, my discussion will relate to my project in Umzumbe.

The choice and role of the medium of instruction has long been understood as a crucial issue. For instance, in 2003 UNESCO proposed guidelines on Language and Education. UNESCO supports mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers. UNESCO advocates: "mother tongue instruction is essential for initial instruction and literacy and (each child) should begin his/her formal education in his or her mother tongue" (2003: 28).

In terms of the Norms and Standards regarding language policy published in terms of Section 6 (1) of the South African Schools Act of 1996, multiculturalism and diversity are seen as valuable assets. Diversity promotes the goals of protection, promotion, fulfilment and extension of the individual's language rights and means of communication in education, and the facilitation of national and international communication. This is achieved through the promotion of bi- or multilingualism and by redressing the neglect of the historically disadvantaged languages in school education. Furthermore the individual rights of the learner in terms of language choice are exercised by the parent on behalf of the minor learner. The learner (through his/her parents) must choose the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school, and where a school uses the language of learning and

teaching chosen by the learner. According to the RNCS documents, the learners' home language should be used for learning and teaching wherever possible; especially in the Foundation Phase (when learners learn to read and write). The learners' transition from their home language to an additional language as the language of learning and teaching should be carefully planned. The additional language should be introduced as a subject in Grade 1. The home language should continue to be used alongside the additional language for as long as possible. When learners enter a school where the language of learning and teaching is an additional language for the learner, teachers and other educators should make provision for special assistance and supplementary learning of the additional language, until such time as the learner is able to learn effectively in the language of learning and teaching (2002:5). LOLT statements form an important part of the LIEP. The language of learning and teaching is determined by the School Governing Body (SGB) and the School's Management Team (SMT). This is usually done in consultation with learners and parents. Stakeholders however have to follow the guidelines of the LIEP. The LIEP and The South African Schools Act give the SGB the responsibility of selecting a school language policy that is appropriate for their school context and in line with the policy of additive multilingualism. The additive approach to multilingualism outlines that: all learners should learn their home language and at least one other additional official language; learners become competent in their additional language, while their home language is maintained and developed; all learners should learn an African language for a minimum of three years in the GET phase. In some situations, it may be learned as a second additional language. This legislation has been researched and has been justified by international case studies of the value of the mother tongue and home language. The LIEP seeks to entrench an additive approach to teaching and learning. Additive bilingualism refers to the learning of an additional language alongside the primary language without any hindrance or destruction to the mother tongue. The additional language should complement the mother tongue and not replace it. A child gains competence in a second language while the mother tongue is maintained. The first language is developed and promoted without interference

from the second language. The second language should develop alongside or in addition to the first language. (This approach has been extensively covered in Chapter two.)

Finally it is necessary to understand the intended, and the likely, impact of the LOLT in South African schools. In KwaZulu-Natal the FET band; Grades 10-12 in rural high schools can be considered in serious danger of leading to possible subtractive bilingualism, through the implementation of the prescribed dual medium instruction, in which the use of the vernacular as LOLT is gradually replaced by a hegemonic additional language (which is almost always English). All learning areas are examined in the additional language (English) with the exception of the languages, thus making it less feasible to promote the vernacular as LOLT. The LIEP may therefore result in a linguistic paradox, in that a hegemonic (additional) language gradually comes to replace the vernacular for purely academic reasons. See for instance studies by de Klerk, Adendorff, Chick and McKay as well as de Kadt and Appalraju. Furthermore, the multilingual language policy does not provide proper guidelines for the formulation of language policy in schools. On the one hand it dictates that all 11 official languages should be treated equally, but on the other hand practically ensures the outcome that English is more equal than any other language. While the LIEP intends to promote additive bilingualism, its actual impact may well be different. This paradoxical position of the LIEP policy has created much confusion in schools. See appendix 9 (cartoon on the LIEP). For most parents and learners the impact of this education policy has created much language tension, resulting in language constraints instead of free choices.

### **3.5. THE IMPACT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: LANGUAGE CHOICE OR CONSTRAINT?**

The LIEP intends to promote additive bilingualism but appears inadvertently to be resulting in subtractive bilingualism. Parents' and learners' choice of English has resulted in marginalisation of the vernacular (Zulu), in terms of job opportunities and social and economic mobility. Learners experience a language constraint, directing them away from the use of Zulu in school, if they wish to excel academically, since all learning areas are taught through the medium of English. In this part I discuss parents' and learners' language choices, the recommendations of academics and educationists, and finally the impact of the increasing spread of English in South Africa.

Firstly we consider parents' and learners' language choices. Which language/s do learners and parents want, and why? Ekanayake (1990) speaks of language changes taking place in the rural domain. He considers that children in the rural domain do not further their education because of the complexities and contradictions of this context. He adds that rural parents are realising that a good education is a way to escape from the rural drudgery towards an urban lifestyle. As a result there is a high investment in education, and especially in bilingual education (1990:116). It would seem that learners and parents view language issues and education as "high investments". This has been highlighted in some controversial media programmes. *Eastern Mosaic*, presented by Devi Sankaree Govender in July 1999, broadcasted a debate entitled "Language barrier among black pupils in KwaZulu-Natal". Two of the participants stressed the desire of black parents that their children learn English, especially the educator and researcher Lucky Khumalo. Similarly, Michael Tellingier of HELPSA ( Help South Africa learn English) spoke of assisting South Africans to learn English since it assists with basic computer literacy, in obtaining a driving license as well as in urban and international job markets.

The newspaper *Educators' Voice* (published by SADTU) covered a report by Ngobeneni on the 2004 Matriculation examinations which identified the poor

support for English Second Language as the root of the problem for bad results in rural schools: this included educators' lack of proficiency in English, and the lack of facilities (public libraries, reading and exposure to English) as areas for development to achieve better results. (2005: 8).

Research on bilingual education in other African countries, too, reveals linguistic controversies: parental and learner desire for the language of empowerment and social mobility repeatedly presents constraints as regards the promotion of African languages. In countries like Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Namibia, English has gained ascendancy over the local or indigenous languages of the country (see Slabbert and Finlayson 1992, Cameron 1998, and Hendrikse 1998). Christie has also reported the demands made to educators by Australian Aboriginal communities for their children: "We want them to learn English" (1985: 50).

Parents and learners see Zulu as a constraint on economic and social mobility, since Zulu is limited to cultural and traditional roles. Herbert and Bailey explain that it is often claimed that Zulu functions as a lingua franca for 70 per cent of South Africa's population (Government Gazette Vol. 407. No.20098 of 1999), but that the empirical basis for this claim is uncertain since the Population Census numbers reflect home-language status only and not patterns of language use or knowledge (1998: 75) Prof. Kader Asmal's controversial debate in an interview with 3<sup>rd</sup> Degree (shown on *SABC3* in 2004) identified several factors contributing to poor Matriculation results. These included a lack of resources and skilled educators, the planned timetable and inadequate language exposure. Given that all papers were written in English, competence in English was pivotal to success in examinations.

This debate has also been extended to tertiary level. *Interface*, a national public debating forum on *SABC 3*, carried a controversial language debate on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2005. A panel including Naledi Pandor, the present National Minister of Education, Dr Abner Nyamende, a Public Service Representative, Mari de Clerq, and Professor Irene Moutlana, representative of the Minerals and

Natural Sciences Association of South Africa together with unions, examined the role of African languages in the country and the hegemonic position of English. De Clerq claimed that most students at schools and tertiary institutions opted for English as MOI instead of African languages, since this was a precondition for global advancement. Students also felt that certain subjects such as Physical Science, Mathematics and Computer Studies could not possibly be translated into the mother tongue, since the vocabulary of African languages still needed further development. Pandor spoke about Batho Pele principles and additional languages being developed alongside the mother tongue, but also emphasised the importance of English within international circles. Professor Moutlana explained the need for multilingualism and that the development of African languages would assist greatly in the learning acquisition processes of English second language speakers. She also declared that the funding was needed to develop these languages. Dr Nyamende stated that citizens required African languages since their future jobs in disadvantaged communities would require interpretation and translation of manuals from English to indigenous languages. Yet, as Pandor stated, indigenous languages cannot be forced on all. Legislation cannot make African languages compulsory for all since this might threaten other representative groups. Pandor also noted that English is part of this country's history and heritage and is the language of communication for business, politics and the international sector. For most parents and learners in South Africa, too, English seems to be the language of "survival": the only language which could develop, empower and liberate within a global market or the global village. However, this would also necessitate the adjustment to another culture or rather another way of life.

Research has produced a variety of findings. For instance, Chick and McKay's investigation of six KwaZulu-Natal primary schools (2002) reveals that the new multilingual Language in Learning policy was not being adhered to and that little or no code-switching was used in these schools. They also report that since isiZulu was not being maintained and English was still the dominant language, little multicultural socialisation had taken place. Little progress is being made in developing the sort of language policies and practices, within

formal education, that will help socialise learners into a South African identity. De Klerk's investigations in Grahamstown (2000a, 2000b) confirm the prevailing dominant role of English. She explains that this could be due to the lack of institutionalised support for the vernacular and the overwhelming support for English by African parents. Xhosa parents appear to be opting for English for various reasons including social mobility, educational opportunities and economic empowerment. Of interest is Lanham comment that in South Africa, too, multilingualism is becoming a standard characteristic in all spheres of life. Rapid urbanisation in recent years has resulted in cities and townships becoming a melting pot of many languages, with English as the only 'lingua franca' (cited in Nortje and Wissing 1998: 140). Language choices play a pivotal role in maintenance and preservation, or in a shift away from cultural and traditional values. Steiner accurately positions the languages of the world when he says "every language maps the world differently" (1992: 1). Is bilingual education, with the language options available in schools, becoming a matter of constraint or choice? Are educational policies also propelling rural communities towards multilingualism? In particular, rural and previously monolingual communities seem to be experiencing mixed feelings in their conscious or unconscious move towards bilingualism.

I now discuss the increasing spread of English in South Africa. Bilingualism and in particular the increasing dominance of English seems to be a strong trend, even in largely monolingual communities, which may eventually result in language shift to English, as has already happened in the Indian South African community. The role of English seems to be impacting seriously on bilingualism and multilingualism in South Africa. Researchers such as Van der Walt (1995) and Extra and Maartens (1998) have examined the role of English within the South African community. Van der Walt has commented on the numerous varieties of English that have arisen in the process of cultural infiltration by the English language (1995: 290). Many sociolinguistic studies (eg Mesthrie 1995, de Klerk 1996, Extra and Maartens 1998, Mclean and Kaschula 1999 and de Kadt and Appalraju 2001) have explored the dominant role of English in South Africa, as well as its implications for the different

cultural sectors in society. De Klerk (1996) sees 1995 as a period of political transition which resulted in increased sensitivity to and awareness of languages and language rights, owing to South Africa's recently declared multilingual language policy. Language has now become a terrain of struggle, a struggle over the basic human right to express oneself in one's mother tongue (1996: 8). Linguists like Mesthrie (1992, 1995) and Extra and Maartens (1998) oppose and challenge this stress on the various vernaculars and focus rather on reasons for the felt need for English. Their studies have shown the dominance of English in the different cultural sectors of South African society. The various case studies by Extra and Maartens (1998) investigated the metropolitan stratification of languages as well as the nature of the interaction between languages. They concluded that English is presently the predominant language, despite the fact that the vernacular is upheld within regional and local sectors of the community (1998: 25). McCormick and Mesthrie examined the demotion of Afrikaans as a result of the increasing hegemonic effect of English, noting that even the indigenous languages are constantly being undermined by the dominance and importance of English (1999: 265).

In a workshop conducted on the *Feasibility of Technical language Development in the African languages*, Mr Z. Bekeweni from Eskom Language Services drew on Crystal's description of Standard English. Crystal describes Standard English in South Africa as the main language of everyday interaction which is used in all sectors of the country; it "is used as the norm of communication by the community's leading institutions, such as its government, courts of law and media and is the language of excellence" (cited in Bekeweni 1997: 91). This 'lingua franca' status of English appears to be growing within South Africa.

Even literature has joined in the debate around the status of English as compared to the vernacular. In a tradition of many years' standing, numerous South African writers have expressed their views in fictional form. Writers like Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Olive Schreier, Peter Wilhelm and Jack Cope are some of the writers of fiction who have addressed the contentious conflict between English/Afrikaans and the vernacular. These writers have also



emphasized the need for English in all educational institutions as a precondition for social mobility. For instance, in a short story entitled *Perfidy of the Maatland*, published in the 1980's, Alan Paton captures the language situation of a black community. The black radicals at the University of Maatland denounce their vernacular which they interpret as retrogressive, in favour of English which is perceived to be an agent of progress and social mobility. In the 1980's, already, Paton was addressing the tension in the black community between English and the vernacular, a tension which presumes bilingualism and may finally lead to language shift. The protagonist in Paton's story states: "We are totally opposed to vernacular education. We want to equip ourselves and our people to enter the modern world. We believe that we shall never do so through the medium of our own language" (Paton 1982: 22).

The prevalence of this debate has also been highlighted by articles in the local press. The headline in the *Natal Mercury* of 7 December 1998 and the associated article in the *Post* of 19 December 1998, entitled "Bonus Marks for Africans", drew attention to the need for English medium schools in black communities. According to both articles, pupils in all English second language medium schools, which had been disadvantaged by using the vernacular as medium of instruction rather than English, had to be compensated in the external matriculation examinations. This issue, together with the exodus of black pupils from rural and urban black communities into English medium schools, again sparked debate and controversy in educational circles. The popular question currently being asked is: Why are black pupils presently opting for English or, rather for an education in English medium schools? A black rural teacher, Mrs Moeletsi from Mpumalanga provides an answer: "I have tried to implement mother tongue instruction, but the pupils prefer English. Personally I think it is more useful to teach the children in English. English after all is an international language" (in Jafta 1997: 2). In an article in *The Teacher* Mohlala and Grey explored the possibility of using mother tongue education and additive bilingualism to promote cognitive growth and to aid second language learning (2005: 2). If English is viewed as essential within a wider context of job opportunities and social mobility, it is important to ask

whether black pupils still view their vernacular as significant within their own cultural milieu.

Many South African studies reveal the specific role of English within the diverse South African communities. De Kadt tells us that in South Africa English is perceived as an additional force for democractization (1993: 1) Zungu (2002) focuses on the code-switching, code mixing and language shift at work in modern Zulu, and Adendorff (1993) explores the code- switching among teachers and their pupils, which has many implications for the Language in Education policy. Chick speaks of classrooms as site of struggles between competing discourses, in “constructing a multicultural national identity in South Africa” (2002: 1). Such an interest in English, as well as the recognition of English as a prestige language or as a language of social mobility, as has been demonstrated here, is likely to result in widespread bilingualism and may finally lead to language shift. This will largely depend on the strength of commitment to the vernacular, and the continued use of the vernaculars for a range of language functions. As mentioned above, language shift from a range of vernaculars has already taken place in the Indian South African community, and these processes have been studied in some detail by Mesthrie (1992, 1995). The language situation in the majority Zulu-speaking community is, of course very different from that in the minority Indian South African Community, and at present it would be considered premature to speak of language shift from Zulu to English. Mesthrie’s later volume of articles (2002) focuses on the social history of the language situation in South Africa. Here tribal tensions between IFP and ANC as well as the relationships between black and white are all shown to be affecting the language situation in the country. Putz’s (1995) study reveals language as a major variable in the societal attribution of power, status and opportunities in most post-colonial African societies.

In concluding this section it must be seen as paradoxical that the Constitution offers all eleven official languages equal positions, while English is in practice the ‘lingua franca’ and *de facto* hegemonic language in South Africa. It is ironic that the educative policy of additive multilingualism is being shown, in

practice, to be having the reverse effect of encouraging subtractive bilingualism in favour of English. From many of the debates presented here it is obvious that parents' and learners' favouring of English does in fact contradict educationalists' recommendations that the vernaculars be promoted. Learners and parents seem to be making a considered choice: their choice of English is the choice of a language which will assist their better survival – a language which is a necessity for social, economic and global empowerment. At the same time they are drawn towards allegiance and loyalty to their mother tongue, which is their link to their traditional cultural practices. I would therefore concur with Mesthrie that social, educational, political, economic, cultural and economic determinants are necessary to understand changing language patterns in a community (1992: 32).

In setting the context of investigation this chapter has provided an exposition of the pre- and post-1994 education eras, especially in terms of language issues, the emergence of the new educational policies of OBE and LOLT and the rise of bilingual education. The next section will examine the socio-economic and cultural context of our investigation in Umzumbe.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

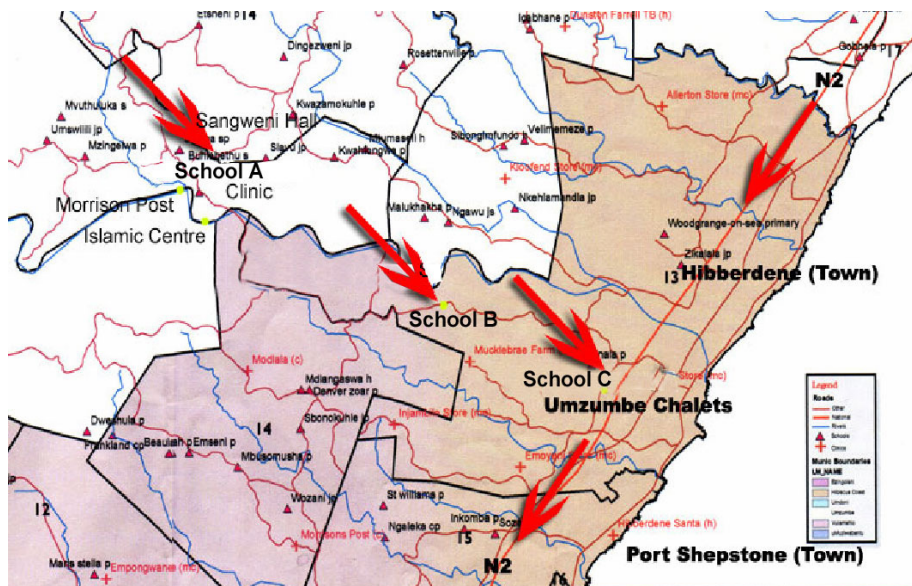
### **SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONTEXT**

Chapter 4 presents information on the socio-economic and cultural context of the Umzumbe region. My interpretation of the data collected in this piece of research will be largely underpinned by the nature of this context. Social situations have their own structure and properties, which are not intrinsically linguistic in character, although they may be expressed through a linguistic medium (Goffman, cited in Thorne and Henley 1975: 12). Most linguists emphasise the importance of context since it can be used to underpin the ethnographic descriptions and investigations. Even language issues are inextricably tied to the context: this socio-economic and cultural context is described “as the language infrastructure of a context” (Cameron 1998 cited in Gfeller and Robinson: 1). As confirmed by Labov (1972) and Cameron (1998) language is essentially a social phenomenon.

In presenting background information on Umzumbe region a number of written and verbal sources have been consulted. In addition to research literature such as Derwent (1999), Cope (1993) and Lugg (1970), I have drawn on the Ugu Municipality reports, De Leuw Cather (1998), Wilson (1999) and Eskom and Telkom reports. Interviews have been conducted with several Amakhosi and with two American missionaries located at Magog, near School B, Stanley and Carol Michael. I have also drawn in some information from the learner and parent questionnaires and interviews. In discussing cultural issues, I have drawn on the rather dated presentation of the social system of the Zulus by Krige (1950) as well as Hexham’s study of Zulu religion (1987). In the following I focus in turn on: the geographical location and the socio-economic, political and cultural context, and then present a description of the three research sites

#### 4.1 UMZUMBE : GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The Lower South Coast region, or Ugu District, is the southernmost region in KZN and comprises the Port Shepstone, Port Alfred, and Umzinto Magisterial Districts (see Ugu District reports 2002 and 2003). This region forms “a corridor along the coastline”, which is characterised by ribbon development, and acts as a transport node into Durban (Wilson 1999: 19). Umzumbe falls under the Port Shepstone magisterial district. On the map of Umzumbe, Morrison, Fairview and Kwa Madlala fall within the Umzumbe area.



South Coast Herald 2006: 8

Education, like other social services, is driven by the political leadership in the province. When the IFP-led government was ousted by the current ANC-led government in the 2003 provincial elections, these political changes in the province led to a re-definition of educational leadership. A thorough restructuring process was embarked upon, with education being outsourced to the agency Mandela Mchunu and Associates, to provide demarcation for educational management and leadership. Under their advice educational boundaries were restructured and finer demarcations were confirmed into

wards, circuits, and districts, with the region as a whole (Pietermaritzburg region) reporting to Head office. At the time this research was initiated, prior to 2003, Umzumbe was classified as a single educational circuit comprising 26 schools. The subsequent restructuring led to Umzumbe schools being divided into two wards, and the research sites are now located in these two separate wards (Ogwini and Umzumbe wards). These wards are monitored by different SEMS ( Superintendent of Education Management Service) and fall under two different circuits which are, however, both part of the Port Shepstone District and the greater Coastal Cluster (Umlazi, Scottburgh, Umzinto and Port Shepstone). However, in terms of political demarcation, Umzumbe still forms a single municipality.

According to the Umzumbe Municipality Integrated Development Plan report compiled in 2004, Umzumbe (KZ 213) Municipality is a local municipality falling within Ugu District (DC 21) and is one of six municipalities and the largest within the District. The boundary of the municipality runs along the coast for a short stretch between Mtwalume and Hibberdene and then balloons out into the hinterland for approximately 60 kilometres. The rural hinterland is poorly developed and is characterised by poverty, limited access to social services and high levels of unemployment, with farming as the dominant occupation.

#### **4.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE UMZUMBE MUNICIPALITY**

The total population of Umzumbe municipality is approximately 193756. The average municipal ward population, in terms of the 1996 national census (STATSSA), is 9155 people, but there is significant variation above and below this figure. The inland wards are the least dense, with population densities of 65 to 95 people per square kilometre (UGU Report 2003: 2). The population congregates towards the coast, where the fast transport routes, and especially the N2 national freeway, allow access to economic opportunities.

The following table provides a summary of the key demographic information for the Umzumbe Municipality in 2004.

**Table 1: Umzumbe: Demographic information**

Extent of the Umzumbe Municipal area	160 square km
Population	193 756
Approximate number of households	38 280
Population % Black African	99.83%
Coloured	0.1%
Indian	0.02%
White	0.05%
Male Population (%)	45%
Female population (%)	55%
Number of Municipals	19
Number of Councillors	37

(UGU Report 2004: 7)

Most rural areas are characterised by high levels of poverty with virtually no economic base. A large proportion of the population in the Umzumbe Municipality, too, is very poor: levels of employment are low, household income is limited and irregular and levels of education and training are limited. Although approximately 50% of the municipal population fall within the economically active age group, a municipal average of only 9,5% is formally employed (UGU Report 2004: 7). The dominant land uses in order of significance are: thicket and bush land (27%), subsistence farming (24%), grassland (17%), forestry (12%) and sugar cane farming (7%). There is very little dense residential settlement (1%). The most striking feature, however, of this municipality, is the extent of undeveloped natural land cover, which represents almost 30% of the total land area. The topography can be described as extremely rocky and hilly.

The area has high agricultural potential and a good quality environment with significant opportunities for tourist development. However, there is a serious lack of infrastructure in the area. Especially the rural hinterland is characterised by low density in terms of population development and dispersed homesteads and settlements with low infrastructure, and lacking in adequate water, electricity and sanitation infrastructure (Wilson 1999). There are no established towns and a vast backlog of basic services. Most of the 26 primary and secondary schools are undeveloped. There is a municipal office in Kwa Hlongwa called the Sangweni Hall (used for political and community *imibizos*). A Health Clinic is situated at Morrison, but mobile clinics are used to service other areas in Umzumbe. In addition, there are a number of Christian churches (which are also used for lifeskills and developmental programmes), and a few Islamic centres.

The fact that the traditional rural areas are classified as Tribal Authorities, with the land belonging to the *Amakhosi*, has impacted on development. People cannot get title deeds to their own plots of land but have to request a building site from the *Induna*. The *Induna* in turn consults the *Inkosi* who allocates land. Individuals are then free to build their own house in their own time without the need to submit building plans. This in turn means that controls such as coverage, building lines, side and rear spaces, building materials and safety standards are not regulated or specifically monitored. Because no title deeds are available these homesteaders are not able to raise loans from banking institutions in order to build or improve their homes. In most cases houses are built from traditional materials like wattle, thatch and mud (De Leuw Cather et al. 1998: 25). In addition people living in these tribal areas tend not to have a recorded permanent address, making it difficult for them to apply for telephone and electricity installations and to receive post. Instead, schools and local spaza shops were and are still used as collection points.

There has been much debate at local government level about the development of the Umzumbe rural community, with the following being proposed for



attention: the provision of water, electricity and sanitation, the improvement of telecommunications, access to burial services, the provision of quality health care services to address HIV/AIDS, the alleviation of poverty and creation of employment through product or service niche market development in various economic sectors, the provision of access to sports and recreation in the community, safe waste management and, adequate road access (UGU Report 2004: 8).

The table presented below provides a socio-economic overview.

**Table 2: Socio-economic overview (UGU Report 2004: 8)**

Municipal Age profile	0 to 4	12%
	5 to 14	30%
	15 to 34	32%
	35 to 64	20%
	Over 65	06%
Education Levels over 20's	No Schooling	32%
	Some Primary	28%
	Complete Primary	06%
	Secondary	23%
	Grade 12	08%
	Higher	03%
Labour force out of total population		18%
Not economically active out of total population		36%
Employment (out of labour force)	Employed	28%
	Unemployed	72%
Housing	Formal	38%
	Informal	01%
	Traditional	60%
	Other	01%
Annual household income	None	38%
	R 1 – R9 600	38%
	R9 601 –R153 600	23%
	Above R153 600	01%

### **4.3 POLITICAL CONTEXT**

There has been long-standing rivalry between the IFP and ANC in the area. For many years, Umzumbe was an IFP stronghold, and was long known as a traditional region. The large number of traditional tribal authorities in the area (16 in all) indicates the long standing strong links to the IFP, the Amakhosi and traditional Zulu culture. In the past schools were politically dominated by the local chiefs, with principals of schools being required to be IFP members. It appears that promotions and appointments made in schools were primarily based on party affiliation. In many instances family members of the chief were appointed to management positions in the schools so that party political domination could be maintained in the area.

However, in the 2003 elections, 15 out of the 17 Umzumbe wards were won by the ANC. This could possibly be as a result of the previous non-delivery of services to the rural community. Since these elections, the number of councillors in the ward has been increased greatly, which is likely to reduce the role of the Amakhosi in the area. The takeover of these 15 wards by the ANC is also likely to have considerable implications for the area in terms of provision of services and modernisation.

A number of national and provincial political leaders have come from Umzumbe. Nozizwe Routledge Madlala, the present national deputy minister of Health, is from Magog (which is next to School B), Bheki Cele, the provincial minister of transport, hails from Fairview (next to School C), and the ex- mayor of UGU, Mr Khawula, lives in the Kwa Hlongwa area, very close to School A. Despite the lack of resources, infrastructure and access to opportunities, these leaders have risen to significant positions.

### **4.4 CULTURAL CONTEXT**

In terms of culture, Umzumbe is characterised by elements of both Zulu and Western cultures. Cope's explanation of Zulu culture embracing western

religion is quite evident in this community, where ancestor worship (*amadlozi*) and traditional rituals (*amasiko*) are practiced together with Christian beliefs. Generally Zulu traditions and culture are maintained to a considerable extent in rural areas. Despite the effects of modernisation and the advanced cash economy very few cultural changes have taken place; even though most Zulu people have, to a varying extent, become westernised, many of them nevertheless loyally adhere to their traditional customs, rituals and ceremonies (Derwent 1998: 14). The presence of numerous churches and Islamic centres shows that complex intercultural processes combine with the maintenance of traditional culture. Bhengu describes Zulu culture as intricate and self-defining: a person cannot exist of himself, by himself, for himself, since he comes from a social cluster, exists in a social cluster and dies physically in order to live in the community of spirit-forms, the *amadlozi* (1996: 2). Hexham (1987: xx) notes that Zulu society is patrilineal, with the eldest son always inheriting the property of a household. Women may own property but they are not allowed to inherit or bequeath it. All land belongs to kings and is distributed to the chiefs. Within Zulu society everyone belongs to a clan which has its own praise names and songs. Within the Zulu clan, lineage and one's age-set create the basic bonds of society. All members of Zulu society belong to a particular lineage which consists of all the descendants of a common ancestor. The ancestor is always traced to a common grandfather. Therefore the father is the most feared and respected in the home (1987: 21). In addition, Zulu culture is highly patriarchal. Zulu males take on social, economic and political responsibilities. Derwent emphasises the distinct roles of males and females: boys herd cattle and goats and learn about warrior traditions, and girls help their mother with household chores: cooking, looking after younger brothers and sisters and collecting firewood and water. The children learn about Zulu customs and manners from family members (1998: 4).

Missionaries have long been actively involved in Umzumbe region, as suggested by the numerous churches and Bible Colleges in the vicinity. An American missionary, Michael Stanley (from the American Scripture Union) and his family have been residing at the Bible College in Umzumbe for several

years; he is presently still involved in life-skills programmes at School B and the associated primary schools. He notes that missionaries have played a pivotal role in terms of English language teaching, improvement of infrastructure, spreading western culture through the teaching of Christianity, and by assisting the economy of the area through the teaching of beadwork and computer literacy etc. The role of missionaries throughout Umzumbe is reflected in the names of some of the areas: Magog (located next to School B) is named after an American town, Fairview (located next to School C) and Morrison (located next to School A) are both named after missionaries. In addition, the presence of several Islamic centres suggests the influence of other non-traditional religions in Umzumbe. All schools in the vicinity observe the Christian religious traditions with prayers being conducted in both English and Zulu. Reading of Psalms from the Bible is a daily activity.

At the same time, Umzumbe residents remain closely tied to Zulu cultural practices. Most families are extended, and communal practices and traditions are still upheld. The *amadlozi* and associated rituals (*amasiko*) play a core role in the community. My personal interactions and observations within these communities have revealed educators' and learners' ardent dedication to prayers, specific cultural practices and traditions, also with reference to the educational domain: for instance, the slaughtering of cattle when a new school or block of classrooms is to be built, consultations with *izinduna* and *izangoma* on medical conditions of learners and the use of traditional medicines instead of a visit to the clinic or doctor. In September 2003, on the occasion of a royal marriage, a request was made by the chief for every household, including the schools, to make a donation in cash or kind. Besides cash some of the items collected in my own school (Magog Primary, next to School B) included mats, ornaments, blankets, and Zulu utensils (calabashes, wooden spoons and items made from clay). The royal princess was invited to the home of the local *inkosi* and in a formal, traditional function presented with these gifts. In addition cattle were slaughtered in honour of her marriage.

Older residents remain strictly loyal to the *inkosi*, and in many instances schools and places have been named after the *amakhosi* (for instance the name of School B).

#### **4.5 THE THREE RESEARCH SITES**

As mentioned already all three schools originally fell under the Umzumbe circuit comprising of 26 schools. The restructuring of 2004 changed the political and structural markings/boundaries: School A remains within the Umzumbe ward but School B and C now fall into the Ogwini ward. Here a brief overview of these three schools will be provided.

In terms of resourcing, Schools B and C are Section 20 schools since they draw the bulk of their financial resources from their department allocation. School A, on the other hand is Section 21. Section 21 schools have some financial independence since they have direct access to financial resources which are deposited into their school account. For both categories, problems of procurement often result in the lack of learning resources. Furthermore, poor payment of schools fees also results in neglect of school buildings.

The poor financial state in schools also affects teaching and learning. It appears that many qualified urban educators hesitate to apply to rural schools due to the poor working conditions, such as corrugated roads, the distance and transport costs, lack of proper classrooms and of decent infrastructure (toilets, clinics, water), and prefer the economic convenience of an urban domain.

As a result principals report that there is often a problem in making appointments in these schools, and often educators with no specialised training or qualification in specific learning areas are found teaching specialised subjects like Mathematics, Biology, Economics and Physical Science. As a result of the lack of funds, no extra-mural activities can be offered in these schools. Enrolment patterns vary from school to school with most rural schools experiencing a drift of learners from rural to urban schools. Yet at times the

drift can be in the opposite direction: School A's strong academic record has attracted large numbers of learners (presently 700 learners), in contrast to School B which has been experiencing an annual decline in learner numbers (260 learners). School C (240 learners) is threatened by the competition of urban schools, being only 15 minutes away from the town, and therefore loses a large number of potential learners to English-medium multicultural schools in town.

All three schools offer the GET and FET phases in their schools. While School A offers the Science and Commerce orientated packages in the FET phase, the other two schools offer the Social Science and Commerce learning area packages. Because of this a large number of learners residing close to School C and School B attend School A. Most learners and parents justify their choice of school through the better academic results, the availability of computer literacy programmes, the use of English as medium of instruction, as well as the qualified educators teaching at this school. Although School A is an old school, the buildings are in a better condition than in the two other schools. Indeed School C has no buildings but uses the premises of a primary school, and has only 6 classrooms, as compared to the 10 classrooms in School B and 15 classrooms at School A.

The parent component of the School Governing Body (SGB) in each school varies in its participation. While School A has a progressive parent body, parents in School B exercise a strong traditional influence on the SGB. In School B the SGB is not actively involved and generally relies on the local *inkosi* for direction and advice. In most instances the *inkosi* is directly involved in appointments and promotions, although he is not a member of the SGB. Since this SGB is not generally sensitised to issues of transformation (in terms of information about OBE, the LOLT and staff diversity), it is resistant to external influences which might lead to modernisation, such as changes in the code of conduct for learners and educators, the formation of committees, and a diverse staff body. School C, like School A, draws very little support from the *inkosi*. Here the parents do make an input at public meetings, and the SGB is

actively involved in the daily running of the school. In both Schools A and C parents are progressive. School A was the first to appoint educators from other race groups, and School C has now also appointed educators of different ethnicity.

It should be noted that considerable numbers of learners from these three school communities presently attend multicultural, English medium schools in urban areas (41 from School A, 57 from School B and 31 from School C). They commute to these urban schools by taxis, buses and private vehicles.

**Table 3: Summary of core information on the three schools.**

	School A	School B	School C
Distance from N2	1 hour 30 minutes	45 minutes	5 minutes
Distance from nearest town	1 hour 55 minutes	1 hour	20 minutes
Number of educators.	16	10	10
Number of learners	700	250	230
Infrastructure	Old but satisfactory	Poor	No allocated building
Number of classrooms	15	10	6
Electricity	Prepaid card	Prepaid card	Prepaid card
Water	Tanks	Piped	Piped
School fees	R150	R120	R100
Financial status	Section 21	Section 20	Section 20

Despite some commonalities, the research sites represent different geographical and socio-economic dimensions of Umzumbe. School A is the furthest site, with School B at mid-point and School C being closer to an urban area. The differences among these three schools include performance levels, political affiliation, enrolment figures, learning area packages offered, number of educators and location. Although School A is at the greatest distance from the N2, the school has an excellent academic record of 100% in the Grade 12 /

Senior Certificate examination over a number of years, as compared to School B which is constantly below 60% and School C (averaging 70- 80%).

Politically both School A and School C communities are considered ANC strongholds, whereas School B community remains an IFP stronghold. Although the 2003 elections resulted in an ANC victory in the area around School B, the influence of the *inkosi* on School B still prevails. Within the Umzumbe municipality, therefore, these three schools represent three separate communities. A closer examination of each school context will now be provided.

#### **4.5.1 School A**

School A is a deep rural school located one and a half hours from the national freeway and situated at Morrison Post. Most of the residents are farmers (60%), but there are also educators, nurses, pensioners and migrant urban workers; cultural beliefs remain fairly strong. The school is located next to the local clinic and a community hall (Sangweni Hall).

The school infrastructure is similar to most rural schools in the area. It is outdated and in a bad condition. The only difference is that there are more classrooms than in other schools in the vicinity, although most of these are in a poor condition. A school hall is used for the Senior Certificate examinations and any workshops held at the school. The school is used as a nodal point for principals' meetings and for all departmental workshops. The school uses a prepaid system for electricity, and draws its water from rain water tanks. During summer learners are often left without water since the tanks become dry. An old classroom has been converted into a library and computer room. Community grounds are used for sport and cultural activities.

The school has been able to sustain excellent academic results (100% pass rate) in the Senior Certificate examinations over the past 15 years. Tertiary institutions frequently provide sponsorships and bursaries to these learners. In terms of enrolment the school attracts numerous learners from the greater



Umzumbe area (including from the communities around School C and School B). The good academic performance in this school has become an effective recruiting tool.

In terms of cultural affiliation the community has strong traditional and cultural links to *amasiko* and *amadlosi*. At the same time, several churches and two monasteries also confirm the influence of western culture and the Christian faith. Ward counsellors and the older community members speak of the impact of the missionaries in setting up schools and influencing the curriculum. Two Islamic centres near School A also serve to assist the poor and needy. While the vast majority of residents follow both ancestor worship and allegiance to the chiefs, the influence of western patterns of living is also becoming apparent in this deep rural community. While this area is nominally under a local chief who is a member of *amakhosi*, he is no longer influential and the area is now under the control of the ANC.

The school follows the Department of Education's multilingual language policy in offering English, Zulu and Afrikaans as subjects, but English is the dominant language of teaching and learning. Stringent rules have been put in place, and learners are compelled to speak English when at school; if they are found using Zulu in school they are punished. These language rules are reinforced by the SGB and parents at public meetings: parents insist on learners being competent in English. Although most parents are Zulu-speaking, some do understand English. The school uses English as LOLT, although some Zulu is used in code-switching at times. Assemblies and routine operational activities are conducted in English. Communication with the community and parents is, however, conducted in Zulu, by means of newsletters, notices of public meetings etc. Refer to photographs of research site A in appendix 7.

#### **4.5.2 School B**

School B is also rural though more centrally located, being 45 minutes from the national freeway, and serves a similar community of residents to School A.

School B is located in the village of Magog which is named after the hometown of the missionaries who first worked in this area. Community members are mostly farmers, pensioners, nurses, teachers, and people who travel daily to the metropolitan area for work purposes.

The school infrastructure is very poor. The school has 10 dilapidated classrooms with a number of broken window panes. A classroom is used both as an office and as a secretary's office. The school does have access to electricity through the prepaid card system and to piped water, but telephone cuts have been numerous due to non-payment of the account. The school representatives do not own the school ground but share the grounds of Magog Primary School.

Academically the school struggles to produce good results; in 2005 only 40% passed the Senior Certificate examination. Despite the distance, many parents opt to send their children to School A or to School C. Reasons for this choice include the lack of qualified teachers, the poor infrastructure and management of school, the poor performance in the Senior Certificate examinations, the use of Zulu instead of English for teaching, and the lack of computer literacy programmes. The school has been identified by the Department as requiring academic assistance to improve learner performance. Given that the low enrolment affects the number of educators, who may be declared in excess by the Post Provisioning Norms and moved to other schools, there is an urgent need to recruit back potential learners from the community who have enrolled at School A, School C or multicultural schools.

The school derives its name from the local *inkosi*, who is in charge of the Kwa Madlala ward. Links between the *inkosi* and the school remain strong, and the school is used as a political centre by the *inkosi* and IFP members. The long standing dominance of the IFP in this area (although this is now being challenged by the ANC) suggests the maintenance of strong cultural and traditional links. Despite western influences people remain involved in and

committed to cultural practices. This is due to the strong personality of the *inkosi* who exerts pressure on the community to follow these traditions.

The linguistic repertoire of this school includes dual medium teaching but with heavy reliance on isiZulu, which appears to impact negatively on performance in Grades 10, 11 and 12. The school offers three languages as subjects: isiZulu, English and Afrikaans. One of the areas identified for improvement has been the use of English to teach all learning areas, including Social Science, Mathematics, Accounting, History, as reliance on isiZulu has been affecting academic performance in English-medium examinations. However, many of the subject educators do not feel competent to teach in English. Furthermore, the school has been unable to attract good English educators and has therefore had recourse to employing unqualified, non-specialised educators to teach English. These educators themselves need training. The daily assembly and most of the operational activities are conducted in isiZulu with minimum use of English. It is perhaps not surprising that the highest number of learners who attend multicultural schools come from this area. See appendix 5.

#### **4.5.3 SCHOOL C**

School C is still classified as rural, in terms of the Department of Education's criteria, but is much closer to an urban area, since it is located only 10 kilometres from the town of Port Shepstone. This school is situated next to the Umzumbe Chalets (a timeshare resort for local and international tourists) and in close proximity to Pumula suburb (a predominantly white residential area). The national road (N2) gives easy access to Hibberdene and Port Shepstone. The school serves a community of farmers, pensioners, domestic workers and urban workers. The proximity of this community to the economic centre of Port Shepstone has led to in-migration by residents who work in town, resulting in densification of development and growing exposure to modernisation. Being only two kilometres from the coast, residents are exposed to a wider range of experiences and cultures than in the other two school communities. Many educators, lawyers, priests, farmers and nurses come from this area.

In terms of infrastructure there are literally no buildings allocated to School C. The school itself uses the premises of a primary school which is its feeder school, since as yet no physical structure has been built. In 2001 Eskom donated funds towards the building of a school next to this primary school, which commenced in 2002. Political tensions and contestations between the IFP and ANC led to delays, until the project was abandoned in 2004 due to a breach of contract. Conversations with the principal and educators reveal that it was the political tensions in the area that delayed the building of the school. Most of the rural land (including the school land) belongs to the *inkosi*, and possession of this land is very often used as a pawn in political games. Hence School C still occupies the premises of the primary school community. The school received a sponsorship of 20 computers in 2002, which are housed at another primary school. It is unfortunate that this school, which owns these 20 computers, cannot teach computer literacy.

Despite the lack of school infrastructure the academic results are satisfactory: an 80% pass rate in 2004. According to the principal and educators, English is used as LOLT and many of the school activities (assembly, meetings, correspondence and daily communication) are conducted in English. The school also offers three languages: English, Afrikaans and isiZulu. Communication with parents and the SGB is generally through isiZulu. In terms of pupil enrolment patterns, there seems to be a gradual drift of learners to urban, meaning English medium schools. Some of the local learners have also opted to study at School A despite the distance.

Politically this area is an ANC stronghold, since most of the political rallies and campaign are held in this vicinity. The IFP has fought strongly in the ward elections but has often lost. This could be due to the fact that a large number of residents work in the urban area and are politically active and that this vicinity is closest to the towns. This area is also under an *inkosi* who has lost power to the ANC ward counsellor. This area is a melting pot or mixing point of various cultures. The population is more diverse, including white farmers and some

coloureds and Indians. Although isiZulu still predominates a fair amount of English is used. This could be due to the fact that this area is closest to town and is frequently visited by tourists. There are a number of churches located here, and the influence of western culture is greatest here, due to the number of outsiders. Yet here, too, many residents still follow both *amadlosi* and *amasiko* religious practices, while a large number also frequently attend church.

The school itself is also involved in a national surfing club, and learners are involved in a number of sporting activities, in association with urban sports affiliations. The school is affiliated to the Lower South Coast Surfers Club where young swimmers are trained as life guards as well as in the Christian worship. The regular presence of other races too, adds to intercultural experiences. Illustration of this research site can be seen in appendix 7.

In concluding this chapter it is important to note that throughout Umzumbe, Zulu culture and language have come under enormous pressure. In all three of these schools modernisation and westernization is heralding linguistic and cultural changes which are further intensified by the new educational policies as well as the demands of a newly democratic and equitable society.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter I explain the goal of my research, the research design, methods employed in this investigation, my approach to data analysis, as well as limitations and difficulties experienced in carrying through the envisaged methodology.

A significant development of the past 50 years has been the emergence of a strong tradition of qualitative research in the social sciences, as distinct from the original quantitative approach to research. It is the nature of the research questions, as well as the predisposition of the researcher, which will lead to the choice of a quantitative or qualitative approach. The long dominant tradition of quantitative research derived originally from the natural sciences. Neuman describes quantitative research as positivist in orientation, and as dependent on hypotheses and the verification of these. Quantitative methods are prescriptively structured and the data collected is classified in terms of statistical frequencies and distributions. Tendencies or patterns can be identified by grouping similar contexts (1997: 327). Such methods have their decided strengths; at the same time, they also have their limitations, and during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century they became increasingly unsuited to exploring changing research interests and questions. For instance, as Henning et al comment, the researcher who plans and executes such control in the design of the study does not allow research subjects the freedom to express data “that cannot be captured by predetermined instruments” (2004: 3). Quantitative research collects factual and supposedly objective data, which can be expressed numerically; however it does not focus on peoples’ attitudes or beliefs.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, has become “of special relevance to the study of social relations, owing to the fact of the pluralization of life worlds. This pluralisation requires a new sensitivity to the empirical study of issues”

(Flick 2002: 2). Flick has listed what he terms “essential features of qualitative research” as follows: appropriateness of methods and theories; perspectives of the participants and their diversity; reflexivity of the researcher and the research; and variety of approaches and methods (2002: 5). He subsequently adds in further features which will also be relevant to my project: *Verstehen* as epistemological principle; reconstructing cases as starting point; construction of reality as basis; and text as empirical method (2002: 25-26).

Qualitative research has the capacity to examine generally more limited phenomena in depth, and claims to provide better understanding and explanation. By means of this type of interpretative approach the researcher is able to obtain first hand experience of a situation – to discover meaning attributed to a particular event or action – to view the world through the eyes of those being studied (Neuman 1997: 327). Qualitative data includes verbal, textual and visual data and makes use of inductive processes which organise data into categories, identifying patterns, and relationships, among the categories. It captures much more detailed and descriptive data to provide in depth information. This research form allows respondents a more open-ended way of giving their views which in turn provides for better understanding of the investigation (the data speaks for itself) (Bertram et al. 2003: 142). Although this approach can lead to an element of subjectivity it is a powerful method for gaining insight into research sites.

My research into emerging bilingualism in three rural schools has been conceptualised as a qualitatively oriented research project. This decision has emerged of necessity from the type of enquiry I wish to conduct: I wish to explore and explain, in depth, the use of English and isiZulu in three contexts; I wish to focus on the opinions and practices of those working and studying in these three contexts; I wish to locate these practices within their varying contexts, and to consider the mutual impact between context and language practices. As Henning has noted: “the decision to work with qualitative data is linked to the type of enquiry that a researcher conducts” (2004: 1). Furthermore, given that each of these schools can be considered a “bounded

system” (Henning et al. 2004: 32), I will be conducting, and then contrasting, three case studies of bilingual practice in school education.

With Henning, Rensburg and Smit, I will differentiate between the terms “methodology” and “methods”. Methodology, they note, “refers to the coherent group of methods that complement one another and that have the ‘goodness of fit’ to deliver the data and findings that will reflect the research question and suit the research purpose” (2004: 36). Importantly, “methodology is therefore more than a collection of methods”. It is important not only to list what methods have been selected, but also to reason “*what* their value in a study is and *why* they have been chosen” (2004: 36). As Henning points out, “there are no rigid, instrumentalised methods in qualitative research, but there are most certainly conventions and criteria of rigour for assessing this type of research...” (Henning et al 2004: 36). The goal of qualitative research is what has been described as a ‘thick description’. “Together methods should be able to render a ‘thick description’.... of the theme of study, but they should also be able to render a ‘thick explanation’ of the methodology itself” (Henning et al. 2004: 37).

Triangulation, in terms of the use of various methods for data collection, and/or of various sources of data, has long been recommended by qualitatively-oriented researchers. Many researchers (for instance Leedy (1993), Neuman (1997), Henning, and Rensburg and Smit (2004)) agree that the use of one method will limit the interpretation. The knowledge and application of complementary methods is more likely to provide rich and effective data which in turn can authenticate and strengthen the investigation. Triangulation is valuable since it provides the benefits of different approaches and minimises potential errors. Flick notes a more recent shift in attitude towards the value of triangulation: “Triangulation was first conceptualized as a strategy for validating results obtained with the individual methods. The focus, however, has shifted increasingly towards further enriching and completing knowledge and towards transgressing the (always limited) epistemological potentials of the individual method. Triangulation is less a strategy for validating results and



procedures than an alternative to validation ... which increases scope, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings.” (2002: 227). Groenewald too believes that one of the most crucial decisions made during research is the choice of a mode of explanation which determines the thrust of the research: it usually leads to the use of different research techniques to collect evidence required (1986: 7-10). It is important to collect data from a number of different sources since one can interrogate the same phenomenon in different ways (hoping of course to arrive at the same or complementary answers).

Clearly, a qualitative approach is suited to this project, as I wish to undertake an in-depth investigation of the language usage patterns of three research sites. This will, however, not preclude my also drawing on some limited quantitative data. It is typical of qualitative approaches that detailed consideration is given to the appropriateness of the research methods selected, and that a variety of approaches and methods be selected (Flick 2002: 5). The validity of my investigation can be couched in terms of procedural validity, which can be enhanced by means of piloting, ensuring the anonymity of respondents, the use of fieldworkers with the researcher to prevent subjectivity (and to compare notes) (research triangulation), the use of mechanical means to record data (audiotape), and the use of the same questionnaires and interview schedules in all three research sites. The approaches that I identified as most suitable to finding answers to the research questions outlined above include initial or baseline, and structured observations; questionnaires followed by interviews; and documentary sources of data like the Senior Certificate examination schedules, the school language policy and school operational manuals. These will be briefly outlined in the discussion of my research design. I will first discuss my motivation and goal in this project which led to my research questions which formed the framework for my research design.

## 5.1 GOAL OF RESEARCH

My study was conceptualised as a comparative survey of language practices in three rural high schools located in Umzumbe within the Lower South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal. In this investigation of emerging bilingualism, specific choices had to be made about the research design and methods being used. My interest in this topic derived from my personal observations and experiences as an educator in Umzumbe from 2000 to 2005. My Masters dissertation on language choices of rural male and female learners also sparked my initial curiosity as to the potentially different linguistic practices and repertoire of learners living in Umzumbe. The underlying initial question became, who speaks which language to whom, when, and in which domains. In addition, this research project also sought to question the possible effects of educational policies on emerging bilingualism. The following more detailed research questions structured the investigation.

- What are the main patterns of the bilingualism in Umzumbe, and is this bilingualism a recent phenomenon? How is bilingualism impacting on ethno-cultural identities?
  - What are the perceived language choice patterns of grade 11 learners at selected high schools?
  - What do these learners perceive as the effects of their studying through medium of English, both on themselves and on the community?
  - What are the current language choice patterns of the broader community in Umzumbe (parents, leaders, educators, friends, traditional leaders etc.)?
  - What are the societal roles of English and Zulu in Umzumbe?
  - What are the effects, if any, of increasing bilingualism on ethno-cultural understandings and ethno-cultural identities? (eg. attitudes towards, and ways of being Zulu)
  - Have these patterns, roles and understandings changed over the past two generations, and if so, how?

- In what ways are OBE (and the LOLT policy) being realized in the schools under discussion?
  - What effect (if any) are these policies having on classroom and play ground practices?
  - Through what means are these schools promoting bilingualism, and what type of bilingualism is likely to result?
  - Can these rural schools be considered bilingual institutions?
  
- What issues are implicated in the emerging bilingualism in Umzumbe, and what role is being played by OBE (and the LOLT policy)?
  - What issues are implicated in the emergence of bilingualism, country-wide and specifically in Umzumbe? (community attitudes and perceptions, perceived and actual economic and social 'value' of English and Zulu - eg. for employment, media, religion, personal development, culture etc)?
  - What is the impact of learners who attend or who have attended so-called 'multicultural' schools?
  - To what extent are educational policies furthering bilingualism, and is this additive or subtractive bilingualism?

My research questions in this instance became a guide and formed the research subject from which I developed my research design and methods.

## **5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

My initial curiosity in the practice of talk of learners living in Umzumbe sparked this research into emerging bilingualism in rural Umzumbe. This led to questions as to who speaks what language to whom and when and in which domains, which I initially sought to answer by means of informal observations made in secondary schools in Umzumbe. It was during these pre-research activities that I began to compare the various secondary schools as well as the language policies used in each school. I decided to do a comparative study of three secondary schools (Schools A, B and C) which subsequently became

conceptualised as case studies. I began to consider a number of research issues, which later formed the basis of my research questions. A series of decisions concerning research methods had to be made at this point, in response to my formulated research questions. In order to provide a thick description in terms of interpretative data which would allow me to build a realistic and complete picture of language usage patterns in Umzumbe, I decided to use a case study approach as overarching methodology.

A case study approach involves investigating a phenomenon as a 'bounded system' (Stake 1988; cited in Jaeger: 255). The three schools I wished to investigate can clearly be investigated as such discrete entities. In addition, Ritchie and Lewis summarise typical features of case studies as follows: only one or a few cases are selected; the study is detailed and extensive; the phenomenon is studied in context; and multiple data collection methods are used (2003: 52). I intended to study each of the three schools in its community context, and therefore employed a variety of methods, including collection of background information, informal and formal observations, questionnaires, interviews and other documentary sources such as examination schedules and language policy documents. It is also typical of a case study, and of qualitative research more generally, that the research design was modified as I progressed, as additional aspects and conditions emerged. For instance I found I had also to draw on focus group interviews to gain the necessary rich data.

Qualitative research also needs to address the core research criteria of reliability and validity. Reliability is nowadays increasingly re-conceptualised in terms of procedural reliability, which has been described by Flick in the following terms: "First, the genesis of the data needs to be explicated in a way that makes it possible to check what is the statement of a subject on the one hand and where the researcher's interpretation begins on the other. Second, procedures in the field or interview and with the text need to be made explicit in training and rechecking in order to improve the comparability of different interviewers' or observers' conduct. Finally, the reliability of the whole process will be increased by documenting it" (2003: 221). With regard to validity, too,

qualitative research has necessitated “a shift from validity to validation and from assessing the individual step or part of the research towards increasing the transparency of the research as a whole” (Flick 2002: 226). In this regard, data, investigator and methodological triangulation are still considered important tools of validation.

In the following I will briefly summarise the methods that I have employed to achieve a thick description of language practices at three Umzumbe schools. The collection of background information was continuous and on-going. My informal observations led to the creation of questionnaires for learners, parents, educators, learners attending multicultural schools and SEMs. These were first piloted to minimise errors and problems and to allow me to review and refine the final questionnaires. It was at this point that the decision was taken to include focus group interviews with learners, educators and parents, to obtain more in-depth information. The final questionnaires were administered and also used as a schedule for subsequent interviews. Formal observations were undertaken in schools by means of a schedule and a checklist ( see appendix 1). This was essential in order to obtain comparable data from the three schools. These observations proved to be one of the richest sources of insight into this community. Other sources of data included performance schedules in the Senior Certificate examinations, which provided comparative data on learners’ academic performance as well as actual competence in English and isiZulu. Interviews too provided substantial and in depth information on language attitudes and language usage patterns from male and female learners, educators, principals, parents and SEMs. I will now present in detail the research methodology followed by methods employed in this investigation.

### **5.3 RESEARCH METHODS**

Here I describe the various methods that I have employed in this project to implement this research design. I will also detail and explain why and how the various methods were used in this research study. My starting-point was my pre-research activities, followed by unstructured and more structured

observations in Umzumbe, both in schools, during meetings, and in the broader community. On the basis of these observations, I developed a range of questionnaires, for (various) learners, educators, officials and community members. These were first piloted with small groups, refined where necessary, and then implemented. The information received in the questionnaires, in turn, was used to derive a framework for interviews and focus groups, which allowed a more in-depth investigation of salient issues. I will now explore in detail the instruments used for this project.

### **5.3.1 Background data**

My pre-research activities began with my initial interest in the usage patterns of learners in School A, in Umzumbe ward. As HOD I became curious about the choice of English and IsiZulu respectively, by learners in school. I had previously completed a Masters dissertation on gender aspects of bilingualism, focusing on (other) rural learners in an urban school, and this led me to compare these two rural contexts and to ask whether similar patterns would also exist in Umzumbe. As facilitator for RNCS, as well as co-ordinator for languages and gender, I was required to visit and network with all high schools in the ward. My ongoing interactions with all 6 high schools in the ward (during speech contests, gender and OBE workshops and literacy committees) led to specific and suggestive observations as to the way schools were organised, what language/s were spoken by learners, language policies and other related policies as well as attitudes towards English and isiZulu. In this context, the thought of a comparative study across three different high schools began to emerge. I began collecting relevant information, such as policies used in these schools and associated documents (language policy, operational manuals and schedules of Senior Certificate results). As I interacted with various schools I observed different management and leadership styles, a different language medium for teaching in the three schools, varying implementation of policies and different academic performance. It was at this point that I began with serious conceptualisation of the sites as case studies, and with structured observation.

Case studies have been recognised by researchers such as Travers (2001), Henning et al (2004), Hamel, Dufour, and Fortin (1993) as a valuable tool for research exploration; at the same time, case studies are by definition confined to set boundaries (Henning et al 2004: 41). In this instance the boundaries are those of the 3 specific high schools selected in terms of set criteria. The three schools identified in this research project were selected in terms of the specific criteria of location, academic performance as well as distance from national freeway, as outlined in chapter four. My unstructured observations in all schools suggested specific language patterns operating in certain contexts. Clearly, more detailed information was required, such as a description of how, where, when and why these usage patterns occur, and this resulted in the formulation of research questions. These pre-research activities formed the framework through which other important data collection sources could be explored and drawn on, to ensure a well-grounded interpretation. The case studies of these high schools were intended to provide an in-depth and detailed understanding of each situation, and its meaning for those involved. Once I had developed such an understanding of each case, my intention was to then compare the three, in the hope of being able to draw some more general conclusions about emerging bilingualism in rural secondary schools.

### **5.3.2 Observations**

My observations proved to be a powerful resource in gaining initial insights and in the planning of this project. My observations began in 2002 when I became involved in the facilitation of OBE, C2005 and RNCS in the Umzumbe ward. Besides my observations as an educator teaching English and as HOD of languages supervising isiZulu and Afrikaans at School A, my experiences with other schools, through involvement in speech contests, literacy and gender workshops, added a comparative dimension to this project. While working with all three school communities, certain perceptions relating to the use of English and isiZulu emerged from my observations. For instance the type of educator,

the quality of education at each school, the personality and attitude of the principals, parent and learner attitudes towards English and the availability or absence of a school language policy appeared to be of significance. From SGB meetings and public parent meetings I understood that parents too had particular language agendas especially that of promoting English in the expectation of enhanced job opportunities. In particular strongly positive attitudes towards English became apparent during my co-ordination of speech contests for all schools. (I trained, mentored and observed learners winning the regional language contests in speech and writing, in competition with their urban counterparts.)

Up to this point, this participant observation was unstructured. However, I began to reflect increasingly on my role in the communities to be observed, and how I should best position myself as researcher. As Flick has pointed out, “in qualitative research, the person that is the researcher has a special importance. Researchers and their communicative competences are the main ‘instrument’ of collecting data and of cognition. Because of this, they cannot adopt a neutral role in the field and in their contacts with the persons to be interviewed or observed. Rather they have to take or are allocated certain roles and positions..... Which information a researcher gains access to and which he remains debarred from depends essentially on the successful adoption of an appropriate role or position.” (2002: 54) In qualitative research, four different roles for researchers have emerged: those of stranger, visitor, initiate and insider. (Flick 2002: 59) Each of these offers certain benefits, but also deficits, in terms of access to and understanding of data.

My role was primarily that of visitor: I travelled to Umzumbe from Port Shepstone on a daily basis, in terms of my position as (senior) educator at School A. This allowed me a more distanced (and objective?) view of language practices, and is likely to have made it possible for me to perceive practices which had become matter-of-course and therefore invisible to community members. At the same time, I had to take ethnicity and associated culture into



account: my Indian ethnicity undoubtedly raised barriers of understanding between myself and the Zulu learners and community members. My limited understanding of isiZulu was a further barrier and made it impossible for me to 'grow into' an initiate role. The solution I found was to enlist the assistance of certain educators from all three schools; and to employ Zulu field-workers as insider researchers. Some of these lived in the community, and in this way some participants in the project also became positioned as researchers, and were able to report in terms of their understanding of the community and the issues affecting them.

My observations not only provided a rich description of the research site but were able to close gaps when information from questionnaires and interviews was lacking. They provided me with powerful insights into 'on the ground' interactions and situations in all three research sites. First-hand observations of interactions and experiences were also able to provide information that could not be gauged from the questionnaires or interviews, for instance the natural and spontaneous attitudes to English and isiZulu in the three schools.

Once these decisions had been taken, my observations became more focused specifically on the three high schools and their grade 11 learners. Checklists containing items or categories of focus had been determined during my unstructured or informal observation, and I now began to use these systematically. It was at this point that I began structured observation, by using these checklists (which included, for instance, language used by educator with learners; language used by learners with learners, with educators, with the principal; school language policy etc.). See appendix 1. At the same time I began to recruit and train fieldworkers. Educators were trained as fieldworkers operating from their own schools: they were able to bridge the language barrier and connect with the participants, and thereby to interpret responses accurately. They were able to elicit more reliable responses. The training of the field workers was undertaken with the assistance of an isiZulu language specialist, who was also able to assist me in interpreting some details from the questionnaires. Questions were explained and clarifications provided to field

workers to prevent confusion and misunderstanding, and we also discussed how to probe responses further, and any emerging problems and challenges. Fieldworkers were requested to make notes of nonverbal language, and of the tone and attitudes of interviewees. All fieldworkers were provided with the same guidelines. Questions in all three schools were identical. I was directly involved with educators in the three schools, especially in the administering of the questionnaires to the learners in school. Here I made copious notes on learner reaction, educator attitude etc. to questions in the questionnaire. At times I observed and at other times I participated by clarifying questions to both educators and learners. Fortunately learners understood English which made clarifying questions on gender and culture less challenging.

This research process (observation) was challenging but much detailed information was gauged from both informal and formal observation. My varying roles as observer, participant and researcher were difficult but interesting and empowering. It was difficult at times to switch from note taker, to observer and at times to participant. While selecting, observing, making decisions and assisting with the interviews as well I had to consider other factors lending themselves to this investigation: factors such as the underlying language attitudes, parental request for English, the cultural roots of certain high schools as well as the political attitude of local leaders (the IFP supports IsiZulu and its traditions, while the ANC is more supportive of multilingualism and multiculturalism, and of English).

Although much data necessary to this investigation was derived from lengthy observation and from background information, I had to depend on field workers, questionnaires and interviews to gain a sense of the language practices in the learners' homes. Observations alone would not have sufficed for the case study approach. In addition to typical qualitative methods such as interviews and focus groups, I also drew on some quantitative methods, such as quantifying data obtained from questionnaires. The presentation of data in tabular form was useful to illustrate some thrusts of learners' language usages in the school, home and community.

### **5.3.3 Questionnaires**

The choice of this quantitative method was motivated by a number of factors. The use of questionnaires was employed to obtain breadth in this study, and to allow me to collect information from large numbers of respondents. Questionnaires as data collection tool are useful since they allow certain types of factually oriented information to be collected and to be processed speedily. The choice of this method was determined by the large number of Grade 11 learners in each of the three sites, and the corresponding numbers of parents, as well as the surprisingly high numbers of learners attending multicultural schools. I needed to elicit responses from a large number of respondents (120 learners and 120 parents) and found questionnaires convenient and able to provide me with substantial and detailed information. These questionnaires were distributed directly to learners and parents and therefore reached a large group of geographically spread-out respondents within a short period of time. The information drawn from questionnaires could easily be quantified and presented in tabular form for analysis. I was able to standardise the questions asked and to control the amount of information that respondents had supplied. I found, too, that the data collected could easily be classified into categories; I was able to identify tendencies, themes and patterns by grouping similar contexts.

In order to ensure that I obtained the desired information, I had first to pilot and then to refine my questionnaires, to suit the focus of investigation. For instance English questionnaires sent to parents and guardians had to be translated and interpreted in isiZulu by learners at home. Educators had to also check that learners had translated and interpreted correctly. Confidentiality and anonymity of respondents was prioritised. Personal details were merely included to obtain

additional information where necessary for clarification. I administered questionnaires to several groupings in all.

As a first group, my *learner sample* involved all Zulu-speaking Grade 11 learners in the 3 high schools under investigation (approximately 120 learners). As I did not possess advanced skills in Zulu, and learners were not adequately fluent in English to be able to respond to questions in English, I had to largely depend on the assistance of field workers and teachers in collecting data from learners. The questionnaire to be completed by all these learners first collected basic demographic information, and then focussed on learners' perceived language choice patterns, both at school and at home, on perceptions of language usage patterns in the community, and on attitudes towards the languages available to these learners. It was administered at each school by teachers normally involved with these learners, and answered in a Zulu version. Issues of confidentiality had to be observed: questionnaires did not require learner names, but rather used respondent numbers, and these numbers were then also used to designate learners involved in interviews and focus groups. There were necessarily limitations on the quality of data collected by means of these questionnaires: learners could have misunderstood questions, or limited their answers to a simple 'yes' or 'no', rather than giving the envisaged detail. Open ended questions were therefore included for further probing. (The questionnaire can be viewed in Appendix 2).

My second group of respondents included educators (including the three principals) from the three research sites, and the ten Superintendants of Education Management Services (SEMS) from Umzumbe ward. They were given separate questionnaires which similarly probed curriculum and language issues. Here too the same sequence of data collection was used. As these respondents were fluent in English, questionnaires were answered in English. All the principals were involved, and I selected 21 of the 45 educators, ensuring that all three schools were well represented; however, only educators who had taught these learners were chosen. (See Appendices 3 (for SEMS) and 4 (for educators) to view the two questionnaires.). In terms of the distinction

made by Flick between the statistical sampling typical of quantitative research, and the theoretical sampling typical of qualitative research, this is clearly an example of theoretical sampling: case groups were selected “according to concrete criteria concerning their content instead of using abstract methodological criteria. Sampling proceeds according to the relevance of cases instead of their representativeness” (2003: 66).

The third group of respondents were the parents and guardians who were given questionnaires by learners. Learners assisted their parents and guardians in responding to the questions. The same central issues were probed, such as the use of language, language attitudes, perceptions and the new curriculum. These questions were translated into isiZulu by learners and later by field workers for interview purposes. After piloting, these questions were later used for probing interviews with selected parents. (See Appendix 5 for the questionnaire).

The fourth and final significant grouping was created by the 129 learners from Umzumbe who attend English medium, multicultural schools located in the urban areas, outside of Umzumbe. For this group, questionnaires were prepared in English. The questionnaires also probed use of language, type of curriculum, language attitude and perceptions as well as reasons for opting for these urban schools. (See the questionnaire in Appendix 6).

The use of these questionnaires was subject to a number of problems. Firstly, some parent respondents were unable to understand some of the questions asked, or else the language (English) in which these were asked. To avoid learners simply prompting parents, I finally had to opt for interviews to ensure that responses were sincere. The use of questionnaires also requires that respondents have adequate levels of literacy. Questionnaires can only elicit limited types of data; hence they were complemented by interviews which were able to probe for in-depth data, especially in the case of parents and guardians. Parents and learners found the questionnaires lengthy and time consuming and in many instances needed clarification and interpretation of certain questions; in the subsequent interviews, fieldworkers were immediately able to explain, interpret and clarify. And finally, it is of course possible that responses do not

reflect the true opinions of respondents – perhaps because they seek to please the researcher, or else are unwilling to reveal their true opinions. The subsequent interviews were one means of correcting such inaccuracies.

#### **5.3.4 Interviews**

Interviews provided valuable substantial data in terms of in-depth probing. With assistance from fieldworkers who clarified open- and closed-ended questions, respondents were able to answer freely and fully. Fieldworkers spoke and allowed respondents to explain in isiZulu with no time restrictions. Interviewees found it easier to talk than write down information while interviewers were able to probe and quiz further with other questions to elicit more information. Since interviewees were comfortable and found it easier to converse with interviewers, I was able to collect much more detailed and descriptive information. More importantly the qualitative approach provided in depth data from a small number of people.

Questionnaires were used as interview schedules for learners, educators and SEMS. A separate interview schedule was drawn up for parents.

There were several groupings of interviewees in this project.

An important first group were learners from the three high schools. The information gained from the questionnaires was complemented and probed further by means of both interviews and focus groups. With the assistance of the teachers, 20 learners (10 males and 10 females) were selected from each school for interviews, to obtain a sample representative in terms of gender, age, and proficiency in English. A trained field worker who is familiar with the learners conducted structured interviews with pairs of learners, in isiZulu, and concentrated on specific issues relating to language, curriculum and culture, working from an interview schedule. A similarly representative, but different group of learners from each school was involved in focus group interactions,

facilitated in isiZulu by field workers. These one hour interviews again involved 20 learners: 10 male and 10 female) from each school and were conducted during school hours; the researcher was present as observer only. I anticipated that in such a more relaxed and less structured interaction, learners would to a greater extent speak spontaneously about their own ideas, attitudes and feelings. Both interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded, and discussed with the field worker at some length; as necessary, they were transcribed and translated. I used an interview schedule from the questionnaires itself since this was a structured interview, but allowed some flexibility by means of open-ended questions. The fieldworkers were able to assist in clarifying any questions.

The second group included the three principals, and the seven educators from each school. The principals were also given the same questionnaires as educators which were used as a tool for further probing. They were probed on the four core issues as mentioned in the research questions. The Superintendants formed the next group. The ten Superintendants of Education worked within this circuit. The Superintendants, who function as school inspectors, answered questions on the NATED and OBE curriculum, language use in the new curriculum, OBE and language perceptions. It was considered important to interview the Superintendants, given their experience in educational and curriculum issues.

The final grouping were parents, guardians (and grandparents) of Grade 11 learners. Experience with my Masters dissertation revealed that parents – many of whom have not received much formal education - are unlikely to provide adequate data from questionnaires. Hence information had to be collected, in the main, through interviews – conducted, in most cases, in isiZulu by field workers who were known to the community. I arranged interviews with parents and/or families of 20 of the Grade 11 learners from each of the three schools (see appendix 7); where possible I also involved grandparents in these interactions, in order to develop a sense of (linguistic) change in the community over the past two generations. The intention was also

to interview community leaders, but it proved difficult to contact these, and most of these planned interviews did not take place.

In the following I reflect on difficulties experienced with the interviews. There was considerable initial reluctance on the part of learners and educators to participate, not least because of political tensions in the area. These problems were overcome through a careful and detailed explanation of the research project, confirming that the questionnaires and interviews had no link to local political affiliations. The SEMS, too, were initially reluctant to answer the questionnaires. It was discovered later that they had found some of the issues problematic and thus difficult to answer.

There were some logistical difficulties: Fieldworkers had to travel great distances, especially to the area of Morrison Post to undertake the investigations at School A. Some huts were quite remotely situated with no form of transportation, and fieldworkers had to walk for many kilometres before reaching their destination. Initially fieldworkers were dissatisfied with the financial incentives offered, and some stated that they would only provide proper feedback after a negotiated price was worked out per questionnaire and per interview. Two out of the six fieldworkers dropped off this project and another two had to be retrained.

Some of the textual data (involving long responses from the interviewees) proved challenging in terms of presentation and analysis. And finally, given that I was working with a number of fieldworkers, I felt not able to guarantee the neutrality or objectivity of the fieldworkers. This was in spite of the training that was conducted. The language selected for the questionnaires (English) also proved problematic: In one school field workers found that educators themselves were experiencing problems in answering the questions. Hence the decision to conduct the interviews in isiZulu which were then transcribed and translated into English and further scrutinized by an isiZulu language specialist. During the interviews the field workers made copious records of nonverbal gestures, comments and questions. In addition the



fieldworkers were asked to provide their own cultural interpretation, and at times our interpretations differed, for example as regards the cultural roles and language/s used in these cultural practices. (I had assumed that English could also be used in rituals, from the responses of some parents. The non-verbal gestures in the interview, however, confirmed that Zulu rituals could only be carried out in the vernacular).

### **5.3.5 Other sources of data**

Examination schedules of all three schools from 2003 to 2005 were scrutinized, in order to gain a more realistic sense of language performance in the specific schools. First of all an individual investigation of each school in terms of performance in isiZulu and English in relation to other subjects was conducted. In addition comparisons were made among the three schools and performance on each research site was considered. The schedules provide accurate and objective information on the performance of learners at each research site.

Operational manuals and relevant governance policies were also examined in the three research sites. These provided inside information on the organisation and structure of the three schools. School A was the only school with the necessary documents and policies to facilitate effective management. School B had no language policy or operational manual to guide the SGB and SMT of the school.

## **5.4 RESEARCH ETHICS**

The research proposal for this project was formally approved by the Faculty of Humanities Higher Degrees Committee at the then University of Natal, but prior to the introduction of formal Research Ethics guidelines and approval processes by the university. For this reason, there was no formal submission and approval of the project in terms of research ethics.

The following procedures were applied. In carrying out the research undertaken here, I explained the research project to each group of respondents, and verbally requested their permission to note their responses and draw on these for my research. Given that data collection began before the 2003 elections, which occasioned considerable political tension in the various research sites, respondents' concerns were focused primarily around any possible political impact occasioned by my data collection and their responses, and I took great care to assure respondents that this research had no relevance to any political affiliation, and that I had no contact to any political party or grouping. The field workers, too, were requested to conduct interviews with these ethical considerations in mind.

In analysing the data, care was taken to ensure that respondents remained fully anonymous, and that no-one else was able to obtain access to the data collection.

## **5.5 DATA ANALYSIS**

Analysis refers to the systematic, organised, structured and close study of data/information retrieved from various sources. Here, too, the researcher has many options for converting raw data into patterns of meaning. Raw data in my project included field notes from observation, data from questionnaires and schedules, audio taped interviews which had been transcribed, and information from policies and other documents. Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data was undertaken differently, as appropriate to the type of data. When observing I had made copious notes and had used an observation schedule. Here detailed narratives and descriptions of the case studies were provided, together with an explanation of the languages used by learners. Questionnaires demanded the use of tables: wherever possible, answers were quantified and presented in tabular form, to enable a more summary overview of demographics, language usage patterns, attitudes and perceptions. These initial overviews were then complemented through a qualitative analysis of the

interview and focus group data, resulting in a theorized narrative and description of practices in the classroom and playground, home and in the broader community. In this way I sought to answer my structured series of research questions relating to curriculum, bilingualism and language.

The next part examines the capturing and presentation of these data collection sources in the three research sites.

## CHAPTER SIX

### EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN SCHOOL A

In this chapter I describe emerging bilingualism in School A and its surrounding community. I will consider both individual and societal bilingualism. Initially I will focus on the school context and map out, in some detail, the framework that has been created in the school for the use of two languages. I will then describe the language/s which learners draw on to achieve their goals, oral and written, in the school; and then move on to consider the different, but related usage patterns and purposes of these languages in the community.

I begin with a detailed presentation of the school's linguistic repertoire within its delineated context, that is to say, the language patterns of School A as a community, in terms of who speaks what to whom and where. The data on which this chapter is based is both quantitative and qualitative in nature, and includes unstructured observation, learner questionnaires, parent interviews, interviews with learners, educators and the Superintendents of Education Management Services, and on-site documents like the Senior Certificate (Grade 12) schedules, 2003-2005, as well as educational and school operational manuals.

#### **6.1 THE LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED AT SCHOOL A**

It is inevitably the principal in a school who establishes and maintains academic standards and academic policies. This particular principal as 'transformational leader' (the term used in the Departmental manuals for principals) has been praised for his 'resilient' approach, since as a rural principal he has against all odds been able to sustain a 100% pass rate for the past ten years. Despite the lack of resources as compared to urban schools, this school continues to produce outstanding results. It is one of only two schools in

the Umzumbe ward (out of a total of six high Schools), which offers Mathematics, Physics and Computer Literacy.

The conscious promotion of English is one of the strategies used to achieve this academic excellence, which the principal sees as in the short- and longer-term interests of learners. The principal is convinced of the value of education through the medium of English and is committed to promoting the use of English both in the classroom and in the playground. To achieve this he has put a wide range of measures in place, and his efforts are supported by the School Governing Body, and by parents. The principal is familiar with the practices of urban English-medium schools, since he lives in Durban and his children attend multicultural schools where English is the medium of instruction, and he strives to create a comparable English-dominant context at School A. Measures introduced by the principal include the promotion of English through its encouragement as a medium of instruction and the enforcement of this language policy through a 'red card' system. The school's operational manual spells out the desired language conduct for all: "Learners and educators must use English in the teaching and learning of all subjects/learning areas" (*School A SMT: Operational Manual* 1998: 10). Numerous supportive measures targeting learners and educators will be discussed below.

To encourage the use of English amongst the staff, the principal ensures that it is used as far as possible in staff meetings, briefings, training and developmental workshops, and tries to make appointments of staff who speak English as a first language. The dominance of English in this school can therefore be understood as largely a function of the principal's commitment, and of the regulations and practices he has implemented.

### **The school policy framework: language policy and operational manual**

A framework for the principal's approach to English is supplied by this school's language policy, and the school's operational manual.

Our new national educational policies require that governance and management policies be drawn up by a school's governing body. These include a health policy, a discipline, safety and security policy, an HIV/AIDS policy, school uniform policy, a policy for excursions, a Service Charter based on *Batho Pele* principles, together with a mission and vision, a workplace equity plan for transformation and gender equity, and a language policy. School A's language policy is drawn up in terms of the national language policy guidelines for the LIEP (see Chapter 3): all schools are required to develop an interpretation of the national policy, which may be given a particular emphasis. This school differs from many other rural schools, in that the language policy encourages English as the medium of instruction; in addition, English, Afrikaans and isiZulu are taught as subjects. English, though it is the medium of instruction, has the official status of First Additional Language. In daily practice, code-switching into isiZulu in order to unpack a difficult concept is occasionally tolerated, and learners at this school site perform exceptionally well in the Senior Certificate isiZulu paper. The school language policy reads: *English is compulsory as medium of instruction* (School A SMT Operational Manual 2002:4). This school, in both theory and practice, uses both English and isiZulu in daily teaching and learning.

This policy is reflected in the school's operational manual which regulates all governance and management activities in the school. The policies in the operational manual combine national and provincial educational policies with micro school policies, usually devised by the principal in consultation with his staff, and regulate the daily teaching and learning activities in the school.

Language-related provisions in the operational manual include the red card system as part of the language code of conduct established in 1996 by the principal. This is a punishment system which is intended to consolidate and entrench English, outside as well as inside the classroom, and thereby to assist learners to pass and as far as possible perform well in the Senior Certificate examinations. The red card system co-opts the elected members of the school's Representative Council of Learners and involves them in monitoring

playground use of English: non-conforming learners are presented with a red card, which implies a punishment (chores such as cleaning of classrooms, windows and toilets). Detention is also used as a form of punishment when learners frequently defy this language code of conduct. It will be noted that such a top-down ‘policing’ approach does not align with the learner-centred approach inherent in the RNCS.

### **Appraisal and training of educators**

The Integrated Quality Management System, which provides a means of distinguishing the average educator from the good educator, is also used by the School Management Team to enhance the teaching of English and its use in classroom activities. The principal and staff are required each year to compile the school’s improvement plan, prioritising identified areas for improvement. Given that the improvement of English has always been a goal, it has therefore been built into educator assessments. A good educator is generally classified as one with a good command of English as well as one with substantial knowledge of his or her subject content.

Specific language expectations are placed on all educators in this school. They undergo rigorous language training through workshops and appraisals, and are also motivated in weekly staff meetings, daily briefings, and developmental workshops once a term to use English as far as possible, to teach spelling in all learning areas and to set examination papers and tests according to acceptable standards of English. Developmental workshops assist educators who are encountering problems with teaching in particular learning areas. Traditional teaching methods like book reviews, spelling and dictation and the teaching of prescribed grammar structures are encouraged in classes and during library sessions. A routine of reading and summarising a newspaper article daily is imposed for all classes.

In terms of its emphasis on English, this school is exceptional among rural schools in the area. This has doubtless been one factor which has assisted the school to maintain its learner numbers, and thereby its allocation of educators.

The educators are conscious of the potential staffing implications, were substantial numbers of learners to opt to transfer to other schools: falling learner numbers would be likely to result in educators being declared in excess and the loss of jobs. In terms of national policy, the number of learners determines the number of educators in a school. The size of the learner population in turn determines the amount of subsidy allocated to a school. The school has established a reputation for good academic performance, and this must be attributed, at least in part, to the principal's determination that learners must acquire competent English.

The school assembly is another important daily activity that consolidates the use of English. It is conducted in English with occasional switching to isiZulu (when the principal feels the need to ensure that learners understand important issues). The assembly roster determines a timetable for all educators to conduct assembly. When educators other than the principal speak at assemblies, they are expected to use English. Speech and reading contests are announced at assembly<sup>3</sup> and learners are placed on a roster to present talks and speeches in English at the assembly. The principal organises monthly seminars in the staffroom for educators on the importance of reading and the value of English. All these practices set the tone for the promotion of the English language in the classroom.

To improve levels of English literacy (especially reading, speaking and writing English) staff is required to implement reading programmes, to encourage and motivate learners to improve their competence in this additional language by reading English texts. Organised reading programmes have involved the conversion of an old classroom to a school library as well as the use of box libraries in classrooms. The school library is largely stocked with English texts, most of them donated. In addition, language educators are compelled to have a box library in their classes. A weekly library period, involving reading activities in English, is also prescribed. Learners who read many books are provided with incentives (for example, recognition in the assembly, or book

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<sup>3</sup> Sangweni Hall is used for inter-school speech and reading contests.



tokens). Parents are encouraged to send their children to central libraries to assist in their language development.

The school's library has also been equipped with six second hand computers, to enable learners to be introduced to computer literacy and information technology. Here a reasonable competence in English is required since the language of technology is English. If learners are to be computer-literate they require a substantial vocabulary in this language to be able to compete with urban learners, in whose schools computers have been available from an early stage, and who, in the context of the city, are more exposed to English.<sup>4</sup>

### **Attitudes of the parent body**

Besides the educators and principal, the parents' aspirations for their children are a further force in the school community. Parents strongly support learners' use of English in school. At the general parents' meeting, held twice a year, parents strongly advocate the mandatory use of English as a medium of instruction. Regular term meetings, attended by parents where they discuss their children's performance on a one-to-one basis with educators, are held.

Parents expect the school to teach through the medium of English, even though the home language is almost universally isiZulu. Parents are unanimous that: *"English is the most important language in school"*, in that English is the language of communication, of jobs, opportunities, wealth and status.

This desire by parents for their children to achieve real proficiency in English has become an important recruiting tool in the area: besides the academic performance of a school in other subjects, the parents' preferred language of learning is also an essential factor when recruiting learners. Thus parental attitudes towards the language policy actually in place at a school are extremely important for the survival of schools. Like the principal, the parent

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<sup>4</sup> The principal took the initiative of writing letters to the South African Police and the Department of Health to request obsolete computers; six were donated.

representatives who sit on interview panels for staff appointments encourage the recruitment of well-qualified English-medium educators and are prepared to employ non-Zulus. Appointments and applications for promotion are screened and the selection of educators who speak good English is prioritised.

Many rural schools tend to be resistant to employing educators from outside of the community. This school however has an open-door policy towards English-speaking educators and in 1999 employed two Indian educators.<sup>5</sup> Rural schools generally experience problems in recruiting well-qualified educators, who do not wish to teach in such schools because of transport problems, lack of purified drinking water, unhealthy sanitation and poor road access and in general, a shortage of resources. The school has overcome some of these disadvantages: though road access is not good and sanitation is basic, the school is well provided with classrooms (however simple), a sports field, a hall, as well as the technology appropriate for reproduction of texts, and for communication with the outside world<sup>6</sup>.

### **Attitudes of educators and learners**

Educators in this school, like the principal, are positive, motivated and enthusiastic about the promotion of English. In interviews, educators reported using English in the classroom, the staffroom, and with the administrative officers, but isiZulu with friends. All educators declared that they enjoyed using English when teaching. When they were asked whether learners responded well to their teaching in English, they responded as follows:

- *Learners are fascinated by the English language.*
- *Learners judge teachers by their competence in English.*
- *Learners imitate their teachers – they try to speak good English.*
- *Learners are impressed by English and admire good English speakers.*
- *Although the language is difficult they wish to do well in this subject.*

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<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately these two educators were promoted out of the school in 2002 and 2003 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> In 2001 the principal submitted a portfolio to Anglo-American in support of his appeal for funding for the building of four classrooms, which was in fact granted.

The staff is pivotal in carrying out the principal's instructions as to the use of English as a medium of instruction. In their interviews with me, most educators responded that they speak isiZulu with parents who visit and with staff members during breaks. The use of isiZulu in school is limited to the following contexts: communication with parents, informal speech by staff in staffroom during breaks and after school, language classes in which isiZulu is being taught. It is surely significant that, although the present Head of Department of Languages is in fact an educator in isiZulu who achieves excellent results in the Grade 12 national examinations in this language, she equally supports English as a medium of instruction. In informal conversations, educators claim that this school is considered an exceptional rural school as result of both its academic performance and its promotion of English. They add that other schools and teachers do not have the same motivation and interest for learners. Learners' response in questionnaires too reveals their positive attitude towards English: 80 % favoured English with the following comments:

- *English is most important for jobs.*
- *Language is used for social and educational opportunities.*
- *English helps to improve oneself.*
- *English helps one to get rich.*
- *It provides economic accessibility.*
- *With English you can survive anywhere in the world.*
- *Language is vital world-wide.*

At the same time, 20% noted the importance of isiZulu for the following reasons:

- *Cultural identity*
- *Promotion of culture*
- *Communication with ancestors*
- *Language of rituals and traditions*

What, however, is the actual impact of this promotion of English on learners, both at school and in the broader community? Furthermore, what type of bilingualism is this? Is it indeed the additive bilingualism endorsed by the

LOLT policy, which presupposes ongoing support for both the home language and English? Given the extent to which English is being promoted, is there at the same time adequate support for isiZulu which will allow this language to develop in tandem with English? To what extent is the use of isiZulu maintained at school and in which contexts? Is it limited, in the school context, to classes in that subject? Can it therefore be argued that this school is – inadvertently – promoting subtractive bilingualism?

What impact is this attitude towards English having on classroom usage, and, more importantly, amongst learners outside the classroom? We will consider this in terms of the responses to questionnaires administered to learners (see Appendix 1).

### **Language used in school**

The following section draws on data collected by means of pupil questionnaires and interviews. Learners were asked to report on their language use in the classroom, outside the classroom and on their own attitudes towards English. Learners' statements elicited in subsequent interviews also provide pupil perceptions as to the value of English. In addition, data from the Senior Certificate results for the years 2003-5, for performance in both English and isiZulu, will be offered as a more objective estimate of the learners' proficiency in both these languages.

Table 4 and 5 below present the responses of 60 learners, as to the languages used in class, and in school but outside of the classroom. These tables indicate which language is used, with whom, and when. It should of course be borne in mind that these tables reflect learner perceptions only and do not detail usage patterns confirmed by outside observers.

**Table 4: Language used in class**

Language in class	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with teacher	3	82	15
Language of lessons	-	100	-

[n = 60; responses presented in percentages]

These learners present English as the dominant language in class. The 100% response (n=60) to the question concerning the use of English in lessons suggests an overwhelming educator and learner acceptance of English, presumably because they accept that excelling academically in this language will open up possibilities in terms of further studies, jobs and social mobility. It appears that isiZulu is only infrequently used in the classroom.

**Table 5: Language use outside the classroom**

Language outside the Classroom	I use Zulu	I use English	I use Zulu and English
Language with principal	2	73	25
Language with school friends	15	35	50
Language with school learners	27	32	41

[n=60; responses presented in percentages]

In the context of interactions outside of class, but on the school premises, respondents maintain the use of English to a considerable extent. Educators on duty, and members of the Representative Council of Learners, monitor learners and when learners are found speaking isiZulu, they are admonished or punished with chores like the cleaning of classrooms, windows and toilets.

Educator interviews confirm this widespread use of English with learners, both in and outside of the classroom. It is generally the Grade 8 learners that have to be initiated into this language code of conduct, on first entering this school. The Grade 8 learners come from feeder primary schools, some of whom do not enforce a language rule. As a result, it takes three to four months for learners to adjust to the language policy of the high school, since this entails an adjustment to their attitude towards English and their acceptance of bilingualism.

The dominance of English in all school contexts suggests bilingual patterns of language usage for learners. This in turn also indicates bilingual patterns in the school. Interviews with 20 learners in this school confirm these bilingual patterns, but also emphasize the importance of English in their lives. For instance, 15 out of 20 learners claim that English is the most important language in their lives, for the following reasons: it will assist them to get jobs, including government jobs, give them better social standing, make them 'superior', allow them to compete equally with other groups, get them into colleges and university and assist them in other countries. Verbal exchanges in the classroom are dominated by English, although there is some use of isiZulu outside of isiZulu classes. Educator interviews confirm this, and also reveal that educators believe that English is most important for educational opportunities.

These changing attitudes and perceptions towards bilingual patterns are also evident in Table 6.

**Table 6: Learner perceptions and attitudes**

Attitudes / Perceptions	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Language spoken best	43	7	50
Language preferred in school	10	72	18
Language spoken most	46	32	22
Language you enjoy lessons in	8	87	5
Language you learn in most	17	78	5
Language preferred at home	75	7	18

(n = 60; responses presented in percentages)

The table presents the language perceptions and attitudes of the 60 Grade 11 respondents. There is a strong preference for English at school, and a perception of English as the appropriate and most enjoyable language of learning. It is interesting to note that 30 (50%) of these learners, who come from predominantly Zulu homes, see themselves as speaking English and

isiZulu equally well. This is likely to be a reflection of the positive attitude of all stakeholders (parents, learners and educators) towards English, as well as an outcome of the red card system. While most learners prefer to use English at school and enjoy using English in lessons, at home isiZulu is preferred.

The use of both English and isiZulu suggests that learners desire to identify with both language worlds: the world of English, in terms of social and educational opportunities, as well as the world of isiZulu, in terms of the preservation of culture and traditions.

Learners' actual proficiency in English can best be confirmed by the schedule of English results in grade 12 national Senior Certificate examinations. These results reflect the ability and the actual performance of learners in English, as assessed by this examination. (Whether these results reflect learners' ability to use English for actual communication, remains a moot point.) In particular, it is the Senior Certificate schedule that reflects learner performance in English within national (as opposed to provincial) guidelines. Learner performance in English in the 1990s clustered around E (corresponding to 40%, the minimum pass mark) and F (a failing symbol, corresponding to 34%). In 2001 and 2004 learner performance rose to a fifty percent average. This school was the only one in the ward to obtain A and B symbols in English.

**Table 7: English performance in the Senior Certificate Examination,  
in terms of symbols**

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F
2003	2	17	32	33	14	2
2004	-	7	26	39	28	-
2005	-	-	15	36	39	10

n: 2003 = 51; 2004 = 46; 2005 = 61; results in percentages

While this school has performed better than other schools in the ward, the results suggest a decline in performance level from 2003. This could be due to the fact that that in 2002 and 2003 two senior teachers of English, both first-

language speakers of English, were promoted to other schools. As mentioned above, rural schools find it difficult to recruit qualified language educators; and the SGB was then forced to employ unqualified<sup>7</sup> staff residing in Umzumbe.<sup>8</sup> In this way the school is forced to compromise on the quality of education in English. Despite these problems the school's academic performance in English and other subjects is still higher than in other high schools in the Umzumbe area. The school's language policy undoubtedly contributes to its continued success, as does the enforcement of the language code of conduct in the school and playground and the attitudes of learners and staff.

School A is viewed as the most successful school in the area. Because of the school's academic performance, it attracts the largest learner enrolment in the ward, and can afford to be selective about its intake. The use of English as medium of instruction, together with the assertive character of the principal, has made the school a desirable one for many parents and learners. My interview with the SEMS shows the importance of languages: parents generally enroll their children in schools which have a high reputation and where English is frequently used. This school is a good example of academic standing and is favoured by parents over other schools in Umzumbe.

## **6.2 LANGUAGE PATTERNS AT HOME**

An interesting question is whether this interest in English language is also fostered in homes as well. The next section focuses on the use of English outside the school. Here, use of language in learners' homes, parents' perceptions of the role of English, use of language in the broader community as well as points through which English enters such rural communities will be examined.

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<sup>7</sup> 'Unqualified' implies an educator who does not have the minimum qualification of REQV 13 (i.e. a teaching diploma).

<sup>8</sup> Research site A, like other rural schools, experiences serious delays in the advertising of vacant posts (in this case the advertisement for two qualified permanent English educators) by the Department of Education.



We can expect isiZulu to be dominant in homes. At the same time we must bear in mind that many parents work in urban areas and are exposed to some English. In the parents' interviews, for instance, 80% of the respondents claimed that they knew English and mentioned that it was used at their place of work.<sup>9</sup> Further inroads appear to be being made through the media; this will be discussed below.

Learners reported the following patterns of language usage at home.

**Table 8: Languages used at home**

Home Context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Home language	98	2	-
Language as child	80	13	7
Language with sibling	78	12	10
Language with parents	95	2	3
Language at home	90	2	8
Language during school work	7	51	42
Language during supper	67	8	25
Language during television	15	43	42
Language at home generally	80	-	20
Language with mother	88	7	5
Language with father	76	7	17
Language with guardian	81	2	17
Language with relatives	62	5	33
Language with sister(s)	53	14	33
Language with brother(s)	38	17	45

(n=60; responses presented in percentages)

The responses to questionnaires confirm the dominance of isiZulu in the home. While there is an overall prevalence of isiZulu in most non-school contexts,

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the adult respondents to questionnaires were for the most part parents with work experience of English; had the respondents been the grandparents (who were generally in charge of households during the week) would the language choices be different.

there seems to be an understandable attraction towards English when learners are doing schoolwork and watching television. In addition, fourteen (14) out of 60 learners report use of English and isiZulu with their fathers, and 37 report use of English and isiZulu with their brothers.

Why do quite a few learners use English with parents and siblings? Could media – television, radio and newspapers – be influencing the use of English, or is it the continued influence of the language code from school? Both learner (65%) and parent interviews (58%) confirm substantial interest in and response to English radio stations, and newspapers such as the *South Coast Herald*, the *Mercury* and the *Fever* are frequently mentioned. But actually it appears to be television programmes which particularly attract parents and learners at home. Learners declare that they are more interested in English programmes than isiZulu ones<sup>10</sup>, whereas parent interviews show that parents are equally interested in English and isiZulu programmes.

Learners were also asked how much English (little, none, much) was used by grandparents. Most learners (65%) responded that their grandparents used some English. Grandparents might also be picking up English from their grandchildren, television or radio.

Although respondents indicate that isiZulu is preferred in most homes there is some evidence of bilingual patterns emerging.

Next we examine the extent to which societal bilingualism could be operating within this community.

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<sup>10</sup> *Isidingo* and *Generations*, for example, were favourites.

### 6.3. LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN THE COMMUNITY

In this part we explore the languages used in Umzumbe community and examine the channels through which English enters the community. These include parents' jobs, religious institutions, local facilities (shops, clinics), political activities, tourism, the school, the Islamic centre, the SEM and learners from multicultural schools<sup>11</sup>. Churches, party offices, facilities such as shops, taverns, clinics, Sangweni Hall and tourist attractions appear on the map of Umzumbe in chapter 4.

In terms of the political demarcation this school is within the tribal authority of a chief, *inkosi* Gumede. One of the *inkosi*'s primary functions is that of preservation of Zulu culture and traditions, and this implies support for isiZulu. At the same time, the political influence of ANC, which has recently become powerful in the area, emphasises multilingualism and multiculturalism and tends to encourage the spread of English, at least as a *lingua franca*. But the spread of the language is dependent on other resources: infrastructure is necessary for development, and exposure to various cultures and languages is also necessary.

The context of School A presented in Chapter 4 indicates where English is likely to be spoken. Although roads are rough and corrugated, regular transport by taxi and bus is available to Port Shepstone; it is particularly pensioners, farmers and educators who make use of this, as well as the large numbers of learners from this area who attend multicultural English medium schools in urban areas and tend to import English into this community. There are a few spaza shops (local provision stores), and one main shop is situated next to the school. The owners are an elderly Indian couple who have managed the shop for the past 5 years, and who speak both isiZulu and English to shoppers. Besides the clinic, which is 2 kilometres from the school, there are three Islamic centres in the vicinity (one next to the school, another 40 minutes away

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<sup>11</sup> The term 'multicultural school' is used within this context to mean a school where the learners come from different cultural groups, but the medium of instruction is in all cases English.

from the school and the furthest two hours away from the school). The languages used at these centres are isiZulu, Arabic and English. There are also four Christian churches. Most of these were founded by early missionaries; one of the churches, situated next to the school, was once used as a monastery but is at present dilapidated. There are 6 primary schools within the area which act as feeder schools for this school site. These schools offer both English and isiZulu as language learning areas. The Sangweni Hall, once known as the Kwa Hlongwa Hall, serves the community and can accommodate 500 hundred people. Here community, educational, religious, social and political programmes and activities are organised and even national and provincial leaders are occasional visitors. Visitors and tourists, too, are attracted to the Sangweni Hall to attend lectures and workshops, as well as to buy in the monthly flea market. Besides residents who work in the urban areas of Port Shepstone and Durban, there are people who work in public health, education and the police force, as well as in the private sector and who tend to absorb and transfer the English language to their friends and families. The Morrison Clinic, which is close to this school, serves the whole Umzumbe area.

**Table 9: Languages used in the community**

Community Context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use Eng and Zulu
Language with neighbour	77	7	16
Language with local shop	58	8	34
Language of worship	72	10	18
Language of culture	96	2	2
Language with multicultural learners	5	20	75
Language with others	82	8	10
Language with doctor	7	63	30

(n=60; responses presented in percentages)

The learner questionnaires suggest the following linguistic repertoire in this community. isiZulu dominates in exchanges with neighbours, fellow residents, local shopkeepers, and within churches, but considerable English is also used. The one domain which remains almost exclusively isiZulu is that of traditional culture, where isiZulu is used in *amasiko* (rites related to ancestors) and *amadlosi* (other cultural practices). Of interest though is the respondents who

claim that English can be used for cultural practices (4% claim English and isiZulu). There is however substantial code-switching between isiZulu and English in churches (17 out of 60 respondents claimed to use at least some English), and in the local shop. Western medicine is dealt with primarily in English. Relatively little isiZulu is used in interactions with learners from English-medium 'multicultural' schools.

It is evident that English is being filtered into this once predominantly isiZulu-speaking community. Both English and isiZulu are used in the home and community, but the extent to which each is used depends on the domain. Besides the influence of media (television, radio and newspaper) the effect of the new national language policy for schools in terms of multiculturalism and multilingualism seems to also be spilling over into the home and community. The varying use of English in the community is evident in the various domains. While the school practices monolingualism, learners in the community indicate use of English and Zulu. Chapter two describes bilinguals as individuals who are able to speak two languages, but may tend to speak one language. The presence of 41 learners who attend multicultural schools also provides further indication of exposure to English in the community.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN SCHOOL B**

In this chapter I turn to my second research site. I focus on the use of isiZulu and English, first in the school context and then in the surrounding community, asking which languages learners draw on for their various communicative purposes. In order to facilitate subsequent comparison among the three schools, I present my data, from comparable sources, under the same sub-headings as in Chapter 6.

#### **7.1 THE LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED AT SCHOOL B**

Here too I focus initially on the principal, as the authority figure who sets priorities for the school. The school has been for the past six years led by a principal residing in the town of Port Shepstone who has adopted a rather *laissez faire* attitude towards language use. In himself he appears to bring together the typical South African tensions between English and isiZulu. This principal has a mixed attitude towards both these languages. On the one hand, he is actively involved in the cultural programme of the local Zulu community, and is also closely linked to the local *inkosi*; he allows most of the community's cultural activities to take place in the school. Clearly, the principal believes in the promotion of isiZulu as part of cultural upliftment. On the other hand, he has placed his children at English-medium multicultural schools; he is also aware of the value of English (and of a well-resourced education) for future economic and social success. Yet he does not appear to be making considered attempts to promote the use of English for learners at his own school. My informal conversations with him revealed the lack of resources and skilled educators to promote English in this school. The absence of a library as well as of qualified English speaking educators has impacted on the teaching of languages in his school. His educators who teach English are not language specialists. He does also mention in the same breath that isiZulu is important for identity and needs to be developed in both the primary and high

schools. He believes that isiZulu, like English, is affected in schools due to the lack of resources to develop both these languages.

Sadly, School B must be considered unsuccessful as a school: Senior Certificate results are weak, and the school lacks many of the additional facilities for the support of the learning programme which the principal of School A has succeeded in procuring. The school has been identified as an underperforming school which requires additional Departmental support; but this, too, appears to be having little impact. Given that Senior Certificate examinations, in all but language subjects, are written in English, it appears likely that the lack of a language policy, which would detail ways in which English as a language of learning can be supported, is in part to blame.

#### **The school policy framework: language policy and operational manual**

There is a lack of policies in this school. In contrast to research site A, little work has been undertaken at this school on language policy and the operational manual, although – as indicated in Chapter 6 – these are required in terms of departmental policy. The lack of a formal written language policy has resulted in a lack of clarity, among teachers and learners, as to which language is intended as medium of instruction; hence use is made of both languages. (We will consider below whether this can appropriately be labelled dual medium instruction.) Similarly, the requisite governance and management policies have yet to be drawn up by the school management committee, and are not available to give guidance to implementation of the national LIEP policy. The lack of a formal language policy has resulted in the generally unstructured use of both isiZulu and English at the school; no guidance is available to educators, as to how they might best enable learners to develop the necessary proficiency in both English and isiZulu. Educators have therefore to take their own decisions, and the tendency is to resort to what comes easiest. My own observation and interviews with educators suggest that isiZulu remains the dominant language. While educators are clearly aware of the need for learners to be proficient in English, in teaching they frequently resort to isiZulu – perhaps because they lack the ongoing training required to support teaching in an additional

language; and because there is no policy coercing them to use English. Learners' responses, on the other hand, signal that they favour English – yet in practice they too resort to using Zulu for much of the time, in both classroom and playground. They are not forced or instructed to use English in school.

The assembly is clearly used to consolidate the position of isiZulu in the school, while at the same time paying some lip service to the bilingual LIEP policy. While both isiZulu and English are used in the assembly, both educators and learners mention the favouring of isiZulu by the principal in the assembly as indicating which language is dominant. Further overt support is given to the language through the culturally oriented visits of the *inkosi* to the school.

The outcome of this lack of guidance and training may be a bilingual educative practice; but it must be noted that this bilingualism is in no way structured by policy, but is rather the outcome of typical socio-linguistic processes at work in interactive contexts where more than one language is available. In this case, these social processes are made more complex by the educational context: the awareness that examinations are to be written in English, the background awareness of departmental LIEP policy stipulating the promotion of English alongside the mother tongue, and the respective status of isiZulu and English. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether this type of classroom practice should be labelled 'dual medium', as it does not appear to be systematic practice structured by coherent policy, but rather less rather than more sustained attempt to use English (by an educator who him/herself is probably not fully proficient in the language), underpinned by ongoing code-switching into isiZulu, in an attempt to ensure that learners understand the content.

### **Appraisal and training of educators**

Appraisal implying educator development is a compulsory requirement in all schools. Educator appraisal (by means of the Integrated Management Quality Framework) offers opportunities to promote the use of English in high school teaching, as educators are evaluated in terms of their ability to teach and to



teach in English. A good educator is generally classified as one with a good command of English as well as one with substantial knowledge of his or her subject content. Although educator appraisal, a compulsory process in all schools, is conducted on this site, the educators' report that the appraisal procedure is not followed at all, resulting in the unfair labour practice of educators scoring themselves without monitoring or supervision. Furthermore, while the teaching of English in all learning areas with the exception of the languages is a compulsory criterion in the evaluation of educators, this, too, is not adhered to in this site.

The staff meetings and developmental workshops which take place are conducted using both English and isiZulu. In the staffroom, too, educators speak more isiZulu than English. In reality little training and few developmental workshops actually take place in this school. In most cases the principal merely minutes that he has conducted workshops with educators, which in reality have not happened. Most educators, too, seem quite content with this arrangement. The implication is that most educators can leave school early and not be burdened with meetings and workshops.

The principal has done little to support the learning of English at this school and to uplift the academic performance. The school does not have a library or resource centre for the promotion of literacy or languages. Despite the acknowledgement of the need for reading and writing literacy programmes in the OBE curriculum, no such developmental guidelines are in place. Strategies to improve the general academic performance are also lacking.

As mentioned above, the poor academic results in this school at Senior Certificate level have resulted in Departmental intervention, with this school identified as an under-achieving school in need of much support. Language support and in particular support for English in the school and literacy programmes have been identified as priorities, to improve learner performance. To date this approach has had little impact. Despite the school's improvement plan as developed by the Department of Education (also part of the IQMS

requirement) identifying the need for implementation of these programmes, nothing has been put in place as yet.

### **Attitudes of the parent body**

Parental attitudes are an important consideration in this project. The strong desire for English documented for School A is confirmed in this environment as well. At School B both parents and learners desire the frequent use of English and improvement in this language, to uplift academic performance. This attitude is reiterated at public meetings. Almost all educators confirmed in interviews that this desire for English is the main incentive for many parents to send their children to English medium schools in urban areas. Both formal and informal conversations held with parents indicate strong intentions towards English:

- *we send our children to English medium schools to learn English.*

The poor enrolment figures at this school suggest a lack of confidence in the school's academic programme and in particular in its failure to introduce English literacy programmes; parents also comment on the school's poor infrastructure (insufficient classrooms, lack of a library and computers). As a result, most learners from this vicinity – all who can afford to – attend School A or urban English-medium schools, despite the distance and expense.

Interviews with parents explained this strong desire for English. These Zulu-speaking parents expect the school to deviate from the language usage patterns at home. English is considered essential to enhance educational opportunities. 100 % of parents claimed that:

- *English will get our children jobs, make them bigger and better people and make them modern and intelligent.*

### **Attitudes of educators and learners**

Educator and learner attitudes towards English are very important to assess bilingual patterns in this community. A further contributory factor to the poor

performance of learners at this school is the lack of language specialists among those teaching English at this school. There are language specialist educators in isiZulu but not in English. These teachers have specialised in other learning areas and have been compelled to teach English due to the unavailability of skilled language educators in the school. Given the lack of incentives to teach in rural schools, once again the school and community loses out in terms of the quality of educators. Educators commented, too, that the school management prioritises a specific political party affiliation in terms of appointments made in the school. Educators also reported that they liked using English when teaching, but that they did not have the necessary expertise in the language. All educators agreed that learners enjoyed and liked English more than isiZulu. Yet in spite of these positive attitudes, and in spite of the knowledge that examination papers are set and answered in English, much teaching still takes place in isiZulu. As principal of a neighbouring school, I was requested in 2004 by the School Management Team to assist with the teaching of Grade 12 English classes. My own teaching experience in this school is evidence of the lack of qualified English specialists at this school.

When asked about the value of English and Zulu, 95% of the learners sampled responded in favour of English by stating:

- *English gets us jobs.*
- *Without English we are nobody.*
- *We become better people with English.*
- *Only English is used in the entire world.*

On the other hand, only 5% of these learners considered isiZulu important, and for the following reasons:

- *To do our prayers.*
- *To be close to our culture.*
- *to speak to our forefathers.*

## **Learners' reported language use**

We now turn to the data collected from learners by means of questionnaires and interviews, which sought to assess learners' own perceptions of their language use. Learners were asked to report on their own language use in the classroom and outside the classroom, and on their attitudes towards English. Responses in interviews also provided learner perceptions as to the value of English. Finally, some statistics as to actual learner proficiency in English in terms of Senior Certificate results will assist us in understanding statements made by learners.

## **Language used in school**

Firstly learners' reported language use in and outside the classroom will be examined. The tables indicate the language/s used in typical interactions at school, as claimed by the 56 respondents of the questionnaire. These tables suggest which language is used with whom and when, bearing in mind that these are self-perceptions only.

**Table 10: Language used in class**

Language in Class	I use Zulu	I use English.	I use English and Zulu
Language with teacher	2	82	16
Language of lessons	2	91	7

n = 56; responses presented in percentages

It comes as a considerable surprise to find these respondents claiming that English is the dominant language in class. The percentages suggest that language in the classroom is dominated by English, with little use of the mother tongue (with the exception of Afrikaans and isiZulu classes). Educator interviews make the same claim, and also proclaim English as most important for educational opportunities. However, previously we had noted that both English and Zulu are used for teaching, but especially isiZulu. Both informal conversations with educators and learners and observations, too, reveal the constant use of isiZulu with educators in class.

Interviews with 20 learners in this school show similar patterns and also emphasize the importance of English in their lives. For instance 17 out of 20 interviewees claim that English was the most important language in their lives for the following reasons:

- *to find jobs, to become educated, to get better jobs and to study overseas...*

According to these it would seem then that English is necessary even outside of class and school as well. Is language outside the classroom largely dominated by English also?

**Table 11: Language use outside the Classroom**

Language out of class	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with principal	3	37	60
Language with school friends	17	6	77
Language with school learners	20	2	78

n =56; responses presented in percentages

In this context these respondents seem to identify with both English and isiZulu as the languages outside the class but within the school. In all three domains two languages are said to be used and maintained, with substantial use of English. Besides respondents' use of English with the principal, English is seemingly dominant in the other two domains as well. This is in spite of the fact that there seems to be no pressure placed on learners to use a specific language when at school. These learners claim that there is substantial use of English and isiZulu with school friends and school learners. Does this reflect actual usage patterns, or perhaps rather a claim to be able to use English in these contexts?

Educator interviews confirm that they speak frequently in English and isiZulu to learners both in and outside of the classroom.

Learners' attitudes and language perceptions in this school provide an indication of emerging bilingual language use. Similar attitudes and perceptions are also evident in table 12.

**Table 12: Learner perceptions and attitudes**

Attitudes / Perceptions	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Language spoken best	27	5	68
Language preferred in school	0	82	18
Language spoken most	50	17	33
Language you enjoy lessons in	2	92	6
Language you learn in most	4	93	3
Language preferred at home	60	23	17

n= 56; responses presented in percentages

Language perceptions of these learners indicate much interest in English and Zulu. It is quite surprising that only 27 % indicate that they speak isiZulu best, and that 68 % and 5 % claim that they communicate best using both English and isiZulu.

The actual competence of learners in the language can only be measured in terms of the results of the national Senior Certificate examination schedules. These results reflect the ability or performance of learners in English.

**Table 13: English performance in the Senior Certificate Examination, in terms of symbols**

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F
2003		3	19	26	46	6
2004		-	3	10	48	39
2005		-	5	40	44	11

n: 2003 = 25; 2004= 34; 2005= 42; results in percentage

There seems to be a decline in the symbols over the later years. The clustering of symbols E and F reflects poor performance in English at this site. The results in English are linked to the overall poor academic results in this school.

Despite learner enthusiasm and interest in English there seems to be relatively poor or low performance in this learning area. For instance in 2004, 39% failed English in this school. Over the three years there is clustering of D, E and F symbols. In 2005, a high percentage clustered around the symbol D. Departmental officials explained that these results followed a similar provincial trend. Some of the reasons proffered included that papers were difficult and learners were not adequately prepared by schools. Very few learners passed English comfortably. The number of learners writing the Senior Certificate examination for each consecutive year is also fairly low. There may be explanations for the poor results in 2005, but the poor results for the other years as well cannot be accounted for by this school. Are not the lack of specific language and educational policies in this school perhaps responsible for the poor performance in the Senior Certificate examinations?

As mentioned already, this school is part of the KwaZulu-Natal Education Department's Matriculation Intervention Programme. Enhancing performance in English has been one of the important considerations for improvement of underperforming schools. In particular the Department of Education structures in Port Shepstone view the teaching of the languages, specifically, the teaching of English, as pivotal to the learning process. The SEMS, who are part of the District support at schools, reinforce this in their interviews. Rigorous programmes have been developed to improve results. Although the Department of Education has initiated this process of improvement, the implementation is still dependant on a number of factors: the principal's attitude towards the academic development of his school, educators' dedication and interest in assisting learners to pass, the availability of resources and the exposure of learners to English language specialists. Overall, there has to date been little impact at School B.

## 7.2 LANGUAGE PATTERNS AT HOME

The following section focuses on the use of English outside the school. Here the use of the two languages in learners' homes, parents' perceptions of the role of English, the use of language in the broader community as well as points through which English is entering this rural community will be examined.

Learners reported the following language usage patterns at home.

**Table 14: Language patterns at home**

Home Context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use Eng and Zulu
Home language	95	2	3
Language as child	98	2	0
Language with sibling	89	4	7
Language with parents	80	0	20
Language at home	34	2	64
Language during schoolwork	2	32	66
Language during supper	23	5	72
Language watching television	2	7	91
Language at home generally	30	4	66
Language with mother	38	2	60
Language with father	41	0	59
Language with guardian	57	0	43
Language with. Relatives	28	2	70
Language with sister	23	2	75
Language with brother	20	4	76

n = 56; responses presented in percentages

Learner questionnaires of the 56 respondents reveal the use of isiZulu and English in most domains in the home. Almost all respondents claim isiZulu as the home language. Whilst isiZulu dominates in interactions with parents and



guardians, both English and isiZulu are used with brothers and sisters, while watching television, during supper, while doing schoolwork, at home generally, with relatives, and with mother and father.

Parents seem to also contribute to English in the home. Many parents work in urban areas and are exposed to English. In the parents' interviews, 80% claimed that they knew some English, mentioning that it was used at their place of work. However, parents maintain that traditional cultural rituals cannot be practised in English but in isiZulu. They elaborate that isiZulu is the language of their ancestors.

Besides language input from parents what other entry points are there for the spread of English in the home? Could the media, in the form of television, radio and newspapers, be introducing English? Both learner and parent interviews (70% and 65% respectively) confirm substantial interest and response to English radio stations. Several newspapers, the *South Coast Herald*, the *Mercury* and the *Fever* are frequently mentioned. But it is television programmes which most strongly attract parents and learners at home. A particular question in the interviews probed language choices in terms of media. There was overwhelming response for English programmes such as *Generations*, *Isidingo* and *Mhvingo* by parents. Learners, too, declare that they are more interested in English programmes than isiZulu ones. But parent interviews show that parents are as interested in English programmes as they are in isiZulu programmes. Media influences seem to be encouraging bilingual patterns. Grandparents, too, appear to be gaining some English. Most learners (70%) responded that grandparents used some English. Grandparents may have picked up some English from their grandchildren, from television or from the radio.

Next we examine the extent to which societal bilingualism could be operating within this community.

### 7.3. LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN THE COMMUNITY

In this section we examine the use of English and Zulu as well as the impact of English in this community. Here we include parents' jobs, religious institutions, local facilities, politics, tourists, influence of missionaries, the school and interaction with learners from multicultural schools. Religion, politics, infrastructure, jobs, visitors and tourists will be drawn on, to map their linguistic influence in the community.

Firstly, this high school has always been and remains within the tribal authority of the *inkosi* whose allegiance is to the IFP, although the area has been recently taken over by the ANC. One of the *inkosi*'s primary functions is that of preserving Zulu culture and traditions, and this implies support for isiZulu. The ANC influence on the other hand, tends to promote more than one culture and language, and encourages the spread of English. But the spread of the language is also dependent on other resources. Infrastructure is necessary for development and exposure to different cultures and languages.

One possible source of exposure to English in the community would be through the influence of the Stanley family. A Bible College is run by Michael and Carol Stanley, missionaries from America. They are presently residing in Port Shepstone and travel twice a week to organise bible literacy (in English) and computer classes at a small church which accommodates up to 80 people. The Stanley family exerts a strong English influence in this area. Between 1994 and 2000 they were resident next to the church (1 kilometre from this school). Carol Stanley provides tuition in English to the learners from this school.

The primary school, Magog, was given this name by missionaries in the 1950's after a town in America. Tourists have also frequented this area as guests of the Stanleys; others have been associated with the Scripture Union, a religious body which offers life-skills programmes and HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. However, there are no health clinics in the vicinity (with visiting

doctors), and instead residents are expected to make use of Morrison's Clinic, next to school A. While some of the residents from this community work in Port Shepstone in hospitals, shops, police stations and schools, the majority of residents are women who plough the land and collect pensions, social or old age grants and hence do not often leave the community. A further influence will be the large number of learners from this area who attend English medium schools.

**Table 15: language used in the community**

Community context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with neighbour	32	4	64
Language with local shop	30	11	59
Language of worship	59	5	36
Language of culture	98	0	2
Language with Multi-cultural learners	9	16	75
Language with others	28	26	46
Language with doctor	9	70	21

n=56; responses presented in percentages

Responses to the learner questionnaire indicate a mixed linguistic repertoire in this community. While isiZulu is being maintained as a language of culture, in worship the use of English is clearly growing. It nevertheless comes as a surprise, in this traditional community, that in their interview 15% of the learners report the use of English in cultural practices. In addition to the expanding use of English in a variety of community contexts, there is clearly much use of English with the large number of learners from multicultural schools. Understandably, many learners use English with doctor: there are no local doctors in this community, and residents have to travel to the towns to visit doctors who, learners claim, are generally English speaking. In short, the co-existence of English and isiZulu in this community suggests that bilingual patterns are emerging.

An interesting observation is the fact that the highest number of learners attending multicultural English-medium schools comes from this vicinity. Does this imply a lack of confidence in the local school? A separate questionnaire was administered to those learners attending English-medium schools. They claim the use of English as well as the availability of educational resources as motivation for attending these schools. Educators' interviews, too, reveal similar reasons for learners wanting to enrol in multicultural schools:

- *Besides these schools being well resourced, most of our learners go to these schools to learn English. They are taught only in English and this makes a difference in the job market.*

These learner and parent interviews probed community language patterns and provided evidence that English is slowly making inroads into the community. Both English and isiZulu are currently being used in the home and community, although not to an equal extent.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN SCHOOL C**

In this chapter I describe emerging bilingualism in the third and final research site and in the surrounding community. I shall begin with a detailed presentation of the linguistic repertoire, that is to say, the language patterns, of the school as a community, in terms of who speaks what language to whom and where, and then continue to explore usage patterns in the homes and the broader community.

The data on which this chapter is based includes the following quantitative and qualitative data: unstructured observations, learner questionnaires, interviews with learners, parents and educators, as well as documents like the Senior Certificate (Grade 12) schedules, 2003-2005, and educational and school operational manuals, as available.

#### **8.1 THE LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED AT SCHOOL C**

This school has, for the past five years been led by a female principal who resides in the town of Port Shepstone. Both her children attend a multicultural urban English-medium school in Port Shepstone. Despite infrastructural limitations, she has attempted to implement sound educational policies to promote teaching and learning in this school, and specifically to support the use of English. In this she is supported by the School's Governing Body and the parents of learners.

The principal has developed a number of school policies, though not all are as yet fully implemented. Her draft school language policy defines English as the medium of instruction. The school rules which form part of her general code of conduct require learners to promote English. She has encouraged reading and literacy programmes in her educator workshops and briefings, but is limited in terms of classrooms and school space. She has tried to recruit English first-

language speakers and has made three such appointments. Two English-speaking educators remain on the staff. In order to promote English she made several attempts to revive the box library programme in school, but these attempts have not been successful due to the lack of classrooms. In addition she has introduced computer literacy to the school curriculum, by securing the sponsorship of 5 computers for her school.

Her progress has been held back by infrastructural limitations. School C (with 420 learners) does not have its own premises, but utilises eight classrooms on loan from Inala Primary School. The school also has had donated one prefab classroom, which houses the principal's and secretary's offices. The local church, next to the school, is also used for teaching and learning. With these limitations of space, certain classes must be taught outside. There is limited space during breaks, and no separation between the primary school and high school sections. Occasionally there are problems with discipline. For instance, the school is located five minutes away from the national freeway and next to Umzumbe Chalets, a block of apartments. This causes problems at times, since some learners abscond from classes and frequent the amenities close-by. Learners are often found on the beach which is two kilometres from the school. Despite this, the principal has achieved distinction for the school by securing sponsorship from ESKOM to put up buildings on a new site next to the primary school. Although this building project has now started, it is only estimated to reach completion in 2009. In this determination to develop her school, this principal shares a similar vision to the principal of School A. The principal has made appeals for computers in her school and secured three for learners and two for educators. Further, she has networked with the national surfing association, which has provided learners with opportunities to take part in a national surfing competition.

Facilities remain rudimentary: there are five portable toilets for the entire high school population, no playground and no piped water. Learners depend on rain water. Yet, despite these extremely limited resources, this school has produced

satisfactory academic results with a matriculation pass rate ranging from 70 to 88%.

The new national educational policies require that new governance and management policies (HIV/AIDS, Service Charter for Batho Pele, LIEP, gender desks/committees) be drawn up by the school's governing body. The school's language policy, in particular, is to be drawn up in terms of the LIEP, the national language policy guidelines. The principal has compiled a draft school Language Policy which, due to time constraints, has not yet been sanctioned by parents at a public meeting. Most of her school policies are in place, with the exception of the Service Charter, school uniform, excursions and health policies. The principal is also a gender convenor and facilitator for the ward. She monitors the gender desks in all schools in this ward.

In school she encourages the use of English by learners and compels educators to teach in English and to promote the use of English in school.

### **The school policy framework; language policy and operational manual**

Her draft Language Policy specifies that English is the medium of instruction in all grades, although it is an additional language for the learners. Besides English being the medium of instruction, there are three language learning areas offered in this school: English, isiZulu and Afrikaans. This school can be considered to be adopting a dual medium approach, with code-switching featuring inside and outside the classroom.

The draft language policy gives some direction to educators and learners. In terms of this policy, educators are instructed to teach in English and learners are required to use the language of instruction. There is a conscious and deliberate effort to promote English within the school learning programme. This implies that learners are expected to be using English in classes, and English is used in assembly. At the same time no direction is provided in terms of use of English on the playground. Unlike School A which is able to enforce

the use of English even on the playground, School C, like School B, does not enforce English outside of the classroom.

My own observations and interviews with educators in this research site suggest much use of English outside the classroom as well. Educators indicated that this was as a result of their being several English speaking educators on the staff. When these educators are on playground duty outside the class, learners are expected to communicate with them in English.

The assembly is another important daily activity where attempts are made to promote the use of English. Assembly is conducted in English with occasional code-switching to isiZulu, when the principal feels the need to ensure that learners understand important issues. The assembly roster includes a timetable for all educators to conduct assembly in turn. Educators are expected to use English, with minimum code-switching. In addition learners are afforded opportunities to speak in terms of an assembly roster. In my informal conversations with educators I was informed that learners are encouraged to speak in English as far as possible. The principal has also initiated a system of formal speeches for learners at assembly. Learners are provided with incentives such as sponsored T-shirts when they excel in assembly talks.

### **Appraisal and training of educators**

The principal attempts to enforce the language policy in staff and SGB meetings and in the IQMS appraisal programme, hereby also encouraging educators to promote the culture of learning through the promotion of English. She has stringent leave policies for learners and educators who may not absent themselves without a written request, which will be filed. Her school improvement plan includes the improvement of English to enhance school examination performance. She has also recruited an English-speaking language specialist to assist in this. The principal certainly sees proficiency in English as core to success in learning and the achieving of good results.



This school's appraisal programme is conducted in August of each year, and educators are expected to compile a personal growth plan in which they evaluate their performance for the past year. From these personal growth plans the school's improvement plan is developed, and implementation plans put in place for the following year.

The principal's school improvement plan has regularly included the need for a library, as well as the need for learners to be exposed to English to improve their academic performance. As a result more workshops for educators around this issue have been conducted. Educators also report that the principal has made several attempts to network with local libraries to borrow reference books to assist learners. Yet despite her attempts, the lack of classrooms has proved a great obstacle to these various programmes.

### **Attitudes of the parent body**

Parents, too, share in the principal's vision and language aspirations. Parents fully support the principal in this promotion of English. They reveal a strong desire for learners to know English. As mentioned already in other chapters, educator interviews reveal that the use of English is the main incentive for many parents to send their children to English-medium schools in the urban areas.

Interviews with these parents, too, confirm their strong desire for English, to enhance educational opportunities for their children. All parents feel the same:

- *I want my children to learn and know English very well. What are they going to do with themselves if they don't know English? They have no future without English*

The reasons for this desire for English are clear:

- *They will be able to speak with everyone and can go anywhere in the world and make a living, they will find good jobs and become rich and important people in the country.*

Parents, especially those in the SGB, support the principal in her promotion of English. Like the principal, they encourage the recruitment of English-medium educators. Most of the educators, too, are supportive and share in a similar vision to their principal.

### **Attitudes of educators and learners**

Educators revealed in their interviews with me that they used English in the classroom, staffroom, and for administration, but isiZulu with friends. Most educators claimed that they enjoyed using English when teaching. When educators were asked whether learners responded well to their teaching in English, most stated:

- *Learners love English.*
- *Learners respect and admire teachers who are good in English.*
- *Learners' imitate their teachers – they try to speak good English.*
- *Although the language is tough, they want to excel in this subject.*

Informal conversations with these educators confirmed that parents prefer sending their children to this school, rather than to School B, because of the use of English in this school.

Most learners at this school, too, responded positively and in favour of English:

- *English is needed for work and jobs everyday.*
- *English gives us opportunities to study and be better.*
- *If I know English I will make a lot of money.*
- *English will help me to visit other countries.*
- *Everyone must know English to survive.*

At the same time, approximately a quarter of these learners focussed on isiZulu, spelling out its importance in the following terms:

- *to be ourselves with our own identity.*
- *to know about our leaders.*
- *to speak to our dead people and ancestors.*
- *to practice our culture.*

There is clearly still considerable support for the maintenance of isiZulu.

In this school both English and isiZulu are used. The conscious promotion of English appears to have had considerable impact in and outside the classroom. We now consider learner responses to questionnaires and interviews, as well as actual learner proficiency in English in the Senior Certificate examinations.

### **Learners' reported language use**

Firstly, learners' reports on language use in and outside the class will be examined. Tables 16 to 19 indicate the language/s used in school, as claimed by the 76 respondents to the questionnaire from School C. These tables suggest which language is used with whom and when. However, these are self-perceptions only.

**Table: 16 Language used in class**

Language in class	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with teacher	53	37	10
Language of lessons	2	87	11

(n = 76; responses presented in percentages)

While much isiZulu is used with the teachers, lessons appear to be largely conducted in English. This might involve some code-switching; but also that, knowing that examination papers are set in English, learners are willing to focus on the language of instruction in the classroom.

Educator interviews confirm this, and also reveal English as most important for educational opportunities. Interviews with 20 learners in this school confirmed these bilingual patterns, but also emphasized the importance of English in the learners' lives. When these twenty learners were asked how English would assist them in the future, they responded as follows:

- *It will help us to obtain jobs, to become better and richer, to become popular, to study at universities, to get government jobs, to live in other countries and to become educated.*

These responses were similar to those at schools A and B. Do similar usage patterns also exist outside the classroom?

**Table: 17 Language use outside the classroom**

Language outside the classroom	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with principal	16	25	59
Language with school friends	30	8	62
Language with school learners	37	7	56

n=76; responses in percentage

The data here too confirm bilingual language usage outside the classroom, in all domains. English is used particularly often with the principal. These respondents seem to identify with both English and isiZulu as languages of schooling.

Educator interviews confirm that these learners use English frequently with fellow learners, both in and outside of the classroom.

Learner attitudes towards and perceptions of both languages are reflected in Table 18.

**Table: 18 Learner perceptions and attitudes**

Attitudes / Perceptions	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Language spoken best	62	3	35
Language preferred in school	13	58	29
Language spoken most	53	18	29
Language you enjoy lessons in	14	75	11
Language you learn in most	12	74	14
Language preferred at home	33	25	42

n=76; responses presented in percentages

Substantial numbers indicate that they are happy to use both languages at home. This is interesting since learners at the other two schools indicated that isiZulu was the language spoken most at home. Could this be due to the fact that this school is located close to the town? A majority of the learners also confirm that they enjoy English and that they learn best in English. This overwhelmingly positive response to English is the same in all three sites.

As with the other two schools, 18 out of the 20 learners, when interviewed, spoke of English as the language of social mobility and job opportunities. Their responses included the following:

- *(English will assist us in) getting good jobs, becoming better than others in the community, earning more money and studying, competing with others, being important in life and getting what we want.*

Learners' actual proficiency in English can best be confirmed by the schedule of English results in the Senior Certificate examinations.

**Table: 19 English performance in the Senior Certificate Examination, in terms of symbols**

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F
2003	-	3	20	26	46	5
2004	-	-	15	17	40	28
2005	-	-	5	40	44	11

n: 2003 =30; 2004 =59; 2005 =40; results expressed in percentages

In comparison to other local high schools, this school has performed well, and only School A produces better results. In comparison with School B, this school always performs substantially better in the Senior Certificate examination.

The 95% pass rate for English in 2003 declined in 2004 to 72%, with 28% failing English; in 2005 the pass rate improved to 89%. In 2003 and 2004 some learners achieved B and C symbols, a noteworthy achievement for a school with no infrastructure. The decline in 2004 could be due to the resignation of two English-speaking educators at the start of 2004. Overall, this school has been recognised as a school with a good academic record. This could be a result of the principal's attitude to English, together with the appointment of English-speaking educators, as well as the location of the school in a peri-urban environment with two towns about 20kms away. The parents' attitude too is a telling factor in the learners' performances.

To sum up, the use of isiZulu in school C is limited to the following contexts: communication with parents, code-switching in the class and outside the class, informal speech by staff in the staffroom during breaks, after school, and with visiting parents, and as a language learning area or subject. The principal and school management teams instruct educators to teach in English and learners to speak in English

## 8.2 LANGUAGE PATTERNS AT HOME

Are these language patterns also transferred to and fostered at home? The next section focuses on the use of English outside the school. Here I shall examine the use of language/s in learners' homes, parents' perceptions of the role of English, the use of language/s in the broader community, as well as the points through which English is entering this rural community.

Learners reported the following patterns of language usage at home.

**Table 20: Languages used at home**

Home context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Home language	93	-	7
Language as a child	92	4	4
Language with sibling	54	17	29
Language with parents	76	2	22
Language at home	93	-	7
Language during school work	10	22	68
Language during supper	54	8	38
Language watching television	17	16	67
Language at home generally	61	3	36
Language with mother	66	1	33
Language with father	66	2	32
Language with guardian	64	6	30
Language with relative	47	3	50
Language with sister	43	3	54
Language with brother	36	-	64

n=76; responses presented in percentages

The language that dominates the first four contexts is isiZulu. Both English and isiZulu are used for school work, during supper, while watching television, with guardians, and with sisters and brothers, which confirms bilingual patterns in the home context. Most learners confirm that they speak isiZulu to their mothers and fathers. Some learners also indicate that they speak a combination of English and isiZulu to their parents. This might be because these parents work in urban areas where they regularly use English, and now wish to reinforce the use of this language with their children. English is clearly making inroads in the home context too.

Research site C has considerably more learners who use both English and Zulu, than does research site A.

In their interviews, 70% of these parents claimed that they knew English, mentioning that it was used at their place of work. Yet parents are not willing to see English extended to the practice of rituals: these continue to require the use of isiZulu, since isiZulu is the language of the ancestors.

A number of learners indicate that they use English as well as isiZulu with their siblings at home. This might reflect the impact of the media, or perhaps the use of English for homework. Both learners (75%) and parents (70%) confirm substantial interest in English radio stations. Here too, the *South Coast Herald*, the *Mercury* and the *Fever* are frequently mentioned by both learners and parents. Television programmes are clearly extremely important to both parents and learners at home. Learners indicate that they are more interested in English programmes than isiZulu ones, while parents appear to be equally interested in English and isiZulu programmes. Although isiZulu is still dominant in most contexts, bilingual patterns are emerging, with even grandparents using some English.

### 8.3. LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN THE COMMUNITY

Next we explore the languages used in this community and examine the points through which English may be entering. In addition to the points mentioned for the other two research sites, the proximity to the towns of Port Shepstone, Hibberdene and Pumula and the presence of visitors and tourists may be bringing in additional linguistic influences.

While ANC dominates in this community the IFP *inkosi* plays a minor role. In terms of language preservation, the IFP promotes the retention of Zulu culture and traditions and this implies support for isiZulu. The ANC influence fluctuates between the promotion of more than one culture and language and the encouragement of the spread of English. But the spread of the language is dependent on other resources as well.

Infrastructure is a desirable resource for development. Infrastructure includes the condition of roads, forms of transport and types of facilities available in this area. Most learners' homes are thatched huts along corrugated roads but the main road leading to this school is tarred. Most rural residents commute to town by taxi and buses. The passengers include pensioners, learners (travelling to urban schools), domestic workers, labourers, drivers, farmers and educators. Most residents work in the towns. The church located immediately next to the school was built by missionaries. The Umzumbe Chalets are located on the tarred main road next to the school. There are also several spaza shops and a butchers' shop near the school. Details have already been covered in chapter Four.

Learners attending multi-cultural schools form another channel through which English enters the community. Learner interviews confirm that English is used in most instances with these learners and sometimes both English and isiZulu are used.



**Table 21: Languages used in the community**

Community Context	I use Zulu	I use English	I use English and Zulu
Language with neighbour	61	6	33
Language with local shop	49	17	34
Language of worship	32	12	56
Language of culture	87	3	10
Language with multicultural learners	7	18	75
Language with others	50	13	37
Language with doctor	11	50	39

n=76; responses presented in percentages

Most contexts except for language of culture and language with neighbour indicate substantial amount of English and Zulu. It is interesting to note that most learners indicate use of English and isiZulu for their language of worship. We must assume that the churches are using both languages. Learners use much English with multicultural learners and with the doctor. These learners however claim to use much English and isiZulu with other members of the community, which is unusual in a predominantly monolingual community. Even with neighbours and the local shop a combination of English and isiZulu is also used.

This table reveals a similar language spread to that of community B. While community A indicates much more use of Zulu in most contexts except for language used with doctor and multicultural learners this community reveals much use of English and Zulu in many domains. In addition questionnaires administered to learners in this area also reveal a large number of learners attending urban English medium schools. Questionnaires and interviews also reveal various reasons for this shift to urban schools. Educator interviews confirm English as a reason for learners attending multicultural schools.

Learner interviews explored use of English and Zulu in this community. Learners were asked whether their grandparents understood English and most

answered that they knew “some English”. It appears that English is slowly making inroads into the community. Learners report fairly high percentage of English in use (30%) for cultural practices. Both English and isiZulu are also used in the home and community. The effects of the new language policy in terms of multiculturalism and multilingualism, as well television and radio (media), do appear to be spilling over into the home and community. Could other factors like educational policies also impact on language issues?

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **THE IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES**

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 have each presented a research site, and mapped out the language usage patterns at school, in the homes, and in the broader communities surrounding each school. In the present chapter, we will consider briefly some data relating to educational policies and their possible role in emerging bilingualism, from the perspective of educators and officials in the Department of Education.

As discussed in chapter three, the South African Constitution speaks of multilingualism and multiculturalism as a defining characteristic of being South African; and OBE and the LOLT policy are envisaged as contributing to this social goal. A core issue to be considered is the ways in which OBE and the LOLT policy are being realised in the three schools, and may be promoting bilingualism, and supporting a particular type of bilingualism. Research has identified educational policies as an important contributory factor in bilingualism (Cummins 1981, 1983, 1989, 1996, Swain 1982, 1986, Beardsmore 1986, Stubb 1986, Luckett 1992, 1993, de Klerk 1993, 1996, 1997, 2000, Strubell 1996, Chick and Wade 1996, Inglis et al 2004). While both the RNCS and the LIEP target additive bilingualism and multilingualism as goals, this should be seen in conjunction with South African research findings, which have frequently concluded that, in reality, the many factors implicated in South African schooling, especially in cities, are tending towards subtractive bilingualism. See for instance Cummins 1989, de Klerk 1993, 2000, Mesthrie 1995, 2002, Chick and MacKay 2002 and Appalraju and de Kadt 2001.

As already indicated in Chapter 5, the functions of the Superintendents of Education Management Service (SEMS) are not limited to specific schools but rather extend over an entire ward consisting of 25 to 32 schools. As education and management specialists they operate within a designated ward, supervising

and monitoring both primary and high schools. The SEMS in these interviews have all worked in the Umzumbe ward and other rural and urban wards. They are considered management specialist for schools as a result of their work experience; SEMS were once principals of schools, and in most cases high schools. These SEMS have been trained with respect to educational policy and associated laws and their implementation. SEMS monitor all schools in their ward by ensuring that the principals are implementing DOE policies. With regard to this research project, the SEMS have responded in terms of their work experience in the rural areas.

The SEMS respondents understand the Department of Education's goal of creating bilingual schools in the following terms:

- *Bilingual is when two languages are used constantly. It is when two languages are taught or spoken at school. Both languages are given equal status. It is a school which teaches two official languages of the community or of the learner's choice.*

They describe the bilingualism being achieved in their ward in the following terms:

- *The communities are now bilingual/semi-bilingual because the people living there have a good knowledge of isiZulu and do have average knowledge of English. Grandparents and old persons are not good at English, but parents, because of work and children, have satisfactory knowledge of English. Learners have a fairly good knowledge of English because it is compulsory in schools. Adults have limited amount of English but can understand it and speak it. They watch English programmes so they do understand it. There are a number of ABET centres based in high schools and adults are also learning English. Adults fill in forms in English as well as Zulu for pensions and social grants. At church English songs are sung and bible readings are in English. There is code switching in churches.*

The SEMS are divided, as to which language is dominant in rural high schools in their ward: of the ten SEMS interviewed, six consider isiZulu dominant, four English

'Dominance' of English is largely understood as a result of having all examination papers set in English:

- *Learners and teachers have good knowledge of both languages. Learners have to have sound knowledge of English since all papers are in English except for Afrikaans and isiZulu. Learners speak in English in school and speak Zulu at home.*

Clearly, they themselves draw on both languages in their interactions with the schools: two report speaking mainly isiZulu, three English, and the remaining five use both languages. Similarly, most SEMs tend to use both English and Zulu in communicating with educators and learners; only two indicate that they use only Zulu, and three reports using only English.

Asked to estimate the extent to which the rural schools in their ward are becoming bilingual, the majority consider this as happening 'to a great extent':

- *Schools are teaching two languages or more for quite some time. This was even before OBE was introduced so schools were advocating bilingualism. With OBE it is more forceful and law expects schools to be at least bilingual. There is still a preference for English by parents, learners and teachers since it provides opportunities and jobs but the mother tongue is also given more recognition than before. Schools are encouraging learners to master two languages according to the language policy. Both languages are used in schools. English is used in schools and Zulu is used at home for both teachers and learners. Code switching is used in teaching when learners don't understand concepts. English is compulsory for all subjects.*

The transition to OBE has been gradual, with RNCS still being used in some cases; but 8 of the 10 officials confirm that OBE is now being practiced 'to a great extent'. Nine of the ten SEMs agreed that the new curriculum was increasing the use of English in school, and hence in the community in general:

- *Learners use more English now in school than they did before – all material is in English. All the papers are set and tested in English except for the other languages. In order for learners to pass they have to know English. Learners have to use the school library and community libraries*

*for self-study and group projects. Parents have to encourage reading. With more resources available, like computers and reading material, learners are more English-driven.*

- *Most community members are literate, but have only basic understanding of English from television and radio as well as an awareness of English as an important language.*
- *At public meetings and newsletters which are generally communicated in isiZulu, parents are told about OBE, RNCS, multilingualism and multiculturalism. Parents are told of the need for children to read and know English in particular, to do well in all subjects. Parents' demand for learners to know English well is clear from public meetings.*
- *OBE supports English more - the terms and concepts are more difficult for rural learners and educators to grasp but they are coping. (The learning areas of) Technology and Economic and Management Science are more job orientated and new concepts and words are introduced which learners were not aware of in the NATED curriculum. Even Natural Science, Social Studies and Mathematics demand more knowledge/ competence of English.*
- *With projects and assignments more reading and comprehension without educator assistance is needed. More English is used now than before. There is no translated material for learning areas - everything is in English and more complicated and advanced English. Policy documents, learning programmes, learner support material are all in English - so learners and teachers have to have a good knowledge of the language.*

At the same time, some officials noted that Zulu was still used as medium of instruction in many rural high schools since educators were not confident enough in English.

Educator questionnaires and interviews, too, confirmed the increasing use of the OBE curriculum, and that the LOLT and its implementation through the school language policy, was indeed promoting bilingualism. Educators, too, agreed that educational policies are having an impact on bilingualism, with English playing a dominant role through the LOLT. In all three schools the

majority of educators agreed that their school follows a multilingual language policy which is in line with the national Department of Education's language policy. Their schools teach English, Zulu and Afrikaans as learning areas, but English dominates as medium of instruction.

I sum up below educators' perceptions of their use of English, both in the classroom and in the school more broadly.

**Table 22: Frequency of use of English when teaching**

	School A	School B	School C
Never	-	-	-
Sometimes	2	4	3
Quite frequently	4	1	3
Frequently	2	3	2
Number of educators	8	8	8

Educators from all three schools claim that the Department expects them to teach in English. School B educators claimed a greater use of Zulu in the staffroom, for administration and with friends generally, while Schools A and C reported more language mixing in these non-classroom contexts.

Finally, we consider educators' perceptions as to their level of enjoyment when teaching in English; this is, of course, likely to associate closely with their competence in English.

**Table: 23 Enjoyment of teaching in English**

	School A	School B	School C
No	2	6	4
Yes	6	2	4

n= 8 per school

In conclusion, education officials make a strong case that the new educational policies are impacting on the extent to which English is being used in schools, and beyond that in the community. It appears clear that officials, and principals, are being successful in communicating these new policies to

parents, and that parents are in support of these, certainly in terms of these policies leading to additional English input. These parents wish their children to acquire English, and are likely to support any educative policies which contribute to this end. Parental support is crucial in achieving school bilingualism.



## **CHAPTER TEN**

### **BILINGUALISM IN UMZUMBE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

This section seeks to present both a descriptive analysis of emerging bilingualism in rural Umzumbe as well as an explanation of what is happening in these three school communities. The primary analytical framework to be used is that of learners as bilinguals with multi-competences. Bilinguals are seen as people who are able to use two, or more, languages for a variety of communicative purposes, even though these languages may be developed to different levels. The analysis of these different levels of achievement and usage will be undertaken in terms of the concepts of BICS and CALP, and of additive and subtractive bilingualism. The communicative purposes for which the different languages are used in these bilingual communities can be presented in terms of language usages in school, at home and in the community.

This descriptive analysis will be followed by an attempted explanation of what are clearly rather different outcomes in the three research sites.

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#### **10.1 SCHOOL CONTEXT**

##### **10.1.1 Learner performance at Senior Certificate level**

I begin by exploring learner performance in the Senior Certificate Examination. An examination of Senior Certificate Examination results is a useful starting point for a number of reasons: it provides measurable levels of competence in the languages examined, allows a comparison of English and isiZulu proficiency in individual research sites, and also allows for easy comparison among the three schools. At the same time, in this investigation it functions as the main measure of learner achievement in terms of cognitive advanced language proficiency (CALP), which is developed primarily in the classroom context, in contrast to the basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) which will predominate in communication within the community.

At the same time this approach will also allow us to start considering our findings in terms of additive and subtractive bilingualism. As already developed in Chapter two, additive bilingualism refers to the development of one language alongside the other language, in contrast to subtractive bilingualism which implies the development of one language at the expense of another. As discussed in Chapter three, while the DOE policy and in particular the LOLT and the LIEP policies have the goal of achieving additive bilingualism, much South African research has suggested that the actual outcome is subtractive bilingualism. In considering this issue with regard to our Umzumbe data, we should however also bear in mind Baker's comment that the terms additive and subtractive should be associated with language contexts, rather than with the individual speakers (2006: 9).

**Table 24: Overall Senior Certificate performance for three schools**

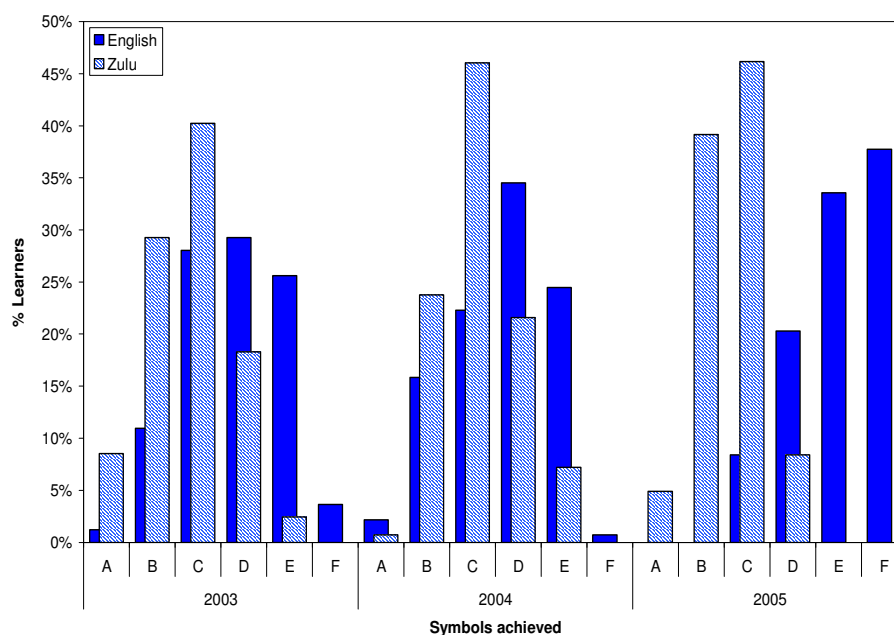
	Overall pass rate		
	School A	School B	School C
2003	100%	67%	89%
2004	100%	60%	81%
2005	99%	40%	90%
2006	100%	29%	88%
2007	99%	27%	87%

Success in the Senior Certificate of necessity requires learners to have developed some levels of CALP in the medium of instruction, with more advanced language proficiency required for the various learning areas. The varying levels of Senior Certificate success suggest that this is being achieved to a different extent in each of the three schools, and that, while Schools A and C are maintaining a high level of success, School B's performance has decreased markedly over the past five years.

We now turn to an overall presentation of the Senior Certificate performance in English and Zulu in the three schools under consideration. The symbols for English and Zulu in the three schools represent the isiZulu – English bilingualism being achieved by educational institutions within the region. They further indicate the varying proficiency achieved in each of the two languages.

At the same time, all three schools are developing reasonably high levels of advanced language competencies in both Zulu and English.

Table 25: Senior Certificate performance in English and Zulu (2003-2005)



A= 80-100% B= 70-79 % C= 60-69 % D= 50-59 % E=40 -49%  
(pass requirement) F=30-39 % (F is a fail)

Table 25 allows a comparison of performance in the learning areas English and Zulu across these schools over three years. Learner achievement in Zulu was higher than in English in all three years. Zulu performance was highest in 2003, in terms of A symbols achieved, and dipped somewhat in 2004. In English, there was little difference in the overall level of performance between 2003 and 2004. English performance weakened considerably in 2005, whereas Zulu performance remained rather strong.

I now explore in detail performance in each school in both Zulu and English for the three years under consideration.

**Table: 26 Results for English and Zulu in Schools A, B, and C**

	Performance in English			Performance in Zulu		
	School A	School B	School C	School A	School B	School C
Mark Achieved						
A	2	-	-	14	-	11
B	17	2	3	41	10	23
C	32	11	20	39	42	33
D	33	24	26	4	42	22
E	14	22	46	-	6	11
F	2	41	5	2	-	-
A	-	-	-	2	-	
B	7	-	-	33	-	30
C	26	3	15	61	15	52
D	39	10	19	4	58	14
E	28	48	38	-	24	4
F		39	28	-	3	-
A	-	-	-	10	-	3
B	-	-	-	48	17	50
C	15	-	5	41	57	42
D	36	8	40	-	26	3
E	39	30	44	1	-	2
F = fail_	10	62	11	-	-	-

n = 2003= 106; 2004=139; 2005= 143; per school and per year; data reported in percentage

Good performance in English and Zulu (achievement of a C symbol or higher) is evident in Schools A and C. This suggests that in these two schools, a significant number of learners are developing acceptable levels of CALP in both English and Zulu. In school B, in contrast, this statement only holds true for Zulu. At the same time, in all three schools there is a marked decline in English performance between 2003 and 2005. In School C failures in English rise substantially in 2004 (2003: 5; 2004: 28). In the year 2005 all schools show failures in English, and performance drops by a whole symbol category. Departmental officials confirmed a similar trend for 2005 throughout the region and KwaZulu-Natal province, for both the overall pass rate and specifically in certain learning areas like English, but interestingly not in Zulu.

This is confirmed by the above table, where in all three schools, including school B, performance in Zulu as a learning area improves in 2005.

What conclusions can be drawn from these tables in terms of the performance in each school, with reference to both English and Zulu?

It is clear from the overall performance (Tables 25 and 26) in the three schools that School A is a top achiever, followed fairly closely by School C. School B, in comparison, seriously underperforms in all three years. Performance in English in all three schools deteriorates seriously over the three years. Zulu performance, however, after a serious dip in 2004, recovers in 2005, with very pleasing numbers of As and Bs. This is of considerable interest, in terms of the literature around additive bilingualism, where maintenance of the L1 is considered to be an important factor. These results suggest that in all three schools the L1 is indeed being maintained and well developed; yet this is not being accompanied by satisfactory levels of L2 development. Clearly, other factors are also implicated; and these will be explored below.

#### **10.1.2 School language profiles**

Let us now relate the Senior Certificate performance in the two language learning areas to the broader school context. Based on my observations in the research sites, I now present school language profiles, which indicate the level of language support in each school.

**Table: 27 School language profiles as a cumulative supportive structure**

	School A	School B	School C
Follows national policy of LIEP/LOLT	✓	✓	✓
School language policy developed	✓		✓
School language policy implemented	✓		
School operational manual developed	✓		
Principal has positive attitude to English	✓		✓
Learners have positive attitude towards English	✓	✓	✓
Parents have positive attitude towards English	✓	✓	✓
Language workshops offered for educators by DoE.	✓		
Educator incentives for use of English (IQMS)	✓		(x) <sup>1</sup>
School offers language workshops for educators	✓		
Principal supports Zulu culture		✓	
Availability of library in school	✓		
Specialist educators for English	✓		✓
English speaking educators teaching English	(x) <sup>2</sup>		(x) <sup>2</sup>
English speaking educators in school	✓		✓
School functions as centre for workshops	✓		
School location close to town			✓
Use of two languages	✓	✓	✓
English only used as MOI	✓	x	✓
Community pamphlets in English	✓	x	✓
Interaction with multicultural learners	✓	✓	✓
Community pamphlets in English and Zulu	✓		✓
Community library	✓	x	x
Support for Zulu as a subject in school	✓	✓	x

<sup>1</sup> IQMS implemented in School C to a limited extent only.

<sup>2</sup> During 2003, Schools A and C each lost their English-speaking educators who taught English.

The above school language profiles, which have been derived from Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8, allow one to gauge the structured support for English and Zulu respectively in the three schools. This summary of the respective language contexts allows the cumulative effect of the various supportive mechanisms available in each school (in association with each school's Senior Certificate performance) to become apparent. Furthermore, the attitude and approach of the school principal (as the chief facilitator of supportive mechanisms) emerges as decisive.

Some supportive mechanisms derive from the national Language in Education policy and its implementation. Two of the schools have developed a School Language Policy (as required by the LIEP), but only one has to date implemented this fully, with impact on classroom practice and playground language use. While national policy claims to promote additive bilingualism, it appears only too likely that any School Language Policy will of necessity prioritise English. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the language of teaching and learning from Grades 8 to 10 is English in the high schools, and all examination papers are set in English (with the exception of language papers). It is surely of significance that only in School B is the principal allowing and even encouraging isiZulu to be dominant; and School B has yet to develop a language policy. This makes the good performance in Zulu as a learning area in all three schools a factor that requires some explanation.

### 10.1.3 Learner Perceptions and Attitudes

The following table presents learner perceptions of the languages used on a daily basis in all three schools; in considering these reports, I associate these with my own observations of actual practices in the three schools.

**Table: 28 Languages used in school**

Language of lessons	Zulu	English	Zulu and English
School A	-	100	-
School B	2	91	7
School C	2	87	11
Language used with teachers			
School A	3	82	15
School B	2	82	16
School C	53	37	10
Language used with principal			
School A	2	73	25
School B	3	37	60
School C	16	25	59
Language used with school friends			
School A	15	35	50
School B	17	6	77
School C	30	8	62

n = School A = 60; School B = 56; School C = 76; responses presented as percentages

Learners in all three schools claim that English is being used almost exclusively in lessons and that the approach to learning is largely monolingual. While this may be accurate for School A and to some extent for School C, my own observations indicated considerable use of isiZulu in School B classrooms. At the same time a clear difference in the choice of language with teachers is reported between Schools A and C: despite School C's good performance in English, learners indicate relatively little use of English with their educators. While my own observations in Schools A and C (see checklist in Appendix 1) confirm this more extensive use of English, they do not confirm what learners from School B report. My personal interactions with School B over a number of years detected very little use of English in school and with educators. This reminds us of the methodological problems associated with relying exclusively on perception data in research of this type, and confirms the need to draw on data from varying sources, as has been done in this thesis. At the same time (as will be discussed below), learners in School B are also highly desirous of learning English, and hence the above responses may perhaps be understood as an expression of this (largely unrealised) desire.

We turn now to learner perceptions of their own proficiency in the two languages, and to their attitudes towards the two languages in the school context.

**Table: 29 Learners perceptions of language spoken best**

Language spoken best	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
School A	43	7	50
School B	27	5	68
School C	62	3	35

n= School A = 60; School B = 56; School C = 76; responses presented in percentages

Again it is surprising to note that learners from School B have claimed yet again a higher use of English than the learners from the other two schools. Is this, again, a reflection of their unrealised desire for competence in English?



**Table 30: Learners' attitudes towards English at school**

	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Language preferred in school			
School A	10	72	18
School B	-	82	18
School C	13	58	29
Language you enjoy lessons in			
School A	8	87	5
School B	2	92	6
School C	14	75	11
Language you learn in most			
School A	17	78	5
School B	3	94	3
School C	12	74	14

n= School A = 60; School B = 56; School C = 76; responses presented in percentages

Learners in all three schools voice a very decided preference for English. At the same time, it is interesting that learners in Schools A and C, which both seek to use as much English as possible in the learning process, are more willing to signal Zulu as a preferred language of learning (admittedly still at a very low level). If we look at learners' perceptions in relation to the Senior Certificate results, they seem to represent desire far more than reality. The reality is that all learners are far more proficient in isiZulu. School B is particularly surprising with its low claims for isiZulu and high claims for isiZulu and English together, given the poor levels of proficiency in English and the support for isiZulu by the principal and traditional leaders. School C, which experiences the highest levels of English in the surrounding community, generally claims isiZulu to the highest extent.

This decided prioritisation of English by learners in all three schools was confirmed by the subsequent interviews with 20 learners per school. In all three schools the importance of English was seen in terms of job opportunities, educational opportunities, economic progress, international accessibility and social mobility. On the other hand, a small percentage of learners made the case for isiZulu in terms of cultural identity in all three schools.

Besides the school context, in particular classroom practice and learner perceptions, parental attitudes also play a major role in supporting bilingualism in the school and the wider community. Their language choice and preference for their children plays a pivotal role in determining the school's language policy and its implementation. Parents' attitudes and perceptions also signal implications for societal bilingualism.

#### 10.1.4 Parental attitudes and perceptions

In Chapter two, parental attitudes were identified as instrumental in the achievement of bilingualism. Learners' choice of language is largely shaped by parental language attitudes and parental language choices. Furthermore, Chapter three identified a substantial role for parents in the implementation of the new curriculum.

Learner and parent questionnaires and interviews revealed parents' acknowledgement of isiZulu in the home and community, but also the use of English in varying degrees at work and home. Parents themselves generally have some (Schools B and C) or considerable proficiency in English (School A).

**Table: 31 Parental proficiency in English**

How much English do you understand?	None at all	Not Much	A little	A lot
School A	-	-	30	70
School B	5	25	60	10
School C	-	-	90	10

n = 20 per school; responses presented in percentages

Parental use of English in the home context, in a variety of ways, supports their children's acquisition of English at school.

Most parents in all three schools have a decided preference for the use of English as medium of instruction for their children.

**Table: 32 Parents' language preference for medium of instruction**

	English	isiZulu	Both languages
School A	90	-	10
School B	60	30	10
School C	70	10	20

n = 20 per school; responses presented in percentages

This is further confirmed by frequent requests at annual general parents' meetings for educators to use only English in school, for communication, better job prospects and educational reasons. (Those few parents who voiced a preference for isiZulu motivated this in terms of culture and identity.) Parents' interviews revealed their keen interest for English as MOI. Educators, too, confirmed this parental support for English and their generally positive attitude towards OBE.

#### **10.1.5 Summary: the schools as bilingual communities**

As discussed above in Chapter 9, the SEMS had confirmed that these schools have become bilingual. Certainly the research sites can be considered bilingual; but this type of statement does not take us very far. The literature review confirmed that bilingualism is an umbrella term which requires considerable further unpacking to become meaningful. The overarching model of bilingualism being used in this thesis is that of speakers with multi-competences, which implies varying usage patterns in different contexts (including BICS and CALP-type competencies). However, in analysing the type(s) of bilingualism emerging in each school and its context, it becomes of importance to focus on the outcome: is this acquisition of further languages resulting, or likely to result, in additive or subtractive bilingualism? And finally, how are the differential outcomes in the several schools to be explained?

The literature review has shown that additive versus subtractive bilingualism as outcomes are dependent on a number of factors. Both Beardsmore (1986) and

Luckett confirm the crucial role of societal attitudes towards the languages involved: “both languages (and the cultures associated with them) need to be valued and reinforced” (Luckett 1993: 43) for additive bilingualism to emerge, and certainly so in approaches utilising an L2 for teaching purposes, including immersion-type approaches (Swain, cited in Baker 2006). Baker has foregrounded this role of the context in the outcome of bilingual education by associating the terms ‘additive’ and ‘subtractive’ with language contexts, rather than with bilingualism itself (2006: 277-278). In the schools under investigation here, the fact that the national LIEP promotes additive bilingualism will by no means necessarily result in an *outcome* of additive bilingualism. The sound results in Senior Certificate Zulu examinations do seem to be indicative of good grounding in the first or primary language, which is another precondition for the emergence of additive bilingualism. At the same time, other factors may be promoting subtractive bilingualism in the school context. Such factors will certainly include the school principal’s attitude towards English and isiZulu, and the implementation of the national and school language policy.

I now turn to a discussion of each school. In School A, active support for English is visible at a number of levels: in the principal’s attitude and determination to ensure that learners receive a good education and become adequately proficient in English, in the school infrastructure which underpins the achievement of this goal (the positioning of the school as a nodal centre for teacher and language support, the well-developed school infrastructure etc), in the appointment of qualified and committed teachers, and importantly in the strong parental support.

The principal goes to the extent of requiring that English only is used at school – which suggests an attempt to recreate the immersion approach explored by Swain (1996, cited in Baker 2006). At first sight it might appear that such an approach could well devalue isiZulu and lead towards subtractive bilingualism and ultimate language shift from isiZulu to English (as suggested by research into the linguistic consequences for isiZulu-speakers registered at Model C schools). It is therefore of considerable importance that the principal’s commitment to English does not seem to have impacted negatively on learner

proficiency in isiZulu – to judge by the Senior Certificate results. The quality of teaching (underpinned by regular training workshops) must play a major role in this. The principal's support for English by no means implies a lack of support for isiZulu: besides the employment of outstanding educators for Zulu as a learning area he ensures substantial allocations for the purchase of Zulu textbooks and, to some extent, for library books. It would appear that the principal's support for English should perhaps rather be seen as his understanding of the significant role of language per se in education, which therefore will also include support for the teaching of Zulu.

Hence the linguistically dubious outcomes of the integration of isiZulu-speaking learners into 'multicultural' schools should not be envisaged for School A. In addition to the principal's less immediately visible support for isiZulu, School A is also located within an isiZulu-speaking community; the roles of English and isiZulu in this community will be explored below. As a result, we can conclude that School A is an actively additive bilingual context, and that additive bilingualism of learners is the likely outcome.<sup>12</sup>

School B on the other hand suggests a rather different outcome for learners. The Senior Certificate performance has shown the school to be inactive and ineffective in terms of maintaining a culture of teaching and learning. The weak leadership of the principal as well as the lack of direction for educators, together with the undeveloped infrastructure, have resulted in consistently poor academic results in this school. With regard to the promotion of bilingualism, as required by the LIEP policy, the principal shows little interest in the development of English, but remains committed to overt support for isiZulu. This appears to be in a contradiction to the wishes of the majority of learners and parents; though there is support from a minority of parents. IsiZulu is used as main medium of instruction in the school, no English L1 educators have

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<sup>12</sup> The decline in English performance in the Senior Certificate examinations from 2003 to 2005 should surely be associated with the resignation, during 2003, of the English L1 educators who had previously taught English at School A.

been appointed, and the principal encourages the staff to support isiZulu through staff meetings, workshops and the purchase of Zulu textbooks.<sup>13</sup>

Bilingualism in this school is as a result poorly developed, with only limited numbers of learners achieving the levels of English proficiency required for their envisaged goals of workplace use of English, further studies etc. While such an outcome can presumably be described as additive bilingualism (given that the L1 is not placed under threat by the L2), the goal of bilingualism is by no means being adequately achieved, development of English remains poor, and cognitively advanced proficiency in the L1 is at a lower level than in the other two schools.

School C is similar to School A, and has achieved good academic results. This too can be attributed to the leadership in the school. Despite the limited infrastructure, the principal's implementation of educational and language policies has lead to good results. The school uses English as medium of instruction though not as forcefully as in School A. However, support and encouragement of English in the school by the principal and educators have resulted in a greater use of English than isiZulu as medium of instruction. The main differentiating factor to School A is the school's location in much closer proximity to urban areas, as signalled by higher levels of English usage within the surrounding community, although isiZulu remains the dominant language. As a result, learners are far more likely to have opportunities for informal reinforcement of the English learnt than in School A. In this school, too, we can assume an outcome of largely successful additive bilingualism, with similar patterns to School A.

## **10. 2. HOME CONTEXT**

This section looks at the use of English and isiZulu in the home. Here we look at individual bilingualism and the type of learner usage patterns in the home to

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<sup>13</sup> It remains an anomaly that the principal of School B sends his own children to an English-medium school in an urban area, which suggests he is indeed aware of the value of proficiency in English.

determine whether additive or subtractive bilingual patterns are emerging in this domain.

While the levels of competence in isiZulu and English in school can be gauged through the Senior Certificate results and operate at the level of CALP, in the home and wider community we have to assume that isiZulu, too, would operate at both levels (oral formal isiZulu would be at the level of CALP). While isiZulu would operate at the primary level English (as an L2) would be used in addition to isiZulu and, in most instances, at the level of BICS.

This language context will therefore consider the use of English in the home and work by parents. A language profile indicating exposure to English of parents is necessary to ascertain the language context for the home. Data from questionnaires and interviews conducted with parents reveal the following in terms of parents' use of English.

**Table: 33 Language profile of parents**

	School A	School B	School C
Use English in religious practices	x	-	x
Use English with child	x	-	x
Know some English	x	x	x
Work in towns	x	-	x
Use English at work	x	-	x
English channels on T.V.	x	x	x
English radio channels	x	x	x
Read English newspapers	x	x	x
Use of English in church	x	-	x
Educated through English as MOI	x	-	x

n = 20 per school

The home in rural areas has in the past been considered a predominantly isiZulu domain. The language profile presented here indicates that parent respondents have had considerable exposure to English, in varying ways and to

varying degrees with School B parents standing out with the least exposure to English.<sup>14</sup>

In order to obtain a fuller picture of the language patterns in the home I turn to learners' perception of their use of English and Zulu in the home context.

**Table: 34 Learners' language usage in the home**

	Zulu	English	Both Languages
Language used with siblings			
School A	78	12	10
School B	88	4	8
School C	54	14	32
Language used with parents			
School A	95	2	3
School B	80	-	20
School C	76	2	22
Language used for schoolwork			
School A	7	51	42
School B	2	32	66
School C	10	22	68
Language used during supper			
School A	67	8	25
School B	23	5	72
School C	54	8	38
Language used watching TV			
School A	15	43	42
School B	2	7	91
School C	17	16	67
Language at home generally			
School A	80	-	20
School B	30	4	66
School C	61	3	36
Language used with guardian			
School A	81	2	17
School B	57	-	43
School C	60	10	30
Language used with relatives			
School A	62	5	33
School B	28	2	70
School C	48	2	50

n= School A= 60; School B=56; School C=76; responses in percentages

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that interviews were conducted with selected parents of learners attending the respective school. This may mean that these parents are not fully representative of the local community – for instance, given that many learners from School B community attend School A.



Learners and parents from School community A appear to have introduced English into several home contexts, while isiZulu still remains dominant. English is entering homes via the English media: both learners and parents enjoy English radio stations and television programmes as well as English newspapers. Education represents a further entrance route: learners not surprisingly report using English while doing homework. More interestingly, this presence of English has been extended to discourse between parents and children, in most cases, presumably, involving code-switching. We can assume then that while isiZulu remains the dominant language in the home, some use of English has become introduced.

In School community B however we find a rather different pattern. The language profile suggests low exposure to English as compared to the other two school communities. Yet here too there is exposure to English, again primarily through the media. In terms of the language learners' use at home, their questionnaires again suggest possible over-reporting of English, with the combined use of English and isiZulu favoured. This is in spite of the fact that parents have indicated very little use of English. While we can assume that isiZulu is the dominant language of parents, learners' data suggests at least the desire for, if possibly not the reality of, a growing use of English.

The parent language profile of School community C indicates considerably more exposure to English, as to be expected given the peri-urban location of this community. Learners' data also confirms much use of English and isiZulu in the home, though not to the same extent as is claimed by School B learners: perhaps the availability of English in the community and in the school makes it less necessary for learners to claim English.

### 10.3. LANGUAGE USE IN THE COMMUNITY SURROUNDING EACH SCHOOL

We now move from a consideration of the homes of learners to the broader community<sup>15</sup> surrounding each school. To what extent is English used in these broader communities, what might be the origin of what appears to be expanding usage, and what values do the communities currently assign to English and isiZulu?

The language profile below provides an initial overview of each community.

**Table: 35 Language infrastructure profile within the three communities**

	Community A	Community B	Community C
Dominant community language	Zulu	Zulu	Zulu
Community exposure to English through ABET/ other stakeholders (Stanleys etc)	x	x	x
Proximity to town ( in kilometres)	100 km	25 km	10 km
Exposure to media - TV, radio, print media	x	x	x
Christian churches in community	x	x	X
Mosques in community	x		
Spaza shops	x	x	x
Clinic in community	x		
Use of cell phones	x	x	x
Availability of internet facilities	x		x
Languages of political structures (councillors chiefs etc.)	E and Z	Z	E and Z
Learners attending multicultural schools	x	x	x
Availability of English classes (outside of school)		x	

n= 20 per school

<sup>15</sup> The term 'community' is clearly used in a loose sense, to simply designate the area around the school. The parent respondents sampled, however, may or may not be drawn from the immediate school surroundings.

Rural communities have long been considered primarily monolingual, yet there is clearly considerable exposure to other cultures and languages in all three communities. The impact of English is further evident in the various institutions in and around each of these communities. Firstly all schools are located near spaza shops and/or religious institutions such as Christian churches and mosques. Further there is broad exposure to newspapers, radios and television which give access, generally through the medium of English, to news around the country and world. Cell phones (which tend to presuppose some amount of English literacy as well as some knowledge of technology) are used in most homes in these communities, and communities A and C have some access to internet facilities. While it is to be expected that community C, by virtue of its proximity to town, would have greater exposure to English, community A appears to have at least as many, if not more, points of exposure; it is community B which, once again, is comparatively disadvantaged. In addition, there are many learners from all three research sites, but especially from site B, who attend English medium schools in town.

Interviews with eight educators from each school also confirmed community exposure to English, but to a varying extent for each school community.

**Table: 36 Educator perceptions of English spoken by parents**

	None	A little	Quite a lot	A lot
School A		3	2	3
School B	1	3	1	3
School C		2	3	3

n= 8 per school

Educators report that far fewer grandparents speak English; the emergence of English in the community appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon.

I now turn to patterns of English and isiZulu usage within the three communities, as reported by the learners.

**Table: 37 Learners' reports on languages used in their community**

	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Language of culture			
Learners from School A	96	2	2
Learners from School B	98	-	2
Learners from School C	86	4	10
Language of worship			
Learners from School A	72	10	18
Learners from School B	60	4	36
Learners from School C	32	12	56
Language used with neighbours			
Learners from School A	77	7	16
Learners from School B	32	4	64
Learners School C	62	6	32
Language used at local shop			
Learners from School A	58	8	34
Learners from School B	30	10	60
Learners from School C	49	17	34
Language used with others			
Learners from School A	82	8	10
Learners from School B	32	22	46
Learners from School C	50	12	38
Language used with doctor (in town)			
Learners from School A	6	64	30
Learners from School B	8	70	22
Learners from School C	10	50	40

n= School A= 60; School B=56; School C=76; responses in percentages

The data captured from learner questionnaires confirms isiZulu as the dominant language in all three communities; yet English is making considerable inroads. Not surprisingly, all three communities signal isiZulu as language of culture; however there appears to be considerable use of English as language of worship. (This presumably involves worship at Christian churches and Muslim mosques, the latter possibly also including some acquisition of Arabic.) With neighbours and at local shops (where in several cases there are Indian shopkeepers), and more broadly, with 'others' in the community, considerable language mixing and, presumably, code-switching appears to be involved. At

the same time, there is variation between the research sites: again, what may well be over-reporting of English use from site B, and – as expected – a greater extent of language mixing at site C, given its peri-urban location.

Not unexpected is the reported use of English with the doctor: this clearly refers to Western medicine, and, although a doctor may make visits to the sole clinic in the area at site A, in most cases a visit to the doctor will involve a trip to town.

While not covered in Table 37 above, the choice of language will undoubtedly have some intersection with political affiliation. Language plays a role in the political agendas of the two main political parties in Umzumbe region: isiZulu is prioritised in IFP politics, as a result of its association with traditional cultural practices, whereas the ANC's multilingual approach in contrast celebrates diversity of cultures through promotion of different languages and its wider more internationally-oriented political agenda. In the rural communities under consideration, the *amakhosi* will use and promote isiZulu, in contrast to the ANC councillors' use of both English and isiZulu. (At the same time it is undoubtedly significant that IFP *amakhosi* send their own children to English medium multicultural schools, while expecting their rural communities to accept education through isiZulu). Although this is a common feature in all three communities, the *inkosi* in community B has been actively involved in promoting Zulu culture. Despite the fact that all *amakhosi* accept English as part of the educational system the IFP language policy instructs that the Zulu language be developed and preserved in their communities. The *inkosi* in community B in particular is more active in maintaining and preserving the Zulu language and culture in this community when compared to the other two *amakhosi*, who have largely lost their leadership roles.

The rather substantial numbers of learners from all three school communities who attend urban multicultural schools provide an interesting access point for community exposure to English. The presence of these learners, who become very fluent in English, would seem likely to lead to more frequent use of

English in their homes, and probably also in the community. In addition, learners from multicultural schools would be likely to acquire a variety of English closer to first language English: urban multicultural schools offer the learning area ‘English as a First Language’, in comparison to rural schools which tend to offer ‘English as an Additional Language’; and in many multicultural schools – though not in all – there are substantial numbers of L1 English-speaking learners. The experience of six to eight hours daily in an L1 English environment must impact on the variety of English spoken by learners attending multi-cultural schools. While rural communities will also experience L1 English through the media (radio, newspaper and television), and through occasional L1 English visitors or residents, such as tourists and the Stanley family, the English spoken by the broader community will undoubtedly remain an L2 variety

**Table: 38 Number of learners attending multicultural schools from each school community**

	Community A	Community B	Community C
Number of learners	41	57	31

**Table: 39 Languages used with learners who attend multicultural schools**

	Zulu	English	English and Zulu
Learners from community A	5	20	75
Learners from community B	4	16	80
Learners from community C	6	18	76

n= School A=60; School B=56; School C=76; responses in percentages

Learners from the three schools spoke of those attending multicultural schools as part of their community: as neighbours, friends and relatives with whom they communicate closely and regularly, and at least in part in English.

The Umzumbe educators – most of whom also send their children to multicultural schools – commented on this trend as follows:

- *There are many learners who attend these multicultural schools. Their parents are normally well to do and can afford the high school fees. A lot of*

*counsellors, teachers, nurses and business people have their children in these schools. Even the mayor who is from Umzumbe also has his children there.*

Of the three schools under investigation here, the community around School B has the highest number of learners who attend English medium urban schools (in addition to also supplying numbers of learners to School A.) It would seem apparent that the desire for quality education through the medium of English is not being satisfied by School B (in spite of the availability of language support offered by the Stanleys), and that parents who can afford the fees and transport costs prefer to register their children elsewhere. The interviews confirmed that it is primarily the English-medium teaching by L1 speakers of English which attracts these isiZulu-speaking learners out of their community to multicultural schools.

#### **10.4. EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN UMZUMBE REGION**

It is evident that it is not possible to speak of ‘Umzumbe bilingualism’: our data rather suggests community specific patterns of bilingualism. In each community we find somewhat different patterns of language use emerging, in terms of rather different underlying factors. Yet across these community-specific patterns, certain common features can be identified. For instance, additive bilingualism would appear to be a feature common to all three communities.

Additive bilingualism as the outcome is indicated by the persistent use of both English and isiZulu in all three communities. The acquisition of English does not appear to have impacted on the extent to which isiZulu is used; isiZulu has been fully maintained, while English is largely associated with new domains, such as formal education and the media. Yet this common outcome should be seen in juxtaposition to differing levels of competence in English: learners in community B may use English frequently, but (as their Senior Certificate results confirm) they have been far less successful in acquiring advanced English competence.

The use of English and isiZulu in both formal and informal language contexts indicates functional bilingualism in these communities; and these bilingual speakers should be seen as persons with multi-competences (Cook 2002 and Grosjean 2001). They function by using two languages for a variety of communicative purposes, even though these languages may be developed to different levels. The concepts CALP and BICS are useful in describing these levels of competence (Cummins 1986, 1991, 1996). For instance, Senior Certificate performance suggests that in the schools both English and isiZulu are being developed at a cognitively advanced level (CALP). In the various domains in home and community, language may be used variously at the level of BICS and CALP, in terms of the formal and informal functions each language may serve. Undoubtedly, in the informal home context, both parents and learners will primarily draw on basic interpersonal communicative use of English and isiZulu. However the local *inkosi* could well make use of formal isiZulu (i.e. involving CALP) in political meetings which both parents and learners would be likely to attend. On the other hand, many parents who require English in the workplace would be likely to use English at basic communicative levels in their relatively low-status occupations. Languages in this context would therefore function at different levels in terms of specific communicative purposes.

A further theoretical construct which is of use to the analysis is diglossia. I refer back to Fishman's discussion of possible relationships between bilingualism and diglossia: bilingualism with or without diglossia; diglossia with or without bilingualism (cited in Baker 2006). These communities are undoubtedly bilingual, but do they show signs of diglossia? In community A there is clear functional bilingualism in both formal (school) and informal (home and community) domains, but there does not appear to be the clear association of specific language with specific function which signals diglossia. Community B reveals less adequate functional bilingualism in both formal and informal contexts, but again no diglossia. In community C, on the other hand, though it is similar to community A in terms of formal and informal language



contexts and clear functional bilingualism, there would appear to exist greater likelihood of future encroachment of English, simply in terms of its geographical location. This might then imply the some possibility of diglossia in the future.

While there is clear evidence of additive bilingualism in all three communities it is difficult, at present, to find evidence of diglossia. An associated issue is, whether one can equate English with a 'high' language and isiZulu with a 'low' language – a differentiation required in a diglossic situation. Competence in both languages (English and isiZulu) cannot be accurately gauged (except for the school context). There does not appear to be a systematic spread of the two languages in any of the three communities, and furthermore, with the exception of education (English) and traditional culture (isiZulu), there is little evidence of either language being set aside for specific functions in these communities. Spolsky's (cited in Bhatia and Richie 2004) reference to 'cultural ambivalence' certainly does not prevail in these communities, since one cannot speak of the co-existence of two cultures through the use of these languages.

## **10.5 PERCEPTIONS OF POWER**

English and isiZulu in these three communities are associated variously with political, economic, social and cultural power. Bourdieu (1991) and Christie (1992) have shown how language can serve as a tool for economic and political power. In these environments isiZulu is strongly associated with social and cultural power, while English is aligned to political, economic and a somewhat different social power. Researchers such as Paola (2001) and Ferrer and Sankoff (2004) have viewed the impact of English in terms of social upliftment and empowerment, as well as dominance as a hegemonic language. Many studies have emphasised a positive role of English in terms of its economic influence within the global arena. Kachru (1986, 1992) and de Swaan (2001) have spoken of the political, economic and cultural influence of English in global politics and have elaborated on its beneficial role in linking countries to

the international arena. English is viewed as a positive developmental tool for economic, social and political linkage to the global economy. Although other researchers have argued strongly against a positive impact of English (Phillipson 1992, Mazrui 1997 and Pennycook 1998), positive assessments predominate.

In these three communities we see the dominance of English in the school environment and the dominance of isiZulu in the home and wider community. Politically the ANC's multicultural and multilingual policy advocates a diversity of cultures through the use of different languages. The LIEP, however, promotes English above all other languages, in an attempt to strengthen South African links to the international economy. English is required for global networking. The IFP on the other hand, as already mentioned, seeks to promote isiZulu as language of culture and tradition; isiZulu is also identified with these alternative forms of political and, especially, cultural power. The *inkosi* in community B in particular seeks to retain and preserve isiZulu in order to maintain his cultural and traditional power within these communities. At the same time his children's enrolment in an English medium school is indicative of the fact that he also seeks broader political, economic and social power for his family. Parents in all three school communities indicate overwhelming support for English. The presence of the large number of learners attending English-medium multicultural schools is also evidence of parents' positive attitude towards English. Parents and learners see English in terms of social, economic and political upliftment and the ability to compete nationally and internationally. Learner and parental responses in favour of English are clearly motivated in terms of educational, career and job opportunities and, broadly, social mobility for their children.

## 10.6 ENVISIONED IDENTITIES

Inherent to these approaches to cultural, political, economic and social power are also attitudes towards isiZulu and ways of being Zulu, as well as attitudes towards English and ways of being modern and western. English is associated with what can be termed a modern identity, while isiZulu is associated with a traditional and culturally-driven identity.

As considerable research (for instance, Jacoby and Ochs 1995, Manning 2003, Scollon and Scollon 1995, Piller 2000) has confirmed, language must be seen as an important tool in constructing identities. Identity has, of course, been conceptualised in different ways. Tajfel (1995) refers to pre-existing social and group identities, whereas Nero (2005) posits political, social, economic and cultural identities which are constantly (re)constructed, and are based not least on language.

In South Africa, too, language has been considered in terms of its contribution to constructing political, economic, social and cultural identities. The DoE's language policy has emerged from political decisions which seek to create a multilingual and multicultural identity through the use of more than one language. As in many other multilingual countries, the ANC's policy approach encourages different identities through different languages. Languages carry certain ideologies, traditions and values which may be considered modern or traditional. Here I consider Myers-Scotton's (2000) model useful, when I seek to explain the functions of English and isiZulu in these three communities. Myers-Scotton speaks in the terms of a language context, where speakers' choices are motivated by their social goals, interaction and identities, and where the choice of a specific language may be considered marked or unmarked. This can be applied in our contexts as follows. English, often used as a marked choice, is associated with a number of identities: high status, educational upliftment, economic viability as well as social mobility and power. IsiZulu, often used as an unmarked choice, is associated with ethnic identity and solidarity, traditional and cultural values. Despite English not

being the dominant language in all three domains in these research sites, its association with high status, educational upliftment and social mobility offers an explanation for learners' and parents' choice of English. In the school language context, which is strongly directed towards the Senior Certificate examination, English is certainly dominant and – depending on the school approach – could be considered an unmarked or marked choice. (In School A the use of English would be unmarked, in School B marked.) Parents and learners may consider English as a neutral and objective language, and as necessary for educational opportunities and economic accessibility. This in turn implies certain identities deriving from social and economic upliftment and advancement. Although in the home context, isiZulu will generally be an unmarked choice, there is encroachment of English as a marked choice, through parents' jobs, the media (television, radio and newspaper), homework of learners, use of cellphones etc. Even the community language domain which generally draws on isiZulu as unmarked, is incorporating some English, through the presence of learners from multicultural schools, the use of radio, television, newspapers and cellphones. Both marked and unmarked choices are visible in these communities.

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#### **10.6.1 Perceptions and attitudes towards being Zulu and English**

Here I consider and describe the identities associated with isiZulu and English in these three communities. Identities are associated with the perceived roles of isiZulu and English, as drawn from learner and parent data: English is considered the language of educational opportunities and modernisation, while isiZulu is considered the language of tradition and culture.

Here I consider perceptions, rather than actual usages in these communities. Educator interviews indicate the following reasons for learners wanting to learn English:

- *All jobs and further study is in English and learners want to get to those jobs. Learners realise that English is flexible and versatile unlike Zulu which has a limited vocabulary. Diverse thoughts and ideas can be*

*expressed in English and not in other languages. There is much importance and reverence for English. Learners associate English with educational opportunities and social mobility.*

In learner interviews the following responses were given to the question of why isiZulu was regarded as important: learners from all three schools referred to identity and cultural practices, and to isiZulu's usefulness for general communication and in the home. Educators also identified the following uses of isiZulu in school: code-switching could assist in understanding of learning material, and isiZulu was important for cultural activities associated with Zulu culture.

While English is prioritised for academic reasons and for social mobility, isiZulu, it is claimed, is required for different reasons. In all three schools learners indicate that isiZulu is necessary as the language of culture. The majority of the learners interviewed were of the opinion that English cannot be used to conduct rituals in Zulu culture, which are crucial to ways of being Zulu. Yet some learners from Schools A and C indicated that some English is now being used for these cultural practices.

In this regard, parents' interviews, too, reveal some interesting patterns. Many parents confirm that they are now observing more than one form of religion. Unlike the past traditional practice of monoculturalism, a shift towards multicultural practices appears to be emerging. For instance 60% of the parents in School A indicate that they observe both *amadlosi* and church beliefs, and similarly so 45% of parents in School C, but only 5% of parents in School B; most parents from School B (90%) indicate that they still follow traditional practices, such as *ukizilza*, *ukucimela*, *umemulo*, *uzombeya* and bereavement rituals.

What is the implication of these changing attitudes towards religious practices, including the associated role of the vernacular? Informal conversations with educators and members of the SGB confirm that there have been some changes

in thinking and understanding over the past two generations. They suggest that changes are taking place as a result of modern values and the use of English in their communities. Some of these changing attitudes towards isiZulu and culture are reflected in parents' acceptance that rituals may perhaps be conducted in English. Most traditional monolingual and mono-cultural communities would be expected to give a clear response in the negative and to provide strong reasons as to why the vernacular is the only language to be used. However, the responses of these parents suggest an encroaching influence of English on cultural practices.

### **10.7 EMERGING BILINGUALISM IN UMZUMBE: IMPLICATED FACTORS**

I have argued that the increasing bilingualism in these research sites has differing outcomes: communities A and C are achieving an adequate functional bilingualism, whereas the functional bilingualism in community B appears to involve less adequate levels of competence in English. Furthermore, in community C there may be implications for future English encroachment. I now consider possible reasons for these differing outcomes in these three communities.

As suggested in much recent literature (Romaine 1989, Kachru, 1992, Mee 1993, Crystal 1997, Williams 1999, de Swaan 2001, Adam 2004), the emergence of functional bilingualism cannot be explained in terms of a single causal factor. Rather it is necessary to consider explanations from a range of inter-connected factors: the educational environment, the contextual situation as well as the inter-play of language, power and identities. The educational context is the context of formal language acquisition, which determines the various languages being made available to learners as per educational policies. The contextual situation in turn constitutes the language background, as well as the informal language context within which education takes place. Included are factors such as location, physical infrastructure, political and socio-economic influences, presence of learners attending English multicultural schools as well

as any additional language support and reinforcement of the formal learning taking place in the school context. Finally learners' choices of language in daily use may be associated with specific identities. Language contexts are constituted by a number of factors which support and complement the linguistic arrangements.

Firstly the formal support for English and isiZulu offered by the educational environment will be considered.

### **10.7.1 The educational environment**

The educational context is the primary source of formal language acquisition. The educational curriculum (underpinned by national educational policies) in particular is the blue-print for certain national ideologies which shape education and thereby society. The implementation of OBE and the LIEP (and its goal of creating a multilingual society) becomes the responsibility of the Department of Education and school principals. The three school communities in this investigation are required to educate with the goal of creating multilingual citizens in a multicultural society. The schools' language policies in this context are expected to promote additive bilingualism.

The language policy and its implementation in the three schools is certainly implicated in the differing outcomes. Proficiency in the language of instruction, and especially the language of assessment, is closely associated with successful learning. The LIEP is a clear national guideline provided for every school. School language policies (as produced and adopted by the principal and SGB), are important in directing the language choices of learners in the specific school. In Schools A and C there are clear directives in terms of a language policy and implementation strategies. In School B, however, there is no school language policy and as a result no direction is provided for educators and learners. This results in different language emphases by the principal on the one hand, and educators on the other, which certainly contribute to the poor academic and English results in the school. The principal's attitude towards

the national language policy is therefore an essential ingredient in the acquisition of additional languages.

The principal's leadership style is also an integral part of effective teaching and learning in the school. The implementation of the language policy, as well as the principal's attitude towards English in particular, contributes to good performance as well as to the language patterns in the school and wider school community. For instance the principal of School A differs substantially from the principal of School B in his language policy and attitude towards English. To what extent is the principal's implementation of the "red card" system in School A, a factor in the overall academic performance in the school? His positive and assertive language approach has clearly contributed to excellent academic achievements. At the same time it should be borne in mind that this top-down approach is in contradiction to the learner-centred approach as espoused by OBE (see page 53 above). The principal of School C, too, despite problems with school infrastructure, offers clear guidelines and a positive attitude towards the promotion of English in her school. The creation of box libraries in classes, together with their national surfing affiliation, definitely enhances and promotes other languages as well as offering multicultural exposure.

Parental attitudes and support are further contributory factors for successful bilingualism. Learners' and parents' attitudes towards education and towards English in particular are relevant in determining language choices and language patterns within the broader community. Parents' positive attitudes towards English in all three school communities are indicative of the changing language patterns within the broader community of Umzumbe. There is, however, an anomaly in community B. The local *inkosi* who, ironically, as a parent has placed his children in English medium schools, seeks to ensure that learners retain strong cultural and traditional ties through the use of isiZulu. Learner interviews, on the other hand, indicate their desire to acquire English for educational opportunities, while retaining isiZulu for their traditional culture.



### **10.7.2 Contextual factors**

I now consider the informal support for English and isiZulu evident through various contextual factors, such as the geographical location, the physical infrastructure, socio-economic and political factors, and the co-existence of learners attending English multicultural schools. These types of informal language support (for both English and isiZulu) consolidate and reinforce the formal language education offered in the schools.

Firstly geographical location is crucial to the understanding of linguistic repertoires. The physical location impacts directly on the linguistic patterns of its residents. A location close to town or urban area results in greater exposure to as well as influence by other languages and cultures. In this respect, communities A and B differ from community C. While the school and home domains reveal similarities to community A, the physical location of community C creates a somewhat different outcome, and makes future encroachment of English more likely.

The physical infrastructure of the community (the presence or lack of facilities such as clinics, halls, churches, mosques, chalets etc.) may also affect the exposure to language in a community. In the Umzumbe context, the availability of such facilities does encourage exposure to other languages, and especially to English. The presence of a mosque in community A indicates the presence of other languages (Arabic and English) and cultures. Churches in all three communities also imply some exposure to English which is used together with isiZulu for Christian worship. The presence of a hall in a community may also result in the presence of outsiders and tourists who speak different types of English. Furthermore English-speaking doctors visit rural clinics as part of their internship. While they are expected to know some isiZulu, they will generally be much more fluent in English. Both Schools A and C have (different) facilities which are likely to attract English-speaking outsiders into the community.

Similarly one must not underestimate the influence of politics on bilingual patterns in these communities. As discussed above, the ANC advocates and practices multilingualism (including the promotion of English) and the formation of multicultural identities while the IFP's traditionalist policy requires that isiZulu be preserved and maintained due to its alignment with Zulu cultural practices and a Zulu identity. The different political constellation creates different language attitudes, at least among the leadership, in these three communities.

Parents' places of work, too, are sources of exposure to other cultures and languages (and especially to L1 English). In communities A and C many parents work in town, in locations where more than one language is spoken. This applies especially to community C - again a result of its closer proximity to the towns. Community B has a predominance of farmers working within the community, and this, coupled with the *inkosi's* cultural influence, will be more likely to produce lower levels of bilingualism and inadequate functional bilingualism. Socio-economic influences, however, are not only restricted to parents' places of work, but also include the influence of the media in all three communities. The various media (television, radio, newspaper) bring considerable L1 English exposure to these communities.

The presence of learners attending multicultural English-medium schools represents the most constant exposure to L1 English in all three communities. Not only will these learners directly internalise the English language and its values, but also their parents and the broader community (learners in the three schools, neighbours, relatives etc.) will be indirectly influenced by both this language and its cultural load. It was noted that community B has the highest number of multicultural learners. This seems to underline learners' desire for English, in contradiction to the community's (and the *inkosi's*) desire for the maintenance of isiZulu.

It is clear that all three communities offer informal support to the acquisition of English, alongside continued support for isiZulu maintenance, but to varying

degrees. These various contextual factors reinforce the formal learning and language support taking place in the educational environment.

### **10.7.3 Language, power and identity**

Such formal and informal support for each of the two languages is, furthermore, underpinned by more internalised perceptions and desires of learners and parents, in terms of the perceived power and identity associated with each of the languages. As discussed previously, numerous investigations have explored the ways in which the association of power and identities with specific languages is implicated in bilingual outcomes (de Klerk 2000a, 2000b, Appalraju and de Kadt 2001, Suleiman 2003, Dalby 2003, Kanno 2003, Ferrer and Sankoff 2004 and Nero 2005). This can be clearly illustrated in our three research sites.

Community B presents an interesting example of contradiction between the educational needs and desires of learners and the political aspirations of community leadership. The school implements the Language in Education policy, but only to a limited extent, resulting in low levels of acquisition of English. Learner responses, on the other hand, reflect their strong desire for English. This (largely unrealised) desire for English, together with the presence of large numbers of learners attending English-medium schools, is indicative of the value and importance attached to this language. This reverence for and admiration of English must be juxtaposed against the political and community needs of the *inkosi* and the school principal, who both seek to promote isiZulu in schools and the broader community, as underpinning a cultural and traditional identity.

School A, in contrast, understands clearly that a choice of languages is needed to serve different functions in the immediate and broader communities. English in school serves as the language of empowerment for educational opportunities and social mobility. IsiZulu too, is also revered, but for a different purpose: that of a traditional identity limited only to their immediate community (and within

the context of KwaZulu-Natal province). The principal, who has also placed his children in English-medium schools, attempts to adopt the policies and educational practices of these schools in his own school. His personal aspirations for his own children are clearly replicated in his treatment of learners in his school, with the primary goal of academic achievement. Academic success presupposes competence in English, as well as good performance in English as a subject. Learners and parents have the same language aspirations as the principal: the promotion of English in the school to achieve excellent academic achievement for further educational opportunities. English is associated with specific goals which cannot be achieved through isiZulu.

Community C can be considered a multicultural melting pot. Although similar language patterns to community A can currently be observed, the geographical location in particular creates the possibility of future language shift. In this regard, several factors reinforce each other: the community is strongly controlled by the ANC and accepts its multicultural policy. The principal, learners and parents all recognise the value of English in terms of social mobility and educational opportunities. Interactions requiring English derive from the availability of accommodation for tourists, the ties with the surfing association, and the numbers of parents working in English-speaking contexts. All of these make English more accessible and likely to dominate in the future.

## **10.8 CONCLUSION**

In all three cases functional bilingualism has created learners as bilinguals with multi-competences and who are able to use English and isiZulu for different purposes. The use of these two languages implies an association with two worlds and cultures. National language-in-education policies (which in turn derive from the national language policy) position learners in all three schools between two cultures: the worlds of English and isiZulu. Yet between schools and their communities, the difference is pronounced. In research site A, the outcome is functional bilingualism with adequate language competency in two

languages. Research site B maintains isiZulu competence, while failing to develop adequate competence in English. In research site C, finally, situational factors make the encroachment of English on the present-day functionally bilingual speakers a distinct possibility. Given the rapidly growing importance of English as a hegemonic language in a global economy, such encroachment may in the future also become a possibility in communities such as A and B, which are currently protected by their remote location.

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN**

### **CONCLUSION**

This concluding chapter seeks to draw together major findings of the study, and their significance, and to highlight issues which are deserving of further research.

A first major significance of this investigation is that few South African studies have focused on rural communities, and temptation has always been simply to extend findings from urban or peri-urban investigations to the rural areas. This study, with its focus on details of three schools and their environments in a fairly remote rural area, was made possible through the fact that I had spent several years as Head of Department in one of these schools, and had played a leading role in Gender Education throughout Umzumbe. In this way, I had developed excellent contacts with teachers at the schools, as well as with community leaders, and had gained considerable insights into language usage in both schools and communities. The communities investigated here are positioned between the ‘push and pull’ of two assertive cultures: a rather traditional Zulu culture, and a modernising culture dominated by English. In the thesis I sought to explore what the linguistic outcome for these communities so positioned would be: some form of bilingualism, or a slower or faster shift towards English monolingualism? The impact of English on modernising communities has been and remains an important topic in many African countries, including South Africa. The literature review allowed for a discussion of the wide range of associated issues, some of which my research project has also explored. While many of my findings have confirmed findings from other multilingual communities, this study has also highlighted some gaps and has suggested areas for further research.

An important finding is that the bilingualism that is emerging in the rural communities under study should be considered additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism, the developing of competence in a second language with no

concurrent loss in one's mother tongue, is clearly evident in the school, home and broader community in the three research sites. This is significant, in that South African research into situations of bilingual education has tended to see the increasing dominance of English as irrevocably leading to subtractive bilingualism, together with the eventual possibility of language shift. (In the main, however, these have been studies of isiZulu-speaking learners who have entered multicultural urban schools). This investigation, in contrast, has suggested that, in these rural communities at least, additive bilingualism is a distinct possibility. It is unclear how stable this additive bilingualism may prove to be – it does not yet appear to have stabilised into a diglossic situation – but for the present the increasing use of English appears to coexist with a continued firm commitment to the use of isiZulu in cultural and religious domains.

While additive bilingualism is identified as a common outcome in all three research sites, the linguistic repertoire in each of the three sites has been shown to differ. Two of the three communities are being notably more successful in acquiring English, and this appears to be primarily a function of the quality of education being realised at the secondary school in each site, in terms of national educational policies. Research site A in particular appears to be characterised by fully functional bilingualism in the younger generation, with learners being able to function adequately in two languages. This does not imply full fluency in English (English certainly remains an L2 in the community); but rather, speakers are able to use English (and isiZulu) to manage the conversational needs they experience. To judge by Senior Certificate results, learners at research site B have been considerably less successful in acquiring competent English; nevertheless, these learners are very eager to claim the frequent use of English in a variety of contexts; the extent to which they are able to communicate adequately in English remains rather unclear. Research site C presents a somewhat different case, in terms of contextual factors not found in research sites A or B. Here, in addition to the role of the school context and the educational policies being implemented, the geographical location of this community has been shown to be significant in

the outcome of functional bilingualism, and to raise questions as to whether (additive) bilingualism can be maintained in the longer term. The investigation posits research site C as most susceptible to an increasing use of English, and hence as most susceptible to future language shift to English. Geographical location – relative closeness to English-dominant centres of employment – does seem to be a crucial factor in the maintenance of an outcome of additive bilingualism.

I have attempted to explain these somewhat different outcomes in terms of the interplay of a multiplicity of factors; clearly, emerging bilingualism cannot be adequately understood in terms of single causes. I have argued that, in addition to the educational environment and contextual factors, issues of perceived and actual power and experienced and constructed identities appear to be directly impacting on language use in these communities. It is here that the findings of other studies can be confirmed, and areas for further research in the broad field of bilingualism be identified.

The educational environment must be considered a key factor with regard to the languages that learners acquire and subsequently choose to use. While research has highlighted the role of education in bilingualism, it has not explored fully the impact of specific educational policies in bringing about change in the linguistic repertoires of communities. Language in education policies, as implemented in schools, provide the foundation for the learning of more than one language, especially with regard to policies which are premised on multilingualism and multiculturalism as outcomes, as is the South African LIEP. These language policies may be constant across regions, but, as this investigation has indicated, each education environment, while showing similarities, will at the same time be impacted on by different factors. These include the precise way in which language policy is implemented in a school, the principal's approach and attitude towards the language policy, the facilities which are available, the language background of the teachers who are employed, learners' and parents' attitudes towards these languages and so on, all of which determine longer term language outcomes in communities. Here it



is details which can be extremely significant and further research into the precise ways in which language policies are being implemented into a range of schools, and their impact, would doubtless be of considerable benefit, to allow generalisations to emerge on the basis of actual case studies.

While a strong focus of this thesis has been on the formal support given in schools to L1 and L2 language acquisition, the role of the informal reinforcement of language learning from external factors, and from use outside of school and within the community, must not be overlooked. For this reason, a detailed description of Umzumbe region was presented, to allow relevant contextual factors to be identified. Language spread is clearly also dependent on factors in the home and broader community; contextual factors can result in exposure to and support for other languages and cultures, and will often be the catalyst for linguistic change in communities. This investigation has argued that different language outcomes, at least in part, emerge from such contextual factors. Geographical location, religion, the presence of learners from multicultural English medium schools, and political factors may be important considerations in the precise nature and scope of the bilingualism which emerges. The role of learners attending English multicultural schools is a research topic worthy of further exploration: what numbers of children from such rural areas are indeed being sent to multicultural schools, and what will be the subsequent influence of these learners on their home communities? What will be the longer-term impact of this factor on the rural schools in turn, and on the ways in which they seek to implement the Language in learning policy?

At the same time, there are numerous issues which this investigation has not been able to consider in depth. Achieved language competency has been measured only in terms of the Senior Certificate examination, and it has also been assumed that success in this examination can demonstrate the acquisition of adequate cognitive academic language proficiency. The investigation of language use in the community has relied on learners' impressions of their own language use which is notoriously unreliable. It has not been possible to gauge the actual level of competence in both languages in each community studied,

nor the extent to which community interactions may involve BICS or CALP. These are undoubtedly areas for further research. Parental competence in English, as well as actual parental use of these two languages has not been explored in detail; the thesis has relied on feedback from teachers and a few community members. Of interest would undoubtedly be an ethnographic study of language usage in these communities, which would uncover details as to the actual bilingual patterns being achieved, including – presumably – some profession-driven variation (the language use of teachers and nurses, compared to that of labourers and itinerant workers). Nevertheless, on the basis of the impressionistic and reported data collected here, it was considered legitimate to conclude that, in the parent generation too, there is considerable functional bilingualism in the broad district of Umzumbe.

The role of politics in language acquisition is another rather neglected topic; this investigation has confirmed that politics can be of considerable impact on language acquisition and usage in rural communities. Here there appears a clear contrast between research site B, as oriented towards the Inkatha Freedom Party and Zulu cultural values, and research sites A and C, as oriented towards the African National Congress and a more inclusive multiculturalism. In site B, the emerging contrast between the position of the *inkosi* (including a possible disjuncture between his official and personal stance) and the wishes of parents (and learners), as regards the acquisition of English, make for a fascinating interplay which is certainly worthy of further broader study.

Recent research has posited power and identity as important explanations for emerging bilingualism. In these communities, too, issues of power and identity contribute substantially to explaining shifting language usage patterns. Clearly parents and learners recognise the importance of English for social and economic advancement and power, in terms of education and the subsequent availability of jobs. At the same time, they still associate a rather different power, the power of culture and tradition, with the use of isiZulu, in terms of the preservation and maintenance of their culture and traditional practices. In terms of identities, isiZulu is identified with a traditional culture identity and

English with a more modern or western identity. In this way, learners in all three school communities are pushed and pulled between isiZulu- and English-driven identities; most appear to wish to draw on both languages and cultures. Both of these identities, as oriented towards English or isiZulu, are critical to the emergence of multilingual identities, as enshrined in the country's Constitution and educational policies.

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# APPENDIX 1

## RESEARCH PROJECT: LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN UMZUMBE

### *BASELINE OBSERVATION CHECKLIST*

*SCHOOL 1 -----*

#### ***Category 1: Language choices / attitudes / perceptions of learners (in terms of English and Zulu)***

- 1.1 Which language/s do learners use in the school / classroom / grounds?
- 1.2 Which language/s do learners use with the principal / educators / other learners?
- 1.3 Which language/s do learners use in the home and wider community?
- 1.4 Which language/s do males use in school / home /community?
- 1.5 Which language/s do females use in school / home / community?
- 1.6 Which language/s do learners use for cultural activities?

#### ***Category 2: Language choices / attitudes / perceptions of educators (in terms of English and Zulu)***

- 2.1 Which language/s do educators use in school/ in classroom teaching?
- 2.2 Which language/s do educators use in the staffroom / workshops / meetings?
- 2.3 Which language/s do educators use with parents/ community?
- 2.4 Which language/s does the principal use in developing policies in school?
- 2.5 Which language/s does the principal use with the SGB / parents?
- 2.6 Which language is used for newsletters and general communication?
- 2.7 Does the school have a language policy?
- 2.8 Does the school implement the language policy?
- 2.9 What is the school's language policy? What is the LOLT?
- 2.10 Which language/s is/ are used with the SEMS?

#### ***Category 3: Language choices / attitudes / perceptions of parents and community***

- 3.1 At school meetings which language/s are preferred by parents?
- 3.2 Which language do parents want their children to be educated in?
- 3.3 Which language do parents use with their children in the home?
- 3.4 Which language do parents use for culture?
- 3.5 Which language do parents use with educators?

#### ***Category 4: School context***

- 4.1 Type of school.
- 4.2 Where is the school located? How far from the nearest town?
- 4.3 Matric performance: good / average / poor?
- 4.4 Role of SEMS: implementation of educational policies: effective or ineffective?
- 4.5 Financial status of school: Section 20 or 21?
- 4.6 What facilities exist around the school?
- 4.7 What type of infrastructure exists for each school?
- 4.8 Staffing (PPN).
- 4.9 Number of English first language educators.
- 4.10 Number of qualified educators and qualified language educators.



## APPENDIX 2

### RESEARCH PROJECT: LANGUAGE USAGE IN UMZUMBE

### LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

#### *A. PERSONAL DETAILS*

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Grade: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Gender (F \ M): \_\_\_\_\_
5. Number living in Family: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Postal address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Residential Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you have a mother?      yes/no
10. Do you have a father?      yes /no
11. Do you have a guardian?      yes /no
12. Number of siblings: \_\_\_\_\_
13. Who is your guardian? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Home Language: \_\_\_\_\_
15. Language used as a child: \_\_\_\_\_
16. Name of siblings ( brother, sisters)      gender      ages  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. Job description:  
Mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Father \_\_\_\_\_  
Guardian \_\_\_\_\_

#### *B. LANGUAGE, CURRICULUM AND CULTURE*

NB: I am interested in the languages you use at home, in school and in the community.

1. Languages spoken by:

Siblings \_\_\_\_\_

Parents \_\_\_\_\_

Teachers \_\_\_\_\_

Friends \_\_\_\_\_

Others in community \_\_\_\_\_

2.1 Do your family members read the newspaper/s? yes / no

2.2. If yes, which newspapers?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you watch television? yes / no

4. Name three of your favourite programmes:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you listen to the radio? yes / no

6. If yes, which station/s do you frequently listen to?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Which religious group/s do you belong to (Amadlosi, Amasiko, Church)?

\_\_\_\_\_

8 Tell us about the languages you use:

Which language do you speak best?	English	Zulu	Both
Which language/s is used at home	English	Zulu	Both
When discussing schoolwork	English	Zulu	Both
When having supper	English	Zulu	Both
While watching T.V.	English	Zulu	Both
At home generally	English	Zulu	Both

9. Which language is used when you are talking to:

your school principal	English	Zulu	Both
your best friend at school	English	Zulu	Both
other pupils in school	English	Zulu	Both
your mother	English	Zulu	Both
your father	English	Zulu	Both
your guardian at home	English	Zulu	Both
your relatives (aunts, uncles, grandparents)	English	Zulu	Both
your friends at home	English	Zulu	Both
your brother	English	Zulu	Both
your sister	English	Zulu	Both
your neighbours	English	Zulu	Both
your doctor	English	Zulu	Both
your local shopkeeper	English	Zulu	Both

Which language is used at the place of worship?	English	Zulu	Both
Which language do you prefer in school?	English	Zulu	Both

Explain why?

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Language you speak most of the time?	English	Zulu	Both
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Which language do you prefer at home	English	Zulu	Both
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Explain why?

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10. What do you want to do when you finish school?

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11. How much of English do your parents/guardians use?

None	A little	A lot.
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12. How much of English do grannies use?

None	A little	A lot.
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13. How much of English is used by your teachers when teaching you in school?

None	A little	A lot
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14. Do you enjoy your lessons more in Zulu or in English? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Do you think you learn more when the lessons are in Zulu or English?

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16. What language do you think your teachers ought/should be using when teaching?

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17. How is the English learnt at high school different from primary school?

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18. Are there any learners in your community who attend ex-model C schools?

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19. If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Are they your friends? \_\_\_\_\_

21. How does English assist you in your community?

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22. How would English help you in your future/after school?

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23. Do you observe Zulu cultural practices in your home?

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24. Which language do you use in these cultural practices?

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25. What is the value of Zulu in your life?

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26. Can Zulu assist you in the future?

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27. Please write a short paragraph (5-8 lines) on the importance of language/s in your life.

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## APPENDIX 3

### QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEWS FOR SEMS

#### A .PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Name of Ward: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Gender (M/F): \_\_\_\_\_
4. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
5. No. of years of experience as SEA /SEM : \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. LANGUAGE

1. Would you consider rural high schools bilingual schools? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Give a reason for your answer?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What is the dominant language in rural high schools in your ward?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Which language/s do you use when communicating with principals in rural schools in your ward?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Which language/s do you use when communicating to rural educators in your ward?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Which language/s do you use when communicating to rural learners?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Which curriculum is presently used in rural high schools in your ward?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. To what extent is OBE being practised in rural high schools in your ward?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you consider the new curriculum to be promoting the use of English in schools?  
Give reasons for your answer.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. Is the new curriculum increasing the use of English in the classroom, in schools generally and in the community? Explain briefly.

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11.Are there many learners from the rural communities in your ward in ex- model C or multi – cultural schools?

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12.Why do you think they are being sent to these schools?

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13. Would you consider the rural communities in your ward to be monolingual or bilingual?

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Give reasons for your answer

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14. DOE policy has the goal of creating bilingual schools. What do you understand by bilingual schools?

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15. Do you think that the rural schools in your ward are becoming bilingual?  
Explain

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## APPENDIX 4

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCATORS

#### A. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_
2. Name of school \_\_\_\_\_
3. Ethnic group \_\_\_\_\_
4. Age \_\_\_\_\_
5. Learning area/s \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. No. of years teaching experience \_\_\_\_\_
7. Gender \_\_\_\_\_
8. Grades that you have taught \_\_\_\_\_
9. Where do you live? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Presently teaching grade/s \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. LANGUAGE AND CURRICULUM

1. Name of curriculum presently used in school.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Medium of Instruction in your school.  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Does your school have a language policy?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Briefly explain the type of policy used.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. How many languages are taught in your school? Name the languages.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What do you see as the benefits of OBE?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. What do you see as the benefits of the NATED curriculum?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. In what way/s if any, has the new curriculum affected aspects of Zulu culture and ways of thinking?

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9. What workshops have you attended concerning OBE?

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10. Do you see OBE as having a future impact on the community? Explain how?

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11. Do you think OBE would assist learners in finding jobs?

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12. When you were in school which language/s was/were used as the medium of instruction?

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13. Which language/s do you use? :

at school \_\_\_\_\_  
in the classroom \_\_\_\_\_  
in the staffroom \_\_\_\_\_  
with administration \_\_\_\_\_  
with friends \_\_\_\_\_

14. How often do you use English when teaching learners?  
(Never, Sometimes, Frequently, quite frequently)

15. Do you enjoy teaching in English?

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16. Do you feel that learners are learning well when you teach in English?

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17. How often do you think you use Zulu?  
(sometimes, frequently, quite frequently)



18. What role could Zulu play in the classroom?

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19. Are there any learners in this community who attend ex-model C/multi-cultural schools in town? If yes, how many?

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20. Do you mix with these learners?

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21. If so, which language do you use with them?

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22. How much of English is spoken by your parents?  
( none, a little, a lot, quite a lot)

23. How much of English is spoken by grandparents?  
(none, a little, a lot, quite a lot)

24. How much of English is spoken by the larger community?  
( none, a little, a lot, quite a lot )

25. Do you communicate in English to parents? Give reasons for your answer.

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26. Looking at English usage of your learners, do boys or girls speak more English or is there no difference.

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27. Do you think your school is monolingual, bilingual or multilingual? Explain.

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## APPENDIX 5

### LANGUAGE CHOICE PATTERNS-PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

#### *A.PERSONAL DETAILS*

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_
4. Gender \_\_\_\_\_
5. Name of Spouse \_\_\_\_\_
6. Age \_\_\_\_\_
7. Job description :  
Self: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Job description:  
Spouse \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Number in your home \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you have a guardian? If yes, name your guardian \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. Name of family members                      Age                      Occupation  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. Your level of education \_\_\_\_\_ Highest Std. Passed \_\_\_\_\_
13. Language medium in your school \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. Home Language \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. Residential address

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16. Do you live in a rural or urban area? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Form of Worship: Church, Amadlozi, Amasiko etc.

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18. Do you watch television? \_\_\_\_\_

19. If yes, which channel/s do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Which language medium do you prefer on T.V? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_

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21. Do you listen to the radio? \_\_\_\_\_  
Which station/s \_\_\_\_\_

22. Who is the leader/head in the home in your home? \_\_\_\_\_

23. What jobs do males do in Umzumbe? \_\_\_\_\_

24. What jobs do females do in Umzumbe? \_\_\_\_\_

#### *B. LANGUAGES USED*

1. Which language/s do females use at place of work? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Which language /s do males use at work? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Which language/s do you most like to speak?

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4. At school which language do you want your child/children to be educated in?

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5. Which language is most important in your culture?

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6. Why is this so?

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7. Which language do you want your child to use at home?

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8. Why?

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9. Which language/s do you speak at home?

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10. Which language/s do you use among friends?

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11. At what age did your child learn Zulu?

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12. At what age did your child learn English?

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13. Do you understand English? (A little, A lot, Not at all)

14. Do you like to use Zulu in most contexts?

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15. Can Zulu rituals be done in English?

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16. Give reasons for your answer

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17. Why is the Zulu language important in Zulu Culture?

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18. Do you use English in the rural context?

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If so, when \_\_\_\_\_

How often \_\_\_\_\_

19. Do you use English outside the rural context

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20. Which contexts do you use English?

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C. NB. THESE QUESTIONS ARE ONLY FOR GRANDPARENTS

21. Is English used now more than it was used 10 years ago?

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Explain why?

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22. Do you use English more now than you did 10 years ago?

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23. When you were in school did you use English in school?

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24. Do you see the language in the rural area changing?

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Explain why

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## APPENDIX 6

### LEARNERS LIVING IN UMZUMBE ATTENDING MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS

#### A. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Respondent Number \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Name of school \_\_\_\_\_
4. Grade \_\_\_\_\_
5. Type of school (urban or rural) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Home Language \_\_\_\_\_
7. Medium of Instruction in school \_\_\_\_\_
8. Curriculum (OBE, NATED, etc) \_\_\_\_\_
9. Type of family: nuclear/extended \_\_\_\_\_
10. Number in family \_\_\_\_\_
11. Form of worship (Amakosi, Amadlozi, etc) \_\_\_\_\_
12. Gender (Female /Male) \_\_\_\_\_
13. Distance of school from home \_\_\_\_\_
14. Form of transport to school \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. LANGUAGE PREFERENCE

##### **Underline the correct answer**

1. Which language/s do you frequently use in school?  
English      Zulu      Both
2. Which language/s do you use at home?  
English      Zulu      Both
3. Which language/s do you use with school friends?  
English      Zulu      Both
4. Which language/s do you use with your teacher/s?  
English      Zulu      Both
5. Which language do you use with friend at home?  
English      Zulu      Both
6. Which language do your teachers frequently use?  
English      Zulu      Both
7. Which language/s do you use with your parents?  
English      Zulu      Both
8. Which language/s do your parent/s use at work?  
English      Zulu      Both

9. Which language/s do your grandparents use?

English                  Zulu                  Both

10. Do you enjoy being in your school?

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11. Why would you say so?

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12. Have others in your family attended these schools?

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13. Which school have your parents attended? (rural or urban)

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14. Provide reasons for attending a multicultural school instead of a rural one.

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15. Which curriculum is used in your school?

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16. Do you speak any English at home? \_\_\_\_\_

If so when and why

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17. What would you like to become when you grow up?

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## APPENDIX 7

### LANGUAGE CHOICE/S OF PARENTS: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

#### A. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Interviewee Number \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Marital status \_\_\_\_\_
4. Gender (F/M) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Last std./ grade attended in school \_\_\_\_\_
6. Job description \_\_\_\_\_
7. No in family \_\_\_\_\_
8. Type of Family \_\_\_\_\_
9. Type of curriculum in school \_\_\_\_\_
10. Medium of Instruction in school \_\_\_\_\_
11. Form of Worship (Church, Amadlozi, Amasiko etc.) \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do you watch television? \_\_\_\_\_  
Which programmes do you enjoy? \_\_\_\_\_
13. Do you listen to the radio? \_\_\_\_\_  
Which station/s do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Home language \_\_\_\_\_
15. Name of child \_\_\_\_\_
16. Grade \_\_\_\_\_
17. Gender: (F/M) \_\_\_\_\_
18. Age \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. LANGUAGE, CURRICULUM AND CULTURE

19. What is the home language of your child?  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. What is the type of curriculum used in schools?  
\_\_\_\_\_
21. What is the medium of instruction in schools?  
\_\_\_\_\_
22. What do you understand about the word OBE?  
\_\_\_\_\_



23. Do you think OBE is useful/ good for learners? Explain

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24. Which is the language used for OBE in school?

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25. Which language would you prefer your child using at home?

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26. Why do you prefer this language?

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27. Which language do you most like to speak? Give reasons for your answer.

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28. Which language do you prefer your child to be educated in?

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29. Give reasons for your answer.

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30. Which language is most important in your culture? Why?

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31. Which language do you speak at home, among friends, with relatives, with your doctor and when in town?

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32. Do you understand English? (a little, a lot, not at all)

33. Do you use English at all?

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34. How often?

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35. Can Zulu rituals be done in English? Explain

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## APPENDIX 8

### PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE THREE RESEARCH SITES

#### RESEARCH SITE A



## RESEARCH SITE B



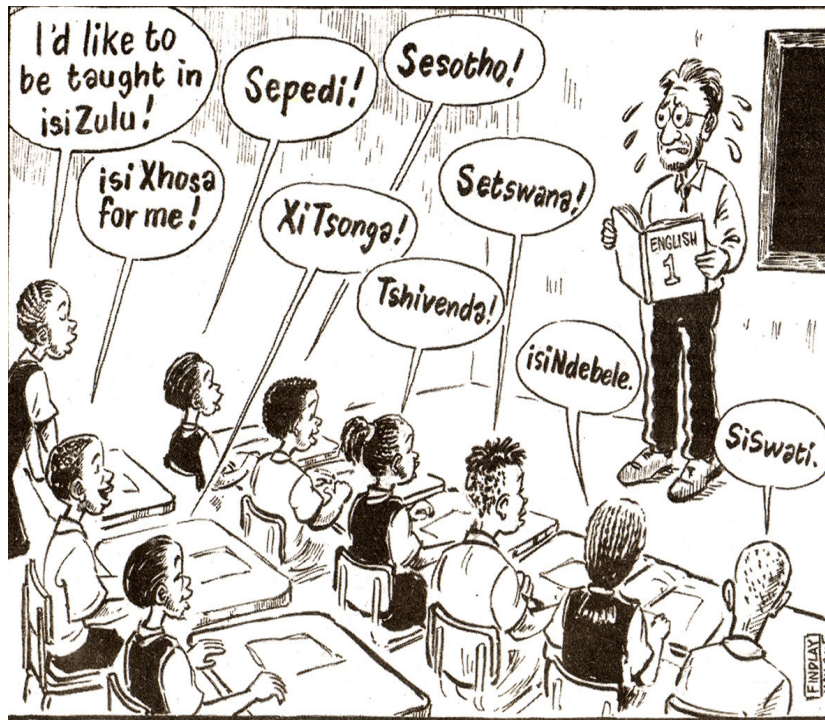
## RESEARCH SITE C





## APPENDIX 9

### CARTOON OF THE LIEP



*The Daily News 2006 ( June 16 2006): 7*