

**SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE
AGENTS: INTERROGATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHOOL
LANGUAGE CHANGE INITIATIVES**

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Amid the dearth of implementation of South Africa's post-apartheid Language-in-education policy which encourages multilingualism and recognizes the value of instruction in the home language of learners, internal change agents initiating language change in their schools were identified in a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) project on multilingual education. With limited policy support these change agents had sought ways of transforming language policy and practices at their schools to address the linguistic diversity of their learners.

The initiative taken by these change agents to transform language policy and practice in their schools was the point of departure for the study. While the HSRC project focused broadly on the factors enabling and disabling multilingual education with a view to exploring strategies to encourage greater implementation of multilingual education, the study interrogated the work of the change agents with particular focus on the sustainability of their language change initiatives.

The change agents were two school principals, a Level 1 educator (classroom practitioner) and a School Governing Body chairperson, operating in four public primary schools (one in each school) in KwaZulu-Natal. The experiences of sustaining school language change of these change agents were interrogated to elicit how and why they were able to sustain or not sustain the school language change that they had initiated in their schools. The insights drawn from this interrogation were used to deepen understanding of the process of school language change that encourages multilingual education. The data used in this study was gathered from in-depth interviews with the change agents and significant others (educators/school managers) in their schools, documentation (school language policies and notices to parents) and a Focus Group Discussion in which the change agents engaged in reflecting on their experiences of driving school language change and commenting on the process of sustaining school language change.

The findings from the study revealed that all but two of the change agents were marginally successful in sustaining language change in their schools. The study revealed that school language change was a complex process involving the interplay of various factors and the existence of such factors enabled but did not guarantee the sustainability of school language change. The non-existence of some or any of the factors necessary for school language change thwarted the attempts of the change agents to sustain language change in their schools.

Using the experiences of each of the change agents and the collective experience of all four change agents contextualized in qualitatively-oriented case study research and using features of grounded theory research to develop theory from case studies, the study developed a theoretical framework explicating the process of school language change led by internal agents of language change. It is suggested that the framework which seeks to deepen understanding of the complexities of the school language change process can be used as a guide to planning language change but cautions against using it as a blue print for school language change.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

My wife, Vani, my sons Lueshan and Nikershan and my daughter, Monishkã, whose love, tolerance and support even in the most trying circumstances were material to completion of this thesis.

IN MEMORY

My father

Mogamberry Govender

Whose passion for reading and acquiring new knowledge instilled in me a love for reading and a need to push back the boundaries of knowledge.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	v
IN MEMORY.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE SCENE FOR SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE AGENTS

1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Rationale for the study	2
1.3	Background to the study	6
1.4	Aims and Purpose of the Study	8
1.5	Key research questions	9
1.6	Key concepts in the study	9
1.6.1	Change Agents	9
1.6.2	School Language Change	11
1.6.3	Sustainability of Language Change	12
1.7	Executive Summary of Thesis	13
1.8	Conclusion.....	18

CHAPTER TWO

EXPLORING THE TERRAIN: SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE, CHANGE AGENTRY AND SUSTAINING CHANGE

2.1	Introduction.....	19
2.2	Part A: Literature Review.....	20
2.2.1	The South African context.....	21
2.2.1.1	Historical Overview of Language Policy in Education in South Africa...	22
2.2.1.2	Research on post-1997 school language policies and practice.....	25
2.2.1.3	Language Perceptions disabling Implementation of the LiEP.....	31
2.2.1.4	Experimenting with Multilingual Education.....	35
2.2.2	The International Context.....	40
2.2.2.1	Africa.....	41
2.2.2.1.1	The Four Policy Approaches in Africa.....	41
2.2.2.1.2	The Flipside – Empowerment of African Languages	47
2.2.2.2	Other international countries.....	50
2.2.2.2.1	Mother Tongue Education: A basic human right.....	51
2.2.2.2.2	Bi- and Multilingual Education Programmes in Europe, America and India.....	53
2.2.3	Change agency and Sustainability of Change.....	59
2.2.3.1	Social Psychological Perspective on Change	60
2.2.3.2	Educational Change and Reform.....	63
2.2.3.3	Sustaining Language Change Initiatives at School Level.....	69
2.2.3.3.1	Educational Agents.....	70
2.2.3.3.2	Educational Culture/Context.....	71
2.2.4	Summary.....	73

2.3	Part 2: Theoretical and conceptual framework.....	74
2.3.1	Social Psychological perspective on change.....	75
2.3.2	Educational change.....	75
2.3.3	Language policy and practice change.....	76
2.4	Conclusion.....	79

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: DEVELOPING THE TOOLS FOR INTERROGATING SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

3.1	Introduction.....	82
3.2	Philosophical underpinnings for the methodology.....	82
3.3	The argument for adopting a qualitatively-oriented case study approach....	85
3.4	Building theory from case studies.....	88
3.4.1	Grounded Theory.....	89
3.4.2	Features of Grounded Theory Approach used in the study.....	91
3.5	Selection of schools and research participants.....	92
3.6	Describing the context.....	92
3.6.1	Location of schools.....	93
3.6.2	Schools.....	94
3.7	Main research participants: Four Change Agents.....	103
3.7.1	Change Agent G.....	103
3.7.2	Change Agent L.....	104
3.7.3	Change Agent R.....	104
3.7.4	Change Agent S.....	105
3.8	Data gathering and production.....	106
3.8.1	Interview Schedules.....	106
3.8.2	Focus Group Discussion.....	107
3.8.3	Document Analysis.....	108

3.9	Data analysis.....	109
3.9.1	Theoretical lenses for viewing the data: Sensitising Concepts.....	109
3.9.1.1	The Two Forms of Sustained Change	110
3.9.1.2	Preconditions for Change	110
3.9.1.3	Understandings developed from Initiating Change.....	111
3.9.2	Motivation for choice of Sensitising Concepts.....	111
3.10	Validity measures	116
3.10.1	Triangulation.....	117
3.10.1.1	Data Triangulation.....	117
3.10.1.2	Methodological Triangulation.....	117
3.10.1.3	Researcher-Participant Corroboration.....	118
3.10.1.4	Multiple Analysis.....	118
3.10.2	Other measures used to enhance validity	118
3.11	Conclusion	119

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: TWO FORMS OF SUSTAINED SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

4.1	Introduction.....	120
4.2	The two forms of sustained school language change.....	123
4.2.1	Section One: Using pressure to sustain change	124
4.2.1.1	Changing teachers' mindsets	125
4.2.1.2	Changing the racial composition of the staff	128
4.2.1.3	Revising the school language policy	133
4.2.1.4	Prioritising the learning of isiZulu	141

4.2.1.5 Pressure from the education department	145
4.2.1.6 Managing pressure	150
4.2.1.6.1 Three scenarios of managing pressure.....	150
4.2.1.6.2 Using physics principles on pressure to advance understanding of managing pressure for change	156
4.2.1.7 Summary.....	159
4.2.2 Section Two: Accepting and Integrating Change.....	160
4.2.2.1 Resistance to change from educators.....	161
4.2.2.2 Acceptance of the need to change.....	173
4.2.2.3 Resistance to change from parents.....	180
4.2.2.4 Differing conceptions of change.....	185
4.2.2.5 Summary	187
4.3 Emerging Insights.....	188
4.3.1 Pressure and SLC.....	188
4.3.1.1 Persuasive pressure and apathy.....	189
4.3.1.2 Coercive pressure and resistance.....	189
4.3.1.3 Coercion and limited participation.....	190
4.3.2 Factors impacting on pressure to sustain SLC.....	190
4.3.2.1 Power and pressure.....	190
4.3.2.2 Power, pressure and personality	191
4.3.3 Managing pressure.....	193
4.3.4 Language attitudes and SLC	194
4.3.5 Attitudes to change and SLC.....	195
4.3.6 Antithetical positions of the two forms of sustained change.....	197
4.4 Theorizing moments.....	198
4.5 Conclusion.....	198

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: PRECONDITIONS FOR SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

5.1	Introduction.....	200
5.2	Section One: Support to sustain change.....	201
5.2.1	In-school support.....	202
5.2.2	Support from parents and the SGB	216
5.2.3	Support from the Education Dept.....	221
5.2.4	Support from NGOs and other organisations.....	225
5.2.5	Summary.....	225
5.3	Section Two: Understanding the nature and potential for change of individuals and organisations	226
5.3.1	Understanding the nature, structure and potential of the school for change.....	228
5.3.2	Understanding the potential of educators for change.....	233
5.3.3	Understanding the potential of parents for change.....	237
5.3.4	Summary.....	238
5.4	Section three: Institutional language change.....	239
5.4.1	Change agents inducing change	240
5.4.2	Other educators inducing change “unintentionally”.....	243
5.4.3	Summary.....	245
5.5	Emerging Insights.....	246

5.5.1	Enhancing support through capacity building.....	246
5.5.1.1	Present potential and future probability for change.....	247
5.5.1.2	Trilevel development and support for SLC.....	248
5.5.1.3	Building bridges between the home and the school.....	250
5.5.1.4	Communities of Practice and SLC.....	252
5.5.1.5	Building Organizational Capacity for SLC.....	254
5.5.2	Whole School Language Change versus Pockets of Change.....	256
5.5.3	Other conditions for Institutional Language Change.....	257
5.5.3.1	Moral purpose and change agency.....	257
5.5.3.2	Creating an ethos of change.....	260
5.6	Theorizing Moment.....	261
5.7	Conclusion.....	261

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: UNDERSTANDINGS DEVELOPED FROM INITIATING SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

6.1	Introduction.....	264
6.2.1	MT communication with parents, learners and departmental officials.....	265
6.2.2	Multilingual Education (MLE) Strategies.....	274
6.2.2.1	Code-switching.....	274
6.2.2.2	Bilingual Assessment Practice.....	278
6.2.2.3	Bilingual LTSMs.....	280
6.2.3	MT Education.....	282
6.2.4	Market potential of isiZulu.....	287
6.2.5	Intellectual status of isiZulu.....	290
6.3	Summary.....	294

6.4	Emerging Insights.....	296
6.4.1	Language issues impacting on SLC.....	296
6.4.2	Sharpening understandings.....	300
6.5	Theorizing Moment.....	301
6.6	Conclusion.....	301

CHAPTER SEVEN

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK EXPLICATING THE PROCESS OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

7.1	Introduction.....	303
7.2.1	Managing SLC.....	304
7.2.2	Support for SLC.....	308
7.2.3	Evolving Understandings and SLC.....	315
7.3	A Theoretical Framework for Understanding the SLC Process.....	318
7.4	Summary.....	322
7.5	Conclusion.....	323

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	325
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APPENDICES.....	342
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LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.6	Cumulative linguistic profile of the four schools	102
Table 3.7	Change Agents per school	103
Table 4.1	Overview of data analysis	121

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 7.2.1	Managing SLC	305
Figure 7.2.2	Support for SLC	309
Figure 7.2.3	Evolving understandings and SLC	315
Figure 7.3.	Theoretical Framework for the SLC process	319

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THE THESIS

ACALAN	African Academy of Languages
AFRILA	Upgrading African Languages Project
BEP	Basic Education Programme
CHE	Council for Higher Education
CS	Code-switching
DoE	Department of Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ELET	English Language Education Trust
ELTIC	English Language Teaching Centre
FET	Further Education and Training
HLP	Home Language Project
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
INSET	In-service Education and Training
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
LiEP	Language-in-Education Policy
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
LTSM	Learning and Teaching Source Materials
MLE	Multilingual Education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MLDS	Multilingual Demonstration School
MT	Mother Tongue
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PANSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PRAESA	Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
PRESET	Pre-service Education and Training

RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statements
SEM	Superintendent Education Management
SGB	School Governing Body
SLC	School Language Change
T/L	Teaching and Learning
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE SCENE FOR SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE AGENTS

1.1 Introduction

The dismantling of apartheid and ushering in of the first democratic government in South Africa in 1994 was accompanied by social and political redress which was manifested not least of all in the promulgation of legislation and policies which restored basic human rights for all South Africans regardless of race, colour and creed. The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) approved by the Constitutional Court in December 1996 and put into effect in February 1997 set in motion the drafting of several policies addressing social and political redress in post-apartheid South Africa.

One of the redress policies was the language in education policy which, in addressing the need to empower the previously marginalised African languages in education and to cater for South Africa's linguistically diverse population, replaced the old apartheid language policy in education which entrenched the power of English and Afrikaans with a new Language-in-Education policy (LiEP) that encourages multilingualism. The expected revision of school language policies and practices following the release of this new LiEP did not materialise for a variety of reasons and the mismatch between school language policies and the linguistic composition of learners in public schools persisted. However, developments on the ground emanating from certain schools, in which internal agents of language change wrested the initiative to effect language change in their schools, provided a more encouraging picture. It is these developments that form the subject of this research study, the focus and purpose of which are elucidated in the following sections of this chapter.

This chapter begins with explaining the rationale for the study, followed by a brief discussion of the background to the study, which contextualises the study and which provided the initial impetus to explore the work of internal agents of school language change. The aims and purpose of the study are thereafter stated and the key research questions are articulated. Three key concepts viz. change agents, school language change, and sustainability of language change, which are central to understanding the critical focus of this study, are unpacked. This chapter is concluded by providing an executive summary of the thesis.

1.2 Rationale for the study

In providing a rationale for the study, this section firstly considers South Africa's LiEP (DoE 1997) that promotes multilingualism and espouses the principles of the worldwide language rights movement (Skutnabb Kangas 1998). Secondly, it presents the scenario of limited implementation of the policy in post-apartheid South African schools. Thirdly, it contends that despite the dearth of implementation of multilingual education, there are schools with linguistically diverse learner populations, which with the aid of language Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), are attempting to implement multilingual education. Through an analysis of the underlying principles of the LiEP and an examination of the efforts of stakeholders in certain schools (supported by NGOs) to implement the LiEP (HSRC 2004), this section argues that with initial external support language change can be driven internally by change agents in certain schools. Hence, this study deviates from deficit debates around the implementation of multilingual education (Taylor & Vinjevold 1999, Webb 1999, Ridge 1996) by aiming to uncover initiatives by change agents to transform school language policy and practice and to explore the sustainability of such school language change initiatives that seek to meet the needs of linguistically diverse learner populations. The study therefore proposes that school language change can be driven internally with agents from within the school leading the change process.

Section 6 (Languages) of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) stresses the need for:

- *Acknowledging and respecting language diversity in all sectors of South African society and,*
- *Elevating the status and advancing the use of the previously marginalized indigenous languages of South Africa.*

Drawing on this constitutional provision, the post-apartheid LiEP strongly promotes multilingualism and the use of the learners' home languages as languages of learning and teaching in the context of an additive multilingual paradigm as explicated by the following principle:

Whichever route (to the locally viable approaches towards multilingual schooling) is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)
(DoE 1997)

While the intention of the post-apartheid LiEP is to redress imbalances and racial discrimination in education in the apartheid years, the language policy is also informed by and exploits the findings of a growing body of language and literacy research internationally, which affirm the value of proficiency in two or more languages. It is now widely acknowledged that learners' linguistic and cultural identities are likely to be enhanced by instructional programmes that attempt to add a second or third language to learners' home language(s). Conversely, instruction in a second language which is designed to replace the language(s) learners bring to school may undermine the personal growth and linguistic confidence that are critical to academic success. Hence, the use of indigenous African languages as languages of learning and teaching (LOLT) alongside English in an additive multilingual mode is firmly advocated by language researchers in South Africa and other parts of Africa (Ndayipfukamiye 1994, Heugh & Siegruhn 1995, Adendorff 1996, Arthur 1996, Martin 1996, Govender 1998, Macdonald 2001). This

theoretical position has become mainstream because language theorists and language research internationally affirm the value of learning through the mother tongue as it is seen to increase the pace of cognitive development and invariably accelerates acquisition of a second or third additional language (Cummins 1981;1988, Skutnabb-Kangas 1988). The added benefits of the multilingual approach in the African context are the continued survival and growth of African languages and the incentive to non-native speakers and learners to acquire an African language as an additional language because of the social and economic advantages it offers.

Despite these research findings, fourteen years after the democratisation of South African schools and eleven years after the advent of South Africa's post-apartheid language-in-education policy (with its unequivocally stated intention of promoting multilingual education), it would appear from South African research studies (Chick & McKay 2001, de Klerk 2002) that the hegemony of English has become entrenched further in post-apartheid South African schools and classrooms. Although the first democratic government in South Africa established the Pan South African Language Board to develop the previously marginalized indigenous languages, the current position of African languages in South African schools and the wider South African society is dismal while the position of English has become strengthened (Bowerman 2000, de Klerk & Barkhuizen 2001).

This position is underscored by the crisis facing African language departments at tertiary institutions because of dwindling student numbers and public concern over the increasing shift to English that is reportedly being encouraged by African parents. There is the threat that South Africa will fall victim to the same lack of political will which plagues most African countries to implement the OAU's 1987 Language Plan of Action for Africa whose main aim is "To encourage the increased use of African languages as vehicles of instruction at all educational levels" (Kaschula 1999). The South African minister of national education in 2002, Prof. Kader Asmal, articulated his concern about the challenges facing language policy implementation in South Africa:

Our great challenge is the effective implementation of our policy on Languages in Education. Given our linguistic diversity, we strongly promote *additive multilingualism*, starting with the home language and adding other languages at appropriate stages, and we also encourage all students to study at least three languages. However, decisions on language policy, including the medium of instruction, reside with the school, and many have chosen to deny the home language of learners, and promote teaching in English from day one. This is pedagogically unsound, and it is also politically unacceptable, since it will contribute to the demise of African Languages. Even Afrikaans has suffered the same fate, with Afrikaans parents sending their children to English schools, and Afrikaans relegated to the language of the home.

(Asmal 2002)

What is perceived to be militating against the current LiEP is the sudden shift in LOLT from home language (where the home language is an African language) to English at the end of Grade 4, which still persists in a number of primary schools. This practice, which is in keeping with the language policy prior to 1997, is inconsistent with the spirit and intention of the current LiEP. Perhaps what constitutes an even greater challenge to the post-apartheid state and the current LiEP is the use of English as LOLT from as early as Grade 1 for learners whose home language is not English. The implications of this practice are that such learners are victims of linguistic deficiency on two fronts. On the one hand, they are expected to move from their home language to English as LOLT at a time when they are not yet functionally literate in their home language. On the other hand, they are required to make a shift to English at a stage where they may not have achieved the necessary competence to cope with English as a LOLT (Macdonald 2001).

There appears to be overwhelming evidence to suggest that the multilingual LiEP exists largely on paper only and enjoys limited implementation (if any) as attested to by the reported practices in post-apartheid South African public schools (Chick & McKay, 2001, de Klerk 2002) that conflict with the LiEP and give value to English while ignoring indigenous African languages. However, there are also reportedly some genuine attempts by educators, faced with the challenge of teaching in ‘multilingual’ classrooms, who seek workable strategies to meet this challenge (HSRC 2004). Some of these educators operate in schools that are in receipt of policy and material support for the implementation of

multilingual education from Civil Society Organisations, NGO's and Higher Education institutions. Three language NGOs in particular, viz. English Language Education Trust (ELET), English Language Teaching Centre (ELTIC – now non-functional) and Home Language Project (HLP) operating in the KZN and Gauteng provinces, have provided support to various schools in these provinces to implement multilingual education as cited in a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report (2004). To gauge the level of implementation of the LiEP in these schools, a project was undertaken by the HSRC in 2004. The project, in illuminating the factors enabling and disabling multilingual education in these schools, identified in some of the schools certain stakeholders operating as change agents who appeared to be driving the transformation of language policy and practice in their schools.

Noting these findings, the researcher was motivated to explore the sustainability of school language change initiatives by these internal change agents, which led to the articulation of the aims and purpose of the study. Before stating the purpose of the study, a brief discussion of the background to the study follows which establishes the link between the HSRC project and the study.

1.3 Background to the study

A national project¹ was undertaken in the KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces by the HSRC in 2004 titled *Multilingual Education: Factors promoting or inhibiting multilingualism in post apartheid South African Schools*, the main findings of which provide the background for the study. The HSRC project was used to provide the context for the study for various reasons. The project was the most recent large-scale, multi-site national research project conducted on the factors enabling and disabling the implementation of multilingual education in South African schools, provides a sound research context of linguistically heterogeneous post-apartheid schools to explore language change initiatives addressing linguistic diversity and allows for comparison of the work of change agents (generated from this study) with language change initiatives

¹ Details of the HSRC project are captured in Appendix A.

emerging out of the HSRC findings in order to explore the sustainability of language change. In addition, the researcher's personal involvement in the HSRC project as KZN project leader and the impact of the HSRC project on national language planning and language policy development were other determining factors.

The purpose of the HSRC project was to establish the level of implementation of multilingual education and the factors promoting and inhibiting such implementation in a sample of public primary schools in the Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) provinces. The main findings emerging from the project were categorised as factors enabling and disabling the practice of multilingual education. A significant enabling factor termed *School Initiatives (Agents of Change)* was identified. This factor referred to the existence of individual agents of language change in four of the KZN schools who, despite limited policy and material support from the education department, appeared to be driving language change at their schools.

The initiative taken by these change agents to transform language policy and practice in their schools was the point of departure for the study. While the HSRC project focused broadly on the factors enabling and disabling multilingual education with a view to exploring strategies to encourage greater implementation of multilingual education, the study interrogated the work of the language change agents in the four schools with particular focus on the sustainability of language change initiated by them. The study therefore explores in depth the intervention of each of the four change agents in each of their schools to establish if and how they have been able to manage and sustain the language change they have initiated or, if their attempts to sustain school language change have failed, why and how have their attempts failed.

It was with this in mind that the aims and purpose of the study were established.

1.4 Aims and Purpose of the Study

Noting the need for language policy and practice change in post-apartheid South African schools to meet the needs of their linguistically diverse learner populations and the existence of attempts to meet this need from change agents leading language change from within schools, the overall purpose of this study is:

To explore the experiences of language change agents attempting to sustain initiated language change in their schools so as to deepen understanding of the school language change process in post-apartheid South African schools.

Arising from the purpose, the following aims of the study are identified:

- To describe the experiences of internal language change agents attempting in their schools to sustain language change that they have initiated and which promotes multilingual education.
- To determine if, how and why the change agents were able to sustain language change in their schools.
- To establish if and why the change agents were unable to sustain school language change.
- To illuminate how language change in linguistically diverse schools is negotiated, renegotiated, managed, operationalised, sustained or subverted and to use this insight to advance understanding of the process leading to sustained school language change.

1.5 Key research questions

Noting the aims and purpose of the study, the following critical questions are forwarded:

- ❖ What are the experiences of identified change agents in linguistically diverse schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal in their attempts to sustain language policy and practice change in their schools?
- ❖ How and why is language change by these change agents sustained or not sustained in these schools?
- ❖ How do the experiences of the change agents illuminate the process leading to sustained school language change?

1.6 Key concepts in the study

Three key concepts that are central to understanding the critical focus of the study are: Change Agents, School Language Change, and Sustainability of Language Change. These concepts are interrogated and their meanings in the context of this study are expounded in this section.

1.6.1 Change Agents

A generic description of a change agent is someone who engages either deliberately or whose behaviour results in social, cultural or behavioural change (Melanson 2004). However, the term is variously defined in different contexts and in different disciplines.

- In terms of organisational development a change agent is a behavioural scientist who engages people in an organisation in solving their own problems and uses a number of intervention techniques to achieve this objective, and is either external or internal to the organisation (Beckhard 1969, French & Bell 1973).

- In the area of corporate social responsibility, Visser (2008) identifies four types of change agents: the expert who engages with projects or systems and focuses on technical excellence; the facilitator who focuses on people development and changes attitudes or perceptions of individuals; the catalyst who initiates change and gives strategic direction and influences leadership; and the activist who makes a contribution to poverty reduction and leaves a legacy of improved conditions in society.
- In the area of social psychology, Douglas (1997) defines change agents as professionals including psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers who have the legal and professional responsibility to effect behavioural change in others or helpers, trained or otherwise, who consciously attempt to alter some aspect of the lives or behaviour of others in a quest to make their behaviour socially acceptable.
- In the educational context, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) conceptualize change agents as teachers who transform classroom practice, principals who initiate and facilitate continuous improvements and changes in their schools and parents who initiate organizational change.
- In the context of school language change, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) speak of educational agents who are identified as educators, administration staff, parents and students who are committed to and supportive of initiatives to shift the language policies and practices of their schools from monolingual to multilingual.

In the context of this study the concept of change agent differs from the notion of an expert or specialist in the change industry or as a behavioural scientist or trained professional whose legal and professional responsibility is to effect behavioural change in others. However, Douglas (1997) contends that change agents need not be experts and that most human beings operate as change agents who often set out to change, to modify

and to alter the behaviour, opinions and attitudes of those who impinge most upon their everyday lives. Thus, while the main function of the change agents is to further the enterprise of teaching and learning and not to function as change consultants, their quest to address the changing linguistic scenario in their schools and to meet the linguistic needs of their multilingual learner population has committed them to leading language change in their schools. In addition, the change agents in this study are, in a sense, involved in effecting behavioural and attitudinal changes which are critical to transforming language policies and practices in schools. The change agents in this study are termed internal change agents because all four change agents in the study are key stakeholders in their own schools (either as principal, educator or school governing body chairperson) who are driving language change from within their schools.

1.6.2 School Language Change

School language change in the context of this study refers to revision of outmoded school language policies and practices which persist in privileging English and Afrikaans over indigenous African languages and which ignore the linguistic diversity of learners in post-apartheid South African schools. The language change contemplated by the change agents in the study is informed by the underlying principles of the post-apartheid LiEP (DoE 1997) which strongly encourages additive multilingualism and advances the use of previously marginalised African languages both as subject offerings and for instructional purposes.

Directed by these principles, school language change in the context of this study, includes some or all of the following measures:

- Offering isiZulu as a subject in addition to English and Afrikaans or replacing Afrikaans as an additional language.
- Encouraging the use of isiZulu alongside English for instruction and assessment of learners across the curriculum.

- Encouraging the use of isiZulu together with English as languages of wider communication with learners and parents in both oral as well as in written mediums (notices, signs and directions).
- Encouraging non isiZulu-speaking educators to develop their bilingual competency by becoming proficient in isiZulu in addition to English to advance the aim of using both English and isiZulu for instruction.
- Encouraging collegial support (particularly from isiZulu-speaking educators) for non isiZulu speaking educators to develop competency in isiZulu and to use both isiZulu and English for instructional and classroom management purposes.

1.6.3 Sustainability of Language Change

The concept *sustainability of change* is closely connected to the following keywords: continuity, maintenance, durable and lasting.

- Jellison (2006) describes sustainable change as continuous change effected through creating a change culture where innovation is a daily routine and becomes a widely shared value in the organisation and this is achieved through constantly reaffirming the value of change and constantly surrounding people with change information.
- In contemplating sustainability of induced change, Douglas (1997) speaks of permanence and durability of change efforts, lasting change and maintenance processes to enable change to become an integral part of an individual's behaviour.

- In the context of educational change, Fullan (2005) speaks of sustainability as continuous improvement, adaptation and collective problem solving in the face of complex challenges that continually arise.

In light of these definitions of sustaining change, sustainability of language change as conceived of in this study entails maintenance of school language change initiatives to ensure that the change is continuous, durable and lasting. The study therefore seeks to interrogate attempts made by the change agents to maintain changes in language policy and practices in their schools. This would entail discovering how they have managed to maintain these changes or conversely why they were unable to maintain the changes that they had initiated.

1.7 Executive Summary of Thesis

The thesis comprises seven chapters. The introductory chapter establishes the focus of the study, chapter two provides a selective review of relevant literature and uses insights from the review to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study and chapter three details the research methodology used in the study. Chapters four, five and six collectively comprise the data analysis section of the study. Chapter seven uses insights emerging from the analysis to generate a theoretical framework explicating the process leading to sustained school language change.

Chapter one provides the rationale for the study, establishes the aims, purpose and key research questions of the study and unpacks concepts central to the study. In providing a rationale for the study, the imperative of school language reform to meet the diverse linguistic needs of learners was considered. The failure of many schools to realign their language policies and practices with South Africa's post-apartheid LiEP (DoE 1997) which espouses the principles of additive multilingualism and increased use of the previously marginalised African languages in education was presented and counterbalanced by evidence of some attempts to implement the LiEP. These attempts which involved the work of internal change agents leading language change from within

schools evidenced in a project on Multilingual Education (HSRC 2004) provided the motivation for undertaking the study. The background to the study, which showed the link between the study and the HSRC project, was presented and the focus of the study was established. It was argued that sustaining school language change initiatives that promoted multilingualism was critical to addressing the linguistic diversity of learners in post-apartheid schools. Arising from this the focus of the study was framed, viz. Interrogation of the attempts by internal change agents to sustain the language change that they had initiated in their schools. Guided by this focus the aims, purpose and critical questions of the study were stated. These comprised exploring the experiences of the change agents with a view to establishing how and why initiated school language change was sustained or not sustained and using these insights to deepen understanding of the school language change process.

Chapter Two comprises Part A and Part B. Part A is a selective review of existing literature on language policy reforms and bi- and multilingual educational provisions in multilingual educational contexts in South Africa, other African countries and Europe, USA, Canada and India, and literature on change agency and sustainability of change. Part B gathers insights emerging from the review to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. Existing research in the South African context revealed the persisting hegemony of English and very little noticeable attempt to implement multilingual policies and practices in post-apartheid schools. An overriding factor discerned in the review that militated against implementation of the LiEP was negative language attitudes, particularly the belief that African languages could not adequately support learning and teaching and had little value. The literature revealed similar trends in the wider African context. Despite this, the literature revealed attempts by language NGOs in South Africa to experiment with multilingual education and a resurgence of interest in African languages and their increased use in the education sector in the wider African context. A review of the literature in the international context beyond the African continent focused on bi- and multilingual programmes to promote multilingualism and entrench linguistic rights particularly those of marginalised minority language communities. The parallels between minority languages in the international

context and African languages in the South African context were drawn and the common grounding in additive bi- or multilingualism of the programmes in the USA, Canada and Europe and the experimental programmes in South Africa were underscored. The literature search on change agency and sustaining change was extended beyond language change to educational change and behavioural change in social psychology. This was necessary because of limited literature focusing on language change agents and sustainability of language change initiatives. Insights emerging from the literature were used to advance conceptual understanding of the dynamics of the change process involving intervention of change agents and sustainability of change initiatives.

Part B used the insights emerging from the literature on multilingual education, language policy and practice reforms in multilingual educational contexts, change agency and change maintenance to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework to interrogate the experiences of change agents leading language change from within their school contexts. In this respect three strands of theoretical understandings were identified, viz. the social psychological perspective on change, educational change and language change. The social psychological perspective on change conceptualises change as an intended activity by change agents to modify behaviour thereby making it socially acceptable. Educational change focuses on change led from within schools by internal change agents i.e. principals, teachers and parents. Language change focuses on theoretical and analytical approaches examining language policy change, particularly implementation of multilingual policies and practices, and foregrounds the impact of a range of factors including social-political, historical, economic and cultural factors on language choice and receptivity (or not) to language policy change. This strand also includes guiding principles for education leading to multilingualism, which are incorporated in a framework to interpret language change efforts that encourage multilingual education.

Chapter three details the research methodology for the study. The study is located within the interpretive research paradigm and uses the case study approach. This approach provides rich data to deepen understanding of the complex process of school language change which is rendered more complicated by the competing ideologies impacting upon

language choice in a multilingual context. The type of case study used in the research is a qualitatively-oriented case study approach which made possible thick description of the experiences of the change agents thereby helping to deepen understanding of the school language change process. In using the case study approach, the study exploited the theory generation possibilities of case study research to develop a theoretical framework to advance understanding of and explicate the process leading to sustained school language change. In this respect, features of the grounded theory approach were used to generate theory grounded in the experiences of the change agents. The features of grounded theory exploited by the study were the use of sensitising concepts, which comprised critical change issues and principles for education leading to multilingualism, to guide data analysis. Other features of grounded theory included opportunistic data collection, and the employment of comparative analysis of data slices to generate categories, sub-categories and themes which were eventually merged and delimited to generate the theoretical framework on school language change. The main data collection methods comprised in-depth interviews with the four change agents and significant others (educators and school managers) in their schools, and a Focus Group discussion. The Focus Group discussion brought together the change agents to comment on their own and each others' experiences of driving language change at their schools, and to respond to selected excerpts from the interview transcripts and the sensitising concepts used for data analysis. The excerpts and sensitising concepts acted as prompts to generate further discussion on the participants' roles as language change agents, the school language change process and the threats, opportunities and challenges they experienced in their attempts to sustain school language change. The responses to selected parts of interview transcripts also provided added layers of interpretation of the raw data and helped to validate the data, albeit in a limited way. Analysis of school language policies, statistical returns and notices and circulars to parents aided in developing linguistic profiles of the four schools, which contributed to describing the contexts of each of the schools in which the change agents operated. This chapter also described validity measures used in the study. The validity measures used were all consistent with an anti-positivist research approach. The measures focused on enhancing credibility of the study and corroborating

findings. This mainly involved data triangulation, methodological triangulation and researcher-participant corroboration.

Chapters four, five and six collectively comprise the data record and analysis section of the study. Derived from grounded theory research, the analysis was oriented and guided by the use of sensitising concepts which acted as theoretical lenses to view the data. The sensitising concepts were informed by the three key research questions and encompassed the following: preconditions for change, sustainability of change and consequences of intended change, and guiding principles enabling a shift from monolingual to multilingual education. The sensitising concepts were used to view data slices and comparative analysis of these slices of data revealed that they were similar on some dimensions and differed on others and were grouped to generate themes. The themes were integrated to generate sub-categories and the sub-categories were integrated to form categories. The categories and sub-categories derived from the analysis were the following: *Two forms of sustained school language change* which comprised the sub-categories of Pressure to effect school language change and Acceptance and integration of school language change; *Preconditions for school language change* which comprised the sub-categories of Support for school language change, Potential of targets for school language change and Preconditions for institutional language change; and *Understandings developed from initiating school language change*. Engaging with the categories and sub-categories and the insights emerging from the analysis resulted in the manifestation of theorising moments which were the basic building blocks for the theoretical framework on school language change developed in the final chapter.

The final chapter develops a theoretical framework to understand and explicate the process leading to sustained school language change. This is a culmination of the theory generating part of the study and at the same time addresses the purpose of the study, which was to use the change agents' experiences of attempting to sustain school language change to deepen understanding of the process of school language change in post-apartheid South Africa. In developing and refining the proposed theoretical framework, the initial categories and sub-categories were further amended to generate three key

categories, viz. *Managing School Language Change*, *Support for School Language Change* and *Evolving Understandings from initiating School Language Change*. Each of these three key categories were further decomposed into their related categories and impacting factors. The proposed theoretical framework shows the key categories, related categories and impacting factors working conjointly; the interrelatedness of different parts of the framework are critical to understanding the process leading to sustained school language change. In proposing the theoretical framework, the researcher emphasises that the purpose of the framework is to deepen understanding of the complex process of school language change and not to make generalisations about the process of school language change. Hence, the researcher advises that the proposed theoretical framework be used with circumspection and only as an aid or guide in planning for school language change that promotes multilingual education.

1.8 Conclusion

The implementation of the post-apartheid language policy in education in South Africa which promotes multilingualism and recognises linguistic diversity did not materialise as expected. However, attempts by internal change agents to drive language change in their schools that promotes multilingual education provides a more promising picture. It is the efforts of these change agents as they attempt to sustain initiated school language change that is the subject of this research study. With this in mind, this chapter has served as an introduction to the study. The rationale for the study, aims and purpose and critical questions have been outlined and key concepts have been defined.

The next chapter explores the terrain of language policy and practice change in education and the efforts of change agents in leading and sustaining change. Insights gathered from the review of relevant literature are used to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework to interrogate the data.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPLORING THE TERRAIN: SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE, CHANGE AGENCY AND SUSTAINING CHANGE

2.1 Introduction

In exploring the terrain of school language change and the role of change agents in initiating and sustaining change, this chapter reviews relevant literature covering the terrain and uses insights from the literature review to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. The chapter is thus divided into Part A and Part B.

Part A reviews the existing literature on language-in-education policy and practice issues foregrounding policy reform that encourages the implementation of multilingual education and the increased use of previously marginalised African languages in education in the South African and African contexts. The review also considers bi- or multilingual education programmes in international contexts beyond the African context which affirm the value and use of minority languages in schools for instruction and as subject offerings.

Directed by the critical questions which encompass the efforts of change agents in sustaining school language change, the review was extended to cover change issues, particularly the role of change agents and sustainability of change initiatives. Noting the limited literature on intervention by change agents to initiate and sustain school language change, the literature search was broadened to review research conducted on the role of change agents and the sustainability of their change initiatives in the context of general educational change and behavioural change in the field of social psychology. Change agents in the latter field are concerned with inducing change that alters behaviour in ways which would have a positive impact on the lives of targets and are also concerned with sustaining the change through enabling the targets to accept and internalise the change. A selective review of literature on behavioural change induced by change agents in the field

of social psychology and on the role of educational change agents was intended to advance understanding of the dynamics of the change process, particularly the role of change agents in effecting and sustaining change.

Part B of this chapter gathers the insights drawn from the literature search to inform the construction of a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. In this respect three strands of theoretical understandings on change arising from the review are merged to develop a theoretical framework to guide data analysis and interpretation. The three strands of theoretical understandings on change (social psychological perspective on change, educational change and school language change) encompass understandings on critical change issues and language change in multilingual educational contexts. These understandings are used to develop the framework to interrogate the change efforts of internal agents of language change leading the process of language change within their schools.

2.2 Part A: Literature Review

The review of literature on reforms in language policy and practices in education in the South African and international contexts revealed the emergence of the following critical issues: language perceptions and attitudes that enable or disable school language change, political will to translate policy reforms into practice, and the value of additive language models/programmes/strategies to support school language change that encourages multilingual education.

The review of change literature focusing on change agency and sustainability of change raised generic change issues that impact equally on school language change. The critical change issues include the following: role of change agents in initiating and sustaining change, shifting attitudes of individuals to accommodate change, creating a culture and context for organisational change, and the need for support to sustain change (Douglas 1986; 1997, Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991, Hopkins et al 1993).

2.2.1 The South African context

The dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and the coming into being of the first democratic government in 1994 was inevitably followed by legislation which guaranteed the rights of every South African citizen for the first time and this included the language rights of all South Africans particularly the language rights of indigenous South Africans whose languages were marginalized in the apartheid era. The post 1994 Language-in-Education Policy (Doe 1997) sought to redress past language inequalities and imbalances by encouraging and promoting additive multilingualism, stressing the need to acknowledge and respect linguistic diversity and elevating the status and advancing the use of the previously marginalized indigenous languages in education. However, the expected widespread implementation of the new LiEP in post apartheid South African schools failed to materialise for various reasons, some of which are uncovered by a review of recent language in education research in South Africa.

The review of relevant literature in the South African context focuses on a brief historical overview of language policy in education in South Africa, research on post-1997 school language policies and practices with a particular focus on language perceptions and attitudes disabling school language change that encourages multilingual education, and a review of the exploratory work of language NGOs in South Africa experimenting with multilingual education. The purpose of the review is to establish any attempts that have been made to transform school language policies and practices in South Africa with a view to encouraging multilingual education and affirming and using African languages as subjects and LOLTs, and to establish the factors, if any, which enable or disable such school language change. This, it is expected, would enhance interpretation of change agents' experiences of attempting to sustain school language change that promotes multilingual education. This section begins with the historical overview of language policy in education in South Africa.

2.2.1.1 Historical Overview of Language Policy in Education in South Africa

The historical overview covers the period 1953 (when the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was passed) to the present and focuses specifically on the LOLT. The purpose of the overview is to foreground the policy of mother tongue education entrenched during the period of Bantu education. According to Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2002), the implementation of apartheid in education was accompanied by the extended use of the mother-tongue principle. This vigorous implementation of mother tongue education during the period of Bantu Education resulted in extensive use of African languages as media of instruction accompanied by the publication of textbooks and other learning materials in African languages for subjects across the curriculum including Mathematics and Science. This is significant for the study as a critical facet of the school language change initiatives of the change agents is the use of African languages as LOLTs alongside English.

The passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 was a carefully thought through first stage of the implementation of apartheid policy. Prior to 1948, the use of the mother tongue in the primary schools had been extended to between four to six years depending upon the province. Under Bantu Education, mother-tongue instruction was extended for another two years to cover the full eight years of primary schooling after 1955 for African children. For the other race groups in South Africa at the time, one or both of the official languages (English and Afrikaans) were used as medium/s of instruction.

This language policy in education was viewed suspiciously and the government was accused of taking a retrogressive step aimed at a decline in the quality of “native education” (van Zyl 1961). The root of the suspicions about mother-tongue education emerged from the doubt or fear of inadequacy or unsuitability of the mother-tongue serving effectively as a vehicle of instruction. Consequently, the desire to have a command of language/s which helped in establishing wider contacts, which facilitated communication with other language groups and which assisted materially in making a living accelerated the acquisition of English and Afrikaans and their use as languages of

learning and teaching (Smit 1962). Perhaps the strongest condemnation of mother-tongue education was the following:

Language can be a powerful factor in irrigating or dehydrating the intellect, in widening or limiting the horizon, in turning out an educated person or a tribalised philistine. (Mother-tongue education) means enforcement of learning through a vernacular throughout the effective years of a child's short life so as to tie him to village and tribe and give him the minimum of bridges to a wider field of knowledge and a modern culture.

(Barnard 1964)

A similar position on mother tongue instruction was adopted by Troup (1976) who emphasized the perceived incapacitating qualities of mother tongue education by stating that mother tongue instruction was imposed on African people by the apartheid government as a means of inculcating tribal consciousness, perpetuating tribal divisions, and reinforcing the gulf between white and black.

The second strategy of a language policy which would support apartheid was accomplished in the giving of official status to these languages. An amendment to the Constitution was enacted in 1963 and provided for legislation to grant official status to the Bantu languages. Dr Verwoerd, Prime Minister at the time, justified the move by arguing that both in education and in the practice of parliamentary institutions the African languages were to be given a chance to develop by being used (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh 2002). However, the disenfranchised majority saw this as yet another means of entrenching a "divide and rule" policy. As a result of the resistance to the mother-tongue policy by the early 1970s amendments to the 1953 Bantu Education Act were made in 1979 limiting mother tongue to the first four years of school followed by a switch to English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction depending on the province. This language policy persisted up until the advent of the new language policy in education in 1997 (DoE 1997) promoting multilingualism.

Hence, for African learners at least we appear to have come almost full circle since 1953 with the strong emphasis once more on mother-tongue education and the advancement of the previously marginalized indigenous languages in education though now mother-tongue education is being encouraged for the right reasons.

While mother-tongue education under Bantu education was heavily criticised, Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2002) through archival research, discovered that during the years of Bantu education, African languages were strongly developed with the publication of various textbooks in African languages for all subjects. The research also uncovered the existence of exhaustive terminology lists in African languages. Contrary to expectations, the content of textbooks so far examined does not indicate a cognitively impoverished curriculum for African languages-speaking children in the primary school years before 1975. According to Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2002), there could be much value in a thorough analysis of both terminology and materials published in the past as this could speed up the process of producing modern and appropriate textbooks for learners today.

These findings have important implications for the study for the following reasons. The study explores attempts at sustaining language change that is sensitive to linguistic heterogeneity in the post-apartheid classroom, and which encourages the use of previously marginalised African languages as subjects and LOLTs. In addition, the study strongly discounts the argument that multilingualism is difficult to pursue in South African education because of poorly developed African languages that cannot be used effectively as LOLTs.

The next part of the review in this section considers research on post-1997 school language policies and practices to establish the response of schools to the post apartheid LiEP which advocates multilingual education.

2.2.1.2 Research on post-1997 school language policies and practices

As captured earlier the stated intention of the LiEP is to encourage multilingualism and the use of the previously marginalised indigenous languages in education and this assumes a revision of existing school language policies and practices that do not address the linguistic diversity of learners in post-apartheid South African schools. The purpose of reviewing research conducted on school language policy and practices subsequent to the advent of the LiEP is to gauge the level of implementation of the LiEP and to better understand the conditions that enable and/or disable school language change which advances multilingualism. It is expected that this insight would inform the study which explores the attempts of change agents to sustain initiated school language change that similarly advances multilingual education. The main insight emerging from the review indicates limited to no implementation of the LiEP at school level and the reasons for non-implementation are the following: the English-only position championed by many school managers and encouraged by the black elite who have equally contributed to stifling the use of African languages in powerful domains of society, the lack of political will to translate policy into practice, the fallacy that English functions smoothly as a lingua franca, and the erroneous belief that African parents are opting for a straight for English approach when they are really seeking improved and greater access to English alongside the home language.

In a study carried out in six newly integrated primary and secondary schools in the Durban area, three former white schools and three former Indian schools, Chick & McKay (2001) discovered that although there was some attempt to recognize the students' ethnic and linguistic background, by and large, school personnel through their school policies, methods, and materials were not promoting the multilingualism and multiculturalism explicitly advocated in the new South African language-in-education policy. There was very little evidence of code-switching which might have helped African learners to negotiate learning more easily through their home language, isiZulu, and the dominant language of instruction in the schools, English. There was excessive teacher-fronted teaching and very little evidence of multicultural socialization.

In examining the positioning of learners in these schools, Chick (2002) presents evidence that these schools are sites of struggle between competing discourses that construct, maintain and change social identities in those communities and the wider society. Three discourses - an English-only discourse, a decline-of-standards discourse and a one-at-a-time discourse - serve to marginalize the use of isiZulu and the multiculturalism of the student population. For the purposes of this study, the English-only discourse will be cited.

Given the new language education policy (DoE 1997) which promotes multilingualism, the researchers assumed that progress towards multilingualism (or at least bilingualism) in desegregated schools in KwaZulu-Natal would be evident in increasing teaching/learning of isiZulu. Yet they found that overwhelmingly participants had to negotiate their identities within an English-only discourse. The English-only discourse was particularly evident in interviews with the principals. Five of the six principals explicitly rejected the use of isiZulu in the classes other than in isiZulu lessons. They also all indicated that code switching from English to isiZulu was not permitted except in the playground or where, as some put it, the learners are “deficient” in English. The English-only discourse was also evident in the low levels of provision for the teaching of isiZulu and the limited time allocation for the subject in the six schools. Chick (2002) concludes that the English-only discourse constructs an identity for non-native speakers of English as language-deficient and for the isiZulu language as having low social and economic value and by such strategic means the English-only discourse helps maintain the existing power relationships, providing native speakers of English with a distinct advantage in the educational realm. Because of this position, a trend has developed for African parents to send their children to English-medium schools in South Africa (Kellas 1994, Zungu 1998, de Klerk 2002). This trend suggests that African parents have come to accept the perception that English has higher value and higher status than African languages and are actively pursuing a route that would give their children greater access to high levels of literacy in English. This trend has important implications for initiatives to transform

language practices in school that seek to affirm the equal value of all languages and which seek to garner parental support for this process.

de Klerk (2002) examines the growing trend of African parents to send their children to English medium schools in a research study conducted in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape Province. The first part of the research study reports on the views of isiXhosa parents who have enrolled their children in English-medium schools in Grahamstown and who are actively promoting language shift. In-depth interviews with 26 of the parents initially involved in a larger survey revealed that the isiXhosa parents favour their children's learning through the medium of English for economic advancement as they view English as a means of access to power and prestige. Other studies (Bruthiax 2002, Reagen 2001) have likewise revealed the hegemony of English in South Africa and elsewhere arguing that it acts as a key to access to prosperity and power. Reagen (2001) contends that in contemporary South African society the linguistic 'market' has created a context in which competence in English is the primary criterion for economic success and social mobility.

de Klerk (2002) reports further that the position of the isiXhosa parents is, however, ambivalent. They fear their children's loss of the isiXhosa language and culture and the ostracism of their children in the townships, and more than half of those interviewed support the maintenance of the mother tongue alongside the learning of English. The recommendations from the study include maintenance of the home language (isiXhosa) and adequate institutional support for isiXhosa and development of isiXhosa and other indigenous languages into major mediums of instructions.

The ambivalent position of African parents opting for English medium education while expressing the desire for their children to maintain their mother tongue is articulated in other South African research studies (Heugh 2002, HSRC 2004). Heugh (2002) is critical of several South African writers including Ridge (1996), Taylor & Vinjefold (1999) and Webb (1999) for failing to report the detail of research and surveys that have been carried out. According to Heugh (2002), these writers conveniently overlook the surprisingly

high number of parents who favoured gradual transfer to English while maintaining the mother tongue. Instead of parents wanting English to replace the home languages in education, in actual fact they want improved and greater access to English alongside the home language for their children. To reinforce her point, Heugh (2002) alludes to the findings of a national socio-linguistic survey commissioned by the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) in 2000 on the category of language learning attitudes which revealed that 42% of the respondents indicated that learners should have the opportunity to learn both their mother tongue and English equally well and 39% responded that learners should learn through both English and their mother tongue, while only 12% of the respondents indicated that it is more important that learners learn in English than in other languages. The outcome clearly shows the mismatch between the respondents' attitudes and the actual practices in education where schools persist with English as the dominant and often sole medium of instruction.

Another critical category in the PANSALB survey (2000) was establishing the response of non-native speakers of English to the question: *These days most ministers in government, councillors in municipalities and officials make statements or speeches in English. Do you understand what they are saying?* Only 22% of the respondents said that they fully understood, 27% indicated that they understood as much as they needed to, 30% said that they often did not understand and 19% said that they seldom understood. In commenting on this outcome, Broeder et al (2002) observe that these and other outcomes, on such issues as understanding radio and television programmes, illustrate the fallacy of assuming that English smoothly functions as the *lingua franca* for intercultural communication in South Africa. Yet this fallacy still fuels language use and language choices in (ironically) post-apartheid South African schools.

Broeder et al (2002), in reporting and commenting on a large-scale language survey conducted in the Durban metropolitan area from 1996-1999 in which 10 000 primary school children participated, state that the findings point to interesting patterns of language variation. They recommend that: the multitude of languages that the children bring to the classroom as well as the bi-/multilingual home environment of many children

need to be noted by educational planners who have not made provision for this in the educational system, the language resources that children bring into the classroom should be utilized more effectively in the educational development of the child, and the desire by the children to be instructed in the first home language and simultaneously the desire to learn other languages should be noted by all involved in educational circles in South Africa. Broeder et al (2002:77) astutely sum up the language issue in post-apartheid South Africa:

It is important to emphasise the very real mismatch between the multilingual policy of official documentation and the actual language practice in government, education and business. Only if the leadership is seen to take pride in all of South Africa's languages; only if the schools value every child's mother tongue as an unique asset, and offer multilingual options; and only if the people are rewarded for their knowledge of a variety of languages in terms of jobs and status can language practice in South Africa eventually reflect language policy.

The implication that leadership particularly at state level has not supported the implementation of South Africa's multilingual language policy is also suggested by de Klerk (2002). de Klerk's (2002) recommendation calling for adequate institutional support for isiXhosa and development of isiXhosa and other indigenous languages into major mediums of instruction indirectly charges the state with promulgating policy without delivery and confirms Bamgbose's (2000) observation that one of the most important factors impeding the lack of increased use of African languages is the lack of political will of those in authority. The lack of support from provincial and the national education departments to schools for the implementation of the national LiEP is reflected in the findings of the HSRC multilingual education project (2004), Heugh's (2000) criticism of the national Department of Education in this respect and Neville Alexander's (2002) challenge to the state it is foolish to continue acting as though the language medium issue is one that can be postponed. Alexander (2002) notes that unless the new educational system is based on the mother tongues of the children, it would merely programme failure and mediocrity for the vast majority in the system.

The indifference to the promotion, use and development of African languages by the growing black elite² in South Africa is cited as another factor disabling the increased institutional use of African languages. Heugh (2002) concurs with Bamgbose (2000) who observed that apart from the lack of political will by those in authority, perhaps the most important factor impeding the increased use of African languages is the lack of interest by the elite. The isiXhosa parents interviewed in de Klerk's study (2002) are economically advantaged, members of the 'elite' classes, especially in light of the legacy of apartheid, which precluded black people from rising much higher than blue collar jobs until the mid 1980s. Their ability to pay school fees which are significantly higher than those at formerly black schools enabled them to send their children to English-medium schools. According to de Klerk (2002) it is these parents who are actively and knowingly promoting shift from isiXhosa to English. For political, economic and educational reasons, they want their children to be assimilated into a single unified national culture, which will probably be Western to the core (despite their fears about their children losing the isiXhosa language and culture).

Alexander (2005) speaks of the need for the African elite to prioritise the development and increasing institutional use of African languages. He asserts: "Without any exaggeration, it may be said that what is demanded of the African middle classes in general, and of the African intelligentsia in particular, is no less than Amilcar Cabral's almost forgotten demand that they 'commit class suicide'" (Alexander 2005:9). Alexander (2005) notes the advantages accruing to middle class Africans who have proper command of the former colonial languages, especially English, and is aware that this elite continues to use English in the most powerful domains of society and repeatedly demonstrate to other Africans who regard them as role models their lack of belief in the capacity of the indigenous languages to fulfil all the functions of language in all domains of modern life. It is for this reason that he calls for the African elite to "commit class

² According to Alexander (2005), Bamgbose (2000) and de Klerk (2002), "elite blacks" are financially and socially superior to the vast majority of economically depressed black Africans particularly in South Africa and use this as a means of gaining access to high levels of literacy in English. In the process, they neglect the development and empowerment of indigenous African languages through encouraging preference for English over indigenous African languages.

suicide” by actively pursuing the development and use of African languages in the most powerful domains of society.

A selective review of research examining post 1997 school language policies and practices and factors impacting on them revealed that limited implementation of the LiEP was due mainly to the entrenchment of the power of English through the pursuit of an English-only position which endorsed the value of English over African languages. Linked to this was the proliferation of the myth that the majority of African parents preferred English over the mother tongue for their children when they preferred not either/or but both, and this position was exacerbated by the lack of political will in monitoring and supporting the implementation of multilingual education in schools thereby ignoring the real needs of parents. This position, which is reflective of negative attitudes and perceptions of African languages, is significant to this study which explores initiatives to transform school language policies and practices. Such transformation involves, among other things, transforming language attitudes, engendering acceptance of the equal value of all official languages in South Africa and elevating the status and encouraging the increasing use of previously marginalised African languages in education in South Africa.

The next part of the review in this section considers more deeply the role of language perceptions and attitudes in impeding school language change.

2.2.1.3 Language Perceptions disabling Implementation of the LiEP

Heugh (2002) examines five myths disabling the implementation of multilingual education in South Africa, all borne out of erroneous perceptions of multilingual education and negative attitudes to African languages and their capability to transmit modern knowledge. The negative perceptions of African languages that Heugh (2002) exposes are similar to the debilitating attitudes to African languages raised as a concern by Alexander (2005), de Klerk (2002) and Bamgbose (2000) cited earlier and similar to

Schmied's (1991) findings on the influence of language attitudes in stifling the success of language policy change in African education.

Heugh (2002) argues that one of the reasons for the lack of change in school language policy and practice is the existence of a range of myths about bi- and multilingual education, which she systematically debunks. The myths are: (1) *There is no or not enough indigenous South African research in the area of languages in education*. She counters this by quoting a large body of research which has been conducted in South Africa which points conclusively to the disastrous effects of attempting to teach mainly through English and research which confirms the value of pursuing bilingual education. Among the research quoted is a large scale survey of 19 733 learners conducted by the Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, EG Malherbe, in 1938, on the extent of bilingualism in schools which is considered today by leading applied linguists and sociolinguists internationally (among them Joshua Fishman and Jim Cummins) as the most authoritative and comprehensive study of the relationship between education and bilingualism at the time. (2) *Parents want straight for English or English only*. This myth is countered by arguing that while African parents have attached high value to English, they attach an equally high value to the indigenous languages. Heugh (2002) quotes two surveys which confirm this. The first survey was conducted by The Department of Education and Training in 1992 that offered parents a choice of language medium. Of the 67% of the schools which returned voting records, 22% of the parents opted for Straight for English, 54% opted for Gradual transfer to English, 13,4% opted for Sudden transfer to English and only 7,5% voted to retain the status quo. Hence the majority chose the option giving greatest percentage of time to the mother tongue within the various bilingual options. The second survey is the PANSALB survey (2000) cited earlier. (3) *English is the only language which has the capacity to deliver quality education to the majority; African languages do not or cannot*. Heugh (2002) counters this myth by referring to the first period of Bantu Education with eight years of mother-tongue instruction and textbooks and terminology available in African languages raised earlier in this section of the review. Heugh (2002) contends that the terminology has not vanished but continues and is constantly adapted in the code-switching discourse of most

classrooms today. During the first phase of Bantu Education (1953 – 76), Heugh (2002) found that the matriculation pass rate steadily improved which she attributes to an educationally enabling language in education policy, which purely by accident happened to coincide with other disabling interests of apartheid education. (4) *Many South African children do not have a mother tongue and therefore do not need mother-tongue education.* The argument supporting this myth is that African children speak an amalgam of Southern African languages; hence they do not have a single mother tongue (Taylor and Vinjevoold 1999). Heugh (2002) counters this myth by asserting that children of Africa and India are usually bilingual and often multilingual. These children, in urban settings, tend to employ code-switching and code-mixing as informal communicative devices to negotiate their multilingual neighbourhoods. Heugh (2002) contends that this does not mean that they do not have a sufficient proficiency in at least one language which would be the appropriate language for reading and writing in their community. She asserts that the term mother tongue does not exclude bilingual or multilingual dimensions, and quotes Wolff (2000) who asserts that multilingualism is “an important resource to be utilised as widely as possible since this draws on the children’s prior experience, their established abilities, and relates directly to their linguistic, social and, cultural environments.” (5) *Bilingual or multilingual education is too expensive and we have only one option: English only (or mainly).* Heugh (2002) contends that there are increased costs but not significant where there are print-runs. She compares this with the significantly higher cost of an English-mainly approach requiring extensive in-service teacher education to raise existing proficiencies in English to L1 levels for up to 95% of teachers and the cost of new textbooks carefully written by second language experts across the curriculum to adjust the English language levels. Heugh (2002) argues that the development and printing costs of bilingual teaching materials and books as well as accompanying teacher training are not as costly as expected. This is confirmed by research (Vawda 1999) carried out for the World Bank.

Heugh’s (2002) observations concur with Schmied’s (1991) contention of the existence of arguments discouraging mother tongue instruction in African languages. Schiemi (1991) cites four arguments presented by the proponents of the straight for English

approach. The first argument, viz. the high cost advantage is similar to Heugh's myth 5. The second argument is the anti-tribal argument that contends that the selection of an African language would threaten unity of the nation state and that English is the only ethnically neutral language. The third argument is the technological argument which purports that as modern terminology in African languages is still being developed, especially in the scientific and technical fields, it is impossible to use these languages now or in the near future as mediums of instruction for Mathematics and science subjects at least. The fourth argument is the international communication argument that presents the unique status of English as a language of world-wide communication.

It is arguments like these and flawed language perceptions exposed by Heugh (2002) about the value of a straight for English approach over mother tongue instruction that still persist and act as deterrents to any real attempt to address linguistic diversity in post apartheid classrooms.

The review in this part privileges the work of Kathleen Heugh as she has long championed the cause of multilingual education in South Africa, strongly asserted the need for using the previously marginalised African languages for instructional purposes and condemned the lack of political will to translate the post-apartheid LiEP into practice. Her research endeavours as well as Neville Alexander's in the field of multilingual education are cited extensively in this thesis as their work is instructive for this study that explores school language change which addresses the imperative of catering for the linguistic needs of learners in multilingual classrooms.

Despite the lack of real attempts in public schools to implement the LiEP evidenced in the review thus far, the literature does reveal attempts by language NGOs to initiate the process by experimenting with multilingual educational programmes. These are reviewed in the next part of this section.

2.2.1.4 Experimenting with Multilingual Education

Noting that the aims, purpose and key research questions focus on the sustainability of school language change initiatives that promote multilingual education and that these would in part involve classroom language practices and teaching and learning strategies that encourage bi- or multilingual education, it is instructive for this study to review similar strategies and language practices in South African schools. To this end the review of the literature covers the exploratory work in multilingual education of two language NGOs in South Africa.

Two language NGOs, the Project for the Study of Alternative Education for South Africa (PRAESA) and The Molteno Project have led the way in giving effect to the LiEP by experimenting with multilingual educational programmes. PRAESA has been developing workable models for multilingual education through its Multilingual Demonstration School (MLDS) programme, which involves setting up demonstration schools in state schools to develop mother tongue and bilingual education models for teaching and learning in the various multilingual contexts in South Africa (Bloch 2002). Two of the current projects by PRAESA are the isiXhosa/English biliteracy development research project involving foundation phase learners (Bloch 2002) and an ongoing dual-medium (isiXhosa/English) educational programme in two township primary schools in Cape Town (Pluddemann 2002). In addition, a study (Pluddemann et al 2000) was conducted by PRAESA in response to various newly integrated Western Cape schools approaching PRAESA to assist in resolving the problems they faced in addressing the educational needs of the large numbers of newly enrolled isiXhosa-speaking learners at the schools. The Molteno Project (Rodseth 2002) uses African main languages for initial literacy to accelerate the learning of English.

During 1995/96 PRAESA was approached by various ex-HoA and ex-HoR schools/teachers for assistance in regard to the problems they were experiencing in the new multilingual classes. According to Pluddemann et al (2000), after the general elections in 1994 there was a sudden inflow of African-language-speaking learners into

schools, which had previously been open only to people classified white or coloured. However, this inflow of learners was not accompanied by a redeployment of appropriately qualified isiXhosa-speaking teachers, especially to those schools where isiXhosa-speaking learners became the majority or a sizeable minority of the school population. Since all the teachers spoke English and Afrikaans but hardly any isiXhosa, and most of the learners had either no grasp of or, at best, an imperfect proficiency in the English language, it was almost impossible for them to interact meaningfully. Three staff members from PRAESA engaged in a six-month field investigation into the problems which teachers were raising and made recommendations to address these problems. The recommendations are outlined below:

- For teachers at classroom level, the biggest challenge would be to shift their beliefs about and attitudes towards the African languages, and to use these as learning resources across the curriculum and throughout schooling.
- At school level a language plan has to be developed in keeping with the new LiEP and the new curriculum, and ways should be found to monitor its realisation and support teachers in doing so. Mechanisms need to be found to encourage English- and Afrikaans-speaking teachers to do conversational courses in the most relevant African language. Schools, in conjunction with all relevant role players and stakeholders, must campaign for time off from work for ongoing In-service Education and Training (INSET) for teaching staff.
- At teacher education level the promotion of multilingualism in pre-service and in-service courses is crucial to the enterprise of facilitating multilingual learning. A coherent new set of language requirements for teachers teaching in public schools needs to be developed following the scrapping of the old language requirements for teachers.

- In partnership with the relevant provincial education authorities, teacher in-service providers should be offering courses in which the intersection of multilingualism with Curriculum 2005 is systematically explored.
- The development and distribution of appropriate learning support materials such as textbooks, stories, charts and posters, amongst other things, in the African languages (or in two or more languages) remains an urgent undertaking.
- A national terminology databank for the African languages should be set up in partnership between national and provincial education departments, publishers and writers of learning support materials, academics and other stakeholders. It is crucial to complement corpus planning ‘from above’ (e.g. via lexicography units) with spontaneous corpus planning ‘from below’ in order to legitimise and extend the use of African languages in high-status schooling domains such as ‘content-subject’ teaching and textbooks.

These recommendations are also relevant for the study for the following reasons. The Western Cape Schools, comprising linguistically heterogeneous learner populations and large numbers of educators who do not have the linguistic repertoire to interact meaningfully with these learners, particularly the isiXhosa L1 speakers, are contextually similar to the schools in the study which have isiZulu-speaking learners with whom the majority of English-speaking educators, possessing little or no competence in isiZulu, have difficulty in interacting meaningfully. In addition, the recommended conditions necessitating and supporting school language change which advances multilingual education are equally applicable to both the Western Cape schools and schools in the study. In this respect, the recommendations point to the need to revise outdated school language policies and practices, the need to train teachers to interact bilingually or multilingually with learners, and the need for ongoing development of African languages to enhance their potential to be used effectively as LOLTs, all of which resonate with the change agenda of the language change agents in the study.

With regard to PRAESA's MLDS programme, the isiXhosa/English biliteracy project is a revised version of the MLDS which takes the form of a multilingual stream at an ex "coloured" school in Cape Town. The project involves exploring, as far as is possible through the primary years, beginning with Grade 1, how to bring isiXhosa into the class as a language of learning and as an additional language. Using a trained isiXhosa-speaking primary teacher to teach alongside the existing English-speaking Grade 1 teacher, the project attempts to raise the status of isiXhosa in the classroom as an oral and written language, to support and maintain isiXhosa for the isiXhosa-speaking children, and to introduce isiXhosa to the English speakers (Bloch 2002). The visible gains of the project to date are that the isiXhosa-speaking children, who are developing fluency in isiXhosa reading and writing, are equally fluent in English. According to Bloch (2002), using less English has not retarded development in English while the use of isiXhosa has brought gains for both isiXhosa and English. Although the gains for the English-speaking children are not as significant as that for their bilingual and biliterate isiXhosa peers, the greatest gain for the English-speaking children is their open and positive attitude towards isiXhosa speakers, the language itself and their willingness to try. Bloch (2002) observes that within the classroom, isiXhosa and English have equal status in the eyes of the children, and they are curious and respectful of one another's ways of saying and writing things.

The other MLDS project, PRAESA's dual-medium primary school programme, is an ongoing project which began with initial classroom observations leading to the formulation of a new school language policy to curricular intervention and research (Pluddemann 2002). The research team workshopped the outline of a new language distribution model with the teachers to be discussed with parents. The language distribution model (almost identical for both schools) comprises mother tongue instruction almost entirely in isiXhosa in Grades 1-3, with isiXhosa being taught throughout as L1, English being introduced orally from Grade 1 and Afrikaans (orally) from Grade 3 in one school and Grade 4 in the other. From Grade 4 all learners have to offer three fully-fledged language subjects and in Grades 4-7 all content subjects are

taught through the medium of two LOLTs (Xhosa and English). The language model is additive with isiXhosa being the formative medium and English, the supportive medium. Among the main interventions of the programme are bilingual teaching and assessment (in isiXhosa and English) of content subjects (mathematics, science, history and geography), upgrading of science teachers' conceptual understanding through workshops conducted by science specialists on the research team, an initiative to develop science terminology in isiXhosa which entails compiling lists of terms that will facilitate comprehension and conceptual development and eventually standardised in collaboration with the National Terminology Services and on-site in-service training with regard to improving language teaching in Grades 4-7 (Pluddemann 2002).

According to Pluddemann (2002), it is only once the dual-medium schools are self-sustaining and no longer able to rely on outside intervention that the impact and sustainability of the Programme will become evident. As yet an evaluation of the sustainability of the Dual-Medium Primary Schooling Programme has not been done which would have been crucial in informing the present study which focuses primarily on sustaining language change initiatives in similarly linguistically diverse schools.

In addition to PRAESA, another language NGO (The Molteno Project) is committed to additive bi- and multilingualism and mother tongue instruction particularly in the formative years. The Molteno Project began in 1975 at the Institute for the Study of English in Africa, Rhodes University. In 1976 a decision was taken to start with literacy in an African language (then isiXhosa for the Transkei), as the failure to read in English was largely due to literacy failure in the main language. An African language course was developed called *Breakthrough to isiXhosa/isiZulu/Sesotho/Setswana*. The programme is a language experience approach in which learners are helped through a "sentence maker" to encode language which is produced from discussions around their experience (Rodseth 2002). The programme is currently available in 36 African languages and has produced exceptional results in South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. According to Rodseth (2002), the success of the programme is due to the use of African main languages for initial literacy, successful promotion among teachers of the need to

overcome prejudice against teaching in the home language of learners and the realisation among teachers that main language literacy speeds up the learning of English, and does not slow it down.

The bi- and multilingual programmes implemented by PRAESA and The Molteno Project all underscore the need for an additive bi- or multilingual model of learning which exploits the value of using two or more languages to accomplish learning and teaching and language learning. Such an approach is instructive for this study, which is primarily concerned with language change that similarly exploits the value of a multilingual approach to teaching and learning.

A selective review of the literature of research carried out in the South African context reveals that there is a reasonable body of South African research that confirms the value of multilingual education over a straight for English approach. However, with the exception of work conducted by PRAESA particularly with its MLDS programme, the Molteno Project and the support by ELTIC, ELET and HLP cited in the HSRC report (2004) there is limited research on intervention aimed at intended language change to address linguistic diversity in post-apartheid schools, the work of internal change agents in bringing about such change, and the sustainability of such change initiatives. It is the gap in this area of research that the study addresses.

2.2.2 The International Context

The literature on Africa and other international countries focuses on language policies in education and policy reforms, measures to empower marginalised indigenous languages and languages of minority communities, and bi- and multilingual educational programmes that seek to address the linguistic diversity of learners.

The review of the literature especially in the African context raises the issues of language attitudes (Schmied 1991, Adegbija 1994) and political commitment to language reform (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003, Prah 2002) as critical to attempts to revise language policies and practices that explore the value of multilingual education rather than persisting with

the use of a powerful European language, like English, as a sole medium of instruction. A similar thread was discovered running through the literature on language in education research in South Africa. What this seems to suggest is that school language change which prioritises developing more positive language attitudes to multilingualism and canvassing tangible state support for multilingual education is critical for the school language change contemplated in this study. The literature on language in education research in other international countries reveals the implementation of various bi- and multilingual educational programmes, which are all based on additive bi- or multilingualism. In this way they are similar to experimental models used by PRAESA, and The Molteno Project, which are likewise additive language models. This is significant in informing multilingual teaching/learning strategies and programmes which can be used to transform classroom language practices as part of the school language change envisaged by change agents in the study.

2.2.2.1 Africa

The review of language in education research in the African context focuses on the four policy approaches adopted in African education which reveal a renewed interest in the use of African languages in education but which is still being hampered by lack of genuine state support for such policy reform and by the persistence of negative attitudes to African languages. The review also considers initiatives to empower African languages and increase their usage as languages of learning and teaching.

2.2.2.1.1 The Four Policy Approaches in Africa

Schmied's (1991) analysis of language in education policies in Africa reveals the existence of four approaches.

The “straight-for-English” approach is practised especially in ethnically mixed areas in some primary schools in Zambia, Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Gambia and Namibia

amongst other African countries. The failure of this approach is highlighted by Macdonald (2001) who chooses Zambia to make her point. According to Macdonald (2001), research in Zambian schools has shown that the children in the third year of school cannot read at all because they are required to become literate in a language (English) that is not at all related to the language which they know (Bemba). The learners, educated in English, cannot explain in Bemba what they have learnt in English. This means that they do not understand what they are taught in English, contends Macdonald (2001). In her analysis of language policy in Zambia, Heugh (2003) observed that in Zambia, after independence, many languages were seen as a source of potential conflict, hence the choice of English was meant to encourage integration, but she contends that the Zambian language policy resulted in assimilation into the dominant anglocentric neo-colonial elite. Heugh (2003) asserts further that the language policy was based on the premise that multilingualism is a problem rather than treating language as a right (Ruiz 1984) and quotes another African country, viz Mozambique which chose Portuguese as the official medium of government and education at independence for assimilation much like English in Zambia.

The second approach according to Schmied (1991) is to teach English as a subject in lower primary education and to use it as a medium in upper primary education with a changeover usually between grade 6 and 8. The advantage of this approach according to Schmied (1991) is that all learners acquire a reasonable level of English before it supports the content of other subjects. This approach is practised generally in Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Botswana. In reflecting on the Nigerian language policy, Heugh (2003) commented on the three-tier language policy in education i.e. firstly, English is the official language of government and ultimate medium of instruction in schools, secondly, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are the three national languages of which one is compulsory for all pupils to learn, and, thirdly, the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community is the first medium of instruction in school and it is maintained through to junior secondary level. Heugh (2003) observed that Nigeria's language policy is influencing the realisation of a more egalitarian social and political structure. Heugh's (2003) argument is that Nigeria's overt integrationist and multicultural

philosophy is assisted by the implementation of processes which accord high status to indigenous Nigerian languages and fix valuable functions for these. However, Heugh (2003) concedes that the hierarchical arrangement of the status of languages and a transitional language in education policy in Nigeria (where there is a shift from local language medium of instruction to English) are overtly assimilationist and therefore block greater success.

Research on the central role of language in education in Ghana (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003) has revealed the persistently dominant status of English and the neglect of indigenous Ghanaian languages. Two of the key research questions are: *How do schools seek out and integrate African languages and knowledge systems in the classroom's instructional, curricular, pedagogical and communicative practices?* and *How do schools deal with linguistic differences among their student population?* (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003). Ghana's population of over 19 million speak about 70 different languages with nine government-sponsored indigenous languages that are encouraged in schools and universities and are generally used by the media and press. However, English is the official language, imposed on Ghanaians since colonial times, and is commonly used in schools, universities, state apparatuses and business circles (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003). According to Dei (1993), since the 1970s Ghana has undertaken educational reforms addressing the relevance of education to local and global needs but these well-intentioned reforms have fallen short of their desired goals either for lack of political commitment or the difficulty of sustaining (physically and materially) the dictates of educational reforms. Evidence from Ghanaian interviewees in the research conducted by Dei & Asgharzadeh (2003) reveal the following. Most of the teachers interviewed on the subject of language and culture take the position of the reciprocal role of language and culture and the significance of local languages in transmitting cultural norms and social values. Such a recognition of the importance of local language has not been easily translated into the school curriculum as is evidenced by the responses of a student interviewee who talks about the reasons for English dominating as medium of instruction as being one of pragmatism (English acts as a lingua franca to facilitate communication among Ghanaians who speak different languages) and the official sanctioning that the language

has (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003). The view is that if there is a conscious attempt to promote the teaching of local languages, students would find a common way of communicating in the local vernacular than English. However, teachers who were interviewed attested to learners being forced to speak English and being punished for speaking their local languages in schools. According to Dei & Asgharzadeh (2003), there are historical dimensions to the language problem and the bind that teachers find themselves in. An education district official interviewee noted that Ghana has a language policy for education which states that the medium of instruction should be a Ghanaian language for the first three years with a shift to English thereafter but because there are 60 different languages in the country, in most cases, English is used as the medium of instruction from the first year. Coupled to this is the economic and social currency attached to English that came with colonialism and educators find it difficult to break that mentality (Dei & Asgharzadeh 2003).

The third approach quoted by Schmied (1991) is to use not English but the local African languages, especially the national language(s), throughout primary education. These national languages are sufficiently developed, extensively used and supported by national language policies. However, English remains an important subject because it is used as a medium in secondary schools or used only in natural science subjects with an African language used in arts (Schmied 1991). This approach is followed by Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia and Southern Sudan.

Tanzania, Somalia and Ethiopia are currently the only countries on the continent to use national languages rather than colonial languages throughout the primary school system (Alidou 2004, Rubagumya 1990). After Tanzania's independence in 1961, Nyerere as its first leader adopted an aggressive nation-building campaign that included promoting Swahili as the language of public life (Miguel 2004). According to Eleuthera (2007) Nyerere's vision was of a country united under *ujamaa* or "familyhood", a political philosophy of socialism and self-reliance, and the establishment of Swahili as a national language was instrumental in the move towards self-reliance in general. In 1982 the Presidential Commission on Education, appointed by Nyerere, recommended that a

change from English to Swahili in secondary classrooms be effected starting in 1985 (Lwaitama & Rugemalira 1990). However, this did not materialize and English persists as a medium of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania.

Despite the value of this third approach, contemporary African scholars, like Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2002), in noting the falling standards of colonial languages in many African countries, are opposed to what is viewed as a latter-day version of colonial language policy of African learners working in their own languages in the first few years of education and then branching out into English for their late primary, secondary and tertiary education. The view that Prah (2002:15) advances is that “Africans should work in their languages from the beginning to the end of their educational process, as all other developed societies do.”

Prah’s (2002) view is shared by Rubagumya (1990) who is critical of the persistence of English as a medium of instruction in secondary and higher education in Tanzania. While Rubagumya (1990) concedes that Tanzania has made a lot of progress in cultivating Swahili as a viable national language which is now used in almost all spheres of national life, he feels that in the education field Tanzania’s success is usually exaggerated by outsiders. He claims that Tanzania, like most African countries, still considers the language of the former colonial rulers (in this case English) as the most suitable as a medium of instruction above the primary school level. Rubagumya (1990) argues that there are two reasons for Tanzanian authorities back-tracking on stated intentions of changing the medium of instruction from English to Swahili in secondary schools. He states that firstly, English, like other former colonial languages in Africa, is seen as a prerequisite for scientific and technological development and secondly, the elitist nature of education in Africa means that use of a former colonial language shows that one has reached a level of linguistic competence which entitles one to a legitimate claim to power and eventually to mystify. Rubagumya (1990) notes that education for self reliance as propagated by Nyerere is inconsistent with education that uses English as medium of instruction. In the wake of the current debate in Tanzania as to which language should be used as medium of instruction in secondary schools, Eleuthera (2007), while conceding

the benefits of having competence in English, concludes that if the quality of education is higher when conducted in Swahili, children should be learning in Swahili rather than English. Presently in Tanzania the failure and attrition rate of learners in secondary schools are very high because of the difficulty of learners to adjust to the change in medium of instruction in secondary schools and the poor quality of tuition in English (Eleuthera 2007).

The fourth language policy approach in Africa is to use English more or less as a language for international communication, which is why English is taught extensively at secondary school level, but to use other languages (not indigenous African languages) as languages of instruction like Arabic, French or Portuguese (Schmied 1991). Schmied (1991) quotes the case of Francophone West African states where all secondary school students have to learn English, because their nations are closely interrelated with their Anglophone neighbours.

An examination of the four language policy approaches adopted in Africa reveals that language choice particularly in the domain of education is largely determined by language attitudes; this was evident in the literature on the South African situation as well. Ankama (2008), in alluding to De Klerk's (2002) study of Xhosa-speaking parents knowingly encouraging language shift, relates it to parental language attitudes that is manifested in the notion described by Adegbija (2001) that being educated is synonymous with knowing and being able to use English. Adegbija (2001:285) contends: "The official dominance of ex-colonial languages as a potent language-shifting trigger is constantly pulled by the desire of every individual to rise on the vertical and horizontal social and economic ladder". In examining the socio-historical foundations of language attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa, Adegbija (1994) concluded that particularly Africa's colonial past has forged language attitudes that continue to perpetuate the dominance of ex-colonial languages, notably English, critically in the education sector. In researching the attitudinal perspectives of language use in education, Adegbija (1994) examined attitudes underlying the decision to limit indigenous African languages as medium of instruction only to the lower classes of the primary school for most African countries.

Such attitudes, he found, relate to arguments concerning the presumed inability of indigenous languages to function at higher levels of education, the need to prevent isolation of sub-Saharan African countries from the rest of the western world and the need to progress in science and technology, which have European languages as their principal medium.

Adegbija's (2001:307) advice for reversing the language shift in Africa is summed up thus:

For the language to remain alive, its speakers both within the village and in urban centres must have a higher effective stake and deep emotional inventory in its survival, promotion and plight. As long as speakers of a language have a deep stake in its survival and a high emotional involvement and commitment to its existence, all the language shift agents and triggers in this world will not be able to kill their resolve.

While the literature on the African context seems to suggest overwhelmingly that the hegemonic status of English is being maintained at the expense of indigenous languages largely because of language attitudes that favour and elevate English over African languages, there is the flipside to this language coin. The flipside is the existence of several initiatives to empower African languages and increase their use as LOLTs, which is reviewed in the next part of this section.

2.2.2.1.2 The Flipside – Empowerment of African Languages

Orwino (2002) presents a different picture of the position of English and indigenous languages in Africa when he contends that the empowerment of the African languages casts a shadow over English in Africa. Orwino (2002) argues that each year a large population of African youth fall out of educational institutions where the use of English is demanded and live the rest of their lives using African languages and some form of indigenised English. A similar position was observed by Heine (1992) who argues that European languages in Africa continue to occupy minority status despite their dominance in official situations.

Orwino (2002) traces the empowerment wave of African languages in various African countries in the last decade where African scholars, he claims, have grappled with a spirited campaign to reintroduce the use of African languages in education. Orwino (2002) provides the following review of language in education change in various African countries. In Botswana, Setswana, which was once a mere symbolic language but now with increased roles in the country, it is one of the key subjects studied at university level. In Ethiopia, the government has legalised the use of regional languages as media in primary education in Grades 1 to 8 and a subject from grade 9 onwards. In Kenya the establishment of the African Languages Department at Maseno University has invigorated interest in the indigenous languages with curricula in four languages already developed. In Malawi it is reported that the current political climate regards multilingualism not as a threat to peace and unity, but as a reality, which has to be positively appreciated and recognised. In Mozambique, Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo has embarked on its aim of developing a standard orthography for fifteen indigenous languages. Namibia is said to give tangible provision to the indigenous languages and at the Okahandja Conference³, a clear message was sounded that all educational sectors are working towards the enhanced use of African languages in all domains. In Nigeria nearly 100 000 primary school students in Oyo are being taught mostly in Yoruba. In addition the federal government has embarked upon an intensive effort to translate school textbooks now written in English into Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Nupe and other Nigerian languages. In Somalia, Somali, declared an official language in 1972 was so quickly developed that by 1978 the language was being used as a medium of instruction from Grade 1 to 12. In Tanzania the status of Swahili in the country's governance has eclipsed that of English. In Uganda, the government's white paper on education spells out the need to develop all languages in Uganda. In Zambia, by 1998, the Curriculum Development Centre had designed and developed syllabuses, textbooks, supplementary readers and grammatical terminology lists in the seven African languages that were being taught up to the end of primary education.

³ A regional conference on language and development titled *Making the Right Choices* held in Okahandja, Namibia, 11-13 April 2000.

Other initiatives to promote African languages are the ACALAN (African Academy of Languages) initiative and AFRILA (Upgrading African Languages Project). In reporting on AFRILA, Tjaronda (2008) for New Era reveals that approximately 750 000 teaching and learning textbooks from Grades 1 to 3 have been distributed to schools since the start of the Basic Education Programme (BEP) Upgrading African Languages Project (AFRILA) in October 2000, which has improved the textbook learner ratio. The project aimed at improving literacy and numeracy in learners in the mother tongue and also to promote the acquisition of English as a second language before English becomes the medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards. AFRILA is informed by additive bi- and multilingualism research findings that demonstrate that learners learnt most effectively through their mother tongues in the formative years of schooling and would master English if they have mastered their mother tongue first. The project has developed new teaching and learning materials in six target languages, namely, Kukwangali, Rumanyo, Thimbukushu, Otjiherero, Silozi and Khoekhoegowab, but also in Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama for grades 1 to 3.

The ACALAN initiative involves empowering African languages and their speakers through increased usage in the African school systems. In delivering a talk at the session of “21st Century Dialogues” held at UNESCO on 13 September 2007 on the topic “How to make education fairer?”, the president of ACALAN, Adama Samassekou, former Minister of Education of Mali (1993-2000), spoke of the role of ACALAN in empowering African languages and their speakers. Fiorente (2007) for UNESCO captures Samassekou’s summation of the mission of ACALAN:

Introducing African languages in the African school systems – as a vector of learning and as a subject of study – is one of the goals of the African Academy of Languages, which I head. We decided to undertake a genuine rehabilitation process for education at continent level, by re-establishing the link between education and culture and by including our languages and our history in school curricula.

South Africa's contribution to ACALAN is through PRAESA's involvement in the ACALAN project. PRAESA's involvement is captured in the following vision articulated by Alexander and Bloch (2004:10):

Our vision is to regain a balance where meaning and creativity for all children are the fulcrum of education. Africa is a continent of stories, and we have to ensure that these regain their prominence and influence in various ways, not least as educational bridges between oral and written language in early childhood.

PRAESA, through ACALAN, has embarked on a continent-wide project called *Stories across Africa* involving the collection and writing of stories in African languages which can become a core body of children's literature across the continent. Working in collaboration with publishers, PRAESA is helping to stimulate and promote cultures of reading and writing in African languages by initiating programmes for developing new children's literature through writers' and illustrators' workshops and developing translation skills for children's literature among professionals working in indigenous South African languages.

A selective review of the literature on language policy in education and language policy reforms in Africa reveals that there is a resurgence of interest in the African languages with their use as a medium of instruction at least up to the end of the primary school phase and through various initiatives to empower African languages and their speakers. However, the hegemonic status of English is still apparent in most African countries. More significantly the sustainability of educational reforms, as in the case of the Ghanaian educational reform, is difficult to maintain as a result of economic factors, negative attitudes towards indigenous African languages and the lack of political commitment to these reforms. The parallels with the South African situation are very apparent and the implications for this study are obvious, viz. cognizance must be taken of the powerful forces of language attitudes and state support in realizing sustainable change in language in education policies and practices that affirm the use of African languages as subjects and LOLTs alongside English.

2.2.2.2 Other international countries

A selective review of literature in non-African international countries focuses on language maintenance and bi- and multilingual educational programmes aimed at addressing the linguistic diversity of learners and protecting the linguistic rights of minority language communities. A parallel exists between minority languages in this context and African languages in the South African and African context where, although indigenous languages are spoken by the majority, they still enjoy relatively lower status than English. Hence, reviewing programmes that affirm the equal value of and use of minority languages alongside mainstream languages in the international context would be insightful for the implementation of similar programmes to elevate the status of African languages in the South African education system. This in turn would be informative for the study, which contemplates school language change that considers among other initiatives bi- and multilingual teaching/learning strategies that give effect to the underlying principle of additive bi- and multilingualism captured in the LiEP.

The review in this sub-section begins with a brief examination of the campaign by the international language rights movement that vigorously champions the right to mother tongue education and affirms the value of bi- and multilingual education before contemplating the various bi- or multilingual education provisions. The right to mother tongue education for African learners in the study (Indian learners have English as a home language which is the dominant medium of instruction) is the one of the foci of the study as it underscores the need for school language change, which addresses the linguistic diversity of learners in post-apartheid South African schools. It is with this in mind that the campaign by the language rights movement is reviewed.

2.2.2.2.1 Mother Tongue Education: A basic human right

The international language rights movement led by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) argues strongly for added multilingualism, maintenance of linguistic diversity, protecting minority and indigenous languages from big languages that turn into killer languages and

bring about what is termed linguistic genocide, and protecting the right to mother tongue education.

Threatened languages are defined as those that have few users and a weak political status, and especially, if children are no longer learning them, and a parallel is drawn between threatened languages and threatened animals and plants (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, Harmon 2002, Annamalai 2004). Linguistic diversity is thus linked to biodiversity. According to Annamalai (2004), diversity in nature and culture are integrally related and they are connected with the development of ecosystems and with their sustainability and these have given rise to the concept of bio-cultural diversity. Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) discusses the work of Terralingua, one of the organisations investigating the relationship between linguistic diversity and biodiversity, which shows a high correlation between biodiversity and linguistic diversity in a comparison of 25 countries reflecting the highest degrees of diversity in the world. Maffi et al (1999) suggest that if the long-lasting co-evolution which people have had with their environments from time immemorial is abruptly disrupted, without nature (and people) getting enough time to adjust, we can expect a catastrophe. To illustrate the point, Maffi (1994) uses the example of Mexican youth. Nuances in the knowledge about medicinal plants and their use disappear when indigenous youth in Mexico become bilingual without teaching in and through the medium of their own languages. Linguistic and cultural diversity seem to be decisive mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity itself, and vice versa, for as long as humans inhabit the earth (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) assimilationist submersion education where minorities are taught through the medium of dominant languages exclusively and alongside students fluent in the dominant language. This causes mental harm and leads to the minority students using the dominant language with their own children later on, and she advocates instead mother tongue education that she sees as a basic linguistic human right. The contention is that learning new languages should be additive rather than subtractive; it should add to people's linguistic repertoire and not at the cost of the diverse mother tongues.

The threat of killer languages that Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) speaks of may be interpreted in the South African situation as the threat that English poses to indigenous languages. Counteracting this threat would involve efforts to halt language shift and encourage maintenance of African languages beginning with the active promotion of multilingualism in state educational institutions. In this sense the study considers maintenance of African languages through school language change initiatives that affirm the equal value of both English and indigenous South African languages in education.

The next part of the review in this section extends the issue of language maintenance by reviewing programmes used in education in non-African international contexts to promote multilingualism and maintain the existence and use of minority languages in education.

2.2.2.2.2 Bi- and Multilingual Education Programmes in Europe, America and India

To address linguistic diversity and the challenges facing minority linguistic groups in Europe, Canada, USA and India, various bilingual and multilingual education programmes have emerged. In the USA, California, the two-way Bilingual Immersion programme (Ramirez et al 1991, Dolson & Lindholm 1995, Baker 1996) has gained popularity both in USA and Europe. In Canada, the French Immersion programme (Cummins 1981, Swain & Lapkin 1982, Genesse 1984) has influenced language planning and policy issues and theorising around bilingual education worldwide and in Europe, the European Schools Model (Beardsmore 1995) has proved very successful in encouraging multilingualism in Europe. Multilingualism is reflected in India's language in education policy, which compels the teaching of a minimum of three languages, known as the "Three Language Formula" (Annamalai 1995). All three programmes are underpinned by the principle of additive bi- or multilingualism and are therefore primarily concerned with equipping students with high levels of proficiency in both their first and second or additional languages. It is this principle that resonates with what is proposed in this study,

viz. school language change that affirms the equal value of all languages spoken by learners in the school and use of these languages for learning and teaching and offering these languages as subjects.

Before reviewing the bilingual and multilingual education programmes introduced in the preceding paragraph, it would be necessary to distinguish the three types of bilingual programmes prevalent in the USA and Europe. Joshua Fishman (1976) distinguishes three kinds of bilingual outcomes under the headings of maintenance, transitional and enrichment programmes. For Fishman (1976), the goal of a maintenance programme is to ensure that a threatened language used by minority speakers is rendered viable by an education system that helps to keep it alive. Fishman (1991) has developed a theory titled *Reversing Language Shift* that seeks to revitalise and reclaim threatened languages. A transitional programme is one where bilingual provision is used to enable speakers to move away from the use of one language into the quasi-exclusive use of another (Beardsmore 1995). According to Baker (1996) transitional bilingual education is the most common type of bilingual education in the USA. The aim of transitional bilingual education is assimilationist like submersion education although it differs in some respects from submersion education. With transitional bilingual education language minority students are temporarily allowed to use their home language, often being taught through their home language, until they are thought to be proficient enough in the majority language to cope in mainstream education (Baker 1996). Ramirez and Merino (1990) further distinguish between early exit transitional bilingual education (two years maximum help using the mother tongue) and late exit (40% of classroom teaching in the mother tongue until the 6th grade). An enrichment programme, according to Fishman (1976) is one where a second language does not replace the first, but is added so as to enable the user to function adequately in the second but at no cost to the first. The Canadian Immersion, California Two-way Bilingual Immersion and European Schools Model are all enrichment programmes encouraging additive bi- and multilingualism.

Originally developed by the San Diego City School District in the mid-1970's, the California two-way bilingual immersion programme was later elaborated and then

promoted by the California Department of Education beginning in the mid-1980's. Among all the second language, bilingual, multicultural, and foreign language programmes organised in California, the two-way bilingual immersion approach is an optimal approach for the American setting. The approach combines features of full bilingual education for language minority students (largely Spanish-speaking) and early total immersion education for English-speaking students. For Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students, academic instruction is presented in Spanish and they receive English language arts and depending on the particular programme and grade level, portions of their academic instruction in English (Dolson & Lindholm 1995). The programme encompasses four criterial features: (1) Dual language instruction with significant portions of instruction in Spanish; (2) Periods of instruction in one language; (3) Both native English speakers and native Spanish speakers are participants; (4) Integration of students for most content instruction. The major goals of the programme are that students will develop high levels of proficiency in their first and second languages in an additive bilingual mode, academic performance will be at or above grade level in both languages and students will have high levels of psychosocial competence and positive cross-cultural attitudes (Dolson & Lindholm 1995). An important aspect of the programme according to Dolson & Lindholm (1995) is that the two languages are kept distinct and never mixed during instruction. The reasons are that this improves the quantity and quality of teacher preparation and delivery in Spanish, students receive sustained exposure to Spanish to obtain native speaker levels and to offer Spanish sociocultural and political protection so that English, because of its dominant status, does not encroach in the domains of language use.

The best-known enrichment bilingual programme is the Canadian immersion programme developed for English-speaking Canadians to acquire French. According to Beardsmore (1995) the early total immersion programme is the most popular in Canada and consists of a radical home-school language switch from the day the child enters the first grade of school. English-speaking children have their first contacts with school in French and English is only gradually introduced, as they grow older. Most of the children come from the same majority-language, middle-class background. They feel secure within and

outside the school in the worth of their first language, English, which is one of two official languages and is never denigrated or threatened. At home they are constantly stimulated in the use of the majority language. According to Beardsmore (1995), parents who opt for immersion do so consciously on a voluntary basis and are usually well informed of the implications involved, and being middle-class parents, they are often in a position to provide back-up support for the school's efforts and compensate for the lack of English in the initial stages of schooling. Teachers in immersion programmes are all English-French bilinguals who, although they themselves only use French, always react appropriately when a child uses English.

According to Cummins (1995), evaluation of the early immersion programme in Canada showed that by Grade 4 the English spelling of children in the programme was equivalent to peers following a regular English-medium programme. In addition, their French skills developed rapidly such that after a few years it was no longer possible to use the same test to compare them with peers who were taking core French taught as a second language. Despite its success, Cummins (1995) identifies two significant problems with it, viz. students' expressive skills in French (both oral and written) are far from native-speaker norms, and the student attrition from the programme due to academic and behavioural problems is very high. Cummins (1995) proposes an adaptation to the programme, which is introducing English language arts at the grade 1 level, and a greater focus on integrating early literacy instruction (in both languages) with students' background experience which he argues will entail much more active oral and written language use by students. Cummins' (1995) main argument for early introduction of English language arts is that students experiencing difficulty in early literacy development are more likely to benefit from concepts being explained in their first language than in a language which is still very limited in its development, and argues further that intervention is likely to be more successful when both linguistic channels can be mobilized than when only the more restricted channel is used. Cummins (1995) quotes a longitudinal evaluation of his proposed adapted model conducted by the Calgary Roman Catholic Separate School Board. The evaluation revealed that students who received an hour of English from Grade 1 had, by the end of Grade 3, pulled ahead of the

regular immersion students in French reading and writing and were performing equivalently in French oral skills. In addition, their performance in English reading and writing was also superior.

In his review of the European schools programme, Beardsmore (1995) observes that they have been specifically designed as multilingual establishments where more than two languages function as media of instruction. European schools form part of a network of 9 schools situated in 6 different European countries. The schools are collectively controlled by the education authorities of the 12 member states of the European community. On a cultural level the European School programme shows an attempt to integrate children from different national backgrounds into a broader, communal, new identity that will not threaten that of origin. Further significant points, according to Beardsmore (1995), are the notion of linguistic equality and additive bi- and multilingualism. The fundamental principles of the European schools programme as summed up by Beardsmore (1995) are as follows:

- All students are led through the same process of transition from instruction through the first language (L1) into that through both the L1 and the second language (L2),
- The L1 serves as a basis for instruction as competence in the L2 develops but the L1 is never abandoned and transition to the use of the L2 is gradual,
- Throughout, the L1 and L2 are taught as subject matter to reinforce grammatical accuracy and lexical precision,
- Interaction at peer group level between native and non-native speakers of a given language is strongly promoted,
- Teachers are nearly all bilingual in different combinations of languages but always teach through their first language, and
- Attempts are made to eliminate strong ethnolinguistic perspectives by fostering a European identity and a cross-cultural view of the world.

Like the French immersion programme, there is strong parental involvement in the European Schools model.

According to Annamalai (1995), the three languages in the “Three Language Formula” of India are the 2 official languages, viz. English and Hindi and any official language spoken in the state (normally the numerically and politically dominant language). When two of the languages are the same any other modern Indian language is included in the formula. The policy does not provide for the mother tongue when it is different from the dominant language of the state. However, in practice, it is learnt in place of the dominant language of the state, called the regional language, the learning of which has recently been made compulsory by the states. Switching to the regional language as medium from a mother tongue of minorities is abrupt, usually at the end of 4 or 5 years of education. Students exiting the school system at the end of secondary schooling are trilingual in varying degrees of competence in the three languages regardless of the medium of instruction. Annamalai (1995) asserts that the education policy of India promotes multilingualism though not through a method of bilingual education following the universal properties of bilingual education espoused by the European schools model. However, a concern that Annamalai (1995) sounds out is that with increasing preference for English, bilingualism involving English may have an edge over other languages and it may even lead to imbalanced multilingualism with mother tongues being restricted to the home domain.

A selective review of the literature on language policy research and research on bi- and multilingual education in the non-African context reveals three key findings of significance to this study. These are the need for strong parental involvement in and support of any school language change initiative for it to succeed as in the case of the French immersion and European schools programme, the strong emphasis on additive bi- and multilingualism in practice and not simply espoused as in all the programmes reviewed, and the threat of English hegemony despite the practice of multilingualism, especially in prior British colonies like India. The review of the bi- or multilingual programmes in this sub-section is instructive for the South African context and by implication for this study as it underscores the value of enrichment bilingual programmes over early exit transitional models. Currently in South Africa the early exit model

comprising mother tongue education in the African languages in the Foundation Phase and transition to English as LOLT from Grade 4 onwards is the best-case scenario (HSRC 2004) with the Straight-for-English approach throughout schooling being the worst-case scenario. By contrast the programmes reviewed, especially the two-way Bilingual Immersion programme and the European Schools programme, involve full bilingual education for minority students, dual medium instruction, maintenance of the L1 and gradual transition to L2 but instruction maintained in both the L1 and L2, and full immersion of dominant language students in the minority language. Such programmes translated into the South African context, with minority languages paralleling indigenous African languages, would mean significant affirmation of the value of and use of African languages alongside English for learning and teaching. This is especially important for the study, which contemplates school language change that encourages multilingualism and extended use in schools of the previously marginalized African languages.

The next section extends the literature search beyond research on language in education policy and practice change to review literature on change agency and sustainability of change in alignment with the particular focus of this study, which is the role of language change agents in attempting to sustain school language change. The critical questions address the attempts by the agents of language change in the study to sustain such change in their schools and how the change has been sustained, and if it has not been sustained, why this has not happened. An examination of critical change issues impacting the work of change agents and sustainability of change initiatives are critical to understanding the language change issues interrogated in the study.

2.2.3 Change agency and Sustainability of change

While there is a large body of literature (Fishman 1977, Cummins 1988, Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, Baker 1996, Heugh 2000, Alexander 2005) confirming the value of multilingual education, there is little recognized literature, apart from the work of language NGOs in South Africa, on change initiatives through the intervention of change agents driving and sustaining school language change. Noting the need to consult

literature on change agency and sustaining change to provide a conceptual framework for understanding language change initiatives in this study, the literature search has been broadened to cover general educational change and reform and behavioural change in the field of social psychology. In both the fields a selective review of the literature has been done. In social psychology the focus is on the work of Tom Douglas, and for educational change and reform, the work of Michael Fullan is reviewed. In addition to reviewing the literature in terms of sustainability of change from the perspective of behavioural change and broad educational change, the literature search also covers Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) guiding principles for education leading to bi- and multilingualism which can be used to encourage and sustain bi- and multilingual education.

The literature on behavioural and educational change, it is expected, would illuminate the change process, the work of change agents in this respect, what motivates and retards change and how change may be sustained, all of which are critical to the study which seeks to uncover change agents' experiences of sustaining school language change and if, how and why they were able to sustain or not sustain language change. In addition, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) principles for multilingualism would illuminate the conditions necessary for a change in school language policies and practices from monolingual to multilingual education, which this study contemplates.

This section on change literature is divided into three sub-sections: social psychological perspective on change, educational change, and sustaining language change initiatives at school level.

2.2.3.1 Social Psychological Perspective on Change

This perspective on change considers behavioural change as conceptualised in the fields of psychotherapy and social work. This selective review focuses on the work of Tom Douglas⁴ who explores the process of intended change in individuals and groups. Change

⁴ Tom Douglas is one of the world's leading writers on groupwork and processes and has written and taught extensively on changing human behaviour (Douglas 2000; 1997; 1986; 1983). He examines what intentional change processes essentially are and places them in relation to the natural development of human change and to the question of

is conceptualised as an intentional activity directed at altering behaviour in a quest to make it socially acceptable. Change agents are conceptualised as either trained professionals (psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers) or friendly helpers (religious teachers, parents or friends).

In exploring change, intervention and consequence, Douglas (1997) examines three distinct parts of the process of intended change:

- Recognition that change is either desirable or necessary;
- A form of intervention/s in the current behaviour of the individual or individuals to secure that change;
- Intended and unintended consequences arising from any or all interventions.

(Douglas 1997:25)

In considering change in individuals Douglas (1997) explores the reasons for change and concludes that there are essentially two reasons; one is that the individual may be dissatisfied with him or herself in some aspect of his or her life and decides that alterations would be beneficial, either self-performed or with the help of others. The other reason is that some individuals are tasked with the mission to change others to maintain social stability - in this case change may be ordered. Linked to the reasons for change are the two types of change that Douglas (1997) identifies, viz. internally directed and externally directed change. According to Douglas (1997), internally directed change is effected by the target making a decision about itself that change is necessary and externally directed change is initiated when a person or agency different from the target suggests or orders that change is needed.

consequences. His principle theme concerns the ignored peripheral and major consequences of intervention in the lives of people, as individuals or as members of groups or organizations (Douglas 1997). In contemplating the group as a medium of change, Douglas (1986) claims that the “changers” and those to be changed need to have a strong sense of belonging to the same group and the attraction of the group must be rooted in the relevance of attitudes, values and behaviour. In addition, strong influence for change can be brought about if the group creates a shared perception of the need for change supported by information relating to the need for, plans for, and consequences of change, which must be shared by all (Douglas 1986).

In addition to exploring change in individuals, organisational change is also examined. Here Douglas (1997) distinguishes between the role of consultants in effecting organisational change and such changes as are made managerially, and between the two approaches to intervention in organisations. One approach is termed the structural logical approach which involves rational planning of organisational change based upon the function of the organisation and usually entails imposed change. The other is termed the interrelational approach which considers the needs of the human elements in the organisational structure as being fundamental to the successful performance of the organisation.

In exploring intended change in individuals and groups Douglas (1997) examines resistance to change. In this respect he explores threat and fear of proposed change, which may cause reluctance to change. In addition, the scope for change in individuals and groups and their ability to use it and the assumed costs and rewards of changing, which change agents need to be cognisant of, are also explored as critical to acceptance of or resistance to change. Another critical factor in intended change is context. Douglas (1997) argues that intended change, directed or worked at with an individual or group, has much of the quality of working blindly unless more can be known about the context in which the individual or group resides.

Some of the critical change issues that Douglas (1997) foregrounds are: the need for pressure (coercive and persuasive) to effect change, acceptance and integration of change to sustain change, support for change to be durable and establishing the potential for change of targets before initiating change.

The implications of the social psychological perspective on change for this study are to be found in the preoccupation with the human element whether the intervention is directed at changing individuals or organisations, in the relationship between context and change and in the critical change issues, which underpin change of any kind and emphasise the universal nature of change. The change focus of the social psychological perspective resonates with change in the school context. In both contexts there is a

similar preoccupation with shifting attitudes and creating a positive disposition towards school language change in individual stakeholders leading ultimately to institutional language change. Furthermore, school language change also depends heavily on creating the right context for change and is equally affected by the same critical change issues, particularly ways of sustaining school language change and support for this process.

Change issues within the school context are explored more directly in the next subsection that focuses on educational change.

2.2.3.2 Educational Change and Reform

A review of the history of educational change (Sahlberg 2008) since the 1960s reveals that essentially two different models of educational change seem to have dominated curriculum and policy change and these are externally mandated large-scale changes that focused on renewing curricula and instruction and educational change being managed equally by school authorities and by the local community, including school principals and teachers. These models of educational change are also referred to as the “adoptive” and “adaptive” models of change (Kelly 1989). The adoptive approach to change, of which the best-known model is the centre-periphery model, tends to ignore context – it is a model of central development and planned dissemination. The assumption is that change is linear and must be centrally controlled and managed. The adaptive approach is more sensitive to context and developing a capacity for change. The school based curriculum development model, which illustrates this approach, locates the educator at the centre of the innovation process. The educator identifies the need for innovation and also initiates the process of innovation and is thus active in the change process and takes responsibility for the process. Rodgers & Shoemaker (1971) who focus on characteristics of innovation, Hopkins et al (1994) who explore internal and external change, policy change, policy implementation, changes in individual practice and beliefs about change, and particularly Fullan (1993) who speaks of the new paradigm of change are exponents of the adaptive model of educational change. This selective review of educational change which

foregrounds the concepts of change agency and sustainability focuses on the work of Michael Fullan.

Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) *New Meaning of Educational Change* model links educational change to the role of key educational stakeholders at the local, regional and national levels. Teachers, principals, parents and superintendents of education among other stakeholders are conceptualised as change agents leading change efforts. It is this role of teachers, principals and parents as change agents leading change from within schools that finds resonance with Douglas' (1997) conception of change agents. Although Douglas (1997) conceptualises change agents largely as trained professionals whose primary function is initiating behavioural change in others while the primary function of teachers and principals is managing the enterprise of teaching and learning, both Douglas (1997) and Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) change agents share a common goal, viz. change leading to positive outcomes, and are similarly preoccupied with critical change issues like creating conditions for sustainable change, enabling support for change, and developing capacity to engage with change. It is these issues that also inform the change agenda of change agents in this study.

In contemplating the response of teachers to change, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) observe that teachers are negatively disposed to externally experienced change whether this comes from the education department or fellow teachers driving the change process. Change is a highly personal experience – each and every teacher who will be affected by change must have the opportunity to work through this experience in a way in which the rewards at least equal the cost (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991:127). Other factors critical to change initiatives succeeding and being sustained are the following. Firstly, teachers need to have some understanding of the operational meaning of the change before entering into the innovation, with full understanding coming from some experience of change. Secondly, the number of changes that teachers confront must be within their ability to deal with - too many changes than are humanly impossible to implement are counterproductive. Thirdly, support and external assistance are critical as are collegiality and collaborative work cultures. Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) consider it imperative for

teachers who are engaged in curriculum development or involved in content innovation to be sensitive to the need for other teachers to come to grips with the sense of the innovation. Commitment to the innovation from those leading the change is needed but Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991:139) observe: “It must be balanced with the knowledge that people are at different starting points, with different legitimate priorities, and that the change process may result in transformations or variations in the change.”

Fullan (1993) identifies moral purpose (making a difference) together with the skills of change agency as key to teachers leading change. In preparing teachers for change and their roles as agents of change, Fullan (1993) concludes that action is required to link initial teacher preparation and continuous teacher development based on moral purpose and change agency with the corresponding restructuring of universities and schools and their relationships. He asserts: “Individuals and small groups working on new conceptions intersect to produce breakthroughs – new conceptions, once mobilized, become new paradigms.” (Fullan 1993:7).

The skills of change agency combined with moral purpose identified as key to teachers leading change within their schools are critical to interrogating the role of one of the change agents (level 1 educator and classroom practitioner) in leading language change within her school.

In contemplating the principal’s response to change, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) observe that recent research on the change role of principals has progressed from examining the principal’s role in implementing specific innovations to his or her role in leading changes in the culture of the school. Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991:169) assert: “The principal as head of the organisation is crucial. As long as we have schools and principals, if the principal does not lead changes in the culture of the school, or if he or she leaves it to others, it normally will not get done – that is, improvement will not happen.”

Leithwood & Jantzi (1990) studied principals who were effective at transforming the culture of the school toward a stronger improvement orientation with principals less effective at school improvement. Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) note that principals effective at transforming the culture of the school took actions that: strengthened the school's (improvement) culture; used a variety of bureaucratic mechanisms to stimulate and reinforce cultural change; fostered staff development; engaged in direct and frequent communication about cultural norms, values and belief; shared power and responsibility with others; and used symbols to express cultural values.

Berman & McLaughlin's (1977) study of principals and innovation concluded that change initiatives within schools succeeded where principals supported the change process. Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) agree with Berman & McLaughlin (1977) that projects having the active support of the principal normally fares well with the principal's actions, not words, carrying the message to teachers as to whether a change is to be taken seriously. In contemplating the ways in which active principals support innovation, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) observe that the principal needs to become involved in or keep abreast with curriculum planning in the various departments instead of detaching himself from the process.

Of the different leadership styles adopted by principals, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) note that the initiator principal was most successful as change facilitator. Initiator principals worked more with staff to clarify and support the use of the innovation and worked in collaborative ways with other change facilitators with the result that collaboratively-led schools experienced more interventions and more multiple target interventions, more action taken by teachers, and more focus on student learning. Goleman (2000) identified six leadership styles including the coercive, authoritative, affiliative, democratic, pacesetter and coaching styles of organisational leadership. Commenting on these leadership styles as they apply to principals, Fullan (2001) identifies the coercive leadership style (demands compliance, or "do what I tell you") and the pacesetter leadership style (sets high standards for performance, or "do as I do, now") as styles that negatively affected a climate of change and in turn performance.

Teachers resented and resisted coercive principals while pacesetting principals overwhelmed teachers, resulting in teacher burn out. While the authoritative (mobilizes people toward a vision, or “come with me”), affiliative (creates harmony and builds emotional bonds, or “people come first”), democratic (forges consensus through participation, or “what do you think?”) and coaching (develops people for the future, or “try this”) leadership styles positively affected a climate of change.

Fullan (2005a) identifies for principals what he terms “forces for leaders of change” which include: engaging people’s moral purpose, building capacity, understanding the change process, developing cultures for learning, developing cultures for evaluating change, focusing on leadership for change and fostering coherence making.

The cited literature on the transformative role of principals locates the principal at the centre of change initiatives in the school with the initiator principal in particular leading and sustaining change within his/her school. It is with this role of the principal as internal change agent in mind that the study interrogates the role of two of the change agents who are principals leading language change within their schools.

Fullan (2005b) identifies elements, similar to that for principals, for superintendents who are intent on sustaining change. These include the following:

- Making moral purpose a system quality through fostering moral purpose in the school district.
- Commitment to changing context at all levels of the education system by giving people new experiences, new capacities and new insights into what should and can be accomplished.
- Strengthening the capacity of schools to engage in self-review, but to do so transparently in relation to district and state accountability frameworks.
- Encouraging deep learning, i.e. fostering continuous improvement, adaptation and collective problem solving in the face of complex challenges that continually arise.

- Dual commitment to short-term and long-term results.
- Cyclical energizing which includes balancing energy expenditure with intermittent energy renewal, pushing beyond normal limits in building capacity and engaging in highly specific routines for managing energy.
- Using leadership to sustain change which goes beyond improving student performance to developing other leaders in the school district.

In contemplating the role of parents in school reform, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) consider parental involvement as instructionally related involvement or non-instructional forms of involvement. Instructionally related parental involvement include parental involvement at school as volunteers and assistants and parental involvement in learning activities at home through assisting children with their schoolwork at home. Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) contend that direct involvement in instruction in relation to one's own child's education is one of the surest routes for parents to develop a sense of specific meaning in relation to new programmes designed to improve learning. Jobs as paid aides provide this opportunity for some parents while experience as home tutors and other forms of involvement with teachers provide the opportunity for every parent at the elementary grade levels.

Non-instructional forms of parental involvement include participation in governance and advisory councils and broad forms of community-school relations and collaboration. In examining the role of school boards and communities on educational change, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) note that while cases of community pressure leading to change are in the minority partly because local school boards are often overlooked in reform initiatives, school boards can make a difference with successful boards working actively and interactively with superintendents and the district administration. Danzberger et al (1987) observed that the role of school boards was unclear, that board members received little preparation and training for their roles, and that only a fifth of the school boards surveyed had any process for evaluating or monitoring the board's role. Noting this, these authors recommend that state reforms should strengthen the capacity of local boards to bring

about and monitor change, and that boards themselves should be engaged in self-improvement.

It is the role of parents in school governance structures leading change within schools and being capacitated to support change within schools that the study contemplates. In this respect the study interrogates the language change initiatives of a school governing body chairperson who is one of the change agents and his call for greater capacitation of parents to increase their input in school language change.

The implications of Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) new meaning of educational change for this study lies firstly, in his conceptualisation of teachers, principals, parents and superintendents as agents leading educational change, and secondly, by deliberating on sustainability of change through encouraging systemic change i.e. change at all levels of the education department - the local, regional and national levels.

Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) conceptualisation of teachers, principals and parents as agents leading educational change finds resonance with Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) identification of educational agents (educators, parents, administration staff and students) as critical to sustaining multilingual education in schools. These authors' guiding principles for education leading to multilingualism, which encompass the role of these educational agents as well as the development of a context and culture for multilingual education, are reviewed in the next sub-section.

2.2.3.3 Sustaining Language Change Initiatives at School Level

Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) identify general guiding principles for education for multilingualism, multiliteracy (Heath 1980) and multiculturalism which are useful in informing school language change initiatives and exposing the conditions necessary for encouraging and sustaining bi- and multilingual education.

To achieve full multilingualism certain guiding principles, according to Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) have to be followed by agents involved, developed by the educational context in which the action takes place, and supported by the surrounding society. Planning for multilingualism through schooling requires the active involvement of *agents* from the community as well as the school. Furthermore, these *agents* must be engaged in developing a school culture that supports multilingualism beyond that which exists in the societal culture but it must also be supported by society at large. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) provide guiding principles for within-school conditions for multilingualism. Among the important characteristics that are seen as desirable or required of educational agents and the educational culture are contemplated by these guiding principles.

2.2.3.3.1 Educational Agents

The educational agents critical for supporting the shift to and sustaining multilingual education are the administration staff, teachers, parents and students. The characteristics required of these agents are captured below.

- **Multilingual administration and staff**

The administrators, teachers and clerks must be multilingual or minimally bilingual and should be of different ethnicities and/or nationalities. All first languages of the students should have native language speakers as well as second language speakers among the staff who should be committed to (and be economically rewarded for) developing their own bi- or multilingual proficiency as well as that of their students. The career patterns (workforce profile) of the school should reflect appreciation of diversity.

- **Bi- or Multilingual Teachers**

Teachers who are multilingual should actively teach only through the medium of one language even when the teacher gives translation equivalents in the other language when

needed. This encourages student responses in the language in which input is received. Multilingual teachers should have very high levels of linguistic competence in the language in which they teach or that they teach (in reality high competence in one language and a bit lower in the other/s). This ensures rich linguistic input from the teacher and equally rich output from the students. Multilingual teachers should differ from monolingual ones in linguistic capacity and formal education (subject matter, pedagogical principles, language, history and culture of the group whose language is used in instruction and taught) and knowledge (theories of L2 and mother tongue instruction and multilingual education, strategies for teaching second and foreign languages, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic principles of multilingualism).

- **Committed parents (bi- or multilingual or monolingual)**

Parents must make the choice of multilingual schooling for their children and be committed to the multilingualism and multiliteracy of their children. Parents should be well informed at all times and be encouraged to participate actively in the multilingual school bringing their language, history, culture and values into the school. Parents should be interested in the development of their own bi or multilingual proficiency. Parents must direct the school's educational and language policy.

- **Progressively Multilingual students**

Progressively all students are expected to become multilingual and multiliterate and be responsible for their own multilingualism. They must be well informed of the school's vision of acquiring multilingual status and encouraging high levels of multilingualism and how to cope with possible negative outsider attitudes.

2.2.3.3.2 Educational Culture/Context

Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995) recommend, in addition to characteristics of educational agents desirable for multilingual education, the creation of an educational

context and culture in which the change to multilingual education can be sustained. A description of this culture and context is captured in the following principles.

- **Multilingual Educational Context**

The school system must be designed to promote (minimally) bilingualism for all, multilingualism for most (or some initially) and monolingualism for none. The bi- and multilingual school system must encompass the whole of primary and secondary education and should encourage a multilingual language surround in the entire school, also outside the classrooms, in practice. The staff should be encouraged to use all languages everywhere. Correspondences/notices should always be written in all languages, school signs should be posted in both or all languages, bulletin boards should be devoted to each language, school assemblies should be conducted alternately in both or all languages.

- **Multilingual language policy**

The students' mother tongue should be expanded and developed and students should be made to feel secure in their mother tongue. The students' second language should be expanded and developed and students should be made to feel secure in their second language. The students' mother tongue should be the basis for the acquisition and development of the students' second and further languages and for developing full bi- and multilingualism.

- **Multilingual educational strategies**

All languages should be used as instruments for knowledge. Whole language strategies should be used, including reading of authentic literature in all languages, writing in all languages, particularly journal writing and communicating in all languages.

- **Multilingual materials**

Materials should be varied and reflect multilingualism and multiculturalism. Teachers should generate materials where none exists in a particular language. Materials from oracy-oriented cultures should be used on an equal basis with “literacy-oriented” cultures.

- **Authentic and fair multilingual assessment**

Students should be allowed to take exams in their mother tongue or a second language – results should be of equal value. Assessment should be criterion-referenced with different measures for native speakers and second language learners. Portfolio-based assessment should be used extensively.

Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) are conscious that it is not possible to find all these conditions prevalent in one multilingual school and therefore offer the principles as guidelines of the main conditions necessary for encouraging and sustaining multilingual education. These authors indicate that it is more realistic to assume that some of these conditions might be evident in a particular school and as the school becomes increasingly multilingual in its character, language policy and practices, more of these characteristics would manifest themselves.

The guidelines suggested by Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) are incorporated in the theoretical and conceptual framework to guide the analysis and interpretation of data reflecting school language change initiatives in the study.

2.2.4 Summary

A selective review of the literature focused on language policies in education and policy reforms addressing the linguistic diversity of learners in the South African and the wider African context and a selection of other international contexts. The existing literature revealed that implementation lags behind policy reforms that support multilingual

education particularly in the South African and the wider African context. It was discovered that implementation was compromised by a range of factors, chief of which were disabling language attitudes which persist in privileging English over African languages and a lack of state support to translate policy into practice. The literature on multilingual education programmes revealed the existence of programmes internationally that were underpinned by the principle of additive multilingualism and were similar to experimental programmes used by language NGOs in South Africa. The search was broadened to address the role of change agents in initiating and sustaining change in the context of educational change and reform, behavioural change from the perspective of social psychology, and principles and guidelines for education leading to multilingualism. Review of change literature revealed critical change issues impacting the change process, sustainability of change and the efforts of change agents leading the change process. The theoretical and conceptual understandings gleaned from the literature reviewed were used to construct a theoretical and conceptual framework for interpreting and analysing school language change and the experiences of change agents driving and attempting to sustain such change.

The second part of this chapter, which follows, develops the theoretical and conceptual framework by forwarding the main theoretical and conceptual issues derived from the three change perspectives (social psychological perspective on change, educational change and language change) and merging these to create a single framework to interrogate the change initiatives of the language change agents in the study.

2.3 Part 2: Theoretical and conceptual framework

Arising from the literature review, three strands of theoretical and conceptual understandings on change (social psychological perspective on change, educational change, language policy and practice change) are derived and these are used to construct a framework for interpreting and analysing the data.

2.3.1 Social Psychological perspective on change

The first strand comprises the social psychological perspective on change (Douglas 1997), which attempts to understand the process of change involving individuals and institutions, and the environments in which they operate as targets of change. The focus is on behavioural change wrought by change agents who are trained professionals or friendly helpers and the core concepts are the following: externally and internally directed change, conditions enabling and disabling change (dissatisfaction propelling change, fear and threat of change limiting change, scope for change of targets either limiting or accelerating change), context and change, support and change, acceptance of and resistance to change, pressure and change, maintenance (sustainability) of change.

2.3.2 Educational change

The second strand comprises educational change and focuses specifically on the new meaning of educational change (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991). This model of educational change foregrounds the main stakeholders at the local (school), district and national levels of the education department and their response to change. In examining their roles, particularly those of teachers, principals and parents, Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) cast them as agents of change not simply implementing change from above but leading the change process. This approach makes possible large-scale reform grounded in local ownership (Fullan 2001). The perspective of change offered by this approach suggests types of change activities that are typically associated with or especially effective for change agents in their particular roles, and the limitations and constraints associated with their roles. This would be useful as a framework to interrogate the experiences of language change agents leading language change at the local (school) level and to reflect on the role of agents at the regional and national levels in supporting these change initiatives. The approach's concern with the process of initiation and adoption of change, the sustainability or institutionalization of the identified change and the factors impacting on this process are instructive and can be used in a framework to analyse the change process led by the language change agents in their respective schools.

2.3.3 Language policy and practice change

The third strand (Fishman 1977, Ruiz 1984, Martin-Jones 1995, Milroy & Muysken 1995, Sridhar 1996) focuses on theoretical and analytical approaches exploring language policy change. These approaches address multilingualism and the implementation of multilingual policies in the context of social, historical, economic, political and cultural factors impacting on language choice in societal institutions and particularly competing ideologies and interests within these institutions and in the wider society which impact on language choice and receptivity (or not) to language policy change.

An important theoretical approach in this strand is Joshua Fishman's Domain Analysis (1977) that was used in more recent studies (Martin-Jones 1995) to interpret the social and political factors within and outside linguistically diverse schools which impact on the type and level of multilingual teaching/learning which take place in these schools. Fishman (1977) drawing on his study of Spanish-English bilingualism in New York, USA, linked language choice to what he called domains. A domain is an abstraction, which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships. Fishman (1977) explored language choice in terms of the following domains: the family, friendship, religion, employment and education. He discovered that the most likely place for Spanish was the family domain, followed by friendship and religion with a switch to English for the more formal settings of the workplace and education. Fishman's (1977) approach has been criticised on the grounds that in modern bilingual societies, the relationship between languages and speech activities is not unambiguous, and that many speech activities are not tied to one particular language, and even when they are realised more in one language than in another, the correlation is never strong enough to predict language choice in more than a probabilistic way (Auer 1995). However, Fishman's (1977) domain analysis which is informed by sociological analysis, illuminates the role played by societal structures in constraining and enabling the language behaviour of individuals (Milroy & Muysken 1995). Martin-Jones (1995) drew on Fishman's (1977) framework to demonstrate how

social relations within bilingual classrooms influence the breadth and depth of bilingual interaction within such classes, and to explore the asymmetrical relationship between the bilingual assistants and the resident teacher. Martin-Jones' (1995) study confirms Fishman's (1977) view that societal factors dictate much of what is taught and to whom; as well as how it is taught and by whom; and finally how all of those involved in the teaching-learning process interact with each other. Other sociolinguists (Kachru & Sridhar 1978, Sridhar 1996) aligning themselves with Fishman's theory introduced the concept of the Asymmetrical Principle of Multilingualism where languages in a multilingual community can be viewed as being arranged on a hierarchy. Hence, all the languages in the repertoire of a multilingual community are not equally distributed in terms of power, prestige, vitality or attitude; some languages are more valued than others (Sridhar 1996). Thus the status and value attached to different languages and the attitudes adopted towards different languages may impact on the linguistic choices in schools. The theoretical positions adopted by Fishman (1977) and Sridhar (1996) may help to illuminate understanding of competing ideologies and interests within and outside schools which in turn impact on language choice and the successful implementation or otherwise of transformative language policies and practices.

Another theoretical approach used in language planning but also instructive in understanding how language attitudes determine language choice and preferences is termed the Orientations Model (Ruiz 1984). This model accounts for the role played by attitudes towards language and its role and languages and their roles in society. The model is characterised as follows:

- A **language as problem** orientation which would tend to see local languages as problems standing in the way of the incorporation of cultural and linguistic minority groups in society, and to link language issues with the social problems characteristic of such groups – poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, and little or no social mobility;

- A **language as a right** orientation which would tend to see local languages as a basic human and civil right for their speakers, and to seek the affirmation of those rights, often leading to confrontation, since a claim to something is also a claim against something else.
- A **language as a resource** orientation which would tend to see local languages as resources not only for their speakers, but for society as a whole, and to seek their cultivation and development as resources, in recognition of the fact that they are exhaustible not by use, but by lack of use.

The linguistic minority groups and their languages that are marginalized through negative perceptions created of these languages and the assimilation of these minorities into other more powerful languages, notably English, must be paralleled with the situation in South Africa. In South Africa linguistic majorities, that is speakers of indigenous African languages, have likewise been assimilated into the language of wider appeal, English, and who have developed perceptions of their own languages as problematic and blocking access to wealth and prestige. Closely linked to Ruiz's (1984) model is the concept of Static Maintenance Syndrome (Alexander 2004) which accounts for persisting negative perceptions of African languages chief of which is belief that African languages cannot be used in the most powerful domains of society. A counter to this concept is the Intellectualisation of African languages (Ngugi 1986, Mazrui & Mazrui 1998, Prah 2002, Alexander 2005), an approach which is concerned with the development of African languages that would enable them to be used in powerful domains thereby enhancing their linguistic capital (Bordieu 1991, Kamwangamalu 2000).

These conceptual understandings together with Ruiz's (1984) model may not only illuminate the role played by attitudes (individual and collective) towards language(s) which impact on language policy development but also the role played by such attitudes in the successful implementation or otherwise of language policy and practice reform.

In addition to the foregoing theoretical and conceptual underpinnings, the various principles under the categories of Educational Agents and Educational Context that Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) advance are incorporated in a framework to guide interpretation and analysis of school language change initiatives that address the imperative of providing multilingual education to cater for the needs of linguistically diverse learners in post-apartheid South African schools.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter was structured into two sections. Directed by the purpose of the study which is to interrogate school language change that responds to linguistic diversity in post-apartheid South African schools, Section A reviewed existing literature in the field of language in education policy development and policy provisions to address the linguistic needs of learners in multilingual educational contexts both in South Africa and internationally. Noting that the study further contemplates sustainability of school language initiatives led by agents of language change, the literature search was broadened to review change literature focusing on the role of change agents in initiating and sustaining change.

The literature on language policy developments and provisions to address linguistic diversity in multilingual educational contexts revealed that the response to language in education policy reforms in South Africa and the wider African context was discouraging with the hegemonic status of English being further entrenched in the African continent. This was tempered by evidence of a resurgence of interest in African languages and their use as languages of learning and teaching especially in primary schooling. There was also evidence of a continent-wide drive to develop and empower African languages. Provisions for bi- or multilingual education, according to the literature, comprised programmes developed to cater for the linguistic needs of learners from minority

language communities particularly in the USA and to address French-English bilingualism in Canada, multilingualism in India and multilingualism and multiculturalism in Europe. The programmes are additive language models encouraging the maintenance of home languages alongside the acquisition of additional languages and thus are similar to experimental programmes for multilingual education developed by language NGOs in South Africa, notably PRAESA. It was argued that the factors compromising implementation of language policies that supported multilingualism in South Africa and the wider African context, and the additive language models used to promote multilingual education internationally are instructive for interrogation of school language change in the study.

The literature search was broadened to review change literature beyond the realm of language change because of limited language change literature that focuses primarily on the work of change agents and sustainability of change. The literature revealed the existence of critical change issues which impacted the change process and could be equally applied to school language change and be used to inform interrogation of school language change initiatives and sustainability of such initiatives driven by internal agents of language change. It was argued that the principles and guidelines for education leading to multilingualism derived from the literature would be equally instructive for interrogating the language change initiatives contemplated in the study.

Section B of this chapter gathered insights emerging from the literature to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework to guide data analysis. The theoretical understandings arising from the three strands of change (behavioural change, educational change and language change) deliberated in the literature review were merged to construct this framework.

The next chapter details the research methodology used in the study by locating the study in its appropriate paradigm, arguing for the research approach adopted in the study and describing data collection methods and data analysis procedures.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: DEVELOPING THE TOOLS FOR INTERROGATING SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by establishing the philosophical underpinnings of the research methodology and motivates for the use of the qualitatively-oriented case study method. It is argued that this is an appropriate method of social inquiry to develop new and extend existing understandings of school language change in post-apartheid South Africa through interrogating the experiences of language change agents who attempted to initiate and sustain language change in their respective schools. The motivation for adopting features of the grounded theory approach to exploit the potential of case studies to build theory and to exploit the potential of this study to generate a theoretical understanding of school language change is then given. In considering the imperative of examining context in order to derive authentic understandings from the experiences of participants in a case study, the chapter proceeds to outline the school contexts in which the language change agents operated. Since the personalities of key participants impact the way such participants interact with others in their social context, a description of the distinguishing characteristics of each change agent is provided. This is followed by a description of data collection, analysis and the validity measures that were adopted to authenticate the data collected. Description of contexts, main research participants and data collection and analysis are linked to the aims and purpose of the study.

3.2 Philosophical underpinnings for the methodology

Before deciding on research methodology, Guba & Lincoln (1994) advise that attention should be given to the critical issue of paradigm. It is the choice of paradigm that sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research; without nominating a paradigm as the first step, there is no basis for subsequent choices regarding

methodology, methods, literature or research design (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006). What is a paradigm?

Cohen & Manion (1994:38) define paradigm as the philosophical intent or motivation for undertaking a study. Bogdan & Biklen (1998:22) define paradigm as “a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research”. Creswell (2003) discusses the interpretive framework in terms of knowledge claims instead of referring to paradigms. Guba & Lincoln (1994) define paradigm as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways. Methodology encompasses techniques of data collection and analysis, epistemology is what counts as knowledge and ontology constitutes what is real and what entities exist (Packer 2000).

In establishing the philosophical underpinnings for the research methodology, this part locates the study within the paradigm that is best aligned to the research approach adopted in the study. In doing so it argues that the research design is framed within the interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm encompasses research which seeks to “understand the world of human experience” (Cohen & Manion 1994: 36), suggests that “reality is socially constructed” (Mertens 2005: 12) and relies on participants’ views of the situation being studied and the impact of their own background and experiences on the research (Cresswell 2003). Thus the interpretive paradigm is best aligned to the approach adopted in this study as the study is concerned with developing *understanding* of school language change culled from language change agents’ *experiences* and *interaction with others* in their *social context* in the pursuit of effecting and sustaining school language change.

Interpretive inquiry aims to characterize how people experience the world, the ways they interact together, and the settings in which these interactions take place (Packer 1999, Cohen et al 2000). Interpretive research is fundamentally concerned with meaning and it seeks to understand social members’ definition of a situation (Schwandt 1994:118). Interpretivists assume that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation; hence there

is no objective knowledge that is independent of thinking, reasoning humans and interpretivism often addresses essential features of shared meaning and understanding (Gephart 1999). Thus, a research study grounded in the interpretive paradigm endeavours to uncover how people see the world and how world views are influenced by social interaction and experience, and it attempts to make sense of or interpret phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

In terms of methodology, the interpretive paradigm assumes that research requires description of specific cases through narrative articulation and interpretation; in terms of epistemology, the interpretive paradigm assumes that people employ interpretive schemes which must be understood, and the local context must be articulated; and in terms of ontology, the interpretive paradigm locates subjects and objects within intersubjective social fields which structure and constrain activity (Packer 2000).

The perspective offered by interpretivism provides a means for interrogating the experiences of each of the change agents and the resultant perceptions of how school language change is negotiated, managed and sustained or subverted. It also allows for competing positions and differing experiences of the change agents to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change and creates a basis for examining how change agents' interaction with others within their individual school contexts as well as contextual factors have enabled and/or disabled their attempts to sustain school language change.

In allowing for interrogation of individual and collective experiences and allowing competing positions and differing experiences to deepen understanding, interpretivism gives the researcher access to using an interpretivist, qualitatively-oriented case study approach to best achieve the aims and purposes of this study. The purpose of the study is to explore the individual and collective experiences of language change agents attempting to sustain initiated language change in their schools with a view to advancing understanding of the school language change process.

3.3 The argument for adopting a qualitatively-oriented case study approach

Case study research can be positivist (Yin 2002) or interpretivist (Walsham 1993, Stake 1995). Stake (1995) advocates an interpretivist, qualitatively-oriented case study approach where the emphasis is on a more naturalistic approach to the world and the importance of the description of contexts. The method chosen to interrogate school language change and the experiences of language change agents in this respect is a qualitatively-oriented case study.

While not exclusive to the interpretive paradigm, qualitative research methods are closely linked to the interpretive mode of research inquiry. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003) qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world where qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. These authors add that qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand and are committed to an emic⁵, idiographic⁶, case-based position, which directs their attention to the specifics of particular cases. In describing qualitatively-oriented case studies, Mouton (2001) states that the interaction of the unit of study with its context is a significant part of the investigation and thickly described qualitatively-oriented case studies take multiple perspectives into account and attempt to understand the influences of multilevel social systems on subjects' perspectives and behaviours.

Acknowledging the complexity and competing ideological positions prevalent among members of the schooling community, a qualitatively-oriented case study approach for this study would provide rich data for an interrogation of how school language change is managed, negotiated, operationalised and sustained or subverted by contextual and ideological factors. Furthermore, a qualitatively-oriented case study more than any other

⁵ An "emic" account is a description of behaviour or a belief in terms meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor; that is, an emic account is culture-specific (Cresswell 1998).

⁶ Idiographic research methods concentrate on specific cases and the unique traits or functioning of individuals by creating concepts and categories that apply to specific individuals, rather than on broad generalizations about human behavior. (Runyan 1983).

approach suits this research study which endeavours to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change through interrogating multiple perspectives of this phenomenon offered by the language change agents and others in their respective contexts based on their experiences of school language change.

Cohen et al. (2000: 23) define phenomenology broadly as a theoretical point of view that advocates the study of direct experience taken at face value; and one which sees behaviour as determined by the phenomena of experience rather than by external, objective and physically described reality. The concern with phenomena, that is, the things we directly apprehend through our senses together with a consequent emphasis on qualitative methodology (Cohen et al 2000) are what locates phenomenology within interpretivism. Phenomenology studies the structure of various types of experiences ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion, desire, and volition to bodily awareness, embodied action, and social activity, including linguistic activity. The structure of these forms of experience typically involves what Husserl called "intentionality", that is, the directedness of experience toward things in the world, the property of consciousness that it is a consciousness of or about something (Smith 2003: 2). The basic intentional structure of consciousness, we find in reflection or analysis, involves further forms of experience and, thus, phenomenology develops a complex account of the following qualities. Awareness of one's own experience (self-consciousness, in one sense), self-awareness (awareness-of-oneself), the self in different roles (as thinking, acting, etc.), awareness of other persons (in empathy, intersubjectivity, collectivity), linguistic activity (involving meaning, communication, understanding others), social interaction (including collective action), and everyday activity in our surrounding life-world in a particular culture (Smith 2003: 3). The qualitatively-oriented case study approach adopted for this study guided in part by phenomenological analysis of the experiences of the change agents and others with which they interact in their social contexts would deepen understanding of school language change.

In adopting the case study approach for this study, it is imperative that this research method is clearly defined. Yin (2002) defines case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the

boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Creswell (1998) states that a case study is an exploration of a bounded system or a case over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context. Bromley (1990) defines a case study as a systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest. Stake (1978) states that a case need not be a person or enterprise; it can be whatever bounded system is of interest; an institution, a program, a responsibility, a collection, or a population. Stake (2003) adds that the case can be a general phenomenon or a population of cases, stating that we cannot understand an individual case without knowing about other cases and we may simultaneously carry on more than one case study, but each case study is concentrated enquiry into a single case. Stake (1978) states that it is important in the first place to give prominence to what is and what is not the case thereby keeping the boundaries in focus. He adds that what happens and is deemed important within those boundaries is considered vital and usually determines what the study is about. Stake (1995) also distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental case studies, explaining that the former is undertaken because one wants better understanding of a particular case and that the latter is used to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory.

In light of the foregoing definitions and descriptions of the case study approach, this study, in interrogating the experiences of four different language change agents each attempting to drive and sustain language change in his/her respective school, does not focus on a single case. However, in endeavouring to generate an authentic understanding of the process of initiating and sustaining school language change, the study provides an in-depth inquiry of each case and does not dilute the meaning and importance of each case through using more than one case (Feigin et al 1991). While not diluting the importance of each change agent's experiences of attempting to sustain language change in his/her school context, the analysis and discussion of findings involves merging of the individual experiences thereby allowing more cohesiveness to better understand the phenomenon of school language change. Where experiences are divergent, the analysis and discussion foregrounds these differing experiences and resultant divergent

perceptions of and competing positions on the process of school language change to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change.

In contemplating the distinction that Stake (1995) makes between case studies that are intrinsic (heightens understanding of a particular case) and those that are instrumental (provides insight into an issue or refines a theory), it is argued that this study is both intrinsic and instrumental. In seeking to understand the individual experiences of language change agents while at the same time using the collective experiences of all four change agents to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change and to generate a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon, the study is both intrinsic and instrumental in its orientation.

3.4 Building theory from case studies

Mouton (2001) contends that case studies have great potential for theory development but concedes that many researchers do not attempt to relate findings to previous theory and research, nor do they discuss the theoretical relevance of case studies. Stake (1978) argues that though case studies have been useful in theory building, their best use appears to him to be for adding to existing experience and humanistic understanding. Zucker (2001) who used case study methodology in nursing research to describe the experience and meaning of men living with chronic heart disease discusses the implications of case study research in developing nursing theory.

An important focus of this study, in complete agreement with Stake (1978), is the deepening of understanding of the phenomenon of school language change and how language change in schools becomes negotiated and sustained or subverted. The additional purpose of the study is to build a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of school language change generated out of the particular experiences of the change agents. In generating this theoretical understanding of school language change, the study adopts features of the grounded theory approach.

3.4.1 Grounded Theory

Creswell (1998) states that the intent of a grounded theory study is to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon, that relates to a particular situation. Grounded theory study was developed to encourage the generation of low level or grounded theories to represent the patterns surfaced in low level or setting specific research (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

Gephart (1999:6) outlines the steps in developing grounded theory pioneered by Glaser & Strauss (1967). Grounded qualitative research often begins with sensitizing or orienting concepts which are examined through micro level observations of social interactions and developed and elaborated further to capture and reflect discovered features of the phenomenon examined. Data collection includes collecting multiple examples of the phenomenon of emerging interest which is then subjected to constant comparative analysis which is a process used to generate theoretical properties for a category or concept of interest. Essentially this comparative analysis process examines all data slices which are similar on a given dimension or category and compares these to slices which are similar on one or more dimensions but differ on theoretically important dimensions. Constant comparative analysis is completed by comparing all incidents relevant to a given theoretically meaningful category, integrating the categories and their properties, delimiting the range of the theory and then writing the theory.

Eisenhardt's (1989) commentary on grounded theory development from specific cases incorporates the steps in developing grounded theory proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, Eisenhardt's (1989) comments on data collection and analysis warrant mention. According to this author there is frequent overlap between data analysis and data collection making the process iterative. Overlapping data analysis with data collection gives a headstart in analysis and allows researchers to take advantage of flexible data collection. According to Eisenhardt (1989), the researcher is allowed the freedom to make adjustments during the data collection process like amending the data collection to add on questions to an interview protocol so as to allow the researcher to

probe emergent themes or to take advantage of special opportunities that present themselves in a given situation. Burgelman (1983) added interviews with individuals whose importance became clear during data collection. This kind of alteration to the data collection plan during a study which Eisenhardt (1989) terms controlled opportunism is legitimate for theory-building research because researchers are trying to understand each case individually and in as much depth as is feasible. Furthermore, if a new line of thinking emerges in the research, it makes sense to take advantage by altering data collection if such alteration is likely to better ground the theory or provide theoretical insight.

Corbin & Strauss (1990) recommend steps for generating grounded theory which are an extension of the steps outlined by Gephart (1999). The first two steps cover research design, which involves literature review leading to selecting cases through theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling translates in practical terms into two sampling events. An initial case is selected and on the basis of the data analysis pertaining to that case and hence the emerging theory, additional cases are selected. The third step involves developing data collection protocols; grounded theory advocates the use of multiple data sources converging on the same phenomenon and terms these “slices of data”. Different kinds of data give analysts different views or vantage points from which to understand a category and to develop its properties. The next step involves data collection, which is an iterative process overlapping data collection and analysis, and incorporates opportunistic data collection, which is foregrounded in Eisenhardt (1989). Step five involves data ordering and step six, data analysis. Analysis includes open coding to develop concepts, categories and properties; axial coding to develop connections between a category and its sub-categories; and selective coding to integrate categories to build a theoretical framework. Step seven involves replication across cases, which implies selecting additional cases through theoretical sampling to confirm, extend and sharpen the theoretical framework. Closure is reached when there is theoretical saturation and the final step involves comparing the emergent theory with extant literature and refining the theory.

3.4.2 Features of Grounded Theory Approach used in the study

This study utilizes some of the features of grounded theory development to generate a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of school language change. These features relate largely to data collection and analysis. The study uses multiple data sources, employs sensitising concepts to orient and guide the analysis, and involves comparative analysis of data slices leading to development of themes, sub-categories and categories culminating in a theoretical understanding of school language change.

While the study does not technically employ theoretical sampling involving two or more sampling events, there are two distinct data collection events. Analysis of data from the first event (interviews with change agents and significant others, selected lesson observations, and collection of documents) prompted the second data collection event (the Focus Group Discussion involving the change agents) to deepen emerging understandings of school language change.

Other features of the grounded theory approach evident in the study include opportunistic data collecting and overlapping data collection and analysis. Data collection and analysis was an iterative process with preliminary analysis of interview data being used to develop prompts to generate discussion in the Focus Group session; the sensitizing concepts were also used as prompts in the Focus Group Discussion. Opportunities that presented themselves during data collection to interview certain members of the educator staff and/or to observe their lessons in each of the schools not anticipated in the data collection plan were exploited to deepen understanding of each agent's attempts at initiating and sustaining language change at his/her school. This controlled opportunism (Eisenhardt 1989) was exploited to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change and should not be construed as a licence to be unsystematic.

3.5 Selection of schools and research participants

Purposive sampling (Mouton 2001) was used to select the main research participants and the schools used in the study. Purposive sampling seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in depth (Patton 1990).

As was captured in the Background to the Study, the research context for this study was provided by the HSRC project on multilingual education in post-apartheid South African schools (2004) in which the researcher was involved as KZN project leader. The project identified in four of the KZN schools in the sample one stakeholder in each of these schools operating as a language change agent who appeared to be driving language policy and practice change in these schools. It is these four change agents and their schools that were purposefully selected for this study. Since the study seeks to understand how school language change through the intervention of language change agents was sustained, negotiated, managed or subverted, these change agents operating within their school contexts provided information-rich data to illuminate the process of initiating and sustaining school language change.

3.6 Describing the context

According to Mouton (2001) the unit of analysis in case study research is rarely isolated from and unaffected by factors in the environment in which it is embedded and therefore to understand and interpret case studies, researchers describe the context in detail. Context is particularly important in language research as the influence of contextual factors on language maintenance, language choice and language attitudes are critical (Adegbija 1994, Arriagada 2005). In this respect some of the socio-historical contextual factors influencing current language attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa (Adegbija 1994) notably imposition of European languages, colonial and post colonial language and educational policies and the irresistible pressures of upward social mobility were also evident in the context of this study and also shaped language attitudes in the study.

Noting the importance of context in case study research and particularly the link between context and language choice and shaping of language attitudes, a description of the school context in which each change agent operated is provided. What follows is a preliminary description of the school contexts; key features that enabled or disabled the change agents in their attempts to sustain school language change are identified. Richer details of each context and the impact of contextual factors on the change initiatives of the four language change agents emerge in the data analysis and are reflected in the findings and discussion.

3.6.1 Location of schools

This study was conducted in four primary schools, three situated in the predominantly Indian township of Chatsworth and the fourth, in Malakazi, a prior Indian area but now inhabited largely by African families.

Chatsworth is a large Indian township located in Durban that was established as a result of apartheid and the Group Areas Act⁷. Created in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chatsworth was declared for use by the Indian population only, and by those who were removed from their initial areas of occupation as a result of racial segregation and the implications of the Group Areas Act (Chatsworth, Durban 2008). According to Desai (2002), Chatsworth itself was created as a dumping ground for people classified as Indian by the apartheid system and most of the people who live there are Indian. Parts of Chatsworth are still areas of extreme poverty separated from the developed coastal resort areas of Durban. In the early 1960s Chatsworth was planned, opening in 1964 and consisting of eleven neighbourhood units. Modern day Chatsworth has 64 suburbs that fall within its region. Chatsworth was deliberately established by the apartheid government as a buffer zone between white residential areas and the large African

⁷ The Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950) was an act of parliament created under the apartheid government of South Africa that assigned racial groups to different residential and business sections in urban areas in a system of urban apartheid. The Act provided for the establishment of group areas, control of the acquisition of immovable and the occupation of land and premises and for matters incidental thereto. Consequently the law led to the forced removals of non-whites from areas designated for white occupation (Horrel 1971).

township of Umlazi. As a consequence of its history, Chatsworth still has a predominantly Indian population growing rigidly, with many economic interests in favour of Indians (Chatsworth, Durban 2008).

Malakazi is a socially and economically impoverished area located south of Durban. Technically the area is part of Isipingo, a thriving Indian suburb, but it has not kept pace with economic and urban development in Isipingo. Malakazi was once inhabited by Indians living on leased property, the owners of which were absentee landlords. Currently it is inhabited largely by African families and the growth of informal settlements in the area is conspicuous.

3.6.2 Schools

All four schools prior to 1994 were under the control of the department of education in the now defunct House of Delegates⁸. A description of the schools follows.

Piper Primary

The school, situated in Chatsworth, was opened in 1969 and was at the time a state-aided Indian school⁹ but over the years the character of the school had changed. The learner population prior to 1990 comprised of only Indian learners. According to the principal the school was open to children of other races in the early 90s and a large number of Zulu-speaking learners were enrolled at the school. A previously African township which borders the school had increased the numbers of African learners in the school. The learner enrolment at the time of the research was 863 of which there were 820 African,

⁸ The House of Delegates was part of the Tricameral Parliament which was the name given to the South African parliament and its structure from 1984 to 1994. While still entrenching the political power of the white section of the South African population, it did give limited political voice to the country's Coloured and Indian population groups. The majority Black population group was still excluded. The tricameral parliament comprised the white House of Assembly, the Coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates. Each of these three chambers had power over "own affairs" (as it was termed) of the population group it represented, such as education, social welfare, housing, local government, arts, culture and recreation (Tricameral Parliament 2008)

⁹ To address the shortage of state-provided schools for Indians in South Africa in the early 1900s and to enforce the provision of schools which addressed the need to offer secular education while at the same time addressing the desire for preservation of religious ideals through provision of religious education, state-aided schools were established by the Indian community (Naidoo 1992).

26 Indian learners, 16 coloured learners and 1 white learner. Of the 863 learners 712 had isiZulu, 81 isiXhosa, 56 English, 12 Sesotho and 2 SiSwati as a home language. While there were four African home languages, isiXhosa, SiSwati and Sesotho speaking learners could communicate in isiZulu according to an African educator at the school. The teaching staff comprised 19 educators including the principal and management staff of which 15 were Indian and 4 African educators. Of the 15 Indian educators, only the principal was fluent in isiZulu. The support staff comprised of two African cleaners and an Indian administration clerk.

A quarter of the school's learner population came from an impoverished socio-economic background. According to the school's EMIS¹⁰ statistics for 2006, 26% of the learners were in receipt of a social grant. Because of widespread poverty in the community that the school serves many learners enrolled at the school prior to 2004 did not have any pre-school education. This had prompted the school, with permission from the education department, to include a state-funded Grade R class¹¹ in 2004. At the time of the research there were 68 grade R learners enrolled at the school.

The language subject offerings at the school as per the 2006 EMIS statistics were English as home language, Afrikaans as 1st additional language and isiZulu as 2nd additional language for Grades 4 to 7. The policy for Grades 1 to 3 was English as home language and isiZulu as additional language. However, subsequent to the submission of the EMIS statistics to the education department in March 2006, the school's language policy was revised to phase in isiZulu as 1st additional language displacing Afrikaans to 2nd additional language for Grades 4 to 7. The first grade in which the change was phased in was Grade 4.

¹⁰ The Education Management Information System (EMIS) directorate is charged with the development and elaboration of a national EMIS which will cover schools, colleges, Higher Education, Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET), Early Childhood Development (ECD), Education for Learners with Special Education Needs (ELSEN) centres and Further Education and Training (FET) institutions. One of the responsibilities of the EMIS directorate is ensuring that education data and information (on learners, staff, institutions, facilities and resources) relevant to education planning is collected, analysed, and reported using the EMIS (DOE 2006).

¹¹ Early Childhood Development (ECD) provision funded through the provincial education budgets for 5/6 year olds in the Reception Year (Grade R) which is the first introductory year of an integrated four-year Junior Primary programme (Interim Policy for ECD DOE 1996).

The following contextual factors posed serious challenges to the principal of the school who was also one of the language change agents in pursuing his objective of transforming the language policy and practices of the school:

- The poor socio-economic background of the large majority of the parents forced the school to keep school fees to a minimum. Consequently the school did not have the necessary funds to employ more school governing body (SGB) appointed African educators to teach isiZulu and to adequately resource the school to cater for the changes in the language policy.
- The majority of the teaching staff could not converse in isiZulu and therefore could not employ multilingual strategies like teacher-led Zulu-English code-switching for instructional and classroom management purposes. A large percentage of these educators were also indifferent to measures adopted by the principal to capacitate them in this respect.

Bo- Peep Primary

The school, situated in Chatsworth, opened in 1967. At first it was purely an infant school but later the school developed into a regular primary school comprising learners from Grade R to Grade 7. According to the principal, learner intake in 1994 was very erratic because the community from which the school drew its learners was relatively unstable at the time with a lot of movement of people in and out of the area. The council flats in the area at the time had provided temporary housing for people who were awaiting their permanent homes. This resulted in many transfers into and out of the school at the time. However, at the time of the research the community and the school population were more stable.

Like Piper Primary, this school also entirely comprised Indian learners prior to the early 90s. In about 1992 the first African learners were enrolled at the school. At the time of

the research the learner enrolment was 493 of which there were 398 Indian learners, 93 African learners and 2 coloured learners. Of the 493 learners, 412 had English, 76 isiZulu, 3 isiXhosa, 1 Afrikaans and 1 Sesotho as a home language. The educator staff comprised 17 educators including the principal and management staff of which there were 16 Indian educators and one African educator. Of the Indian educators, only the principal, who had completed a course in basic isiZulu, could speak isiZulu with some difficulty. The support staff comprised a clerk and three cleaners. The clerk was an Indian female and the cleaners, two males and a female, were all Indian.

According to the principal the school drew many learners from a very poor socio-economic area. The EMIS statistics for the school for 2006 revealed that a third of the learner population received a social grant. Because of the impoverished background of a large number of its learners, this school also had a state funded pre-primary Grade R class comprising 42 learners.

The language subject offerings at the school according to the 2006 EMIS statistics were English as home language, Afrikaans as 1st additional and isiZulu as 2nd additional language for Grades 4 to 7. For Grades 1 to 3 English was offered as home language and Afrikaans as additional language.

The following contextual factors posed challenges to the school's SGB chairperson who was the language change agent attempting to drive language change at this school:

- The relatively small percentage of African learners at the school, which prevented the prioritization of language change that addressed the linguistic diversity of the learners.
- The principal's conservative attitude to school language change, which prevented the fast-tracking of language policy and practice changes at the school.

- The resistance of Indian educators to language policy changes in the school that elevated the status of isiZulu in the school and consequently reduced instruction time of the other languages taught at the school, notably English.
- The conspicuous lack of African educators at the school to teach isiZulu and other subjects across the curriculum. The one African educator on the staff was an itinerant educator who was shared between this school and a neighbouring primary school.

Willy Wonke Primary

Willy Wonke Primary School was built in about 1989 to accommodate the Indian children in the Malakazi area. Malakazi is technically a peri-urban area but failed to develop at the same pace as neighbouring Isipingo, a predominantly Indian suburb. The road giving access to the school was only partly tarred at the time of the research. The tarring could not be completed because the landlords owning the land through which the road passed could not be located to sign the relevant expropriation orders. According to the principal, Malakazi was at one time occupied by Indians only, many of whom were tenants on leased properties, but at the time of the research there were few Indian families living in the area. Some of these Indian as well as coloured families lived as tenants in African-owned homes. The principal indicated that the area had been taken over by informal settlers and poverty was rife.

Willy Wonke Primary sought to replace the old school called Kandy Primary, which was on leasehold property. According to the principal the school changed character in the early 90s from 100% Indian learners and 100% Indian teaching staff to more than 90% African learners and about 75% Indian educators. At the time of the research the learner enrolment was 1218 of which 1168 were African learners, 40 Indian learners and 10 coloured learners. Of the 1218 learners 1169 had isiZulu, 48 English and 1 isiXhosa as a home language. The staff comprised 33 educators including the principal and management staff of whom 25 were Indian and 8 African educators. One of the African

educators was Head of Department in the senior primary phase. Of the 25 Indian educators only three, including the principal, were reasonably conversant in isiZulu. The support staff comprised an Indian clerk, two African cleaners and two handymen (1 African and 1 Indian).

Almost a third of the learner population came from an impoverished socio-economic background. According to the school's 2006 EMIS statistics 28% of the learners received a social grant. Like Piper and Bo Peep primary schools, this school also had a state-funded Grade R class to accommodate indigent learners seeking first time admission at the school. However, state funding for this school was much higher than for Piper and Bo Peep primary schools. At the time of the research there were 41 grade R learners at the school.

The language subject offerings at the school as per the 2006 EMIS statistics were English as home language and isiZulu as additional language across all grades from 1 to 7. Afrikaans, which had been offered as an additional language prior to 2006 was dropped completely from the curriculum and replaced with isiZulu.

The challenges posed to the principal of the school who was also the language change agent attempting to drive language change at the school were the following:

- The lack of genuine support from the Indian educators at the school for the language change process initiated at the school.
- Opposition from the Indian educators to African colleagues' Zulu-English code-switching practice for instructional and classroom management purposes. Insistence from the Indian educators on maintaining the English-medium status of the school.
- Opposition from African parents to the appointment of increasing numbers of African educators at the school.

Mulberry Primary

At the time of the research the school had been in existence in Chatsworth for 39 years but its history dated back to some 140 years ago when the school was first established by the Indian community in the Seaview/Malvern area in Durban. The original school was affected by the Group Areas Act and subsequently closed down. As compensation, the state replaced that school with the existing school. The learner population for much of the 39 years that the school had been in existence at the time of the research was Indian. However, the racial composition of the learners changed from 1996 when there was a dramatic increase in the number of African learners seeking admission at schools in Chatsworth. In the late 90s approximately 25% of the learner population was African but since 2004 the numbers of African learners had dropped. According to the principal there was an exodus back to traditionally black township schools. He ascribed the exodus to better funding and improved facilities for township schools. However, he conceded that former Indian schools on the main public transport routes still attracted a reasonable number of African learners.

At the time of the research the learner enrolment was 370 of which there were 313 Indian learners, 56 African learners and 1 coloured learner. Of the 370 learners, 313 had English, 52 isiZulu and 4 isiXhosa as a home language. The teaching staff comprised 15 educators including the management staff and principal, all of whom were Indians. Only one educator, the change agent at the school, could speak isiZulu reasonably fluently. The support staff comprised 2 African women, one of whom assisted the school's clerk with her administration duties and also assisted the change agent with preparing Zulu-English bilingual LTSMs.

Unlike Piper, Bo Peep and Willy Wonke primary schools, the majority of learners at this school were from a relatively economically comfortable background. Just 4% of the learners received a social grant at the time of the research. However, the principal confirmed that the school also drew learners from a neighbouring informal settlement.

There was a state-funded Grade R class at the school established at a time when there were more indigent learners seeking first time admission to the school. At the time of the research there were 29 learners in the Grade R class.

The language subject offerings at the school according to the 2006 EMIS statistics were English as home language, Afrikaans as 1st additional and isiZulu as 2nd additional language for Grades 4 to 7. For Grades 1 to 3 English was offered as home language and Afrikaans as additional language.

The challenges posed to the language change agent who was a level 1 educator at the school were the following:

- Lack of support from the school management for language changes initiated by the change agent.
- The relatively small percentage of African learners at the school which rendered attempts by the change agent to elevate the status of isiZulu at the school and to introduce bilingual teaching/learning practices in isiZulu and English unimportant to school management.
- The complete absence of African educators on the staff to teach isiZulu and other subjects across the curriculum.
- The level 1 status of the language change agent which reduced her latitude of power and influence on the staff.

The following table provides a cumulative linguistic profile of the four schools:

Table 3.6 CUMULATIVE LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE FOUR SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	% of Learners per race			% of Learners per Home Language			% of Staff (teaching and support staff) per race		Languages spoken by the staff			*Time Allocated per Language subject offering per week in Grade 4 – 7 in hours		
	African	Indian	Coloured/ white	isiZulu	English	Other African Language/s	African	Indian	% fluent in isiZulu only	% fluent in English only	% fluent in English & isiZulu	English	isiZulu	Afrikaans
Piper	95	3	2	82	7	11	27	73	9	68	23	3	2	2
Bo-Peep	18.8	80.7	0.5	15	84	1	6	94	0	94	6	4	1	2
Willy Wonke	96	3.2	0.8	95.9	4	0.1	29	71	7	63	30	3½	3½	
Mulberry	15.1	84.6	0.3	14	85	1	11	89	6	83	11	4	1	2

* Total time allocated for languages is 7 hours

Table 3.6 which reflects the linguistic profile of the four schools indicates the constraints within which the change agents were working to bring about language change in their schools. The biggest constraint was the relatively small percentage of African educators in the four schools and consequently the small percentage of educators who were fluent in English and isiZulu which was critical for the school language change envisaged by the change agents. Furthermore, the linguistic composition of the teaching staff was at odds with the linguistic composition of the learners particularly at Piper and Willy Wonke schools where more than 80 % of the learners were isiZulu home language speakers and less than 30% of the teaching staff was isiZulu home language speakers.

3.7 Main research participants: Four Change Agents

The main research participants were the four language change agents, one in each of the four schools as reflected in the following table:

Table 3.7 Change Agents per School

SCHOOL	PARTICIPANT	DESIGNATION
Willy Wonke Primary	Change Agent G	Principal
Bo-Peep Primary	Change Agent L	SGB Chairperson
Piper Primary	Change Agent R	Principal
Mulberry Primary	Change Agent S	Level One Educator

3.7.1 Change Agent G

Agent G is an Indian male in his late 50s and at the time of the research had been a primary school principal for 15 years and the principal of Willy Wonke Primary for 13 years. He holds two honours degrees - in Education and in Geography. He is fluent in English and Afrikaans and reasonably conversant in isiZulu. Since the increasing enrolment of African learners at his school in the early 90s, he had engaged in vigorous transformation of his school to address the change in racial and linguistic composition of

his learners. His attempts to transform the racial composition of the staff by recommending the appointment of African educators at the school were initially met by strong resistance from the Indian educators on his staff. Despite the resistance, Agent G had continued with his programme of language policy and practice reform at his school.

3.7.2 Change Agent L

Agent L is an Indian male in his late 40s and at the time of the research had served Bo Peep Primary as SGB chairperson for 3½ years. Agent L had been a lecturer in Electrical Engineering at ML Sultan Technikon¹² for 18 years. He holds an M.Tech degree in Electrical Engineering. From his experience as a lecturer, Agent L became aware of the enormous challenges confronting African students at tertiary level in negotiating learning through a second language and therefore expressed a strong desire for African learners to be taught through the medium of their mother tongue in addition to English. He is also a strong campaigner for Indian learners in KwaZulu-Natal to acquire competence in isiZulu. This he felt would enhance their marketability. The main thrust of his language change initiative at Bo Peep Primary was to provide all learners at the school access to high levels of literacy in isiZulu. He also strongly supported the use of IsiZulu and English as dual media of instruction at the school.

3.7.3 Change Agent R

Agent R is an Indian male in his late 50s and at the time of the research had been the principal of Piper Primary for 5 years. His appointment at Piper Primary was his first appointment as principal. He holds an honours degree in Education and a postgraduate diploma in isiZulu. In addition to English, Afrikaans and Tamil, he is very fluent in isiZulu. He compiled workshop material for the learning and teaching of isiZulu and held

¹² Following the recommendation by the Council on Higher Education to the National Education Ministry that sustainability and transformation of the higher education system requires a reduction in the number of institutions (CHE 2000) and in terms of the Higher Education Act (Act No. 101 of 1997) which gives the minister the power to merge two or more public higher education institutions into a single institution, the merger of Natal Technikon and ML Sultan Technikon into a single institution, currently called the Durban University of Technology, was finalized in 2003 (Draft National Plan for Higher Education in South Africa DOE 2001).

afternoon classes in basic isiZulu for his Indian educators. Since the increasing enrolment of African learners at his school, Agent R had been campaigning for a change in the school language policy and had recommended African educators for vacant positions at the school to teach isiZulu and other subjects across the curriculum.

3.7.4 Change Agent S

Agent S is an Indian female in her late 50s and at the time of the research had been a level 1 educator at Mulberry Primary for 19 years. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree, a Lower Secondary Education diploma and an honours degree in Education. In addition to English, she speaks basic Tamil and is fluent in isiZulu. She intends completing an academic course in isiZulu to improve her knowledge of the language and to enhance her classroom practice by being able to communicate more effectively with her learners in their mother tongue. Her intention is to continue making a contribution to education after retirement by offering educational assistance to underprivileged children. As a classroom practitioner, Agent S was concerned about the serious challenges facing African learners admitted to her school since 1996 in negotiating learning through English. This had motivated her to change her own classroom language practice in favour of bilingual teaching/learning to accommodate these learners. She also attempted to sensitise her colleagues to the plight of these learners and shared with them bilingual teaching/learning strategies she used in her classes. The main thrust of her school language change initiative was to change the classroom language practices of all educators within the school by transforming teaching/learning exclusively in English to bi- or multilingual teaching/learning.

The language change positions adopted by the different change agents may be summarized thus. Agents G, R and L were keen to bring about macro level change by campaigning for a change in the school language policy that involved the offering of isiZulu as an additional language and the use of both English and isiZulu as LOLTs, and by facilitating a change in the racial composition of the staff through appointment of increasing numbers of African educators at their schools. While Agent S was also

interested in institutional language change, her focus was primarily on micro level change of transforming classroom practice to address the linguistic diversity of learners.

3.8 Data gathering and production

The data was gathered primarily from individual interviews with the four change agents and significant others in their schools¹³, from documents (EMIS data, school language policies, notices to parents) and from the Focus Group Discussion.

3.8.1 Interview Schedules

Detailed interview schedules¹⁴ were used to gather data from the four language change agents. Three different schedules were used, one for Agent S (Level 1 educator), another for Agent L (SGB chairperson) and the third for Agents R and G (School principals). The interview schedules were tailored to suit the positions occupied by each of the change agents and to gather relevant data from each of these sources.

The interviews with the change agents comprised initial and follow-up interviews. The follow-up interviews were undertaken after the initial interviews were transcribed and preliminary analysis was done. The purpose was to gain further clarity on issues raised in the initial interviews and to gather additional data to sharpen insights into change agents' experiences of attempting to sustain and manage language change at their schools and the factors that enabled and disabled them in sustaining this change.

For triangulation of the data, to check the authenticity and trustworthiness of responses from the change agents, and to deepen understanding of language change at each of the research sites, semi-structured interviews with significant others at each of the schools were conducted.

¹³Data sources from within the research sites (educators, managers) used for validation and to deepen understanding of each change agent's attempts at sustaining language change. This included opportunistic gathering of data from sources unanticipated in the data collection plan.

¹⁴ See Appendices B, C, D.

3.8.2 Focus Group Discussion

The Focus Group Discussion¹⁵ was a “follow on” from the individual interviews with the change agents and was used partly for validation of data elicited from the individual interviews but primarily to deepen understanding of the phenomenon of school language change. Vaughn et al. (1996) argue that focus group interviews can be used alone or with other methods (qualitative or quantitative) to bring an improved depth of understanding to research in education. Morgan & Spanish (1984) state that focus groups can be used simultaneously with other data sources as part of a portfolio of measures to triangulate data.

Beck, Trombetta & Share (1986) define focus group as an informal discussion among selected individuals about specific topics relevant to the situation at hand. Byers & Wilcox (1988) describe focus groups as organized group discussions which are focused around a single theme. A major assumption of focus groups is that with a permissive atmosphere that fosters a range of opinions, a more complete and revealing understanding of the issues will be obtained (Vaughn et al 1996).

The intention of the Focus Group Discussion was to bring all the change agents to one forum to share their experiences of initiating and sustaining language changes at their school. In addition, they had to respond to selected excerpts from interview transcripts and academic literature which acted as prompts to generate discussion around preconditions for school language change and sustainability of such change and the role of change agents in initiating and sustaining school language change. Participants were allowed to challenge, contest, justify and affirm their own and other participants' perceptions of multilingual education, school language change and the role of language change agents in this respect.

The Focus Group discussion was held after preliminary analysis of interview transcripts, the purpose of which was to extract provocative excerpts from interview transcripts to be

¹⁵ See Appendix E for Focus Group Programme and excerpts to generate discussion.

used as prompts to generate discussion at the Focus Group session; other prompts used were the sensitizing concepts (also used to orient and guide data analysis) on critical change issues. The Focus Group session was facilitated/moderated by the researcher.

In keeping with the contention that focus groups can be used as part of a measure to triangulate data (Morgan & Spanish 1984), the Focus Group Discussion allowed for further, limited validation of data gathered from the interviews with the change agents. This forum also allowed the change agents opportunities to provide further clarity and/or to amplify views expressed during the interviews. In bringing the change agents together into one forum to reflect on and to interrogate their own and each others' experiences of initiating and sustaining school language change and their roles as language change agents, the Focus Group Discussion provided additional layers of interrogation and interpretation of the raw data. This was achieved by participants unpacking, challenging and contesting or concurring with the views captured in the excerpts from the interview transcripts used to prompt discussion. In the process participants also challenged or concurred with each other's responses to the excerpts thus providing yet another layer of interpretation of the raw data. Reflection on their experiences of initiating school language change in a Focus Group session also allowed the agents to sharpen understandings they had developed of the school language change process, especially what impedes and what enables the process. In addition, it advanced their understanding of critical language issues that impact on language preferences and language choices in schools which ultimately influence attempts to initiate and sustain school language change.

3.8.3 Document Analysis

The following documents from the four schools were analysed: EMIS document, school language policy and notices to parents. The purpose of the document analysis was to construct the cumulative linguistic profile of the four schools (see Table 3.6).

The data sets produced included Interview transcripts (change agents), Interview transcripts (significant others), Documents, and Focus Group Discussion transcript. The researcher was also invited to observe lessons delivered by Agent S, two African educators at Piper Primary and one African educator (isiZulu language educator) at Bo-Peep Primary. Data from this source was used for validation particularly in respect of the strengths and challenges of teaching multilingually (code-switching and other multilingual educational practices).

3.9 Data analysis

Analysis of the data was framed by sensitising concepts (Gephart 1999) which were also used methodologically as prompts in the Focus Group Discussion (see part 3.8.2 on Focus Group Discussion) to generate dialogue among the change agents on their roles as change agents and their experiences of initiating and sustaining school language change. The method of analysis and motivation for drawing sensitising concepts from Douglas (1997) and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) follow.

The analysis of the data was oriented and guided by sensitising concepts. The sensitizing concepts are critical comments on preconditions for change, sustainability of change and consequences of intended change drawn from Douglas (1997) and guiding principles enabling a shift from monolingual to multilingual education drawn from Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995). The sensitising concepts were used as theoretical lenses to view the data.

3.9.1 Theoretical lenses for viewing the data: Sensitising Concepts

The critical change issues were incorporated into a framework of concepts termed sensitising concepts (Gephart 1990) which were used to guide and orient the analysis and interpretation of the data.

The sensitising concepts (in intertext tables) from Douglas (1997) and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) which were merged and focus on three categories of change (The two forms of sustained change; Preconditions for Change; Understandings developed from initiating Change) are listed below:

3.9.1.1 The two forms of sustained change

- *The need for pressure to sustain change*

One form of sustained change occurs when the controlling pressure is constant, unrelenting and inescapable.

- *Acceptance and integration of change to sustain change*

The second form of sustained change occurs when there is acceptance of the need to change whether the effort comes mainly from others or from oneself. Without some such acceptance, change efforts tend to become an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure.

3.9.1.2 Preconditions for change

- *Support to sustain change*

Great change cannot be durable unless the surrounding network is supportive of that change.

Planning for multilingualism, multiliteracy and pluralism through schooling requires the active involvement of agents from the community, as well as the school. Furthermore, these agents must be engaged in developing a school context/culture that supports multilingualism, multiliteracy, and pluralism, beyond that which exists in the societal culture.

- *Understanding the nature and potential for change of the targets of change*

To change anything, living or inanimate, it is necessary to try to understand the nature, structure and potential of that thing or organism if the process of change is to be constructive and beneficial rather than damaging.

- *Systemic change is effected by one individual inducing change in others*

What emerges clearly from the nomenclature of change systems is the fact that change is effected by one individual inducing it in others.

3.9.1.3 Understandings developed from initiating change

It is more than possible that the levels of understanding achieved by some change agents greatly surpass their ability to initiate change processes.

Using the sensitising concepts to guide the analysis resulted in identification and comparative analysis of slices of data that were similar in terms of one or more dimensions but different in terms of other dimensions. This resulted in the generation of themes which were grouped to develop categories and sub-categories on the phenomenon of school language change. The integration of categories led to generating a theoretical framework for understanding school language change.

The literature on educational change and language policy and practice reform that promotes multilingualism were also used to provide added layers of interpretation and analysis of the data and to elaborate on and refine emerging theoretical understandings of the phenomenon of school language change. The next chapter details the data analysis process.

3.9.2 Motivation for choice of sensitising concepts

The motivation for selecting sensitising concepts from Douglas (1997) and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) on critical change issues and encouraging a shift from

monolingual to multilingual education to interrogate school language change in the study is rendered in the following discussion.

Douglas (1997) locates his interrogation of intended change in the field of social psychology and describes the change process as an intentional activity directed by trained professionals or friendly helpers to alter the behaviour of an individual or individuals in a quest to make their behaviour socially acceptable. Thus, his conception of change agents ranges from professionals including psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers who have the legal and professional responsibility to effect behavioural change in others to helpers, trained or otherwise, who consciously attempt to alter some aspect of the lives or behaviour of others. Douglas (1997) contends that a complexity of factors ranging from cultural to unconscious motivations to social factors impact on human behaviour and invariably influence change efforts and it is this contention which provides a point of resonance between the work of change agents in the fields of psychology and social work and agents of educational change who are similarly sensitive to these factors in their quest to bring about and sustain change.

Douglas (1997) is concerned with the activity of change agents and the processes, methods, concepts and beliefs which support them and not the status of the change agent. However, Douglas (1997) does assert that the distinguishing characteristic of a change agent is that a change agent's main task is change and intervention. Thus, while he also explores intended change in organizations through the processes of management, he contends that although managers may seek to change individuals or groups within the organization with a view to improving efficiency and output, change is not their main function as it is with the trained helpers and professionals mentioned above. Their most important functions are usually concerned with the creation and maintenance of a system and structure within which it should be possible to maximize the creation of the organisation's end product and such changes as are made managerially are basically directed at maintaining or increasing functional efficiency of the organization (Douglas 1997). At best he describes them as "semi change agents". Because the main functions of the change agents in this study are teaching, school management and school governance

and not primarily effecting educational change, they would technically fall out of the ambit of change agents as conceived by Douglas (1997) or at best might also be regarded as semi change agents. However, he adds that no matter how the processes of intended change are described or justified and no matter what ways are found to give the change agents credibility, at bedrock they are simply attempts to change behaviour by the application of some form of influence, direct or indirect. In light of this and noting that the focus of this study is school language change which in a large part involves application of some sort of direct influence to engender a positive disposition towards school language change of educators, parents and other stakeholders, the change agents in this study, like Douglas' (1997) change agents, share the same quest i.e. effecting and sustaining change. However, this study argues for a broader application of the concept of change agents to encompass teachers, school managers and other education stakeholders working to drive educational change within and across schools. Hence, change agents as conceived of in this study are drawn from Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) conception of educational agents of change¹⁶.

The change efforts of professional change agents as conceptualized by Douglas (1997) are informed by theories of change that seek to provide an explanation for the process of change of the individual in group situations as well as behaviourist theories that seek to explain the sources of human behaviour. While Douglas (1997) concedes the usefulness of this theoretical basis for change, he cautions against over reliance on one or more of these theories. He contends that there are a complexity of factors that impact on human behaviour which include effects on behaviour of culture, belief systems, moral and legal systems, educational and political systems, unconscious motivations, the drives and social factors. It is this very contention that provides a point of resonance between the work of Douglas' (1997) change agents and the efforts of change agents in this study. While teachers, school managers and other educational stakeholders may not base their change efforts on behaviourist theories, they have experience of individual and group behaviour

¹⁶ In "The New Meaning of Educational Change", Fullan & Stiegelbauer (1991) explore the roles of teachers, principals, parents and superintendents as agents of educational change. The role of teachers in transforming classroom practice, the role of principals in initiating and facilitating continuous improvements and changes in their schools, the role of parents in initiating organizational change, not just an individual classroom change and the role of superintendents in leading change within and across school districts are explored by Fullan & Stiegelbauer.

which has sensitized them to the complexity of human behaviour and the factors impacting on human behaviour and this experience might be useful in their attempts to initiate and sustain change. In addition, educational change agents, particularly educators and school managers, possess expertise, which includes skills and knowledge related to teaching and school management, to guide their change efforts. Fullan (1993) regards practices of inquiry and mastery as core capacities for agents involved in educational change. Fullan (1993) conceptualizes inquiry as internalizing norms, habits, and techniques for continuous learning and views mastery as not just thinking one's way into new visions and ideas but also a means for achieving deeper understanding. Fullan (2005a) also stresses the need for educational change agents to acquire change knowledge, which he describes as understanding and insight about the process of change and the key drivers that make for successful change in practice. While the context in which Douglas' (1997) change agents operate is very different from an educational context and while the change issues they grapple with, have little to do with school language change, there are points of resonance, in addition to those already identified between their change efforts and those of the change agents in this study.

In both cases critical change issues like the preconditions for change, the forms of sustained change, the factors that support or impede change and the consequences of change are remarkably similar. Recognizing the universal nature of change and seeking to deepen understanding of the process of school language change which involves inter alia an understanding of how school language change is negotiated or forced, managed and operationalised, sustained or subverted, this study relates the process of school language change not only to the process of general educational change but also the process of intended change involving behaviour modification from a social psychological perspective. This inter-disciplinary focus, it is suggested, would allow for a richer, fuller and thicker analysis of the data, which pushes beyond espoused data. It is for this purpose that sensitizing concepts focusing on critical change issues from Douglas (1997) have been used to guide and orient the data analysis.

Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) propose guiding principles for education leading to bi- or multilingualism as a framework to evaluate various models of bi- or multilingual education. These authors offer the principles as suggestions of the important characteristics that they perceive as desirable or required of educational agents and the educational culture/context to encourage and sustain multilingual education. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) principles are not only instructive for the purposes of evaluating models of bi- or multilingual education but a useful analytical tool for interrogating attempts to initiate and sustain school language change where such change involves promoting bi- or multilingual education which is the intention of the change agents in this study.

Among the educational agents identified for the successful implementation and sustainability of bi- or multilingual education are multilingual administrative staff, bi- or multilingual teachers, committed bi- or multilingual or monolingual parents and progressively multilingual students. The educational culture/context for multilingual education contemplated by Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) include a multilingual educational context, multilingual language policy, multilingual educational strategies, multilingual materials and multilingual fair assessment. The characteristics of these educational agents and the educational culture are fleshed out in the review of the literature.

Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) guiding principles for multilingual education used as sensitizing concepts to guide data analysis are merged with sensitizing concepts extracted from Douglas' preconditions for and consequences of intended change. In interrogating the sensitizing concepts drawn from Douglas (1997) and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) a synergy between Douglas' (1997) contemplation of the change process and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) principles for implementing and sustaining multilingual education is detected and forwarded. For example, Douglas (1997) identifies the need for a network of support to create sustainable change. This precondition for durable change is echoed by Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) contention that planning for multilingual education requires the active involvement of agents from the

school and the community and that these agents must be engaged in developing a school culture that supports multilingualism. The characteristics of educational agents and the educational culture further amplify the support role and support structures for multilingual education played by the educational agents and educational culture respectively.

Like Douglas (1997), Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) contribute to an interdisciplinary interrogation of the process of change by extending the change debate beyond educational change to contemplating the highly contested and sensitive issue of language change. Thus, using sensitizing concepts drawn from Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) to analyse the data allows for richer interpretation of the data and pushes beyond ordinariness of data analysis and representation.

3.10 Validity Measures

The term “validity” may be regarded as a misnomer in qualitative research. Wolcott (1990) considers understanding to be more important in qualitative research than validity. According to Gephart (1999), positivists seek rigour using statistical criteria and conceptions of reliability and validity to evaluate the quality of quantitative findings while by contrast meaning focused research in the interpretive tradition is assessed in terms of trustworthiness criteria and authenticity criteria. Consequently more appropriate terms to judge the quality of qualitative studies have been generated like credibility, dependability and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln 1989, Denzin & Lincoln 1998). To enhance credibility in qualitative research, findings are corroborated. The purpose of corroboration is not to confirm whether people’s perceptions are accurate or true reflections of a situation but rather to ensure that the research findings accurately reflect people’s perceptions, whatever they may be (Key 1997). According to Stainback & Stainback (1988), corroboration helps researchers increase their understanding of the probability that their findings will be seen as credible or worthy of consideration by others.

Corroborating findings and enhancing credibility can be achieved through triangulation. Triangulation is defined as “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller 2000:126). Patton (1990) identifies four types of triangulation and these include; methods triangulation, data triangulation, triangulation through multiple analyses, and theory triangulation. This is similar to Denzin’s (1978) identification of three types of triangulation. These are convergence of multiple data sources; methodological triangulation, which involves the convergence of data from multiple data collection sources; and investigator triangulation, in which multiple researchers are involved in an investigation, and related to this is researcher-participant corroboration known also as cross-examination. Lincoln & Guba (1985) refer to researcher-participant corroboration as “member checks” where respondents are asked to corroborate findings.

Validity measures adopted in the study involved largely corroboration of findings and enhancing credibility through triangulation.

3.10.1 Triangulation

The followings types of triangulation were employed to enhance credibility:

3.10.1.1 Data Triangulation

Multiple data sources were used to corroborate findings and to reflect as accurately as possible perceptions of school language change arising out of the study. Interviews were held with all four change agents as well as significant others in each of the schools in the study for that purpose.

3.10.1.2 Methodological Triangulation

In addition to multiple data sources, more than one method of sourcing data was implemented. The Focus Group discussion was a follow-up from the individual

interviews and was used partly to seek convergence between data from individual interviews and the Focus Group session but primarily to deepen understanding of school language change by reflecting accurately the perceptions of school language change in the different schools conveyed by the different change agents. The Focus Group session also allowed change agents further opportunities to elaborate on and provide further clarity on issues raised in the individual interviews. Convergence was also sought between data from the interviews and the Focus Group discussion and data from documents and lesson observations.

3.10.1.3 Researcher-participant Corroboration

To capture responses from the individual interviews and Focus Group discussion accurately these sessions were audio-taped and transcripts were subsequently checked by the respondents for accuracy.

3.10.1.4 Multiple Analyses

Strictly speaking multiple analyses of the data undertaken by multiple researchers was not conducted. However, the Focus Group discussion provided opportunities for additional layers of interrogation and interpretation of the raw data. This was achieved by participants interpreting, challenging or concurring with responses captured in the excerpts from the interview transcripts used to prompt discussion.

3.10.2 Other measures used to enhance validity

Respondents were assured of remaining anonymous to encourage them to respond with greater freedom and openness. Data collection instruments were adaptations of instruments used in the HSRC project which were carefully crafted and piloted before being used in the project. Primary data was used extensively in the research report. Key (1997) contends that the inclusion of primary data in the final report allows the reader to see exactly the basis upon which the researcher's conclusions were made, adding that it is better to include too much detail than too little.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter began by providing the philosophical underpinnings of the methodology and argued for the selection of a qualitatively-oriented case study approach for the study. The key research participants and research context were identified and described. The data collection procedure and the method of analysis, both of which utilized features of grounded theory development, were described. In this respect, a motivation was supplied for the use of sensitizing concepts focusing on critical change issues and principles guiding education leading to multilingualism as theoretical lenses to view the data. In addition, comparative analysis of slices of data leading ultimately to the development of a theoretical understanding of school language change was outlined. The chapter was concluded by a description of measures employed to enhance the credibility of the study.

The next three chapters collectively comprise the data analysis and discussion of findings section of the study. Comparative analysis of data oriented and guided by the sensitising concepts in this section led to clustering of similar data slices into themes which were integrated to form categories and sub-categories. Interrogation of the categories and sub-categories and the emerging insights led to the manifestation of theorising moments. These theorising moments, a culmination of the analysis section, constitute the initial phase in generating a theoretical framework for understanding and explicating school language change.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: TWO FORMS OF SUSTAINED SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

4.1 Introduction

The findings and discussion in this section of the study arise out of analysis and interpretation of the data framed by what is termed sensitising concepts borrowed from Gephart (1999). This author uses the term in his explanation of grounded, qualitative research which he claims often begins with sensitising or orienting concepts. He states that sensitising concepts provide the researcher with a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Sensitising ideas are examined or applied through micro level observations of interactions in specific settings and are thereby elaborated or further developed to capture and reflect discovered features of the phenomenon examined. Thus, sensitising concepts, according to Gephart (1999), act as theoretical lenses to help the researcher find examples as well as patterns in the meanings represented in data.

The micro level observations of interactions in the study involved extraction and close analysis of data slices reflecting ideas corresponding to each of the sensitising concepts. While the slices of data corresponding to a particular sensitizing concept were similar on some dimensions, they differed in terms of other dimensions. Comparative analysis of data slices led to clustering of similar data slices into themes which were then integrated to generate initial categories and sub-categories which formed the basis for generating a theoretical understanding of school language change. Analysis also involved comparison with extant literature for elaboration and refinement of emerging theoretical understandings. The table which follows (Table 4.1) summarises the data analysis process used in the study:

TABLE 4.1

OVERVIEW OF DATA ANALYSIS

Literature on change and multilingualism		Features of Grounded Theory	
Critical Questions	Sensitising Concepts	Categories, Sub-categories and Themes	Theorizing Moments
<p>What are the experiences of identified language change agents in their attempts to sustain language policy and practice change in linguistically diverse primary schools in KZN?</p> <p>How and why was school language change by these change agents sustained/not sustained?</p> <p>How do the experiences of the change agents illuminate the process leading to sustained school language change?</p>	<p>One form of sustained change occurs when the controlling pressure is constant, unrelenting and inescapable.</p> <p>The second form of sustained change occurs when there is acceptance of the need to change, whether the effort comes mainly from others or from oneself. Without some such acceptance, change efforts tend to become an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure.</p>	<p><u>Two forms of sustained SLC</u></p> <p>Pressure to effect SLC Changing teacher's mindsets Changing the racial composition of the staff Revising the school language policy Prioritising the learning of isiZulu Pressure from the education department Managing pressure to effect change</p> <p>Acceptance and integration of SLC Educators' resistance to change Educators' acceptance of change Parents' resistance to change Differing conceptions of change</p>	<p>Pressure to effect SLC influenced by power and personality Managing pressure optimally to maximize SLC</p> <p>Impact of language attitudes and attitudes to change on SLC</p> <p>Antithetical positions of the two forms of sustained SLC - balancing pressure with encouraging acceptance and integration</p>
	<p>Great change cannot be durable unless the surrounding network is supportive of that change.</p> <p>Planning for multilingualism, multiliteracy and pluralism through schooling requires the active involvement of agents from the community, as well as the school engaged in developing a school context/culture that supports multilingualism, multiliteracy, and pluralism, beyond that which exists in the societal culture.</p> <p>To change anything, living or inanimate, it is necessary to try to understand the nature, structure and potential of that thing or organism if the process of change is to be constructive and beneficial rather than damaging.</p> <p>What emerges clearly from the nomenclature of change systems is the fact that change is effected by one individual inducing it in others.</p>	<p><u>Preconditions for SLC</u></p> <p>Support for SLC In-school support Support from parents and the SGB Support from the education department Support from NGOS and other organisations</p> <p>Potential of targets for SLC Potential of the school Potential of educators Potential of parents</p> <p>Preconditions for institutional language change Change Agents inducing change in others Other educators inducing change in colleagues</p>	<p>Inducing key stakeholders to engage in and support SLC balanced by understanding their potential for change.</p> <p>Augmenting potential for meaningful engagement with SLC through capacity building.</p>
<p>What are the experiences of identified language change agents in their attempts to sustain language policy and practice change in linguistically diverse primary schools in KZN?</p>	<p>It is more than possible that the levels of understanding achieved by some change agents greatly surpass their ability to initiate change processes.</p>	<p><u>Understandings developed from initiating SLC</u></p> <p>Value of MT communication with key stakeholders Value of MT education De/merits of MLE strategies Market potential of isiZulu Intellectual status of isiZulu</p>	<p>Understandings developed from initiating SLC inform further initiatives to drive and sustain SLC</p>

The data analysis process illustrated in the above table began with the critical questions that underpin the study. The critical questions informed the selection of sensitising concepts. Hence, to explore the experiences of language change agents in their quest to sustain initiated school language change and to address the questions of how and why school language change was sustained or not sustained, sensitising concepts dealing with critical change issues were selected to orient and guide the analysis. These change issues encompass preconditions for change, sustainability of change and consequences of intended change drawn from Douglas (1997) and guiding principles enabling a shift from monolingual to multilingual education drawn from Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995).

Using the sensitising concepts as theoretical lenses to view the data resulted in identifying and extracting slices of data that corresponded with each of the sensitising concepts. These slices of data are captured in the data analysis and record section of the study as responses from various sources including the four change agents and significant others (educators, managers, support staff) in the four schools. Comparative analysis of the data slices revealed that they were similar on some dimensions and differed on other dimensions and were grouped accordingly to generate themes linked to a particular sensitising concept which were then integrated to develop sub-categories and categories.

For example, applying the sensitising concept dealing with one form of sustained change yielded among others the following themes: Prioritising the learning of isiZulu, Changing teachers' mindsets, Revising the racial composition of the staff. These themes were integrated to generate the sub-category of Pressure to effect School Language Change. This sub-category was in turn integrated with another sub-category dealing with forms of sustained change (Acceptance and Integration of School Language Change) to generate the category: Two Forms of Sustained School Language Change.

The data analysis generated three main categories of concepts explicating school language change as reflected in the table. Engaging with the categories and the emerging insights resulted in the manifestation of theorizing moments as captured in the table.

These theorizing moments comprise the initial phase in formulating a theoretical understanding of school language change. The theoretical framework for understanding SLC is developed in the final chapter of the study.

The data analysis section of the study spans chapters four, five and six and use the main categories captured in the table as the foci of the analysis chapters. The analysis section is sequenced as follows:

This chapter focuses on the two forms of sustained school language change, viz. pressure to sustain school language change and acceptance of the need for school language change. Chapter five focuses on preconditions for school language change that include support for school language change, understanding the nature and potential of individuals and the school for language change and the precondition for whole school language change. Chapter six focuses on understandings developed from initiating school language change.

4.2 The two forms of sustained school language change

In contemplating the process of change in individuals, Douglas (1997) observes that although the factors which initiate change in individuals are many and various, the results they achieve clearly demonstrate that sustained change only really occurs in two ways. One form of sustained change occurs through any number of persuasive or coercive pressures. The second form of sustained change occurs when the individuals involved accept the change through a personal and conscious decision that change is necessary, possible and worth it.

Using Douglas' (1997) observations as sensitising concepts to orient the analysis of the data in this chapter, it was evident from the analysis that sustained school language change was either effected by constant unrelenting pressure from the change agents on individuals in the school to change or through an acceptance from stakeholders within the school community of the need to engage in school language change. The first section of this chapter examines how pressure as envisaged by the change agents could be exerted

by both in-school agents of change and the education department to effect sustained school language change and how such change was effected through exertion of different forms of pressure managed differently by the different change agents. The second section of the chapter examines the extent to which language change initiated by the change agents were either accepted and integrated or resisted by various individuals in the school and how this acted to either sustain school language change or disable the language change processes in the school. This section also examines the differing conceptions of language change held by different stakeholders in the school and how this affected the school language change process.

4.2.1 Section one: Using pressure to sustain change

Douglas (1997) argues that only two forms of sustained change exist, one of which is captured below in the first of the sensitising concepts used to guide and orient the analysis of the data.

One form of sustained change occurs when the controlling pressure is constant, unrelenting and inescapable.

The argument that unrelenting pressure is one of the ways of effecting sustained change was affirmed by the following response from Agent R¹⁷ to the above sensitising concept also used as a prompt during the Focus Group session to stimulate discussion:

I think ideally it would be proper growth if everyone can change from within first but it doesn't necessarily happen, within the establishment or even within the individual it doesn't start so easily. There has to be pressure ... to try to initiate changes.¹⁸

¹⁷ Change Agent R – principal of Piper Primary, Change Agent G – principal of Willy Wonke Primary, Change Agent L – SGB chairperson of Bo Peep Primary, Change Agent S – Level 1 educator at Mulberry Primary.

¹⁸ In reporting the data an attempt was made to merge the data from the individual interviews. Where Focus Group data was reported it was accordingly signalled in the analysis and discussion.

Agent R alludes to the need for external pressure to initiate change in an individual or organization where internal change is not forthcoming. According to Douglas (1997), internally organized change occurs when the target makes a decision about itself that change is necessary while externally organized change results when some person or agency other than the target has or assumes the power to make a suggestion or order that change is necessary. However, these two forms of change are not mutually exclusive. Douglas (1997) argues that if it is assumed that effective change can only be achieved through co-operation of the target and by integration of changes, externally organized change is but an adjunct to internally organized change.

In using the first form of sustained change, viz. pressure to effect durable change, whether the pressure is coercive or persuasive, as a sensitizing concept to guide the analysis of the data, it was evident that all four change agents were conscious of the need for pressure to effect change. This section of the chapter identifies and examines the areas where the change agents articulated a need for pressure to be exerted and where pressure was already being exerted to initiate and sustain language change. The areas were the following: Changing teachers' mindsets, Changing the racial composition of the staff, Revision of the school language policy, Making the learning of isiZulu a priority for non-Zulu speakers and Pressure from the education department for schools to transform their language policies and practices. Noting that some of the change agents articulated the need for pressure more strongly than others and that different change agents managed pressure to sustain change differently, this section of the chapter also interrogates the two types of pressure (coercive and persuasive) used to effect and sustain school language change, examines how pressure to sustain change was managed by the different change agents and explores the tensions and dilemmas associated with using pressure to effect change.

4.2.1.1 Changing teachers' mindsets

This part of section one focuses on the need for pressure to change teacher's mindsets against transforming school language policies and practices to address the linguistic and

cultural diversity of learners. The data revealed that two types of pressure, coercive and persuasive pressure, were either exerted or recommended by different change agents to foster more positive educator attitudes towards school language change that promotes multilingual education.

Agents G, R and L strongly assert that teachers' mindsets will have to shift to accommodate school language change.

This is revealed by the following responses from Agent L:

The mindset of the teacher has got to change, big time I am telling you.

If I had my way, I would call all the staff and tell them the reality of what lies ahead, they need to get a fright and the staff must change their attitude and then slowly bring in the other change. The attitude of the staff must change and isiZulu got to be offered whether they like it or not ...

The strong stance adopted by Agent L in respect of school language change further illustrates one of Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) characteristics of educational agents to initiate and sustain language change, viz. Committed parents (bi- or multilingual or monolingual). According to Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995), to enable multilingual education, parents must be *committed* to the multilingualism and multiliteracy of their children and must *direct* the school's educational and language policy (emphasis in the original). In addition to commitment of parents, an element of pressure from the parents on the school to realize the goals of multilingual education is suggested in this comment and is further reinforced in Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) suggestion that parents should hold administration and staff responsible to carry out their wishes on ways in which their children are educated.

However, while this change agent asserted that pressure needs to be brought to bear on teachers to change their attitudes, he conceded that the SGB did not have the necessary power or influence to effect such change. He felt that "the department needs to change the perception of the staff" because "they have the power, not the SGB, to change the

staff's perception". His contention was that the education department, which had the necessary power to effect such change, should exert pressure to alter teachers' mindsets.

Agents G and R conceded that among teachers "there was this mindset and there was this resistance to change all along" and asserted that unrelenting pressure needed to be exerted to change this mindset. However, the manner in which they exercised pressure to alter teachers' attitudes differed markedly. While Agent G exercised what Douglas (1997) terms "coercive pressure", Agent R exercised "persuasive pressure" to initiate and sustain change. The management style of Agent G is summed up in the following response from him:

As far as principals are concerned there is a difference between consulting and capitulating. We consult with educators but we don't capitulate to their demands and in terms of policy there is a lot of resistance from teachers in terms of implementing policies and we did mention to them in no uncertain terms this is the policy and this is what we are going to implement.

This change agent used force to drive language change in his school and virtually coerced his teaching staff to submit to change. He reinforced his position by stating unequivocally that teachers must "adapt or die" and by adding "we say this is an English school but we are predominantly a Zulu culture and we have to accept that".

Although Agent R supported the view that constant, relentless pressure is needed to bring about change, he did not exert brute force in an attempt to transform his teachers' attitudes but consulted with them and negotiated change with them. In addition, he worked relentlessly and tirelessly at sustaining language change at his school often through setting the right example himself by communicating bilingually with learners and parents when the need arose and by teaching isiZulu and holding isiZulu classes with his teachers to assist them to teach the language or to use it as an additional LOLT in the class.

Dyers (2004)¹⁹ affirms that acknowledging language attitudes is crucial to language policy change. One of the conclusions Dyers (2004) made was that positive behaviour changes among teachers towards Xhosa were not sustained because of inadequate institutional or social support. Institutional support extends beyond in-school support and encompasses support for schools from the education department to transform teachers' attitudes towards the teaching and learning of indigenous African languages and their use as languages of learning and teaching. This is in keeping with Agent L's position that the education department, having the power, should exert pressure on teachers to change their attitude towards the teaching of isiZulu and in isiZulu. Perhaps of more importance to this study is the attention that Dyers' (2004) study draws to the need to acknowledge language attitudes and to foster more positive attitudes towards indigenous African languages in education in order to get the national LiEP off the drawing board and into practice in schools.

This part of the analysis considered the need for pressure, articulated by three of the change agents, to shift teachers' mindsets in order to accommodate school language change that addresses the linguistic diversity of learners. The data revealed that while Agents G and R were able to exert coercive and persuasive pressure respectively on their educators to foster more positive attitudes to school language change, Agent L indicated that as SGB chairperson he did not have the power to force this kind of change but the education department did and should exert pressure to change teachers' attitudes towards multilingual education. Agent L advocated that the education department use coercive pressure to change teacher's mindsets.

4.2.1.2 Changing the racial composition of the staff

This part of the analysis focuses on the pressure that Agents R and G exerted to change the racial composition of the staff of their respective schools as part of their drive to

¹⁹ Charlyn Dyers evaluated the IiIwimi's Development Programme undertaken to foster more positive attitudes towards multilingual education among primary school teachers in the Western Cape. One of the main goals of the programme was to sensitise Afrikaans and English-speaking teachers to the need for them to acquire proficiency in Xhosa and Xhosa-speaking teachers to acquire proficiency in Afrikaans and to encourage the use of all three languages as languages of learning and teaching (Dyers 2004)

transform the language policies and practices in their schools. The data revealed a strong relationship between power and the ability to exert pressure to effect changes in the staff composition. Consequently, Agents R and G were in a position to exercise pressure to change the racial composition of their staff by virtue of the power they commanded as school principals. Not commanding this power, Agents L and S were unable to exercise pressure to effect changes in the staff composition of their schools. This part of the analysis also revealed that the motivation driving Agents R and G's intention in exerting pressure to have more Zulu-speaking educators appointed at their schools was largely to address the linguistic challenges faced by the large majority of their learners who were African learners.

According to the data both Agents G and R were committed to transforming the racial composition of their teaching staff and did not merely pay lip service to this priority of matching the racial composition of the educators with the racial composition of the learners. It would appear from the data that it was a foregone conclusion that should vacancies arise at their schools these vacancies would be filled by African educators not only to teach isiZulu as a subject but to teach across the curriculum. Furthermore, both agents had strongly recommended the appointment of African educators to vacant positions at their schools as these arose in the last four years without compromising the positions of existing educators at their schools. The stance of these two agents is reflected by the following responses by Agent G (first and second response) and Agent R (third response):

Basically it was the initiative of the principal. The SGB is not totally informed about the policies of the dept. but we've been driving this change. As I said the opportunities were there, in fact when we did implement the position no teacher was dismissed and as vacancies arose these posts were declared isiZulu-speaking posts.

We would like to have teachers who are bilingual, to go along with these sort of learners, we have nearly 50% of the staff who are bilingual ie. literate in both official languages (referring to English and isiZulu). And you find that this provides support for the learners more readily than they can at the moment.

That's what we do here. We needed to employ them (African teachers) and now if we employ any teacher, that teacher must be fully conversant in isiZulu.

Evidently the main intention of Agents G and R in applying pressure to appoint African educators at their schools was to address the language issue and to meet their agenda of driving and sustaining language change in their schools. This was borne out by the need for English-isiZulu bilingual educators and educators who were fully conversant in isiZulu. While these agents strongly endorsed the need for their Indian teachers to become proficient in isiZulu, they were also conscious of the need for teachers to have native competence in isiZulu. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) identify this as one of the characteristics of bi- or multilingual teachers. According to these authors multilingual teachers should have native or very high levels of linguistic competence in the language in which they teach or that they teach.

This need for native competence in isiZulu expressed by both these agents was also demanded by African parents as illustrated by the following response from Agent G:

There were 4 non-isiZulu-speaking teachers who could speak the language and who would communicate in basic isiZulu but the parents of our Zulu children objected to that because they found that the teachers were not using proper pronunciation, proper expressions and they felt that they were disadvantaging the children and they asked the teachers not to teach isiZulu. I think that accelerated our move to get true isiZulu-speaking teachers in the classrooms.

Evidently the reaction of the parents was borne out by the need for educators to provide their children with rich linguistic input in isiZulu and thus exerted pressure on the school to appoint educators who had native competence in the language to teach the language.

While the main intention of Agents G and R in exerting pressure to have African teachers appointed at their schools was to address the language issue, the presence of African educators at their schools also had other positive spin-offs. It affirmed and empowered

African learners and allowed them to seek solidarity with such educators as was confirmed by the following response from an African educator at Agent R's school:

Just because sometimes these learners have difficulty to talk to the Indian teachers, maybe they are afraid, for those who are here in grade four because they are used to the African teachers. They don't know more about the Indian teachers, they are just afraid, some learners who were in my class they were crying very much because they don't want to go to that ma'am. I said go so that you can learn. You are here to learn, I'm going to help you, if you have a problem you can come to me.

Although both Agents G and R strongly supported the appointment of African educators at their schools, the number of African educators varied significantly at their schools. In Agent G's school there were 10 permanent African educators and 3 substitutes out of a staff complement of 32 educators while in Agent R's school there were 3 African educators out of a staff complement of 20. The reason for the larger number of African educators in the former school is captured in the following response from Agent G:

Firstly, we have a large number of Zulu-speaking learners, over 90% of them and secondly, as opportunities arose in terms of vacancies being created by increased PPN or by teachers resigning or terminating their services, these teachers were replaced by isiZulu-speaking teachers, with the result that we are able to accommodate at least one isiZulu-speaking teacher in each grade.

The main reason for the larger number of African educators at this school was the larger enrolment thereby increasing the school's PPN and creating new vacancies. Vacancies were also created by teachers resigning or terminating their services. These vacancies were then filled by African educators. While Agent R's school also has more than 90% African learners, the learner enrolment is much lower and has not increased significantly in the last four years; hence its PPN had not increased significantly. In addition, there were fewer resignations or retirements at this school in the last four years. The position at his school was described by Agent R in the following response:

The point I was talking to you about change is slow, that is exactly the point G was raising. He was able to make a change at a much faster rate because he had a larger roll so there's more teachers but in other schools like my school now I have to wait for mortality rate to bring more teachers.

The pressure exerted by Agents R and G to facilitate the employment of more African educators at their schools was borne out not only by the imperative of demographics at their school but a genuine belief that this kind of change was vital; it was not just an act of goodwill to African learners and their parents. This was evident in the reaction against the appointment of increasing numbers of African educators especially at Willy Wonke Primary that Agent G had to contend with from his Indian educators but he was able to stand steadfast against this kind of opposition and persisted with his transformation agenda.

This part of section one examined how Agents R and G exercised pressure to change the racial composition of their staff to meet the goals of language policy and practice revision at their schools. In this sense it was evident that the intentions of Agents R and G were to acquire a large percentage of educators who were Zulu-English bilinguals and could speak isiZulu with native or near native competence to address the linguistic needs of the large number of African learners in their schools. In contemplating how pressure was exerted to initiate a change in the racial composition of a school's staff, the data also revealed, in full agreement with Douglas (1997), that change can be ordered or suggested by a person who has the requisite power to make or initiate the change. As opposed to Agents S and L who did not have this power, Agents R and G exercised their greater power and latitude of influence as school principals to recommend the appointment of African educators at their schools. In this respect, Fullan (2001) argues that the role of the principal is central to promoting or inhibiting change but cautions that principals should decide on the boundaries and occasions of autocracy versus democracy and that they should combine pressure and support in initiating school reform. The point is that principals should manage pressure effectively so as to encourage participation in and commitment to school reform rather than antagonizing educators and other stakeholders thereby increasing resistance to school reform initiatives.

4.2.1.3 Revising the school language policy

This part of the analysis considers the need to exercise pressure to revise school language policies that do not address the linguistic diversity of learners. The data revealed once again that exercising pressure depended largely on whether the change agent contemplating the use of pressure to effect change has the power to do so. It became evident in the analysis of the data that only Agents R and G, having this power as principals, were able to use pressure to revise their school language policies. Agent S, as a level one educator, did not command this power and was effectively excluded from initiating or participating in policy revision at her school. The data also revealed the power tensions between Agent L and the principal of his school who circumscribed his power and that of the SGB as he attempted to revise the language policy of his school.

Agents S and L indicated that they had really been excluded from participating in a revision of the language policies of their respective schools. From the data it would appear that the managers of these schools had not created opportunities for educators and parents to participate meaningfully in developing a school language policy or revising the existing language policy. While structures like the SGB had been created it was not employed for purposes of involving parents and educators in policy development and policy revision. This had in effect hampered attempts by these change agents to drive and sustain language change in their schools.

When Agent L was asked if he, as SGB chairperson, had made any attempts to amend his school's language policy, he responded: "I told you it was put forward to us that we got no say in the policy." The following responses from Agent L reinforced this position:

Definitely not, there were no public meetings (to decide on the school's language policy) in my term of office.

As a SGB member, from the time I have been here, I was led to believe that when it comes to the teachers and the curriculum the SGB has no jurisdiction.

In terms of Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995:237) characterization of active parental participation and support, these authors stress that "parents should be well informed at all times" and, as was captured earlier in the analysis, "parents must be organized to direct the school's educational and language policy" and that "they should hold administrators and staff responsible to carry out their wishes on ways in which their children are educated". However, it was the contention of Agent L that the principal of Bo Peep Primary had not consulted with the SGB or the wider parent body on the school's language policy. Agent L also contended that the principal had limited the role played by the SGB by excluding it from becoming involved in curricular and policy issues. This position is further reinforced by the following responses from Agent L:

Initially when we were appointed as the SGB, we were ...honest opinion now, we were like puppets. It took 6 months before I as chairman could understand this...you see when I say puppet I mean we were being manipulated by the principal.

The parents got a say, you heard me earlier on, but right now the principal is running the school here, obviously when it comes to the SGB reporting, she just makes us aware of what we need to know.

I have been stopped, by saying that I am not involved in the curriculum, when I say I, the SGB has nothing to do with the curriculum.

As SGB, the document says we have power, personally I am telling you our powers are restricted, our level of input is restricted, but I did pursue it. Even after your last interview I had strong feelings of insisting that any correspondence goes two ways English and Zulu from the school over here.

From the above responses the power tensions between Agent L as SGB chairperson and his principal are very evident with Agent L opposed to the circumscription of his power by the principal. It was evident that the principal set the agenda for the SGB but Agent L

refused to contend with playing a puppet role as he put it. However, the greater power that the principal appeared to wield allowed her to dominate the SGB and dictate the areas and level of participation of the SGB in school matters. Agent L's experiences of having his powers as SGB chairperson circumscribed by the principal are consistent with research findings (van Wyk 2004, Creese & Earley 1999) on school governance. Research on school governance conducted in South Africa (van Wyk 2004) and abroad (Creese & Earley 1999) revealed that the principal often dominated the SGB and that the principal was essentially in charge, with the governors having little impact upon the school's direction. Commenting on the relationship between the principal of his/her school and the SGB, an educator in van Wyk's (2004: 53) study responded: "She dominates the SGB – she is the key player. She wants things done her own way, she does not take the school's interest into consideration."

To confirm Agent L's contention that the SGB and the parents had not been consulted on curricular and policy issues, an African educator had been employed to teach isiZulu at Bo Peep Primary but the SGB was not involved in appointing the teacher. The following response reflects this:

To be honest she was appointed but she did not go through an interview process, it was just one person that came from another school that had isiZulu knowledge, I am not sure whether the teacher was given to us by the department. We didn't interview her and we didn't employ her, when I say employ her, we didn't physically go through the process of employing her.

The principal of Bo Peep Primary confirmed that parents were not consulted about the African teacher's appointment saying "we are trying it for the first time now in 2006. We rarely have our meetings but we are still doing it as second additional. If we want to move it to first additional then definitely we would have to talk about it." On the issue of language policy revision, the principal indicated that she would like to move isiZulu from second additional to first additional language depending on the parents. She asserted, "It's not the principal or the teachers that decide on the language policy of the school, according to the Schools Act it has to be something that comes from the parents." When

questioned about whether the members of the SGB are aware of their role in terms of policy and curricular revision, the principal indicated that various policies including the language policy had already been in place by the time the current SGB was elected and therefore there was no need for the current SGB to deliberate on these policies. She added the following:

So now when we are going to have this question about introducing isiZulu as a first additional language, so now definitely we have to go to the GB and maybe to the general parents body. We have to do that. If you are going to change policy you can't just do it with the GB. So that is why now it will be a whole new GB that I would have to train and make them aware of their role and their function and what their powers are and so on. So that is going to be a whole new thing.

The above response suggests the fluid nature of power. The principal's comment acknowledges the need for parents to share in the decision-making regarding language policy transformation where before they were excluded from this process and her affirmation that parents have "powers" indicates possible power shifts from the principal to the SGB in the future.

The position at the school of Agent S was very similar. Agent S stated that she had no knowledge of how her school's language policy was developed. It was her view that parents and educators at her school were not involved in developing the school's language policy. When asked if her school had a language policy, she remarked that the first time she had seen one was when the researcher showed her the policy given to him by the school principal. She added: "I spoke to a colleague this morning, she hasn't seen a language policy." She also confirmed that she had been a form teacher at the school all the time but had no knowledge of a notice being sent out to parents inviting them to a meeting to discuss the language policy of the school or to develop a language policy for the school.

In addition, Agent S did not appear to have had the necessary power or influence to initiate a revision of the existing language policy of her school. This is borne out by the

following response to the question of whether she had made any attempts to initiate a revision of the school's language policy in the last two years:

Well I never had the opportunity to. There wasn't a forum to which I could have made an input but I did it informally with the grades.

However, she felt that her new position on the SGB had increased her sphere of influence and would allow her to drive language change at her school more easily as illustrated by the following excerpt:

I've now become a member of the school governing body as a teacher rep, and through that I will be able to make an input. We already spoke about revising the policy in school especially the language in Education policy...the SGB members and we had a Mr B from the department who has come and given us a talk and the sorting of the language policy.

Unlike Agents L and S, the other two change agents had been able to apply the necessary pressure to revise their school language policies and had involved all stakeholders in the revision process albeit in varying degrees. When it became apparent in the Focus Group Discussion that this kind of policy revision involving all stakeholders was not the experience of the Agents L and S at their schools, the response of Agent R was:

Up to the early nineties there were no changes, no drastic changes so we just followed the policy that was given to us but now we need to have one (new policy) definitely we should and teachers need to be part of it (process of policy revision).

He went on to assert that teachers should not be denied opportunities to participate in language policy revision because ultimately it was the teacher who had to implement the policy in the classroom.

Both Agents G and R had exerted the necessary pressure to change the status of Afrikaans at their schools. Not only was isiZulu a curriculum offering in Agent R's

school but it had also displaced Afrikaans as first additional language. Agent R expressed the view that isiZulu was a majority language²⁰ in KZN and therefore there was a moral obligation to teach the language. He also felt that since the majority of learners at his school were mother tongue isiZulu speakers, the school had to accommodate them. He stated quite emphatically: “To kill their language is a crime!” Agent R’s position is reflective of the position adopted by the international language rights movement²¹.

When asked if English will remain as LOLT in his school, Agent R’s response was:

Yes, English. But for the first additional and second additional maybe we can change. Our first additional right through the range it was Afrikaans from Grade 3 right through to Grade 7 but we found that now because of the fact that there are Zulu children that need to learn the language, and that Afrikaans was not that important so we would have to look at first additional being isiZulu and second additional would have to be Afrikaans. But we can’t cut across the curriculum straight away...we would have to phase it in. The first grade that we are phasing in right now is in Grade 4.

Conscious that while language change was necessary, too much change initiated too quickly might be destructive, Agent R opted for phasing in language policy change at his school. Douglas (1997) suggests that while some change is necessary in order to prevent stagnation, such change has to be at an appropriate level and has to be made in the right areas.

The language policy change in Agent G’s school, which was more radical, entailed dropping Afrikaans altogether from the curriculum. The school offered two languages as subjects, English as a first language and isiZulu as the additional language. As was characteristic of Agent G’s management style, resistance from the staff to this policy

²⁰ According to the national census taken in 2001 in South Africa, there were 80.9% isiZulu home language speakers in KwaZulu-Natal as opposed to 13.6% English home language speakers. The census also revealed that 23.8% of South Africa’s population were isiZulu home language speakers while 8.2% were English home language speakers (Statistics South Africa 2003).

²¹ See Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Phillipson 1992, Fishman 1991, Alexander 2002 for the language rights movement’s vigorous campaign for the survival of minority and marginalized languages and against the hegemony of English.

change was met with unyielding pressure from him. This is illustrated by the following response from Agent G:

There were objections from the teachers...it was about dropping Afrikaans. The teachers that were teaching Afrikaans would be affected. The quality of English would deteriorate in terms of the number of hours being lost. Also the children would lose a wide range of schools to attend where Afrikaans would be offered. These were some of the objections that were put forward but we addressed them in terms of what is the policy of the department and what the expectation of the parents are and this issue of language was also discussed at a parent meeting and parents were emphatic that they didn't want any Afrikaans to be taught.

While both Agents G and R involved all stakeholders in language policy revision at their schools, the manner in which they were involved in the process and the level of involvement of different stakeholders differed in the two schools. In Agent G's school, language policy revision was more of a top-down process as Agent G virtually coerced his teachers into meeting his agenda of language policy change at his school. Furthermore, the level of involvement of teachers in the revision process appeared to be limited. The SMT appeared to have made the changes and handed these down to the teachers to accept. Agent G defended his position during the Focus Group Discussion by claiming that teachers were reluctant to become involved in the process and left it to management to deliberate on changes. This perceived lack of support for and involvement in school language change on the part of level 1 educators is dealt with in greater depth later in the analysis. The following response from Agent G to the question of what role he and his staff played in developing the language policy captures the process of language policy revision at this school:

Basically we would start off with the managers looking at the policy and what was required by the department and the department policy had to be implemented which is not in fact what we did in school and then we discussed what ought to be done, discussed the arrangement with the teachers for example the issue of allocating time for isiZulu and English. So first we have to discuss at management level, then discuss with the teachers.

The language policy revision process at Agent R's school is reflected in the following responses from Agent R:

So we had to make some changes to the old policy. The draft policy was taken to the staff they had a look at it and then made changes to whatever was there in terms of hours and so on, then that language policy was taken to the governing body. For several meetings they sat and checked it and it was approved, so we adopted that.

The boldest step we are making now is to make Afrikaans a second additional language and isiZulu the first additional language, that is a very bold step that we are making. But when you talk about transformation it is the right way to go and the parents are meeting again this evening so we are going to discuss matters like that and get more clarity on that.

Evidently Agent R's approach was more consultative, encouraging meaningful inputs from educators and parents and by negotiating change with these stakeholders. Kelly & Lezotte (2003) assert that listening to colleagues as they come to terms with change issues is a key to effective leadership. They add that school reform provides many opportunities for stakeholders to engage in productive dialogue and such dialogue leads to increased commitment to change. Bryk et al (1998) in examining the efforts of principals involved in reform in Chicago elementary schools since 1988, observed that effective principals worked together with a supportive base of parents, teachers, and community members to mobilize initiative. While Agent R was not involved in bringing about the kind of school reform contemplated in the Chicago elementary schools study (Bryk et al 1998), the data reveals that his efforts at language transformation in his school were enhanced by involving all relevant stakeholders in his school in active and full participation in the transformation process as it did in the case of the school reform measures in the Chicago schools study (Bryk et al 1998).

Although Agent R adopted a less aggressive approach than Agent G, he was just as relentless in his quest to transform his school's language policy. Nor was Agent R

intimidated by the enormity and complexity of the task of revising school language policy. In affirming that they were making a bold step in relegating Afrikaans to second additional language, he was conscious of the risks and the threats (Douglas 1997) involved in making this change but was evidently also aware of the rewards implicit in this change.

This part of section one examined if and how pressure was exerted by the change agents to initiate a revision of their schools' language policies. The data revealed that Agents S and L were really powerless to influence language change in their schools in this way. These agents together with parents at Bo Peep Primary and parents and other level 1 educators at Mulberry Primary were really excluded from making input into language policy development at their schools. By contrast Agents G and R were able to exert pressure to revise the language policies of their schools. Once again it appeared that their positions as school principals gave them more power and influence to initiate policy changes at their schools. However, the ways in which these two agents used pressure to effect change once again differed. Agent G used coercive pressure while Agent R used persuasive pressure and the ways in which they involved critical stakeholders in the policy revision process differed. Agent G practised limited consultation with stakeholders while Agent R engaged all stakeholders in full and meaningful participation in the revision process.

4.2.1.4 Prioritising the learning of isiZulu

This part of the analysis considers the need for pressure to be exerted on non Zulu-speaking teachers to acquire proficiency in isiZulu and reveals that this pressure could only be exerted by the education department on teachers as part of their service conditions to upgrade themselves to enhance their classroom practice in post-apartheid South African schools. The data revealed that none of the change agents possessed the power to exert pressure on educators to upgrade themselves in this respect.

All the change agents articulated a need for pressure to be exerted on Indian teachers to prioritise the learning of isiZulu. The data suggested overwhelmingly that language change in the schools of all four change agents was being seriously hampered by the inability of a large number of the teachers being English monolinguals rather than isiZulu-English bilinguals.

To enable multilingual education Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995: 236) suggest that teachers, among others, must be multilingual or minimally bilingual, adding, “preferably they should be productively fluent in more than one language, but at a minimum they should all have receptive bi/multilingual ability (or be willing to work toward it within a specified time limit)”. Linked to this is Douglas’ (1997) contention that targets of change initiatives must have the capacity to change or the change process would be aborted. It was the view of all the change agents that the majority of Indian educators in the sample schools were neither bilingual in English and isiZulu nor were they productively fluent in more than English. The agents therefore articulated a need to exert pressure on these educators to build capacity in isiZulu to aid the language transformation at their schools.

The positions of the change agents are illustrated by the following responses from Agent L (first response), Agent R (second and third responses) and Agent G (fourth and fifth responses):

And also a very big point that is not mentioned here, you say children but the teachers need to learn the language (i.e. isiZulu).

You know one day we had an incident when a child said something very rude to the teacher in isiZulu. I remember that very well. What happened was the teacher asked another child to interpret what the child said, it was so rude. So she complained to me. Subsequently I keep telling the teachers, it is important for you to understand the language...that is one way of looking at it apart from the fact that they need to be able to converse in it too so that they can get the subject matter across.

As you know when in Rome, you have to do as the Romans do. You live in KZN (Zulu switch) KwaZulu means place of the Zulu people. If you don’t respect that, then you don’t have no respect for the Zulu

people. To be part of the huge population of this place you got to know the language.

The best strategy would be for them (referring to the educators) to know the language (isiZulu) and for them to be able to communicate. That is the best way to do it. We all had to learn Afrikaans. But I think the problem is that we didn't have the department coming in and saying look there is Zulu language lessons and all teachers must attend.

And I must add that we as principals in Isipingo just recently finished a course in isiZulu for communication purposes. So we are all moving in the direction of transforming, i.e. upper management.

To underscore the need for educators and school managers to be able to communicate in isiZulu, Agent G cited the following case of departmental officials demanding that school personnel be able to communicate in isiZulu:

While on that topic of language, I have attended a meeting on two occasions concerning primary schools elocution programme and one was addressed by the district manager, Umlazi district manager and it was only isiZulu and when I questioned him, I said why are you addressing this committee in isiZulu only when there are non-isiZulu speakers, he said so you don't understand the king's language. And the second meeting that we attended, the primary schools' nutrition programme, where they asked principals and the cooks to attend the meeting, they only spoke isiZulu. They are asserting themselves in terms of the language and we are expected to follow suit.

While the general consensus among the change agents was that non Zulu-speaking teachers must be pressured into learning isiZulu, they felt that only the education department could demand that teachers upgrade their qualifications in this regard as was suggested by one of the above responses.

In the absence of Zulu classes initiated by the education department for in-service teachers and in a bid to exert pressure on their non Zulu-speaking teachers to learn isiZulu, two of the change agents (Agents G and R) had arranged Zulu classes for their teachers. Agent R held a weekly course for his teachers where he tutored them in basic

isiZulu. Agent G initiated a Zulu language course with the help of Ikhwezi²². However, he felt that this programme was not sustained because of the lack of co-ordination of the programme by the Education Department as is captured in the following response:

It hasn't been sustained because it needs co-ordination and I am not being paid by the department to co-ordinate language workshops for teachers or principals so we believe that the department has to personally co-ordinate it and for the last one we put together a programme plan and with the current one we mention the need for department officials to provide workshops for educators to keep them familiar with isiZulu. We haven't had a single effort made by the department. Here we are trying to do things on our own initiative.

Elmore (2000) states that the job of school principals is primarily about enhancing the skills and knowledge of people in the organisation, establishing organisational coherence and making individuals accountable for their contributions to the collective result but notes that only a small number of principals are like this and that this number will only grow if school principals are carefully recruited and strongly supported and developed. Fullan (2005a, 2005b) furthers this argument by claiming that educational change can only be meaningful and sustainable if there is systemic change in terms of trilevel development; change at school level, supported by change at district level which in turn is supported by change at state level. In light of these arguments, the data suggests that the efforts of Agents R and G to equip their non-Zulu speaking educators with isiZulu need to be supported by the education department.

This part of section one focused on the need for pressure to be exerted on non-isiZulu speaking educators to learn isiZulu. The data revealed that Zulu-English bilingualism for all educators will not only improve the quality of learner-educator classroom interaction but will also fast track school language change that embraces bi- or multilingual education. The data also revealed that coercive pressure was required to compel all educators to be proficient in English and isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal. It was evident that in

²² Ikhwezi is a continuous professional development and support (CPDS) provider linked to the KZN Education Department. Ikhwezi provided institutional support for one of the schools to implement multilingual education; the other three schools were supported by the language NGO, English Language Education Trust (ELET).

spite of the power vested in Agents R and G as principals they could not order this change and that this could only be made compulsory by the education department which has the relevant authority to do so. This type of external pressure to initiate change recalls Douglas' (1997) reference to an agency other than the target that has the power to order that change is necessary. While the data revealed that there was pressure from some departmental officials on educators and managers to communicate in isiZulu, these were isolated cases and not the official position of the education department. In prioritising the need for all educators in KwaZulu-Natal to become proficient in isiZulu, it was evident that the learning of isiZulu should be privileged by the education department in the way that Afrikaans was privileged by the apartheid government. Privileging and promotion of Afrikaans in apartheid South Africa are explored by Alexander (1992) and Kamwangamalu (2000). The change agents' views that there should be pressure from the education department to promote isiZulu is reinforced by Kamwangamalu (2000) who argues that there should be incentives provided for mother tongue education in African languages and that the previously marginalised indigenous African languages in South Africa should be aggressively marketed thereby increasing their linguistic capital. The issue of state pressure to accelerate school language change is addressed in greater depth in the next theme.

4.2.1.5 Pressure from the education department

This part of the analysis considers the envisaged macro level pressure from the education department to fast track school language change which according to the change agents should involve coercive pressure on schools and individual educators to engage in language transformation and vigorous monitoring of the implementation of the national LiEP at all levels of the education department, state, district and school levels, as well as at the level of teacher education and training.

All four change agents stressed the need for the education department to exercise pressure on schools and educators to transform their language policies and practices by bringing this in line with the underlying principles of the national LiEP. The perception was that

coercive pressure from the education department would reinforce their own attempts at driving and sustaining school language change.

While there were some similarities between Agent L's conception of this pressure and that of the other three agents (Agent G, R and S), there were some differences as well. Agent L believed that the education department should force language transformation by linking it to service conditions and pay progression. He felt that teachers should be given a financial incentive for upgrading their qualifications in terms of undertaking Zulu language courses. He also expressed the view that it should be a condition of service that teachers upgrade their qualifications to meet the needs of transformation, particularly language transformation. In this respect he suggested that teachers in service be forced to attend INSET courses in isiZulu to remain in the profession or face the prospect of becoming redundant. He felt that the SGB does not have the power to exert this kind of pressure on teachers but the education department as employer could make this obligatory on serving educators. Agent L's views are conveyed in the following responses:

You see the normal thing is everyone is working in English and for change to happen someone with muscle must be able to make the change.

See right now being on the SGB, I am telling you I haven't got much power. I would like to have the support of the dept., Department of Education, if they can come in here and... you see at the end of the day who pays the teachers got the muscle. If they say the teachers they now need to upgrade they will have to.

I am telling you now as a SGB member if I have to go and tell all the teachers what to do, they would say who are you although I am a GB member. But if it comes from the department, the department says if you all do not in the next three years learn Zulu you can put yourself in a position of getting redundant.

The directive must come from the department not the SGB. The soft way of doing it is to give a financial incentive for them to be more inclined towards isiZulu, if that fails you give them a harsher incentive where they got a phase-in period in which to know isiZulu but obviously in steps. Once the teachers' attitudes change, jeez! Believe

you me, it wouldn't take long, less than two years for the child to adapt and change.

The notion of pressure from the education department held by the other three change agents involved providing competent and ongoing INSET courses in isiZulu and forcing serving educators to retool in terms of isiZulu, forcing schools to transform their language policies and practices and monitoring the process of change, and making it compulsory for teacher trainees to be bilingual in English and isiZulu before entering the profession.

As was expressed by Agent G in the earlier discussion on prioritizing the learning of isiZulu, Agents R and S also felt that there had been no real initiative taken by the department to provide INSET courses in isiZulu for non Zulu-speaking teachers. In addition, Agent G felt that what had been offered was offered largely through Teachers' Centres and these were merely beginner courses and were inadequate to meet the needs of teachers in schools where there was a genuine attempt to transform language policies and practices. This is reflected by the following comments on isiZulu courses offered at Teacher's Centres from an educator at Willy Wonke Primary and Agent G respectively:

It was a very simple programme. It met some of my needs in the sense that when I went there I didn't know anything. When I came out I knew enough to get me around, introduction, giving them instructions, when somebody was speaking I was able to pick up the key words and understand what they were speaking about. But it wasn't effective enough for me to teach in the classroom. That's where the attention should be.

We are not talking about these courses that are run for one or two weeks and they get someone to come and teach, we are talking about a competent course in language as we all learnt Afrikaans.

The three change agents also expressed a strong need for the education department to apply pressure on schools to transform their language policies and practices. Attention was drawn to the old apartheid regime's quest to entrench the position of Afrikaans in

South African society by making it one of the two compulsory languages at schools. The suggestion was that isiZulu in this province should be made compulsory for all learners, which will invariably force all schools in the province to revise their language policies to meet this need. In addition, more than one of these agents assert that the state has abdicated its responsibility by merely introducing policy without monitoring the implementation of policy. It is the view of these agents that pressure in the form of close monitoring of the implementation of the post-apartheid LiEP in schools by the education department is needed to sustain school language change. This position is captured in the following responses from Agent G:

I want to go back to the days of apartheid and when we were first exposed to Afrikaans, and that was implemented without much fuss and without much opposition and we all changed and became very fluent in the language of our oppressors because they were demanding it and we did not object to it and what is strange is that we are an isiZulu-speaking province and there is no support coming from the authorities to say that this is the language that should be spoken.

100% there is a lack of political will in driving this process. We have had democracy from 1994 and we have implemented isiZulu teaching from 1998. I think it was but to date since maybe last year the dept. came down and said we want isiZulu teaching done in your schools other than that there was nothing. What stops the dept. from giving a directive there and saying we want isiZulu teaching starting from grade 1 this year but they merely give you a policy outline and nobody monitors the policy to see if it is being implemented.

There has to be pressure brought by the authorities concerned to try to initiate changes if it is not already being initiated in schools and, of course, when you talk about implementing a policy we supposed to be implementing this in schools. I think there is a need for the authorities to monitor transformation or implementation of language change in schools.

Agents G and R supported the idea of overhauling teacher education thereby making it compulsory for teachers to be bilingual in English and isiZulu as was the case in the past where PRESET courses made it obligatory for trainee teachers to have qualifications in English and Afrikaans. This view was expressed in the following responses from Agents R and G respectively in the Focus Group Discussion:

We just spoke briefly about the Afrikaans issue, how if you did not pass Afrikaans you did not get your teacher's certificate. So you had to pass Afrikaans as well as your other subjects, so even if you passed all the subjects and failed Afrikaans you would become a temporary teacher. So I think with change now what happened at that time was that we became proficient in Afrikaans.

I think just picking up from what Mr R said besides teaching qualifications it is important to be bilingual. Many students in the days of apartheid didn't get their matric exemption because they didn't pass Afrikaans and because of that requirement and that pressure from the authorities I think many learners were forced to learn Afrikaans. That's the kind of pressure you need if you want language change to be sustained.

This part of section one considered the envisaged pressure from the education department to fast track language in education transformation. An interrogation of the data in this part revealed that the education department has the relevant authority and power to exert pressure on educators and school managers to implement multilingual education and in this way support the school language change initiatives of the change agents. The areas where the education department could exert pressure, according to the change agents, were making the learning of isiZulu compulsory for serving educators and linking this to pay progression, making isiZulu a compulsory course for student teachers in KZN, forcing schools to transform their language policies and practices by aligning these with the national LiEP and monitoring the implementation of multilingual education at regional, district, ward and school levels. The latter recalls Fullan's (2005a, 2005b) contention that trilevel development is necessary for sustainability of educational change. However, instead of supporting the implementation of multilingual education in ways conceptualised by Fullan (2005a, 2005b), the state, according to the change agents, had abdicated this responsibility. This "lack of political will in driving this process" claimed by Agent G finds resonance in the literature²³.

²³ For further discussion on the failure of the South African and other African governments to deliver on policies that affirm the value of using African languages alongside English as LOLTs and subjects see Heugh (2002), Alexander (2002), Bamgbose (2000).

4.2.1.6 Managing pressure

The tensions and dilemmas associated with using pressure to bring about school language change are evident throughout this section which focuses on pressure to sustain change. To explore these tensions and dilemmas, this part of section one presents three scenarios of managing pressure. Each scenario is forwarded as exhibiting particular characteristics of how pressure to effect school language change was managed by each change agent. The first scenario depicts the unassertive position adopted by Agent S which prevented her from exercising either persuasive or coercive pressure to effect change, the second depicts persuasive pressure applied by Agents L and R, and the third depicts coercive pressure applied by Agent G. In an attempt to extend understanding of how pressure can be used and managed to effect change, the change agents' experiences of exercising/not exercising pressure are explained in terms of basic Physics principles concerning pressure²⁴.

4.2.1.6.1 Three scenarios of managing pressure

Scenario 1

Unassertive – afraid of antagonizing others

....I might come across as arrogant and a know-it-all (Agent S)

In the case of Agent S, she did not articulate the need for pressure as strongly as the other agents, nor did she exert coercive pressure to bring about change although she was passionate about transforming her own practice to benefit the learners. In addition, she worked relentlessly to sustain these bilingual teaching/learning practices. The following response illustrates her commitment to school language change that benefits learners:

²⁴ The following Physics principles are used in this part of the analysis:

- Pressure exerted is equal to force exerted per unit of area. Force is equal to a push or a pull. Keeping the force and/or area constant or varying them impacts on pressure.
- Newton's 3rd Law of motion states that for every action there is an equal opposite reaction.

My experience as an agent of change came when I was given a grade 4 class in 2004. It was a challenge because the class was one third isiZulu-speaking and there were different age groups of Zulu-speaking children as well and they came from a very poor socioeconomic background, they were already disadvantaged in that they were L2 learners and they come from a poor socioeconomic background and they had a backlog which was created in the foundation phase as a result they practically were Zulu-speaking (meaning they could not communicate effectively in English) and this class had severe behaviour problems as well and I was given that class. I was lucky in that I could speak a little bit of isiZulu so the isiZulu-speaking children benefited from my code-switching and I was able to help them to learn through code-switching.

Evidently Agent S exerted pressure on herself and was directed by moral purpose in her quest to transform classroom language practices. Fullan (1993, 2005a) identifies moral purpose as one of the key drivers in educational reform. He defines moral purpose as making a difference in the lives of students by committing to raising the bar and closing the gap in student achievement. However, Fullan (1993) adds that “increased commitment at the one-to-one and classroom levels alone is a recipe for moral martyrdom” and urges teachers to “combine the mantle of moral purpose with the skills of change agency”. The data revealed that Agent S was directed by moral purpose in her attempts to address the linguistic challenges facing African learners in her class but was unable to initiate and sustain institutional language change at her school. Whether this inability was as a result of lacking the skills of change agency or through other factors is contemplated below.

Agent S had attempted to initiate change among her colleagues but experienced only marginal success. This was partly because there was no real commitment to change and partly because as a level 1 educator she did not have the necessary power and influence to effect change as was mentioned earlier in the analysis. However, another reason was that this change agent was unable to assert herself and was reluctant to use coercive pressure to bring about and sustain institutional language change. In the following response Agent S explained why she thought making an attempt to influence management to address the

challenges facing African learners in an English-dominant school context “was a dead end matter”:

I might come across as being arrogant and a know-it-all and they might take it badly.

Evidently Agent S was afraid of antagonizing her colleagues. This change agent was not aggressive in her stance and did not exercise coercive force to effect change. In this respect, her principal’s perception of her personality is insightful:

By nature she is quiet, reserved, maybe even reticent. To date there would be other teachers with the same skills who would have pushed, so Mrs S is not of that personality. She has a lot to offer that I know from the time I came here.

Scenario 2

Persuasive Pressure

...if I want the principal to walk in the opposite direction I take the first 5 steps in the direction that she wants to go
(Agent L)

...you can’t exclude teachers because they are in charge of implementing policy (Agent R)

Agent L strongly asserted the need for pressure to bring about language change in his school but, like Agent S, also did not exercise coercive pressure to transform the language policy and practices of the school. His inability to exert sufficient force to bring about change is suggested by the following admission:

I know it is important (stressing to parents the value of Zulu-English bilingualism in improving their children’s career prospects), believe you me it is important, but you are talking to me as a SGB to put it across, the teachers and principal should actually stress on that. I am not saying I shouldn’t, I should stress on the principal and the

principal should stress on the teachers, teachers should put it across to the learners, then it will take place.

While he raised the issue of language transformation at the school at SGB meetings and with the principal, he did so tactfully without forcing the issue. By his own admission his preferred mode of influencing the principal to change was through diplomacy rather than force as is reflected in the following response:

It's my style and the way I confronted issues. I confront it in a very amicable way. If I want the principal to walk in the opposite direction I take the first 5 steps in the direction that she wants to go, get her confidence and convince her to walk in the opposite direction.

Agent L's contention was that through tact and diplomacy he was able to convince the principal to change her position on various issues concerning the school. In that way, he claimed, he had managed to get the principal to meet his agenda. Agent L's behaviour approximates the behaviour of persuaders of change. According to Douglas (1997), most change agents are not enforcers but *persuaders* of change. They employ subtle forms of pressure and influence to bring about intended changes.

However, it was evident from the lack of involvement of the SGB and the parent community in curricular and policy matters largely through reluctance by the principal to create opportunities for their involvement that the chairperson has not been able to convince the principal to engage the school in the kind of language change that he envisaged for the school. It is possible that the manner in which the chairperson managed pressure to bring about change had prevented him from realizing the kind of language transformation he desired for the school. While the chairperson cautioned that open confrontation between himself and the principal would have led to a situation where they "will continuously be having an argument and nothing would have been gained", perhaps a more forceful approach might have exerted more pressure on the principal to engage in change. The chairperson admitted that "generally I am very amicable, very friendly, I mean approachable, maybe sometimes people misread that". The implication is that

people may misread his amiability and approachability as a weakness and may not take him as seriously as he would like them to.

Like Agent L, Agent R was a persuader and not an enforcer of change at his school. He opted for subtle forms of pressure to bring about change. Through negotiation and consultation, Agent R was also able to bring about a measure of language change at his school. However, his approach, like Agent L's, was just as limiting. His attempts at bringing about language change at his school, by his own admission, were met with a lack of genuine interest and support from his staff. When he offered Zulu language lessons to his Indian teachers he was confronted by apathy and indifference. His disillusionment with the negative attitude of staff members is captured in the following response:

I also have conducted some isiZulu classes at school and gave some handouts. Then I did encourage the teachers to come in groups at least once a week, nobody took that offer up... there isn't that kind of interest with the teachers to want to learn. That is the kind of problem that I have. I get disappointed. But I also feel that if you think you know it, you suffer the consequences and if you find that there is a block you suffer because this is the way we are going, we are going to get 100% Zulu children in this school.

Scenario 3

Coercive Pressure

...we consult with educators but we don't capitulate to their demands (Agent G)

As was evident in the foregoing analysis, Agent G employed coercive pressure to initiate and sustain language change at his school. In terms of Douglas' (1997) conception of the two types of change agents, Agent G would emerge as an *enforcer* of change. Using coercive pressure to bring about change had enabled Agent G to initiate and sustain a measure of change particularly in terms of revising the school language policy and using

his authority and power to force transformation of the racial composition of his teaching staff. However, he had been prevented from accelerating change largely through resistance from his teaching staff. Too much of force from Agent G resulted in strong resistance from his staff as was suggested by responses from an educator on his teaching staff. According to her, the staff resisted attempts by the principal to drive change because they saw it as “SMT is pushing us and sadly when SMT pushes something then immediately it is not seen as good”. The educator also said that when the principal went to a fully minuted staff meeting and “told them that this is what you can gain from it (learning isiZulu) he got shot down”. The educator added: “The principal in introducing the Zulu course, they started thinking, you know what, what is his intention, he wants to bring more black people into this place, he wants to be seen as an affirmative action kind of person, they see it sadly in those ways.” These responses do not only underscore staff resistance to what was considered as coercive pressure from the school manager but also the complexity of the language question in post-apartheid South African schools which is fraught with issues of empowerment and disempowerment. In this respect Fullan (1993) observes that you can’t mandate what matters – the more complex the change the less you can force it.

It would appear, from the change agents’ experiences of managing pressure to initiate and sustain language change at their schools, a good blend of both coercive and persuasive pressure was required to bring about change in school contexts. Too much of force resulted in too much of resistance while too little force resulted in apathy and indifference. The ways in which school managers should manage pressure to initiate school reform recalls Fullan’s (2001) advice that principals should decide on the boundaries and occasions of autocracy versus democracy and that they should combine pressure and support in initiating school reform.

4.2.1.6.2 Using physics principles on pressure to advance understanding of managing pressure for change

Considering the varying degrees of power and areas of influence in the school commanded by the different change agents, the personalities of the different change agents and how this impacted on their management of pressure, and the resistance from educators as a reaction to pressure applied on them to engage in change, the application of Physics principles regarding pressure to the change agents' experiences of managing pressure to effect school language change provides further understanding of how pressure may be used to effect change.

In applying Physics principles concerning pressure to understand Agent S' experiences of exerting pressure to sustain language change, it is evident from the data that Agent S did in fact exert pressure to bring about language change within her own classroom. Agent S possessed the necessary power and influence like other classroom practitioners to initiate change at the classroom level but this power was circumscribed to the classroom.

In terms of area, the classroom context was a smaller area and therefore less force was required to initiate change at that level. Agent S was able to exert that amount of force to initiate change. Therefore the pressure she had exerted was adequate to make languages changes within her classroom. As the area increased to encompass the whole school more force was required. However, she was unable to exert the amount of force required to initiate and sustain change over this much larger area. The reasons for this are that she commanded limited power by virtue of her position as level 1 educator and that by nature she was unassertive, reticent and afraid of antagonizing others. What this meant was that she exerted too little force to effect whole school language change. Consequently little force exerted over a larger area meant that the pressure exerted was too little to create any kind of motion i.e. *pushing* her colleagues to change.

In using Physics principles on pressure to advance understanding of why Agent L experienced minimal success in driving and sustaining language change at his school, it

may be argued that he commanded a great deal of power by virtue of his position as SGB chairperson and enjoyed a greater sphere of influence (parent community) but his power was circumscribed by the greater authority and influence that his principal marshalled. In addition, Agent L did not use his position to the optimum to influence institutional language change although he possessed the potential to do so; in some ways he shifted the responsibility for language change to the principal and educators. In terms of Physics, Agent L had to exert a great amount of force to influence change over a large area, viz. the school and the parent community. However, by having his power circumscribed and not using his potential to the optimum, he exerted too little force over a large area to create any kind of meaningful change. Once again, too little force exerted over a large area meant that the pressure exerted was too small to create any kind of significant motion i.e. *pushing* the principal, educators and parents to engage in school language change.

Agent R's marginal success in effecting institutional language change may be explained through application of Physics principles on pressure as well. Agent R, as a school principal, possessed a great deal of power and influence over educators and parents and could use this power to drive institutional language change. However, he chose to use subtle forms of pressure to effect change, opting for negotiation and consultation over coercion and ultimately he was unable to shift attitudes of educators who remained apathetic and indifferent to his change initiatives. The force that Agent R had exerted was too little to bring about meaningful change over a wide area (school). In terms of Physics Agent R exerted little force over a large area and therefore exerted little pressure. Again, too little force exerted over a larger area meant that the pressure exerted was too small to create any kind of significant motion i.e. *pushing* all educators to engage in school language change.

Agent G's marginal success in effecting institutional language change may also be explained through application of Physics principles on pressure. Like Agent R, Agent G, as school principal, enjoyed more power and influence over educators and parents than Agent S did and he attempted to use his power optimally to drive institutional language

change. Unlike Agent R, he did not use subtle forms of pressure but coerced his educators into engaging in school language change. He set the change agenda and forced his educators to meet this agenda. However, in spite of this he was able to effect only marginal change. In terms of Physics Agent G exerted a lot of force but this force was minimized by reciprocal resistance from his staff. According to Newton's third law, for every action there is an equal or opposite reaction. Therefore, the great force applied by Agent G was met by equally great resistance from his staff. Ultimately Agent G was able to exert little force over a wide area (school). Once again, too little force exerted over a larger area meant that the pressure exerted was too small to create any kind of significant motion i.e. *pushing* all educators to engage in school language change.

While using Physics principles concerning pressure offers some understanding of the levels of effectiveness of the various change agents in effecting change, it does not consider the idiosyncrasies of human behaviour which makes the change process involving humans as social beings more complex than a laboratory experiment.

This part of section one examined how the different change agents managed pressure to initiate and sustain school language change. It was evident that while one of the change agents exercised coercive pressure, two others applied persuasive pressure and the remaining change agent exercised neither coercive nor persuasive pressure on others for fear of antagonizing them. The data revealed that the positions held by the different change agents in their respective schools which determined the power that they commanded either limited or enhanced their ability to drive and sustain school language change. However, the personality of the change agent also influenced the way in which the agent used his/her power to pressure change. The data also revealed that in managing pressure change agents should mediate between coercive and persuasive to effectively sustain school language change.

4.2.1.7 Summary

Section one of this chapter used as the main sensitizing concept, Douglas' (1997) contention that one form of sustained change occurs when there is constant, unrelenting and inescapable pressure to change. In using this sensitizing concept as well as Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) characteristics of educational agents desirable for multilingual education to orient and guide the analysis of the data, it was evident that all four agents not only articulated the need for pressure to effect school language change which embraced multilingualism but also used varying degrees and different types of pressure to manage this change at their schools. The data revealed how pressure could be/was used to: shift teachers' mindsets about multilingual education, revise the school language policy, change the racial composition of the staff and prioritize the learning of IsiZulu for non-Zulu speaking educators. This section also interrogated the envisaged pressure from the education department to fast track school language change and reflected on how the power vested in the different change agents limited or enabled them in their quest to initiate and sustain school language change. In this respect the analysis reflected the tensions in how change gets managed as different change agents circumscribed the power of other individuals within the school or whose power was circumscribed by other more powerful individuals within the school.

Insights emerging from the analysis in this section of the chapter relate to the following concepts linked to the use of pressure to sustain school language change: coercive pressure; persuasive pressure; power and pressure; power, personality and pressure; managing pressure. These insights are developed at the end of this chapter and used to inform the emerging theory.

4.2.2 Section Two: Accepting and Integrating Change

While section one of this chapter focused on the first form of sustained school language change which entailed relentless pressure to effect lasting change, this section focuses on the second form of sustained school language change.

The second form of sustained change that Douglas (1997) identifies occurs when the individual or system accepts and integrates the change. For change to be sustained, Douglas (1997) contends, it must become an integral part of the target. He adds that the formula for change has to be adapted and become personalized so that it is ultimately an instrument of the individual. In this way, Douglas (1997) argues, external change becomes but an adjunct of internal change and change does not become an exercise in conformity under some external pressure. The conditions for the second form of sustained change are encapsulated in the next sensitizing concept used to orient and guide the data analysis:

The salient feature of change is still the acceptance of the need to change, whether the effort comes mainly from others or from oneself. Without some such acceptance, change efforts tend to become an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure.

Interrogation of the data, using this sensitizing concept to orient the analysis, revealed that while there was acceptance from some educators of the need to transform their language practices to address the linguistic diversity of their learners, there was also strong resistance from educators and some parents to school language change that embraced multilingual education. This thwarted the language change process in all four sample schools.

In light of these observations this section of the chapter focuses on the following themes: Resistance to change from educators, Acceptance of the need to change, and Resistance to change from parents. This section also focuses on the differing conceptions of school language change held by different stakeholders in the school based on their ideological

positions regarding school language change which impacted on the school language change process.

4.2.2.1 Resistance to change from educators

One of the reasons why the change agents in all four schools had experienced difficulties in initiating and sustaining language change was the strong resistance from educators, both level 1 and management staff. The following responses from Agents L and R respectively are reflective of this position:

There is resistance. Big resistance, I am telling you right now. There is even resistance from the principal, I know you had your interview with her. She's a learned person, she answered the question to suit her, I am not saying she spoke lies but to camouflage it in such a manner to create the impression that the school is too good.

As far as policy changes, we have made some start but the challenges are many. You find that we had to do it very, very slowly. There's a lot of reluctance from staff members. And all of a sudden there's this inability to change.

The data revealed a range of factors contributing to educators' resistance to school language change. The main factors were related to fear of change, demographics (viz. age), the perception that African languages have little linguistic capital and are consequently not worth acquiring, and financial and organizational constraints imposed on schools by revising school language policies to encourage multilingual education. This part of section two examines how these factors fuelled resistance to school language change from educators and how this disabled the language change process initiated by the change agents in their schools.

One of the factors, according to the data, was age. Three of the four change agents cited age as militating strongly against change. They asserted that older teachers have a stronger mindset against change than the younger teachers who they felt would be more receptive to change. This is illustrated by the following responses from Agents R, S and L and an educator in Willy Wonke Primary respectively:

I think probably maturity is a major factor there. When you have reached a certain age, it's very, very hard to change, so that is one of the major problems we are facing now. So I would think we need to look at a younger breed coming in, new teachers to start the change, to assist us. So that is a major problem.

There are times when we should have a breed of younger educators and a breed of younger management as well. Management in terms of being open to change, their mind set, and to accommodate pupils and educators who are critical in their views of education...there's a mindset against change.

In my opinion there are too many old teachers here that do not want to accept the change. Would not like the change to occur.

One person actually stood up at a staff meeting and said, I am too old to do this, I don't need to learn this.

The above responses speak of older teachers being set in their ways and resisting any progressive pedagogy or transformative policies and practices. The literature on educational change (Fullan 2001, Niemi 2002) reveals that older teachers are more conservative and have a stronger mindset against school reform and educational innovation than their younger counterparts. Niemi's (2002) investigation of the main obstacles to active learning revealed the perception held by all the teachers interviewed that the attitudes of older teachers were real obstacles to using active learning methods. This perception is illustrated in the following response from a young teacher interviewee (Niemi 2002: 774):

The old teachers do not like to experiment with anything new nor do they have information about new methods or if they hear about new methods on in-service courses, they say: 'It will not work, - not in our school!'

The perceptions of older teachers held by younger colleagues in Niemi's (2002) study are similar to the perceptions of older teachers conveyed by the responses of all four change agents. However, older teachers do not as a rule resist change. In a study examining

teacher stereotypes as a factor in teacher resistance to school reform, Rusch & Perry (1993) argue that research informs practice in ways that often result in socially constructed stereotypes. Interviews with a large sample of Oregon elementary school teachers implementing democratic participatory practices revealed that the stereotyping of older, experienced teachers was very prevalent, with midlife teachers perceiving older, experienced teachers as resisters. However, older, experienced teachers described themselves as avid questioners but supporters of change and they frequently engaged in a learning experience with a new, young teacher. Three of the change agents themselves (Agents R, G and S) fall into the category of older, experienced teachers and far from being resisters to change are actually initiators and drivers of change. Hence, despite the above responses from the change agents, age is not an accurate indicator of resistance to or support for school language change. It would appear that the identity of the individual educator and his/her predisposition to change regardless of age determines whether the educator is open to change or not.

Another two factors contributing to resistance from educators were the threat of redeployment that Afrikaans teachers experienced and the loss of instructional time for English and Afrikaans accompanying the elevation of the status of isiZulu in the school. Afrikaans teachers feared that they would become excess educators²⁵ and be redeployed as isiZulu replaced Afrikaans altogether or as 1st additional language. English and Afrikaans teachers felt that their subjects were being compromised with the reduced time allocation to accommodate isiZulu. They added that there was increasing pressure on them to complete syllabus in a shorter time span. The following responses from Agents L, G and R respectively illustrate this position:

Before I came to this office I spoke to a teacher, his argument is that pupils are battling to learn English, now to suddenly rob them of some time from the English to learn Zulu, his version not mine, how can now they say learn Zulu when they don't know English that well.

²⁵ According to Resolution No. 3 of 1996 of the Education Labour Relations Council as contained in HRM Circular No. 14 of 1998: 1.1 The right-sizing regarding the education sector should be effected to effect equity in funding between provincial education departments and, 1.2 The phasing in of such equity will result in the provision of educator personnel increasing in some departments and decreasing in others. However, it is not envisaged that the total educator personnel provision in the country will be reduced. In order to manage the process of attaining equity, excess educators in education departments or components thereof will have to be redeployed (HRM Circular No. 14 of 1998).

I think it had to do with job security because now we're taking away a learning area which the Indian teachers are qualified in which is Afrikaans and the fear was if the teachers come, the isiZulu-speaking teachers, then we are going to have surplus teachers and we are going to use curricular needs of the school and then displace these (Indian) teachers.

This school politics I'd like to touch on that... it's a very relevant issue, and in my school I can say it has happened. There are teachers who don't want new posts to be created in the school because if new posts are created in the school, those posts must go to Zulu-speaking teachers.

Both of the factors identified in the above responses as fuelling resistance to language change are related to the fear of change and the perceived threat that change constitutes. Of significance is the perceived threat to job security. The data revealed that Afrikaans teachers perceived that their positions as educators at their schools and by implication their job security were being threatened by the language policy changes in those schools. Agent R summed up the concerns of these educators in the following response:

Everything is a bread and butter issue, I think everything comes down to bread and butter. If my security is being threatened, I'm not going to change, I'm going to be steadfast.

Agent G also recognized that teachers would react negatively if they perceived that their security was being threatened and articulated a need to exercise caution in the appointment of new educators to the school so as not to compromise the positions of existing teachers on the staff. His position is illustrated in the following response to whether he agreed that job security would impact on the language change process in schools:

Yes, where you have situations where people's jobs are at stake. Also besides worrying about the language person, you've got to worry about LIFO (last in first out), the person we bring in mustn't be the most junior person, the last one in the school, but we don't want to bring a Zulu person also who's more senior to everybody else and you find that if you

had to apply the LIFO principle one of your existing teachers becomes displaced.

The above response demonstrates Agent G's concern about the position of existing teachers on the staff becoming affected through changes in the school's language policy and suggested that the appointment of new educators on the staff should be entered into with circumspection so as not to compromise existing educators and incoming educators. To reinforce his position, Agent G confirmed (in a response captured earlier in the analysis) that the change in language policy at his school did not affect the position of existing teachers on the staff as no teacher was displaced. On the question of how Afrikaans teachers were accommodated with isiZulu replacing Afrikaans altogether, Agent G indicated that "the basic principle of a primary school (is that a) teacher should be able to teach any learning area, so once you are out of a learning area you move into the next one".

Despite the assurances of Agent G, the fears of affected teachers were not allayed. While Agent G appeared to be sensitive to the position of these educators and appeared to understand their fears, his relentless driving of language change in his school was perceived as a lack of regard for their welfare and he was and is still being viewed negatively particularly by his Indian educators. His Indian educators were suspicious of his intentions and felt that he was implementing affirmative action in bringing more black teachers into the school and this increased resistance from them to his attempts to sustain language change at his school. Hence, while he understood the fears that some of the educators harboured of possible displacement, his zeal in transforming the racial composition of his staff to meet his school language change agenda perhaps rendered him insensitive to the plight of these educators in the eyes of many educators at his school.

Hence, it would appear that fear of change is a significant factor encouraging resistance to change. According to change literature (Fullan 1993, Douglas 1997, Hopkins 2001) fear of change is a major contributory factor to the failure of change initiatives. Douglas (1997: 252) states: "By definition, threat implies that the current stability of behavioural patterns which forms the basis of an individual's existence is in some way being

challenged.” In unpacking this definition, Douglas (1997) regards these behavioural patterns as stability zones consisting of enduring relationships and daily routines. It is these stability zones, according to Douglas (1997), which form the basis for any change and if they are also threatened by proposed change there will be resistance to that change. It may be argued that the stability zones of the Afrikaans teachers and to a lesser extent the English teachers were being threatened by language changes in their schools and despite the fact that they were still retained in their schools did not prevent resistance from them to these language changes.

Related to job security is the salary issue that affected educator disposition to school language change. According to the data the lack of inflation-linked salary increases had become a very sensitive issue among educators and demotivated them. Evidently what had compounded the problem was the education department’s perceived bungling of the process of salary adjustments for various levels of educators. Level 2 and 3 educators²⁶ were reportedly aggrieved by adjustments to the salaries of Level 1 educators and principals while their salaries had remained unadjusted. This had evidently created an anomalous situation where some Level 1 educators awarded Senior Teacher and Master Teacher statuses were earning more than Heads of Departments (HODs) and the same as Deputy Principals. Agent G identified this factor as affecting the morale of Level 2 and 3 management personnel at his school with the result that some of them were not keen to engage seriously with the language change process at his school. This was evident in Agent G’s response to the question of what kind of support was provided by the school to educators to implement multilingual education. His response, which follows, spoke of the reluctance of management staff members to assist Level 1 educators to meet the challenges of language change at the school as well as educators’ general dissatisfaction over the salaries that educators were earning compared to private sector employees:

All we could do was provide teachers with the library, other resources that they request for. There’s not much else that we can do other than encourage them to get their own materials. What you must understand is the position we are placed in at the moment, the HODs

²⁶ Level 2 educators are Heads of Departments and Level 3 educators are Deputy Principals.

are becoming demotivated not because the roll is increasing but also the fact that they find that the so-called senior teachers are earning more than the HODs and this really demotivated the HODs. Besides the HODs, the teachers are also demotivated because the one percent increase that we get for the IQMS really isn't worth it compared to what is happening in the private firms.

A fourth factor also linked to fear of change that contributed to resistance to school language change was a refusal from Indian educators to relinquish the English-medium status of their schools. This was evident at both Piper Primary and Willy Wonke Primary. At Piper Primary Indian teachers expressed dissatisfaction when Agent R communicated with learners at the assembly in isiZulu. At Willy Wonke Primary it was reported that management and level 1 staff were resistant to the use of isiZulu as an additional language of learning and teaching, particularly in the form of CS as they felt that the school was English-medium and instruction must be offered exclusively in English. The position at these two schools is captured in the following responses from Agents G and R respectively:

That is the allegations that were made by the heads of department, that they are teaching in the African language rather than in English. They are quite upset about it. They feel that the teachers are in an English-medium school...just this morning we decided that this is an English-medium school and part of the support should be in English all the time.

When I addressed assembly and did tell them the Easter story in isiZulu, I got comments like this is an English school and I should tell the story in English. So from there you can gauge the attitude. That attitude is not the right attitude.

The refusal to relinquish the English-medium status of these schools is linked to the fear of change contemplated earlier. Indian teachers felt threatened by the affirmation of isiZulu through the use of the language as an additional medium and the perceived undermining of the power and status of English, which was previously the sole medium of instruction and communication with learners at their schools. It is evident from the first of the responses above that Indian teachers felt threatened by the employment of Zulu-English CS to communicate with learners and for instructional purposes as they perceived

that this undermined the position and status of English in the school. While classroom CS research in South Africa and abroad (Zentella 1981, Ndayipfukamiye 1994, Adendorf 1996)²⁷ have amply demonstrated the value of code-switching in linguistically heterogeneous as well as linguistically homogenous school contexts, a majority of Indian teachers at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools refused to acknowledge this, primarily because Zulu-English CS affirmed isiZulu which was previously marginalized in these and other public schools in South Africa. A study (Govender 1998) which examined the practice of Zulu-English classroom CS by African student teachers in an English-dominant school context but which comprised African learners who were isiZulu L1 speakers and Indian learners who were English L1 speakers revealed similar attitudes by resident Indian teachers. The study showed that the attitudes of the Indian teachers were largely ambivalent; while they conceded the value of CS in meeting the linguistic challenges facing their African learners, they were not keen to relinquish the English-dominant status of the school. Similar findings were evident in a UK study evaluating the use of bilingual classroom assistants working alongside resident English teachers in reception classes in England (Martin-Jones 1995)²⁸.

Another factor also linked to fear of change which resulted in a negative disposition to school language change was the issue of educators' ability to cope with cultural and linguistic diversity in post apartheid South African schools raised by Agent R. While he conceded that cultural diversity and racial mixing in schools were necessary, he alluded to the culture shock accompanying racial integration of schools that Indian teachers were

²⁷ Zentella's (1981) ethnographic study of two Spanish-English bilingual classrooms in New York revealed that the teachers' alternation between Spanish and English accomplished pragmatic functions viz. mitigating the effect of admonitions, to make asides and to make metalinguistic commentaries. Lin Ndayipfukamiye (1994) studying French-Kirundi code-switching by learners and teachers in Burundi Grade 5 classes to meet the communicative demands posed by the transition to French as medium of instruction in Grade 5 found that switches to Kirundi in subjects other than French and Kirundi allowed teachers to present materials with greater ease and resulted in greater pupil participation in lessons. Ralph Adendorf's (1996) study of Zulu-English code-switching in a linguistically homogenous school context in KwaZulu-Natal where all the teachers and learners were mother tongue speakers of isiZulu revealed a range of academic and social functions accomplished by the alternation of English and isiZulu in the classroom and at school assemblies.

²⁸ In evaluating an educational provision allowing English-Panjabi and English-Gujarati bilingual assistants to work with resident English teachers in inner-city primary schools in north-west England, Marilyn Martin-Jones discovered that the asymmetrical relations between bilingual assistants and resident teachers which allowed the resident teachers to decide on the amount and type of code-switching the bilingual assistants could initiate invariably limited switching into the South Asian languages. She also found that the resident teachers had developed a perception that the bilingual support programme was transitional and would not be necessary once the children had acquired competence in English (Martin-Jones 1995).

still experiencing. He expressed the view that teachers, presumably Indian teachers in recently racially integrated schools, needed assistance in dealing with cultural diversity. His position is captured in the following response:

Cultural diversity in schools, it's a very very delicate topic, many teachers need some guidance in this. Some of the teachers have some kind of relationship with the Zulu people, talking to them and working with them. But in the school situation you will suddenly find the Zulu children, some of us have no experience of mixing, apart from the fact that it is a phobia, they are afraid of the mixed colour and that's what happens. So it is these kinds of things we face, the question here, the cultural diversity of the school, we need that here in integrated classes.

By contrast Agent G felt that there was no need to invest energy on sensitizing educators to cultural diversity. His view was that Indian educators had become accustomed to working with linguistically and culturally diverse learners as suggested by this response to the question of whether school-based workshops dealing with multilingual and multicultural education were held at his school:

Recently we did not have any for the simple reason that the teachers who are here have been with the learners for a number of years now and they are familiar with the learners, their characteristics, their culture and so on. I don't think there is any need for that.

Evidently the differing experiences of Agents R and G had resulted in differing understandings of the educators' disposition to cultural and linguistic diversity. Despite these differing understandings, it was evident, as argued by Douglas, that developing understanding of the nature of targets of change so as to ascertain their disposition to change was vital. This understanding would allow change agents to intervene if necessary to alter negative attitudes to change as suggested by Agent R who spoke of the need of assisting and guiding Indian educators to manage diversity better and to discover the gains of cultural and linguistic diversity.

The next two factors contributing to educator resistance are linked to organizational and financial constraints that school language change would place on schools. Organizational

constraints were alluded to by some educators at Willy Wonke Primary who felt that offering isiZulu over Afrikaans might limit the choice of high schools learners could attend after exiting the primary school. This concern was captured in a response earlier in the analysis in the discussion on revising the school language policy. Agent G countered this concern with the following response:

We are fortunate to be close to the secondary school, it also offers continuity in terms of isiZulu in the high school. If that was not the case then I think we would be able to accept that the learners would not be able to continue with isiZulu but all the neighbouring high schools over here are able to accommodate that (i.e. isiZulu).

The added financial burden on the school of employing Zulu language teachers in the absence of such appointments being made by the education department was another factor inhibiting fast tracking of school language change in Agent R's school. He stated: "The SGB has come up with giving us funds for one educator to try and work this change but it isn't enough." In Agent L's school the issue of the SGB funding the appointment of an African Zulu language educator was persistently used by the principal to resist suggestions by Agent L for such an appointment. The following response from Agent L reflects this position:

It was put across to the principal about offering IsiZulu - she agreed we need to have it but the SGB got to pay for the Zulu teacher and at that time I don't think the principal was eager to pay the isiZulu teacher from the SGB funds. I asked what about having a Zulu teacher over here and I am telling you that the principal sidestepped it by bringing in the issue of funds and paying for it, at that time.

Subsequent to the collection of the data for this study, the education department announced its intention to provide an additional transformation post²⁹ for isiZulu at public schools where there were no state-paid isiZulu language educators and acted on this intention from the beginning of 2007. Hence, the added financial burden of the SGB

²⁹ This post is intended to fast-track language transformation of public schools and is additional to the Post Provisioning Norm (the allocated number of educator posts at public schools).

paying for the services of an isiZulu language teacher might cease to act as a factor encouraging resistance to school language change.

A seventh factor was resistance from Indian educators to upgrade themselves in terms of learning isiZulu. As was mentioned earlier in the analysis, Agents R and G attempted to get their Indian educators to learn some basic isiZulu. However, this was sabotaged by resistance from these educators to attending Zulu courses arranged by the school or outside agencies. Agent G spoke of this resistance in the following response:

I found it (programme arranged by Ikhwezi) very enjoyable and thought that it would be of great benefit to everyone. What happens, invariably, whenever we engage in these programmes, we come back to school, basically it's school politics that are in operation and these things are all shut down. By school politics I am referring to those who want to oppose anything that is progressive.

Agent G added that teachers on the Zulu course dropped off after one or two lessons because they could not be accommodated during school time. He said that “teachers are prepared to do something within school time and lessons of language need a two-hour session”. Two educators at the school confirmed the principal’s observations. One of these, an Indian educator, said that when the principal moved the Zulu lessons to the afternoon because it was cutting across instructional time, “there was only one taker and that was me”. The other, an African educator, asserted that there was resistance to the course from the beginning saying: “After each and every lesson they had some negative comments...when the lady (the tutor) came they were saying she was unfriendly...they were just being negative.”

Whether the negative response to the Zulu language course was fuelled by resistance to the timing of the course or resistance to learning isiZulu, Kamwangamalu’s (2000) comments about negative attitudes to African languages are illuminating in this respect. Kamwangamalu (2000) argues that while Zulu is the majority language in KZN and Xhosa and Sotho are demographically dominant in the Eastern Cape and the Gauteng provinces respectively, English is assigned more value than all of the African languages

put together. Tollefson (1991) made similar observations of minority European languages. Kamwangamalu (2000) argues that African languages do not enjoy parity with English because African languages have not achieved a full range of functions and consequently there is a stigma attached to their use. As will be argued later in the analysis in contemplating the attitude of African parents to school language change promoting isiZulu, it was not just Indian teachers that did not value isiZulu but also mother tongue speakers of isiZulu who, lacking an academic understanding of isiZulu as a language having intellectual potential, perceived that it had no or little linguistic capital.

In contemplating educator resistance to school language change, all four change agents felt that the offering of incentives to educators to develop their own bilingual or multilingual competency would engender a more positive disposition to change. This understanding of the need for incentives to encourage educators to engage in school language change was initially articulated by Agent L in a response captured earlier in the analysis. He suggested that the Education Department use financial incentives to motivate educators to transform.

Agent L's suggestion of financial incentives for transformation was echoed in the Focus Group Discussion by Agents R, G and S who felt that "there needs to be some credit given to teachers in terms of certificates as well as monetary benefits for whatever qualifications (in isiZulu) they accumulate" claiming that "it will go a long way towards motivating many of these teachers". This issue of rewarding teachers for developing bilingual or multilingual competency is also captured by the following guiding principle for multilingual education by Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995:237):

The ethnolinguistically diverse competent teachers of the multilingual school should be *committed to and be economically rewarded for developing their own bi/multilingual proficiency*, as well as that of their students (emphasis in the original).

Evidently commitment to developing their bilingual or multilingual competency so as to sustain school language change which seeks to encourage bilingual or multilingual

education will be increased if educators are financially rewarded for their efforts in this respect. Hence, attempts to engender more positive educator attitudes to school language change, in the understanding of the change agents, should involve factoring this financial incentive into the change process.

This part of section two focused on educator resistance to school language change. Interrogation of the data revealed that while resistance was fuelled by several factors, the main instigators of resistance were fear of change and the threat that change constituted. This was evident particularly in the fear of redeployment with isiZulu replacing Afrikaans as a subject and in the refusal by Indian teachers to relinquish the English medium status of their schools and acknowledge the value of isiZulu as an additional LOLT as they perceived that an affirmation of isiZulu would undermine the status and power of English. Other factors fuelling resistance were related to organisational and finance issues which creative school management strategies and state appointments of isiZulu language teachers could address. Older teachers' mindset against change and the stigma attached to learning isiZulu because of the perception that it does not have much linguistic capital comprised the remaining factors fuelling resistance to school language change that were examined. This part of the analysis also considered ways of engendering more positive educator attitudes towards school language change through the offering of financial incentives to educators to engage in language change.

4.2.2.2 Acceptance of the need to change

Despite large-scale resistance to school language change from educators in all four schools, there was some acceptance of the need to engage in language policy and practice change. Douglas (1997) relates resistance to change to inertia in the material world. Douglas (1997) argues that in terms of physics, application of energy is required to move inert material but to overcome human resistance there has to be a relatively rational need to commit energy to change, a need that is assessed on the basis of a series of priorities. He adds that such an assessment is based upon the assumed costs and rewards that such a use of energy would involve. An interrogation of the data revealed that initial resistance

to school language change may have been eroded by certain individuals in all four schools counting up the costs and rewards of engaging in change and making a rational decision to support change on the basis that the rewards of engaging in change outweighed the costs. This part of the analysis in section two explores educator acceptance of the need to change arising out of recognition of the greater rewards of embracing school language change that promotes multilingual education.

In as much as Agent L contended that there was resistance to change from the principal and educators of Bo Peep Primary, there was nevertheless some acceptance of the need to engage in language transformation from the principal. As was evident in the discussion on school language policy revision earlier in the analysis, the principal supported the elevation of isiZulu to 1st additional language above Afrikaans, which is currently the 1st additional language at the school. She also indicated: “I am requesting that the department send me a teacher in addition to the PPN who will handle the isiZulu.” If a vacancy was created through an increase in the school’s PPN, she said, “I would definitely go for an isiZulu teacher.” She also admitted the value of learners being proficient in isiZulu by asserting: “They are going to be well equipped for the job market...No matter what area you look at, if you are in KZN you need that. Whether it is social services, in the marketplace whether you are going into a shop, on a construction site you need that isiZulu.”

It is evident that initial resistance from the principal to school language change was eroded by a rational process of counting up the costs and rewards of elevating isiZulu to 1st additional language and eventually conceding that there would be very tangible rewards for the learners acquiring proficiency in isiZulu together with English. Her conclusion of the benefits of isiZulu for the learners was evidently based on market-driven forces. While Kamwangamalu (2000) argues with sound justification that African languages lack linguistic capital, the view held by this principal and other participants in this study of the value of isiZulu in the marketplace is equally sound. Such a view is echoed by Alexander (2006) who speaks of the economic value of African languages. Citing the preliminary research findings of a colleague at PRAESA, Alexander (2006)

contends that despite the negative attitudes to African languages, there are definite moves by major players such as the banking sector, parastatal communications firms and the public administration towards increased use of African languages at the workplace, in their administration and especially at the interface with customers.

Notwithstanding the evidence of transformation at Bo Peep Primary, Agent L asserted that the offering of isiZulu at Bo Peep Primary was merely tokenism and not a genuine attempt at transformation as captured in the following response:

Right now we are offering isiZulu to the pupils. But it's the language to the pupils to just learn the basics. We are not... I am telling you the school is... contradicting what the principal is saying, the school is not embracing these principles (principles underpinning the LiEP), if it was embracing these principles I would have been seeing notices in both English and isiZulu. I did not see notices in Zulu... You see by having one teacher teaching isiZulu all they are doing is, I haven't been for these lessons, I haven't physically been for these isiZulu lessons, all they are doing is, they are teaching very basic Zulu, very basic, basic in the way they pronounce A, B, C... obviously it's an English A but the way they do it is different. IsiZulu is a start but they have not done more than that in this school, I am telling you, whether you like it or not, in this school the heavy shift has not been to actually encourage isiZulu to the maximum.

Agent L's assertions that the principal's portrayal of the school as transforming linguistically was inaccurate and his comments (captured in a response earlier in this section of the analysis) that the principal "camouflage(d) it in such a manner to create the impression that the school is too good" raises the possibility that the principal was engaging in what is termed strategic mimicry³⁰ and not real change. However, the principal was instrumental in the Zulu teacher's appointment and had implied that language transformation at the school was still exploratory. The principal and the Zulu

³⁰ Strategic mimicry was evident in the behaviour of educators in studies conducted locally and internationally where they mimicked change but did not engage in real change. Faced with policy and curriculum reform that were alien to their own philosophical and cultural understanding of teaching and learning, South African educators teaching in rural schools played along with the policy in an attempt to appear competent and look modern (Mattson 2000, Mattson & Harley 2003). Fullan (2000) found that "there was great pressure and incentives to become innovative and this resulted in many schools adopting reforms for which they did not have the capacity (individual or organizational) to put into practice. Thus innovations were adopted on the surface with some of the language and structures becoming altered, but not the practice of teaching."

language teacher conceded that isiZulu was being offered at an elementary level because it had second additional language status and therefore had been allocated $\frac{1}{2}$ hour of the 7 hours per week allocation for languages on the timetable. English as 1st language was allocated 4½ hours and Afrikaans as 1st additional was allocated 2 hours. However, an elevation in the status of isiZulu in the future should see an appreciable increase in the standard of isiZulu offered at the school.

At Mulberry Primary there were some educators who were receptive to attempts by Agent S to transform their practice. Agent S had exposed them to the value of using bilingual worksheets and harnessing the benefits of pupil-pupil CS in group work and pair work. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) affirm the value of learner-learner collaboration in pairwork and group work comprising linguistically homogeneous pairs or groups containing more than one isiZulu or English-speaking learner. In contemplating the characteristics of a sound multilingual language policy as part of their guiding principles for multilingual education, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) advise that when the L2 is used as a medium of instruction, linguistically heterogeneous groups can be arranged, but they should always contain more than one child from each language group in order to make translations possible when needed. They add that in this way, both input and output in the first and second language can be realistically and authentically produced.

To initiate the educators into language practice change Agent S and Miss T, a Zulu-speaking admin. assistant at Mulberry Primary, assisted them in preparing bilingual worksheets. While her colleagues were hampered by their inability to speak isiZulu, Agent S felt encouraged when she noticed that the Afrikaans teacher “used (multilingual) worksheets and ... was using multilingual teaching (methods)”.

The receptiveness of some educators at Mulberry Primary to the value of using multilingual teaching/learning strategies and learning and teaching support materials (LTSMs) suggest that these educators have also become aware of the greater rewards than costs in attempting to transform language practices in their classes. However, only if

they genuinely commit themselves to changing their own linguistic practices through learning to speak isiZulu will the change that has begun in their own classes be sustained. In this respect Douglas (1997) asserts that true change can only be brought by the individual him or herself and while help and guidance may assist the change process, change will scarcely be durable unless the individual commits initial energy to the process. Fullan & Hargreaves (1991) reinforce this view by positing as one of the guidelines for action consistent with the conception of the professional teacher the commitment to continuous improvement and perpetual learning.

At Agent G and R's schools initial resistance to school language change, particularly a change in racial composition of the staff to meet the needs of language transformation, was reportedly breaking down as is evident from the following responses from Agents G and R respectively:

I think in any work situation when there is a change of the type we are experiencing now then there would be resistance because the whole culture of the staff will have to change but I must tell you again that as we brought in teachers one by one there was acceptance of these teachers. Initially, like in any work situation there was resistance.

Now I think it's hitting them, the fact that they need to change, especially among the older teachers they have been set in their ways and those that were in this school, early years in this school when we had English-speaking learners who really performed. Now things have changed, and the teachers have learned and are learning that if they don't change they will die.

The change occasioned by older teachers and those that were part of the staff establishment since prior to racial integration of Piper Primary school who were initially set in their ways speaks of the initial fear of change that subsequently gave way to an attitude more receptive to change. This change was probably brought about by increased knowledge of the greater costs of stubbornly refusing to change as well as increased knowledge of the value of adapting to change if not for any other purpose but personal survival. Both Douglas (1997) and Fullan (1993) contend that fear of change is counteracted by greater knowledge not only of the change process but especially of what

needs to change and how this change should be effected. In this respect Fullan (1993) stresses the need for expertise, not one-shot workshops and disconnected training of the type of isiZulu courses described by Agent G earlier in the analysis but sustained career-long staff development that would equip educators with the knowledge to recognize the value of and the need to shift to multilingual education in a post-apartheid school context and the expertise to meet the challenge of delivering multilingual education in such a context.

Although there was strong reaction to the practice of multilingual strategies like code-switching in Agent G's school, there was also reportedly wide use of this strategy in classrooms (see Adendorff 1996 for *the academic and social functions of classroom code-switching*). The preferred mode of code-switching (CS) was pupil-pupil CS in group and pair work because of the inability of many Indian teachers to communicate effectively in isiZulu. However, those who could speak the language used it to issue simple instructions, provide direction in the completion of tasks and to discipline learners. When an African educator in Willy Wonke Primary was questioned about whether her HOD, who is Indian, approved of her use of CS she stated:

I think she is very happy because she is also switching to Zulu. Although she is battling but I also suspect that she is also speaking to them in Zulu.

In interrogating the response above it was evident that the Indian HOD at Willy Wonke Primary had become conscious of the rewards of attempting Zulu-English CS despite the costs in terms of battling to articulate clearly in isiZulu.

In Agent R's school educators were reportedly embracing CS as a significant multilingual teaching/learning strategy. The following response from Agent R confirms this:

The teachers won't be resistant to that (referring to CS) and they haven't been resistant because they understand that somehow learning must take place, so if it's gonna take place by CS let it carry on. So

they had to let it go or else learning would come to a standstill if we don't do that kind of stuff, somehow you gotta get it done.

Once again it is evident from this response that resistance to school language change became eroded as teachers counted the rewards of changing old linguistic practices. They were only too aware, as is conveyed by the above response, that refusing to change would incur an enormous cost, i.e. "learning would come to a standstill".

It was also reported that in both Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools Indian teachers have been using African teachers as a resource to assist them in communicating with African learners who could barely speak English. This is reflected in the following responses from African educators at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools:

Because if the learners are making noise they call me and I speak to them in Zulu and they keep quiet...they call some other times, some days they call in the morning early to come and explain in isiZulu so that the learners can understand.

In the Foundation Phase some children are having problems to pronounce the African names and they come to me and I help them how to pronounce those names and even if they (referring to Indian teachers) are having problem with the child because some children come without the background of the English so we help each other.

Some like Mrs G, whenever the children didn't understand she said Barbara come and explain to this learner...Barbara come I got a problem with this, can I ask you this in English and you can translate in isiZulu so that they can understand. Even Mrs J come and say, Barbara I have got a problem with this and then I explain in isiZulu and then the learners are happy.

While it is not the most effective way of dealing with the challenge of teaching in schools with linguistically diverse learners, this approach, nevertheless, confirmed that Indian teachers in the two schools were beginning to recognize the need to use the learner's mother tongue, particularly in the Foundation Phase.

This part of section two focused on educator acceptance of the need to engage in school language change. Interrogation of the data revealed that initial resistance to language change was eroded by a realization that the rewards of changing outweighed the costs of resisting change. This realization evidently arose out of a rational decision based on greater knowledge of what needed to be changed and how this would impact on educators and learners within the schools and the wider community.

4.2.2.3 Resistance to change from parents

This part of the analysis in section two interrogates the resistance of African parents to school language change by exploring how resistance was fuelled firstly by the perception that isiZulu had little or no market value and secondly by the perception that African educators who were appointed at previously Indian schools as part of the language transformation agenda could not deliver quality English education.

The data revealed that there was some resistance from African parents to language policy revision at Piper and Willy Wonke Primary schools. Some of the African parents had reportedly expressed the view that there was no need for isiZulu to be offered as a subject on the curriculum and stated: “We can teach isiZulu to the children at home, we want them to learn English at school.” Evidently the priority for these and perhaps other African parents was that their children should become proficient in English and they were prepared to compromise the position of isiZulu in these schools as long as their children gained access to quality instruction in English.

The school language preferences of African parents for their children have become the subject of much research in Africa (Kelly 1994, Zungu 1998, Bamgbose 2000, Arua & Magocha 2002, de Klerk 2002). In researching the language attitudes of isiXhosa parents who sent their children to English-medium schools, de Klerk (2002)³¹ discovered that

³¹ Vivian de Klerk, researching the reasons for Xhosa parents’ decision to move their children from township schools to English-medium schools in Grahamstown, discovered that the parents were motivated by the need for their children to gain high levels of literacy in English to gain access to wealth, power and prestige and they saw the English-medium schools as providing this access rather than the township schools which they felt were inadequately resourced, poorly managed and were staffed with poorly qualified teachers. Despite the Xhosa parents’ preference for English for their

these parents made the decision based on the knowledge that English would give their children greater access to wealth, prestige and upward social mobility. This decision was premised on the view that African languages do not have the linguistic capital that English has as contemplated by Kamwangamalu (2000). de Klerk's (2002) findings are similar to Arua & Magocha's (2002) in a study examining the patterns of language use and language preferences of some children and their parents in Botswana. Arua & Magocha (2002) discovered that the parents in the study preferred an expanded role for English for their children both in and out of school but they did not want English to play any role in the home. This role was reserved for Setswana. de Klerk's (2002) study also reflected a desire by the isiXhosa parents for their children to maintain isiXhosa in the domain of the home in spite of the need for greater social mobility through expanded use of English in other domains. The attitudes of parents reported by change agents and significant others in this study also reflect the ambivalence or apparent ambivalence of parents in respect of language preferences for their children as captured in the following responses.

Agent R made these comments on African parents' language preferences for their children:

The parents were generally happy so long as their children can do English I noticed that, that was their main concern that we teach their children English. That is the reason they send their children to this school and not to the schools on that side because they want their children to learn English.

Generally the younger people are not so happy to carry on in their MT. This is the impression I am getting as a person from what I've been seeing. So it's a white man's world and they want the white man's language, that's the impression I'm getting. So they want their children to learn English.

children, they regretted their children's loss of the mother tongue. They were keen for their children to maintain their mother tongue while acquiring proficiency in English (de Klerk 2002).

The access to power, wealth and prestige that English promises was the perception conveyed by one of the above comments and reinforced by the following view expressed by Agent G:

I think the desire for children and the parents is to have their children performing well in English. I think the commercial value of English in the province and outside the province is a factor that will encourage the support of English as a first language.

The “commercial value” of English identified by Agent G as influencing the school language preferences of African parents for their children in this study approximates Kamwangamalu’s (2000) “linguistic capital” of English. The “commercial value” of English also influenced the decision of other African parents to opt for access to high levels of literacy in English for their children as captured in other studies quoted above.

The attitude of African parents towards the offering of isiZulu in these schools was, however, apparently ambivalent as one of the principals asserted, “I think there would be some uproar if we have to drop isiZulu completely” but hastens to add that “if we go the other route of teaching 100% isiZulu, I think there will be opposition from the parents”.

What appeared to be an ambivalent attitude towards English and isiZulu was perhaps not ambivalence but a considered decision, like the one made by the Botswana parents, of maintaining the African languages for almost exclusive use in the domain of the home but choosing English for use in the higher domains for their children. Sridhar (1996) in examining language choice in multilingual communities based his work on Fishman’s (1977) explanation of language choice of multilinguals in terms of what he called domains. In Fishman’s (1977) analysis, Spanish-English bilinguals used Spanish in the domains of the family, the church, the playground and street and English was used in higher domains of the school, the workplace and government offices. Sridhar (1996) explains language choice of bi- and multilinguals in terms of the asymmetric principle of multilingualism. According to this principle, the languages in a multilingual society can be viewed as being arranged on a hierarchy; the larger the number of desired roles a

language enables its speakers to play in a given society, the higher its place on the hierarchy, the more restricted the range of valued roles a language provides, the lower its place on the hierarchy. In using the notion of domains to examine the status of African languages, Kamwangamalu (2000) cites the limited range of roles and functions that African languages can play as opposed to English and therefore argues for expanding the range of roles that African languages can play through vigorous marketing of these languages and development and use of these languages in higher domains which Alexander (2005:12) terms “intellectualization of African languages”.

An even greater resistance from African parents was that recorded by opposition of African parents to the appointment of increasing numbers of African educators at Willy Wonke Primary following language policy changes at that school. Agent G initially signaled this in the following response:

The (African) parents are not too happy with the number of blacks that we have. They are not happy about it because somehow the perception is that black teachers are associated with township schools and if they come here it's a conflict of communication. As for the class situation, we also had parents who would like their children to be transferred to a class, which has an Indian teacher. We have many requests that have come to us.

An African educator at Willy Wonke Primary subsequently confirmed what he had said, adding:

I can say most of them are not happy because when you are passing them here in the corridor they say 'How! I send my child here to be taught by an Indian now there's a lot of African teachers here!'

The perception of African parents, according to this educator, was that the presence of African educators might compromise the quality of instruction in English that their children should be receiving. This is implied by the following comment by the same educator:

They want their children to learn English maybe they feel we are not capable of teaching them English. I don't know. That's what I think they believe because we hear them saying 'How! There are so many African teachers now!'

A closer examination of these responses reflects that the resistance of the African parents went beyond the language issue and encompassed the perception that township schools did not deliver quality education and did not foster a strong culture of teaching and learning as so-called Indian schools did and the perception that African teachers were not as skilled and dedicated as Indian teachers were. A similar perception motivated isiXhosa parents in de Klerk's (2002) study to move their children from township schools to English-medium schools in Grahamstown.

This part of section two focused on African parents' resistance to school language change. The analysis revealed that resistance was underpinned by language attitudes and perceptions of teaching and learning, especially English language teaching, in township schools as opposed to "Indian" schools. Interrogation of the data revealed that what fuelled the resistance of these parents to attempts by change agents to affirm and empower isiZulu in these schools was the perception that isiZulu had little market value as opposed to English. Hence, an important understanding of the motives directing the actions of these and other African parents was the revelation that whatever language policy revisions were proposed at school level, African parents would be happy as long as their children gained access to high levels of literacy in English even at the expense of isiZulu. However, the data also revealed that African parents' preference for English for their children was tempered by the very real desire for the maintenance of the African mother tongue for use in the domain of the home. This part of the analysis also reflected that African parents were opposed to the appointment of increasing numbers of African teachers at Willy Wonke Primary because their perception was that African educators could not deliver quality English education while Indian educators were better qualified and previously Indian schools were managed better for this purpose. Whether this was true or not, what is critical is that this understanding of the aspiration of African parents for their children must be factored into the school language change process to ensure that

the process was not aborted by resistance from parents which could be addressed sensitively and by justifying clearly the reason for changes in staff composition accompanying changes in the school's language policy.

4.2.2.4 Differing Conceptions of Change

The differing conceptions of change which are linked to the ideological positions regarding change of change agents and significant others in their schools are examined in this part of section two of the analysis. In this respect the shifting and staid positions on school language change of Agent L and the principal of Bo Peep Primary are interrogated.

Agent L's view that there was strong resistance to school language change from his principal appeared to conflict with the principal's stated intention of reviewing the school's language policy and elevating isiZulu to 1st additional language with the approval of the parents. The principal also espoused the value of being proficient in isiZulu especially in the workplace. Are these contradictory positions and if so how does one reconcile them? It may be argued that the principal is merely espousing the need for language transformation at her school and engaging in strategic mimicry without having any real intention of putting this in practice. This would then vindicate the position of Agent L. However, a closer reading of the data seems to suggest that what appeared to be conflicting positions were not really conflicting positions on language change at the school. In the case of Agent L, he adopts a strong ideological position on multilingualism and strongly asserts the need to affirm and use African languages in schools and higher education institutions. Hence, he expects institutional language change to be fast-tracked in schools and higher education institutions where he finds the pace of change tardy. The chairperson's position is illustrated by the following response:

If it does not start in the primary school, it is not gonna overflow in the high school, it's not gonna overflow into the universities, now as I am sitting here the university level is 30 years. So if it starts now, I am saying it will take 6 years for the teachers to change their mindset then

another 3 years before it gets weaned into the primary school then it must be weaned into the high school.

The slow pace of change at Agent L's school is perhaps perceived by him as resistance to language change from the principal. The data revealed that the principal was circumspect about making a "heavy shift" as Agent L put it and was therefore not transforming the school as swiftly as he would like her to. The principal's circumspection about replacing Afrikaans with isiZulu and using isiZulu as LOLT is clearly revealed by the following responses:

I don't know what level the children would be able to manage isiZulu when they get to high school level and what the matric exam would be like then for them to be able to manage isiZulu. I suppose if it is done properly from primary school and the children are taken up gradually and the high school where the children go to, offer isiZulu also that level then these children would be able to manage. So we would have to work with our high schools that we feed so that we know.

Now we have a mixed race in SA where our tertiary institutions are delivering either in English or if you are in Stellenbosch in Afrikaans. So that's the situation we are in. Until our tertiary institutions also can offer a degree in isiZulu³², mechanical engineering or whatever it is in isiZulu, then it is fine you can go with isiZulu from grade one to matric.

The differing conceptions of change held by Agent L and his principal and also by the different change agents as becomes evident later in the analysis, are linked to the shock of sudden change. The shock of sudden change as opposed to incremental change may result in strong resistance to change or at best may engender a conservative attitude to change.

³²Addressing the challenges facing higher education in South Africa to ensure the simultaneous development of a multilingual environment in which all the official languages are developed as academic/scientific languages, while ensuring that existing languages of instruction do not serve as a barrier to access and success, the language policy framework for South African higher education has been designed to promote multilingualism and to enhance equity and access in higher education. Among other measures this will be done through: the development, in the medium to long-term, of South African languages as mediums of instruction in higher education, alongside English and Afrikaans; the development of strategies for promoting student proficiency in designated language(s) of tuition; and the encouragement of multilingualism in institutional policies and practices (DOE 2002).

The availability or limitation of knowledge of what needs to change and how this change should be effected may also enable or disable change.

This section of the analysis examined the different conceptions of change held by Agent L and the principal of Bo Peep Primary with the former preferring fast tracking of school language change and the latter adopting a more conservative position. It was argued that the shock of sudden change may result in resistance or a conservative attitude to change and the lack or availability of knowledge of the change process may either stifle change or enable it.

4.2.2.5 Summary

Section two of the chapter used as the main sensitizing concept Douglas' contention that acceptance of the need for change is necessary or change would merely be an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure and would fail to be sustained. In using this sensitizing concept as well as Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's (1995) characteristics of educational agents and the educational culture desirable for multilingual education to orient and guide the analysis of the data, it was evident that while there was large scale resistance to school language change which was thwarting the change process in all four schools, there was also acceptance of the need for change which was supporting the change initiatives of some of the change agents. The data revealed that resistance was largely fuelled by fear of change and acceptance was borne out of the realization that the rewards of changing outweigh the costs of resisting change. The analysis also revealed that language attitudes were critical in determining the disposition of educators and parents towards school language change. This section of the chapter also examined the differing conceptions of change held by different stakeholders in the school based on their ideological positions and attitudes to change. Once again the analysis revealed that fear of too sudden a change affected the language change process, this time by retarding the pace of change.

Insights emerging from the analysis in this section of the chapter relate to the following concepts linked to the need for acceptance of change to sustain change: Fear/threat of change and resistance to school language change, rewards of change and acceptance of school language change, language attitudes and school language change. An additional insight emerging out of analysis of both forms of sustained change is the antithetical positions of the two forms of change (one encourages pressure to sustain change and the other stresses the need for acceptance of change to prevent change from becoming an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure) and their implications for sustainability of school language change. These insights together with those signalled at the end of Section One are developed hereunder and are used to inform the emerging theory.

4.3 Emerging Insights

The insights emerging from the analysis of the data in this chapter deal with: the use of two types of pressure (coercive and persuasive) to sustain SLC, factors impacting on the use of pressure (power and personality), managing pressure, fear/threat of change and the perceived rewards of change shaping attitudes to SLC, impact of language attitudes on SLC, and the antithetical positions of the two forms of change.

4.3.1 Pressure and SLC

The data revealed that the change agents exercised pressure to sustain SLC and/or articulated the need to exercise pressure to sustain SLC. A critical insight emerging from the analysis was that two types of pressure were used to bring about and sustain school language change. One of these discovered types of pressure was persuasive pressure and was characterized by the use of tact and diplomacy and involved the language change agent negotiating change with the targets of change. The other discovered type of pressure exerted by change agents was coercive pressure and this involved forcing language change in schools even against the wishes of the targets of change.

There was no clear evidence from the analysis that either persuasive or coercive pressure was more effective in effecting lasting change. What the data did reveal was that exercising both of these types of pressure resulted in a measure of language change but there was also evidence that exercising coercive pressure increased resistance and persuasive pressure was at times ineffective in leading to lasting change as was evidenced by apathy and indifference demonstrated by targets of change who were pressured in this way. The analysis also revealed that coercive pressure affected the quality and level of participation of targets of change in the language change process.

4.3.1.1 Persuasive pressure and Apathy

The experiences of Agents R and L who employed tact and negotiated change revealed that using this type of pressure did not necessarily have the desired effect of encouraging and sustaining SLC. The efforts of these change agents were evidently not taken seriously by the targets of change. In the case of Agent R, his educators were indifferent to attempts to capacitate them to transform their classroom language practices or there was no sense of urgency to engage in this kind of language transformation. In the case of Agent L, there was evidently no sense of urgency by the principal of his school to engage all key stakeholders in a revision of the school's language policy that was outdated and did not address the linguistic needs of learners.

4.3.1.2 Coercive Pressure and Resistance

The analysis of the data revealed a relationship between coercive pressure and resistance. Interrogation of the efforts of Agent G who exercised coercive pressure to effect language change at his school revealed that his attempts were met by strong resistance particularly by educators who questioned his change agenda and resented his attempts to force language transformation which they felt threatened their status and positions at the school. Their stance was clearly articulated at a minuted staff meeting which placed on record that their school was an English-medium school and that isiZulu should not be used as a medium of instruction. While the stance of these educators was partly motivated

by the fear that affirming isiZulu at the school would threaten their positions, what was evident was that coercing educators to participate in language change not of their own making can and does result in resistance.

4.3.1.3 Coercion and Limited Participation

The analysis revealed that while coercive pressure was used to force participation in the language change process, the level and quality of participation were limited. There was evidence that the exercising of coercive pressure was coupled with dominance over the language change process and this affected the level of participation of key stakeholders. It was evident that Agent G who exerted coercive pressure to force language change also often dominated the language change process, coercing key stakeholders into meeting his change agenda on his terms. A top-down mode of revising language policy was adopted with key stakeholders' roles being limited to accepting and ratifying revisions already made to the existing policy by the change agent and the rest of the school management team.

4.3.2 Factors impacting on Pressure to sustain SLC

The factors impacting on pressure to sustain SLC are power and personality.

4.3.2.1 Power and Pressure

A critical insight emerging from the analysis was that the ability to exercise pressure to sustain SLC was determined by power. This was evident in the differing abilities of the change agents to pressure language change at their schools.

The analysis revealed that the positions occupied by the different change agents, viz. principal, SGB chairperson and level 1 educator, determined the level of power commanded by these individuals and this in turn influenced their ability to use pressure to drive and sustain school language change.

The greater power vested in the principals allowed them greater ease in pressuring language change at their schools. The analysis revealed that Agents G and R, commanding more power by virtue of being school principals, were able to exercise pressure to change teacher's mindsets, revise their schools' language policies and influence a change in the racial composition of their staff to address the revised language policies of their schools.

However, even the power vested in the principals was limited and did not allow them to pressure their educators to prioritise the learning of isiZulu. The analysis revealed that the greater power vested in the education department would enable the department to exercise pressure on teachers in training and teachers in service to learn isiZulu and to pressure schools to engage in language change that encouraged multilingual education.

By contrast to Agents R and G, the analysis revealed that Agent S, the level 1 educator, commanded limited power, which prevented her from effecting significant language change in her school. In addition, the power vested in Agent L, the SGB chairperson, was circumscribed by the greater authority and influence wielded by his principal which not only created power tensions between himself and his principal but also limited him in effecting the kind of language change he desired for his school.

4.3.2.2 Power, Pressure and Personality

The analysis revealed that in addition to the level of power commanded by change agents, the personality of the individual vested with power also influenced the language change process. An important insight emerging from the analysis was that the personality of the change agent vested with the requisite power ultimately determined whether the individual used the power effectively to drive and sustain language change.

The analysis revealed that the change agents roughly fell into three personality types, the unassertive, the tactful and diplomatic, and the domineering, and their personalities

determined how they used their power to exert pressure to bring about language change at their schools.

The analysis revealed that Agent G, who used coercive pressure to drive language change, was by nature assertive and perhaps domineering at times. He used his power to stifle opposition to his change agenda and while this increased opposition to his attempts to transform language policy and practices at his school, he nevertheless made full use of his power to try and force change at his school.

Agents R and L who used persuasive pressure, according to the analysis, were more tactful and diplomatic by nature. They did not use the power vested in them to force change but sought to negotiate change and while this allowed them to effect a measure of change, they were also faced by the indifference and apathy of educators and management staff who were not serious about engaging in language policy and practice change.

The analysis also revealed that Agent S was unassertive and reserved by nature and was described as reticent. From the analysis it was evident that in spite of her passion to transform language practices at her school, her personality may have hindered her from driving language change more successfully. Although as a level 1 educator she commanded limited power to effect whole school language change, her fear of antagonizing her colleagues may have prevented her from using whatever power she possessed more effectively to pressure language change at her school. While this change agent claimed that her latitude of influence and power had increased by being elected teacher representative on the SGB at the time of data collection which gave her greater power to accelerate language change at her school, it is doubtful whether her placid nature might allow her to achieve the change that she envisaged.

4.3.3 Managing pressure

A further insight relating to pressure, power and change is the issue of how pressure was managed to effect SLC. The analysis revealed that the different change agents managed pressure differently for this purpose with one of the change agents exerting no pressure at all. The analysis made use of basic Physics principles on pressure to deepen understanding of how the change agents' personalities and the power they commanded by virtue of their positions determined how they managed pressure to bring about change.

The unassertive agent who also carried the least amount of power was unable to bring about institutional language change. In terms of Physics, the force she exerted was too little because of her limited power and her fear of antagonizing colleagues at her school, and this translated into too little pressure to have a significant effect on a large area like the whole school. In the smaller area of her classroom she possessed the requisite power and was able to exert adequate force to effect language change. In terms of Physics, an increase in area demands an increase in force to provide the necessary pressure to move an object and she was unable to do this in terms of effecting whole school language change.

The agents who were diplomatic and used subtle forms of pressure were also unable to effect institutional language change. In terms of Physics they also exerted too little force to make an impact on a large area like the school. However, it was not because they had limited power; they both possessed sufficient power but did not use this optimally. Hence, the force they exerted was insufficient to create enough pressure to encourage whole school language change.

The agent who was domineering exerted a lot of force on educators and parents to engage in language change but the force he exerted was minimized by resistance from a large number of his educators. According to Newton's 3rd Law which states that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction, the force he exerted on his teachers to engage in language change was counteracted by a commensurate amount of resistance.

Consequently the force that he exerted in real terms was too little to bring about whole school language change.

The implication of this insight for the process of school language change is that in order to drive change more successfully the change agent should manage pressure more efficiently by using his/her power more effectively. The analysis revealed that a good blend of coercive and persuasive was required; the change agent needs to be assertive without being domineering and tactful without being too accommodating.

4.3.4 Language Attitudes and SLC

The analysis revealed a close relationship between language attitudes and school language change. A critical insight emerging from the analysis was that a more positive attitude towards African languages and a belief that such languages were worth pursuing as subjects and/or as LOLTs enabled school language change. Conversely a negative attitude towards African languages and a perception that such languages had little linguistic capital disabled school language change.

Educator disposition towards school language change that encouraged multilingualism over monolingualism was strongly influenced by their attitudes towards English and isiZulu. The analysis revealed that educator mindsets against school language change resulted from a reluctance to relinquish the English-medium status of their schools and to affirm the value of isiZulu both as a subject and as an additional LOLT. Consequently non isiZulu-speaking educators did not prioritise the learning of isiZulu and pressure needed to be exerted on them to learn isiZulu so as to extend the repertoire of languages they could turn to, to facilitate teaching/learning and for classroom management purposes. The negative attitude towards isiZulu was very evident in the lack of enthusiasm for and apathy displayed by the majority of Indian educators in the study towards isiZulu language courses initiated by two of the change agents which resulted in one of the courses being aborted. Evidently the educators did not believe that there was

any value in learning isiZulu if they were not teaching it and were not prepared to give up time after normal school hours to learn isiZulu.

The analysis also revealed that African parents' attitudes towards the offering of isiZulu in their children's school and their children's acquisition of literacy in isiZulu was far from positive. Evidently African parents prioritised the learning of English over isiZulu and were prepared to compromise their children's learning of isiZulu in school as long as their children gained access to high levels of literacy in English. The attitude displayed by African parents in the study was reminiscent of the negative attitude of African parents in other parts of the continent towards their children's learning of and in African languages. This attitude stemmed from the perception that African languages possessed very little linguistic capital and consequently will not allow access to power, wealth and prestige.

The implications of this insight are that the SLC process needs to take cognizance of language attitudes of educators and parents and develop more positive parental attitudes towards the use of African languages for teaching and learning and as subject offerings.

4.3.5 Attitudes to change and SLC

The analysis revealed that disabling educator attitudes to SLC stemmed largely from fear and threat while enabling attitudes resulted from educators counting up the costs and rewards of engaging in SLC and perceiving that the rewards outweighed the costs.

The analysis revealed that while resistance to SLC was linked to a range of factors, the main instigator of resistance from educators was the fear of change and the perceived threat that change posed. This insight applied specifically to Indian educators who felt threatened by changes in school language policy which in affirming the value of isiZulu as a subject through its inclusion in the school's curriculum threatened the status and position of other languages taught at the school. The threat was experienced strongly by

Afrikaans' educators at Willy Wonke Primary where isiZulu replaced Afrikaans as additional language.

The perceived threat of isiZulu also applied to its use as an additional LOLT thereby diluting the power of English in the eyes of educators who were L1 speakers of English. These educators showed their resistance by opposing the use of Zulu-English CS at Willy Wonke Primary and agitating for the preservation of the English-medium status of the school.

Fear of change also affected attitudes to SLC in ways other than those manifested as resistance to change. The analysis revealed that fear of too sudden a change manifested itself as taking up a conservative or staid position on SLC. This was evident in the position of the principal of Bo Peep Primary who espoused the value of including isiZulu in the curriculum but was not prepared to enter into the SLC process at her school with the same kind of fervour and urgency as the school's SGB chairperson, Agent L.

Attitudes to change enabling SLC arising from the analysis involved educators counting up the costs and rewards of engaging in SLC and perceiving that the rewards outweigh the costs of resisting change. This was evident particularly at Piper and Willy Wonke Primary schools where Indian educators took example from their African peers by experimenting with the use of isiZulu in addition to English for classroom management and instructional purposes after noticing the tangible gains arising from the use of this bilingual classroom practice.

This insight implies that the SLC process has to prioritise the dissemination of change knowledge and knowledge on the kind of school language change contemplated by the change agents to obviate targets of change developing unnecessary fears about change and to reinforce the gains of change.

4.3.6 Antithetical positions of the two forms of Sustained Change

An interrogation of the two forms of sustained SLC revealed their antithetical positions - an insight which is critical to feed into the SLC process.

The analysis revealed that language change may be sustained in two ways. One way of sustaining change is through relentless pressure from the change agents. A second way is when targets of change accept and integrate language change. The dilemma for the change agents was how to address the antithetical positions of these two forms of sustained change. The one form of sustained change required the exertion of pressure while the other recommended that pressure not be used or change would merely be conformity under some perceived pressure.

The analysis revealed that if an agent should opt for exerting unrelenting pressure in bringing about change the danger is that he or she would be compromised in terms of the second form of sustained change, viz. change should be accepted otherwise change would be an exercise in conformity under some perceived pressure. The analysis revealed that pressure of any kind whether it was coercive or persuasive might encourage opposition. As was evident in the data analysis, Agent G had adopted a very forceful, perhaps coercive management style in his quest to bring about language change in his school. However, as was evident from responses from educators in his school of the strong resistance from the staff, he had already felt the backlash of exerting this kind of pressure. At the same time some educators at Agent R's school were opposed to his language change agenda although he practised subtle forms of pressure and used tact and diplomacy in initiating and sustaining SLC. They showed their opposition largely through indifference and apathy to his change efforts.

Evidently the challenge for the change agents was how to use pressure to sustain SLC while still encouraging acceptance of and integration of change where language change becomes part of the psyche of targets of change and where they perceive that change is not being forced on them. A critical insight arising from this finding is that the SLC process should involve mediating skilfully between these two types of sustained change.

4.4 Theorizing moments

Insights developed from the data analysis in this chapter resulted in the manifestation of what is termed theorizing moments where the building blocks of the emergent theory on SLC become evident. The key category emerging from the insights in this chapter is Management of SLC and encompasses managing pressure to sustain SLC and managing the two forms of sustained SLC. Linked to these key and major categories are impacting factors. The factors impacting upon managing pressure are personality and power and factors impacting on managing the forms of sustained SLC are language attitudes of key stakeholders and stakeholder attitudes to SLC. The categories and impacting factors identified here are used as building blocks to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the SLC process which is deliberated in the final chapter of the study.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided part of the data record and analysis section of the study that spans chapters four, five and six. Two main sensitizing concepts, the need for pressure to effect lasting change and acceptance of the need for change to render change durable, were used to guide and orient the analysis of the data in this chapter.

Using the sensitizing concept of pressure to effect sustained change to frame the analysis of the data revealed that change agents articulated the need to exert pressure and/or exerted pressure to effect durable school language in the following areas: Changing teacher's mindsets, Changing the racial composition of the staff, Revising the school language policy, Prioritising the learning of isiZulu, Pressure from the education department for school language change.

The data revealed that two forms of pressure, persuasive or coercive, were used by different change agents. Persuasive pressure was a subtle form of pressure that involved negotiation and consultation with targets of change. Coercive pressure involved forcing targets of change to meet the agenda of change agents. The data revealed that the

different change agents used and managed pressure differently to effect language change at their schools and their efforts were either enabled by the power they wielded which allowed them to exercise the requisite pressure or disabled by not having the necessary power to exert the requisite pressure and by being circumscribed by other stakeholders in the school who wielded more power.

In using the sensitizing concept of the need for acceptance of change to impel change to guide the data analysis, it became evident that while there was some acceptance by stakeholders of the need to engage in language change in the four schools, there was also resistance from educators who were in the main threatened by change and African parents who were opposed to the employment of increasing numbers of African educators necessitated by changing school language policies at what were previously Indian schools as they perceived that such educators could not deliver quality education in English.

The insights arising from the analysis in this chapter are detailed and used to inform the emerging theory manifested at this stage as theorizing moments. The theorizing moment in this chapter yielded a key category, viz. Managing SLC and its related major categories and impacting factors which are used to generate a theoretical understanding of SLC.

The next chapter extends the analysis of the data by focusing on preconditions for school language change and uses sensitizing concepts that deal with support, understanding the nature and potential of targets of change for change and the precondition for whole school language change to orient and guide the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: PRECONDITIONS FOR SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

5.1 Introduction

There are three preconditions for school language change. One is support for school language change emanating from the main stakeholders, the school as well as support from the education department and NGOs/other civil society organizations. Existence of such support enables the school language change process while lack of such support disables or limits the language change process. The second precondition entails change agents developing an understanding of the nature and potential of key stakeholders and the school to engage in school language change and using this understanding to enable the language change process and to effect durable change. A limitation in this understanding disables or limits the language change process. The third precondition which applies to whole school language change is that change is effected by one individual inducing it in others so that change becomes a collective enterprise rather than an individual quest. Existence of the three preconditions of change, it is argued in this chapter, would enable school language change while absence of these conditions or limitations in this respect would disable or abort the language change process.

This chapter is divided into three sections, in each section a sensitising concept is used to orient the analysis of the data. In the first section the sensitising concept of the need for support to sustain school language change is used, in the second section the sensitising concept of understanding the nature of targets of change and calculating their potential for change to enable the school language change process is used and in the third section the sensitising concept that whole school language change is enabled through one individual inducing change in others is used.

5.2 Section One: Support to Sustain Change

While change might occur if individuals accept the need for change, it may only be sustained if there is support for this change. Douglas (1997:66) argues: “Unless some form of support for the acquired changes is forthcoming, either from the will of the changed individual or the assistance of others or circumstances (e.g. a sufficient gain from the change itself), that change will tend to fade or be displaced.” In terms of school language change it is the assistance of others within and outside the school in addition to the support provided by the change agents that is required to support changes wrought in individuals by the change agents and to support the change agents themselves in their quest to sustain the changes they have initiated. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) argue that support for multilingual education should come from individuals within the school and from the surrounding society and that the educational culture of the school should encourage and develop multilingualism. Fullan (2005a) considers capacity building to be a key driver in sustaining educational change which involves developing new knowledge, skills, and competencies; new resources; and new shared identity and motivation to work together for greater change. Fullan (2005a, 2005b) also notes that organizational capacity must be built by improving the infrastructure consisting of agencies at local, regional and state levels that can deliver new capacity in the system, such as training, consulting and other support. Fullan’s (2005a, 2005b) contention that educational change can only be really sustained through systemic change at the three levels of school, district and national resonates with Douglas (1997) and Skutnab-Kangas & Garcia’s (1995) network of support for any change to be durable including school language change which shifts the culture of schools from monolingual to multilingual. The need for a network of support to impel the change process and to sustain change is captured by the next two sensitizing concepts from Douglas (1997) and Skutnab-Kangas & Garcia (1995) respectively used to orient the analysis of the data.

Great change cannot be durable unless the surrounding network is supportive of that change.
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Planning for multilingualism, multiliteracy and pluralism through schooling requires the active involvement of agents from the community, as well as the school. Furthermore, these agents must be engaged in developing a school context/culture that supports multilingualism, multiliteracy, and pluralism, beyond that which exists in the societal culture.

In using both of these authors' recognition of the need for support to effect lasting and durable change to interrogate the data, it is evident from the experiences of all four change agents that support or lack of it from within the school, from parents, from the education department and civil society organizations have enabled or disabled them in their attempts to initiate and sustain school language change. In light of this, this section of the chapter examines the following: in-school support for school language change, active involvement of parents and SGB in school language change, support from the education department, support from NGOs and other organizations.

5.2.1 In-school support

This part of the analysis foregrounds in-school support for school language change. Interrogation of the data revealed that in-school support for school language change was manifested in the following ways: African educators assisting Indian colleagues and the school management in communicating with African learners and parents who had limited proficiency in English, African and Indian learners assisting their peers in group and pair work to learn English and isiZulu and to negotiate learning through English and isiZulu and African support staff assisting Indian educators and management in communicating with African learners, particularly foundation phase learners. This part also focuses on the support/lack of support from management for level 1 educators to implement bi- or multilingual teaching/learning practices, level 1 educators' involvement in and support for language policy revision at their schools and networking of schools as a means of supporting and capacitating educators to meet the challenge of teaching linguistically diverse learners through pooling and sharing of various bi or multilingual teaching/learning resources and strategies.

In emphasizing the need for all educators to encourage bilingual or multilingual teaching/learning practices across all learning areas with structured support from the school management team, the following response from Agent S sums up to an extent the type of in-school support required for school language change that promotes a shift to multilingual education:

You need support from fellow teachers, the other teachers coming into your classroom...to make sure the children are really benefiting from another language. You need to get all teachers to co-operate in various learning areas. And then you need support from management. For instance, if you have a problem in terms of language you need to have a structure in place to correct all the little problems.

According to the data, support from educators was evident in varying degrees in the four schools. At Bo Peep and Mulberry Primary schools there was minimal support from “other teachers” to reinforce multilingual teaching/learning strategies that Agent S had alluded to. This was because a large majority of Indian educators at these two schools were unable to speak isiZulu and because of the absence of African educators at these schools except for the isiZulu language teacher at Bo Peep Primary. However, there was strong support from African educators at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools. The nature of support extended by African educators involved support for Indian colleagues to manage and teach classes comprising a large number of African learners who were minimally proficient in English and providing assistance to school management by conducting assemblies in isiZulu to ease communication with African learners. By acting as interpreters and translators, African educators also supported management by easing communication with African parents at parents meetings and when they made school visits.

The assistance provided by African educators to Indian colleagues was adequately illustrated by various responses captured earlier in the analysis. The following response from an African educator at Willy Wonke Primary illustrates the kind of support rendered to the school by African educators to ease communication with African parents who

could barely understand English and who Indian teachers could not understand because of their incompetence in isiZulu:

They themselves (African parents) don't understand English because now even the letters that are being sent to them are written in English and Zulu. When they come here to pay school fund we have to explain to them in Zulu. We have to explain to them in Zulu how to fill a form and even the teacher who has a problem in the class (says) please this is the parent, please explain to him because he doesn't understand English. There was an incident last week where a grade 3 boy did something so the granny was called to school and the teacher called me to explain. The granny was speaking to me and to the teacher in Zulu and the teacher didn't understand. Then I had to explain to both of them.

It is evident from the above response that apart from supporting the school language change process at Willy Wonke Primary, African educators at the school also provided a crucial service in making the school accessible to a large majority of parents who were perhaps marginalized in the past and in this way created spaces for these parents to participate meaningfully with the school and contribute to the corporate life of the school.

The data also revealed that at Willy Wonke Primary African educators were used regularly to conduct assemblies bilingually in English and isiZulu and to act as interpreters and translators at parents meetings as is indicated by the following responses by an educator at Willy Wonke Primary and Agent L respectively:

In the assembly when they are making the announcements then we have to explain to the learners in Zulu, to emphasise to them whatever needs to be emphasised.

Previously we used to get the services of a principal, black principal, but since then we got a member from the staff. We also had governing body members who used to do the interpreting.

Apart from easing communication with African learners and parents, the use of isiZulu in forums of mass communication like school assemblies and parents meetings also

affirmed the value of isiZulu and elevated its status so that it enjoyed some parity with English. Supporting this position, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) encourage a multilingual language surround in the school that affirms the *equal value* of all languages spoken by learners and staff in the school (my emphasis).

In addition to African educators, African support staff at Mulberry and Piper primary schools had also assisted their schools in initiating or sustaining school language change. In Mulberry Primary, the school's isiZulu-speaking administration assistant supported Agent S. In the following response, the administration assistant, Ms T, spoke of the support she had given the change agent:

If she got a problem with some Zulu pronunciation and must explain to the children like Zulu word I must just explain to them in English what this is. And sometime she got a problem and she can't explain the word so I have to tell them...Sometimes she come to me here and she wants me to tell her what this here is and I tell her...And with the exam papers too when she setting papers (bilingually) she calls me in the staff room and tells me that I must help her.

Agent S claimed that the support rendered by the administration assistant was not only invaluable in helping her to sustain changes in her own classroom language practice and assessment practice but also empowered her to assist other educators in the school to change their own classroom language practices.

In Piper Primary educators were encouraged by Agent R to seek support from any member of the teaching or non-teaching staff who could speak isiZulu. Agent R stated: "When we have a problem we call someone who can teach the language (isiZulu) or speak the language. That's what will happen and I'm sure it is happening and it should be happening." According to the data, the support staff at his school had been providing invaluable support for educators in the Foundation Phase and Grade R classes in explaining among other things school rules, proper use of ablution facilities and engaging in safe play on the school premises in isiZulu for African learners who had difficulty in understanding English.

This kind of support from teaching and non-teaching staff has created in some way in Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools what Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995:238) term a multilingual language surround as contemplated in the following guiding principle for education leading to multilingualism:

The multilingual school system should encourage a *multilingual language surround* in the entire school, also outside the classrooms, *in practice* and not only as a nice vague recommendation about the equal value of all languages and cultures.

In terms of this guiding principle for multilingual education, in-school support at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools created an educational culture that affirmed the equal value of both isiZulu and English as languages of communication at these schools. The bilingual language surround evident in these two schools by the use of both English and isiZulu everywhere, in the offices, corridors, staffroom and playground, in notices to parents, in school signs, posters and articles on bulletin boards and at school assemblies and parents meetings approximates what Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) recommend for education leading to bi- or multilingualism.

In addition to providing assistance to their schools through easing communication with African parents and learners, African educators at Piper, Willy Wonke and Bo Peep primary schools had also expressed a strong willingness to hold Zulu classes in school to assist their Indian colleagues to learn isiZulu which underscores Fullan & Hargreaves' (1991) contention that the professional teacher must be equally at home in the classroom and in working with colleagues to bring about continuous school improvements. In the case of the African educators they were professional teachers professionalizing the Zulu language.

One of the drivers critical to effective and lasting change is developing cultures for learning which involves a set of strategies designed for people to learn from each other and become committed to improvement (Fullan, 2005a). In light of this observation it was evident that African staff members (teaching and non-teaching staff) at three of the

research sites were committed to supporting their schools and their Indian colleagues in meeting the challenge of teaching and communicating bilingually with their linguistically diverse learner populations. The creation of structured programmes within these sites to exploit the potential for Indian educators to learn from African colleagues how to transform their own classroom language practices to meet the challenge of creating a sound bi- or multilingual teaching/learning context would maximize support from African staff members.

Apart from the staff, learners in all four schools also unconsciously supported the language change process in these schools and were, in a sense, informal language teachers. African learners of their own volition assisted their African peers to learn the target language (English) and to negotiate learning in other subjects across the curriculum by switching to isiZulu in group and pair work. Indian learners also supported their African peers' learning of the target language. In addition, African learners were strategically used by Indian educators in all four schools to support the learning of their African peers by making input in isiZulu in pair and group work and/or to act as translators and interpreters for these educators. There was also evidence that African learners were assisting their Indian peers to learn isiZulu. The following responses from Agents G and S and the Zulu language educator at Bo Peep Primary respectively reflect this position:

I think that generally happens in the classroom where the children code-switch, in fact at many times in certain classes they have their own interpreters. There is a child who comes out and interprets the whole issue, explaining the task, explaining the requirements. Some teachers have developed learners who will do this task in the class.

And of course I had help from some isiZulu-speaking children ... some of them were more fluent than the others and were able to help their fellow learners and of course I had English L1 learners put in groups to assist them.

When there are many African children in class and then there are Indian children, I don't know how they are doing this but they learn Zulu easier...they are learning from the black children. Like in grade 5 and in grade 6 there are many black children there. They know many words in Zulu. When I came here I asked them why they know

different words and I can see they know many words like grade 6 and grade 7 because there are black children there.

Peer learning of the type evidenced in the data is encouraged by Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995) who support input in the mother tongue in groupwork to assist learners in the emerging bi- or multilingual phase and is acknowledged by researchers exploring peer support in second language learning (Wheeler 1994, McLaughlin 1995, Montague & Meza-Zaragosa 1999).

Researching second language learning in a dual language programme involving Spanish and English for kindergarten learners, Montague & Meza-Zaragosa (1999) reflect on the usefulness of teaching in the second language and facilitating peer scaffolding in the native language. This kind of peer scaffolding is evident in the present study by the support provided by African learners to their peers as alluded to by Agent G's response that African learners acted as interpreters for their peers and English-speaking educators. However, the main focus of Montague & Meza-Zaragosa's (1999) study is an examination of majority language learners (English speakers) attempting the use of a minority language (Spanish). The study yielded some interesting findings chief of which was the raising of the metalinguistic awareness of the children. The researchers concluded that it was possible that seeing their English-speaking peers struggle with second language use proved to validate Spanish speakers' struggle with English and that the latter most likely saw that their fluency in Spanish was a desired goal for English-speaking peers which could contribute to a validation of their home language. Perhaps what was more affirming for the Spanish-speaking children in the study was that they became "experts" for their English-speaking peers who often sought their assistance in learning Spanish. The position of the Spanish-speaking children is very similar to that of the isiZulu-speaking learners in the present study who also emerged as "experts" assisting the Indian learners to learn isiZulu as suggested by the Zulu language educator at Bo Peep Primary. In addition, isiZulu language classes at Mulberry Primary, according to the principal, were lessons where African children dominated. The affirmation that these African learners experienced is similar to the experiences of the Spanish-speaking

children in Montague & Meza-Zaragosa's (1999) study who frequently stumbled though expressing themselves in English which English-speaking peers had mastered but were revealed in a totally different light in the Spanish class where their ability to speak quite fluidly in their home language was empowering for them and instructive for the English-speaking children in the class.

Wheeler (1994) and McLaughlin (1995) comment on the usefulness for language learning of L2 learners communicating with L1 peers in group and pair work. Wheeler (1994) found that this kind of peer support increased the L2 learners' confidence and reduced the anxiety that is often found in teacher-dominated classrooms but he discovered that while peer help enhanced fluency, it did not develop accuracy in the use of the target language. McLaughlin (1995) contends that speaking with their English-speaking peers will give L2 learners a stronger reason for communicating in the second language and feedback from peers will also help the L2 learners to determine which phrases were right and wrong as they attempt to figure out the patterns and rules that govern the language. In the present study assistance to African learners from English L1 peers was evidenced by Agent S consciously using Indian learners in heterogeneous groups to assist their African peers to learn English and learn through English. However, what was more prevalent in the data was peer support in linguistically homogenous groups comprising African learners assisting African peers to negotiate learning in English-dominant lessons by switching to isiZulu to heighten understanding of lesson content and to clarify instructions and directions for completion of tasks.

In terms of support from management for educators to implement school language change, the data reflected that there was limited support and this was due either to the inability to provide the requisite support or indifference on the part of management members.

Agent S categorically stated that she had not been supported by management in her quest to drive language change at her school. When asked what support she received from management to meet the challenges of teaching linguistically diverse learners, her

response was: “No, nothing apart from the workshops we went to.” When she was asked if she had alerted management that she needed support in this area, she remarked, “They should know and should be supporting (us).” The reported lack of managerial support for educators to meet the challenge of teaching linguistically diverse learners at Mulberry Primary reflected what McLaughlin & Talbert (2001) describe as weak professional learning communities in schools. In investigating school improvement, McLaughlin & Talbert (2001) examined the effects of strong and weak professional learning communities in schools. They discovered that department leadership and expectations shaped teacher community, with strong leadership extending and reinforcing expectations and opportunities for teacher learning provided by the district and by the school, while weak leadership provided few supports or incentives for learning and marginalized the weakest teachers in the department rather than enabling or encouraging their professional growth. Thus, while Agent S was able to sustain multilingual teaching/learning practices in her own classroom she was not supported by management to enable this language change. What was more disabling for Agent S was that there were no support systems created by management within her school to assist her in her quest to bring about whole school language change. The network of support that Douglas speaks of and the educational culture leading to bi- or multilingual education that Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) mention were absent resulting in only pockets of change in the school initiated by Agent S. Borrowing from McLaughlin & Talbert (2001) one can discern that there was an absence of a community of practice at this school which might have encouraged school language change as a collective endeavour rather than as individual quests.

In terms of inability of management to provide the requisite support, Agent G alluded to the incapacity of management at Willy Wonke Primary to provide adequate requisite support for a change in classroom language practices to meet the challenge of teaching learners whose home language was not the school’s LOLT. He conceded, “The only support we could provide is worksheets, workbooks... all we could do was provide teachers with the library, other resources that they request for. There’s not much else that we can do other than encourage them to get their own materials.”

To address the incapacity of the heads of departments and other management members to provide this support, Agent G felt that input from outside had to be in the form of competent INSET programmes initiated and driven by the education department based on the school improvement plans submitted to the education department as part of IQMS which was mandatory for all public schools. Agent G felt that input in the form of workshops dealing with generic issues on multilingual education would not be helpful. His view is captured in the following response:

Having somebody to come and deliver workshops I don't think it would be meaningful at all. Multilingualism is now accepted as a fact. So we are working with these children. This is the programme and we are carrying on. So there is no looking for new ways of trying to get this through.

While Agent G felt that the initiative should be taken by the education department to capacitate educators, Agent R adopted a different position on assistance for educators from the school's management staff. He felt that management should be proactive and not wait for assistance from the education department. His position is captured in the following response:

The other aspect is that while the teacher comes up to the management for assistance the management themselves don't have the capacity to assist. So we have that problem, but that's no excuse really, if you don't have the capacity you put in place programmes that can assist the teachers.

When Agent R spoke of "putting in place programmes" he was evidently referring to management personnel sourcing assistance from within and outside the school so that a structured programme of support could be established as an initiative of the school rather than expecting the education department to initiate such a programme. Agent R's position recalls McLaughlin & Talbert's (2001) findings that strong departmental leadership within schools extends and reinforces opportunities for teacher learning provided by the

district and by the school. Agent G and R as school managers and agents of school language change had already created the conditions for language change within their schools but it was evident that other members of management at their schools had not adequately supported them to capacitate educators to transform their own practice to meet the challenge of providing multilingual education.

In terms of educators' contribution to the process of language policy revision, it was Agent G's perception that level 1 educators were not keen to become involved in the process. This is reflected in the following comment he made in the Focus Group Discussion:

I'm just worried about the process of developing policy. I think ideally, they say, is that educators should be involved in the various sub-committees developing policy and that policy should be interrogated by the management and then taken up to the SGB but invariably, the teachers do not want to get involved. They would rather have it developed by the management team and then they would criticize it and thereafter it goes to the SGB. So that's more what you call a more expedient route than the proper route, which starts from the teachers first.

The perception created by this comment was that level 1 educators were apathetic and indifferent and did not embrace opportunities created by the principal and management staff to become involved in policy deliberation or policy revision but instead adopted a negative stance by being unfairly critical of policies developed by management. Agent S contested this view by asserting that from her own experience and that of her level 1 colleagues, management did not approach level 1 educators to participate in policy revision (in her case, school language policy revision). This is captured in the following rebuttal of Agent G's comments:

I have not had the opportunity to be part of this process. In all my teaching years I haven't. Management has just done it. I was not approached and I have always been a language teacher.

The implication from the above response was that management members at Mulberry Primary preferred to deliberate on policy issues themselves to the exclusion of level 1 educators, thereby entrenching a top-down mode of school management.

Collaborative school reform requires that both level 1 educators as well as managerial staff work collectively to support and sustain any changes initiated in the school. Excluding classroom practitioners from the process of developing new policy and revising existing policy as well as reluctance on the part of classroom practitioners to become involved in this process might compromise the implementation of such policies for it is really the classroom practitioners who translate policy into practice. As was signalled earlier, the development of a community of practice involving all educators, both level one educators and management staff, was necessary to impel whole school language change.

In terms of support that is required to transform classroom practices to meet the agenda of school language change, Agent S suggested pooling of resources within a school and networking schools so that there is a sharing of knowledge and resources among schools to assist educators to learn isiZulu and to improve their competence in teaching the language and teaching through the language. In addition, she suggested a drive by the school to sensitize educators to the value of including isiZulu in the school curriculum. Her suggestions in this respect are captured in the following responses:

It would be good to have workshops on an ongoing basis...we could have sessions where we could speak isiZulu, they could have cassettes that we could purchase and use in our classrooms...on language where isiZulu language is talked and is recorded. So we can get the pronunciations right and we could get teachers coming in perhaps doing some lessons in these schools... IsiZulu teachers who are proficient...we can have little children coming from the isiZulu schools, coming and doing little cultural items and so on.

I think we should have a committee where all teachers would be present and perhaps we could impress upon them the importance of teaching Zulu...English teachers because they teach Zulu too. And probably Afrikaans teachers too. The language teachers. The worksheets they create can be in different languages, bilingually for

the entire school...I don't have to do it myself all the time. I can share the responsibility. We could do that with the help of teacher aid books and dictionaries in the two languages. That would be a good start.

The pooling of resources within and across schools and shared responsibility for driving the language change process in the classroom that Agent S referred to once again raises the importance of collaboration within and across schools to sustain educational reform. The community of practice mentioned earlier would be extended to encompass all schools within a ward, circuit or district.

Evidently this collaboration would be initiated at school level but for it to be “ongoing” the strategic involvement of the education department was required. In this respect two of the recommendations made at the Conference on Language of Learning and Teaching at Schools in KwaZulu-Natal (Karlsson & Moodley 2004) were firstly, that the KwaZulu-Natal Department of education should provide opportunities for its employees, especially education professionals, who speak English as a first language, to develop workplace proficiency in the use of isiZulu as a second language and this might include strategies for educators with diverse language proficiencies to work in pairs or small teams to plan and give lessons that develop greater code-switching competence. The second recommendation was that the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education should liaise with service providers of continuous professional development to promote role modelling and classroom-based teaching and learning methodologies that support and are relevant to the provincial education language policy. The focus on teams of teachers working together to share bi- or multilingual teaching/learning strategies and modelling of methodologies that support multilingual education resonates with suggestions made by Agent S on networking schools and Fullan's (2005b) views on networked learning communities. Networked learning communities are clusters of schools working together to accomplish the sharing and sorting of quality knowledge and generating mutual commitment which, in mobilizing the minds and hearts of peers across the district, Fullan (2005b) contends, is the key to deeper, lasting reform.

This part of the first section focused on in-school support for school language change. It was evident that collaboration within and across schools was required to create the network of support that Douglas (1997) and Skutnabb Kangas & Garcia (1995) assert is necessary to sustain change. The data revealed that collaboration within the sample schools involved support from African educators and African support staff in assisting management and level 1 Indian educators to ease communication with African parents and African learners. The data also revealed that both African and Indian learners had supported their African peers to learn English and to negotiate learning through both English and isiZulu and African learners had assisted their Indian peers to learn isiZulu. In terms of support from management staff to level 1 educators to implement bi- or multilingual teaching and learning strategies the data revealed that there was no real support owing to apathy or inability on the part of management to provide this kind of support. It was evident that management staff had not collaborated with school managers like Agent R and G to drive and sustain the language change process in their schools thereby disabling rather than enabling the language change process in their schools. In terms of active involvement of and support from level 1 educators in developing and revising language policy, the data revealed that level 1 educators were either excluded by management from participating in policy development or policy revision or level 1 educators were reluctant to become involved in the process and left it up to management to deliberate on policy issues. The lack of collaboration between management and level 1 educators in developing and revising language policy also evidently disabled the language change process in some of the sample schools. In terms of a network of support across schools, wards, circuits and districts, the data revealed that there was a need for schools to be networked in order to pool and share resources across schools to drive language change within classrooms. In this respect the data revealed that the development of a community of practice within schools and extending over clusters of schools would enable the process of school language change.

5.2.2 Support from parents and the SGB

An interrogation of the data focusing on parental involvement in school language change at the schools of the four agents revealed that there was active involvement of parents in Agent R's school, reasonable involvement in Agent G's school and no involvement in the schools of Agents S and L. This part of section one of the analysis elicits from the data two reasons for lack of active support from parents for school language change, viz. apathy and exclusion from participation, and considers the need to capacitate the SGB to maximise parental support.

All four change agents affirmed the need for active involvement of the parents and the SGB in the school language change process. However, as was evident in the discussion on language policy change earlier in the analysis, there was reportedly no involvement of parents or the SGB in this process at the schools of two of the change agents, viz. Agents S and L. Part of this lack of involvement of parents was due to apathy and indifference or at best lukewarm support for school language change. This is reported by Agent S (second response) and Agent L (first and third responses) in the following excerpts:

To actually put it bluntly to you, I know that you are interested in this language thing, the school as a whole to get parents to come here to take part in an election or for them to come to listen to their child's progress, the turnout is low.

We had a Budget Meeting yesterday and the turn out of parents was pathetic. We had about five parents. So when there's such a poor response now, how do we get through to parents? In fact, I, myself, sent a pupil to inform each class to remind their parents to come to the budget meeting.

I did put it across to them (referring to parent members on the SGB) about isiZulu being offered and my argument was that at that time it was offered at the (receiving) high school. The other members were in favour to a certain degree, not all of them. They weren't like ecstatic but they gave me a hearing in the sense that we need isiZulu.

The first two responses above speak of indifference and apathy of parents towards involvement with the school in general and not school reform and school language change in particular. In such a case Faltis' (1993) multi-level approach to building bridges between the home and school is insightful. The approach rests upon the co-operative efforts of the school, teachers, and parents with the crucial first level of teacher-parent contact involving teachers learning about parents' daily experiences and the community in which they live and initiating individual contact with the parents and other caregivers through informal chats and home visits and on building on this contact to begin to work with parents and caregivers to show them ways to monitor their children's progress in schools. The second level focuses on sharing information in the home about schooling, the third level involves participation of parents in their children's learning at home and parents' participation in school-related activities including helping with classroom activities and school events. The fourth and highest level of parental and school involvement which is of significance to this study is enabling parents to play a more decisive role in curricular and policy decisions at school level. Faltis (1993) argues that to achieve this level of involvement the school and the parents must have experienced each of the first three levels and depends on the mutual trust and bond that forms between the school and certain parents that want to invest extra time and effort in the schooling process.

Agent S had attempted the first level contact with parents of some of her at risk African learners so as to get them involved with their children's learning at home but had failed. She reported that her attempts to canvass the help of these parents to assist her in her use of bilingual teaching and learning strategies to support the learning of their children was met with indifference from the parents concerned. When Agent S was asked what kind of help she wanted from the parents, she replied that she wanted firstly to find out more about these African children and to enlist their parents' help to reinforce at home what she was doing with their children in class. She added that if the parents couldn't do it, they could get somebody else, presumably a friend or relative to help. Agent S' frustration at not being able to involve the parents in this way is captured in the following response:

You find as teachers you can't work alone. There's so much you can do at school and you need to reinforce whatever you are teaching by communicating with the parents and getting them to help in some way and enlisting the help of others as well. That wasn't forthcoming so I dropped that.

Evidently Agent S failed to gain the support of these parents because the critical first level contact between herself as class teacher and the targeted parents was not as secure as it should be to allow her to access the third level parental support of participating in their children's learning at home by reinforcing patterns of learning initiated in the classroom. Contact with the targeted parents did not progress to home visits and learning first-hand about the daily experiences of these parents and the community in which they live which would have enabled her and invariably the school to gain the trust from these parents which is critical to engaging them in supporting their children's learning at home. Of significance to this study which deals with learners coming from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds is Faltis' (1993) multi-level approach which he argues is especially well suited for working in a culturally and linguistically diverse classroom because it begins with the teacher learning about the parents' community support systems and about stress factors related to living in a new environment; it ends with the parents actively contributing to curricular decisions. While the parents whose involvement in the school is sought to be maximized in Faltis' (1993) study are parents from immigrant communities in the USA who are struggling to adapt to living in a new environment, there is some resonance between the challenges facing those parents and the African parents in this study who had opted to enrol their children in a previously Indian school like Mulberry Primary reflecting an ethos which is alien to these parents.

It was evident that there was some indifference from parents to efforts to involve them more closely with the school either in terms of instructionally related involvement (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991) of the type Agent S referred to or noninstructional forms of parental involvement (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991), which includes participation in school governance. However, the data also revealed that the parents and SGB at Agent

L's school were deliberately excluded from participating in curricular and policy reform. A similar position obtained at Mulberry Primary as reflected by responses from Agent S captured earlier in the analysis. Agent L asserted that the principal of Bo Peep Primary did not capacitate him and other parent members of the SGB adequately to fulfil their roles effectively as is evident from the following response:

As SGB chairman, it took a year before I became adequately supported but it wasn't something done where the principal with a passion tried to support the process, she has many other jobs to do, her one best thing is – if there is a workshop there, Kevin, Laloo, Valerie, one of you go for the workshop.

While Agent L conceded that the principal had other duties to perform, he felt that she could have done a lot more to capacitate him as chairperson.

In responding to the situation at Agent L's school during the Focus Group Discussion, both Agents R and G felt strongly that SGBs should be capacitated to allow them to make meaningful inputs in terms of policy and curricular revision and that this task should be attended to urgently. The following response from Agent R reflects this position:

SGB, of course, does have a right to make inputs into curriculum issues for the school³³ but in the early years you find that the SGB members did not have that kind of capacity but I suppose over the years now there are people now that have come up and they are able to get in and to make changes. If you build capacity people are able to make changes.

While these two change agents agreed that SGBs should be supported and capacitated³⁴, they differed on the issue of who should capacitate SGBs. Agent G asserted that it was

³³ The South African School's Act (Act 84 of 1996) makes provision for SGB input in respect of policy and curricular issues as contemplated in the following clauses: 6 (2) 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, and 21 (1) (b) Subject to this Act, a governing body may apply to the Head of Department in writing to be allocated the following function: to determine the extra-mural curriculum of the school and the choice of subject options in terms of provincial curriculum policy.

³⁴ The South African School's Act (Act 84 of 1996) makes provision for the enhancement of capacity of governing bodies as contemplated in the following clauses: 19 (1) Out of funds appropriated for this purpose by the provincial legislature, the Head of Department must establish a programme to- (a) provide introductory training for newly elected governing bodies to enable them to perform their functions; and (b) provide continuing training to governing bodies to

the role function of the education department to capacitate SGBs. The following response illustrates his position:

I think the problem is capacity-building is not a role function of the school. It is the role function of people higher up in education concerning governing bodies and they are supposed to build capacity for governing bodies but it is not the role function of principals to build capacity. We don't have the time for it.

In addition, this change agent claimed that even if support and capacity building came from the school, “real understanding of documents ...is impossible”. The implication is that policy documents are very difficult to interpret and that the policy unit of the department should be unpacking policy for parents. Supporting Agent G's call for the education department to capacitate SGBs and involve parents in policy development and/or revision, the following recommendations were made at the Conference on Language of Learning and Teaching at Schools in KwaZulu-Natal (Karlsson & Moodley 2004). The KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education should develop advocacy campaigns targeted at parents that promote knowledge and understanding of the Language-in-Education policy, district managers should ensure that SGBs know that they should formulate a written policy concerning the use of language in learning and teaching and the learning of languages to appropriately meet the needs of learners at their schools developed within the framework of the national and provincial language in education policies and open to review and should monitor that School Management Teams are implementing their school's language policies as adopted by their SGB, and SGBs should ensure that each year parents are informed about the provincial and school language policies and are helped to understand and accept their rationale.

Agent R, on the other hand, felt that school managers should support and capacitate SGBs if this kind of support was not forthcoming from the education department. He felt that it was in the best interest of the school if the school manager as an agent of change

promote the effective performance of their functions or to enable them to assume additional functions, and 19 (2) The Head of Department must ensure that principals and other officers of the education department render all necessary assistance to governing bodies in the performance of their functions in terms of this Act.

wrests responsibility for capacitating SGBs thereby maximizing parental involvement in school language change. His position is captured in the following response:

A school cannot function without the SGB, and if they need it (capacity building) we need to give it to them in small doses so that they can assist like this curriculum change, we need to tell them what it is, they need to know. So when they know what's happening they are going to address the problem and then we can work on the change but if you leave them and we do it on our own, words don't get to the parents as well.... the SGB needs a little bit of capacity building and if the state doesn't give it, it is important that we as a school sit together and give them that support, it makes our lives a little bit easier. The language policy is very, very important. It's crucial.

The above response, while it addresses school language change on the one hand, also addresses broad school reform impelled by the creation of an ethos of change in schools by agents of change within schools. Such an ethos of change would involve as a priority capacitating and empowering key stakeholders to participate meaningfully in school reform.

This part of section one of this chapter engaged with parental support for school language change. Interrogation of the data revealed that key to such support was capacitating parents to participate meaningfully in language policy development and/or revision and that such capacity building should be undertaken either by the education department as mandatory support to schools in their quest to revise outdated and irrelevant school language policies or by change agents within schools who were keen to create an ethos of change within schools that would impel broad school reform in addition to school language change.

5.2.3 Support from the Education Department

The view of all four change agents was that the education department should support schools in their quest to initiate and sustain school language change but felt that the

education department, with some exceptions, abdicated this responsibility. This part of the analysis in section one considers the role that the education department should be playing, in the view of the change agents, to support schools to transform their language policies and practices thereby making them more relevant for their linguistically diverse learner populations and also identifies instances where there was some assistance from the education department in this regard.

Agents R and G felt that support was not readily available from the education department in terms of providing appropriate LTSMs to cater for multilingual education and in terms of providing INSET programmes to retool educators to practice bi- or multilingual education or simply to monitor the implementation of the national post-apartheid LiEP. This position is illustrated by the following responses from Agent R (responses 1, 3, 4 and 5) and Agent G (second response):

The Department got to be supporting schools and management. They ought to be providing support...we have a National policy in place and the school is supposed to have its policy so we are supposed to be supported in the development of the policy and implementing it.

I want to come back to the earlier point I made about we as a school supply our school improvement plan, we made a request for isiZulu to be taught to our teachers and we are allowed according to dept. regulation 80 hours of time to serve for educational courses but that is not forthcoming so it means that the dept. is not providing the support in the first place. And the schools, as was mentioned, do not have the capacity to provide that kind of support, which is the support that is required.

It's a very frustrating thing you know if the minister³⁵ says that you must have that in the schools, now where are we going to get the resource for that. If I say you must have tea, I must provide you with it, so you can sit and enjoy it. That's the most irritating thing and we as principals we feel that statement is ... I get quite aggrieved when I listen to that.

³⁵ Agent R was responding to National Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor's comment that the learning of an African indigenous language must be made compulsory in all public schools when she introduced the debate on the Education Budget Vote 15 in the South African parliament on 17 May 2005.

The catalogues were given some time ago but they have not given us our LTSM allocations for textbooks so we can't order books and I did hear at the meeting the presenter did say by the 9th of June the orders must go to the SEM³⁶ but we haven't got due dates about that, we haven't got a circular stating what we must do about that. This road show here (Amanzimtoti Principals' Meeting in May 2006) didn't fulfil its purpose.

There is very little support (from the educ. dept.). In fact really we are in the deep end, we are on our own. If we don't interpret the policies and implement them then nothing will happen apart from the fact that they ask us to get on with the policies. But I don't see any follow up where the officials would come and see how we are implementing this policy and what problems do you have, can I assist you, what is the situation or sending staff members, or can you make cell groups where you can discuss this matter, that kind of policy support is not forthcoming.

The above responses all point to the failure of the education department to offer timeous and practical support for schools to meet the imperatives of policy reform issued by the state. The message conveyed was that the state was pushing language in education reform and broad educational reform but the urgency of the state was not matched by vigorous support for this reform at district, provincial and national levels of the education department.

The stated intention of the national Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, of elevating South African black languages to the same status as English and Afrikaans and of making the learning of an African indigenous language compulsory has been followed up, subsequent to the collection of data for this research study, with an allocation of a transformation post for an African language educator over and above the PPN of the school. While this would encourage the offering of African languages as subjects in most public schools, there has been no visible monitoring of the implementation of the national LiEP in public schools at the time the study was conducted or following the advertising of the transformation posts. It is the close support of schools and monitoring of the

³⁶ The Superintendent Education Management (SEM) is expected to provide management support to schools; co-ordinate training, development and support of school principals, School Management Teams and SGBs; monitor the circuit, and, is responsible for community liaison (DOE 2003).

implementation of the post-apartheid LiEP which the change agents consider to be vital if school language change in post-apartheid public schools was to be sustained. Fullan (2005a, 2005b) considers tri-level development at school, district and state levels in Canada to be what superintendents of education should be engaged in to sustain educational reform across the education system. He sees the role of the superintendent of education as one which gives people new experiences, new capacities and new insights into what should and can be accomplished and involves as an imperative the creation of good leadership in schools to sustain educational reform.

While there has been a dearth of support from the education department, Agent R admitted that at ward level he had received some support from his SEM as is reflected in the following excerpt:

We have made submissions to him (SEM) and he has supported that. He has supported us for a Zulu teacher...what he has done was when we needed a teacher, he made sure that he can identify a teacher who's competent in the language and he sent the teacher. And also when I recommended the Zulu-speaking teachers, substitutes, he gave me his full support and made sure that the teachers were appointed so that they can come in. You know, it's a start.

Agent G's school was also supported by Ikhwezi, a departmental-managed CPDS provider (see Appendix A for details of this provision). However, Agent G claimed that he had to take the initiative to approach Ikhwezi for assistance; the education department did not readily supply this assistance despite the fact that he had supplied details of support his school needed from the education department in the School Improvement Plan document he supplied to the department (see response from Agent G above).

This part of section one of this chapter focused on the envisaged support from the education department for schools to engage in language change. Interrogation of the data revealed that there was little practical support from all levels of the national and provincial education department to schools to translate the national LiEP into practice and there was no visible monitoring of the implementation of the post-apartheid LiEP in

public schools. This had evidently disabled the change agents in their attempts to sustain language change initiatives in their schools.

5.2.4 Support from NGOs and other organisations

ELET, a language NGO supported three of the schools. Agent S spoke of the support from ELET in the following response:

I must say, a lot of my support came from my involvement with the ELET programme, the use of user-friendly worksheets, which helped tremendously in enabling isiZulu-speaking children to learn, examples of such worksheets were flow diagrams, pictures, multiple-choice questions and things that were simplified so that they could understand.

The Language for Learning project initiated by ELET had to be discontinued due to lack of continued funding (see Background to Study).

5.2.5 Summary

Section one of this chapter used as the sensitizing concepts Douglas' contention that support for acquired change is imperative for that change to be sustained and Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia's argument that only if there is a network of support within schools and from the surrounding society for education leading to multilingualism that a shift to bi- or multilingual education will be sustained. Use of these sensitizing concepts to orient the analysis of the data revealed that while there was a lack of or minimal support for language change in the schools of two of the change agents, there was strong support from educators, support staff and learners in the schools of the other two change agents and this had enabled the language change process in these schools. The data also revealed that in addition to collaboration within schools, collaboration across schools was necessary to create a network of support in school districts and across districts to drive and sustain language change leading to bilingual or multilingual education. This section also examined the role that parents, the education department and civil society

organizations could play in supporting school language change. It was evident that while there was limited involvement of parents in school language change, parental support could be increased through capacitating parents to participate meaningfully in language policy development and/or language policy revision. In terms of support from the education department, the data revealed that there was very little practical support from the education department to schools to transform their language policies and practices and little visible monitoring of this process of language transformation which the post apartheid LiEP strongly encourages in all state schools. The data also revealed that there was some useful support from ELET, a language NGO, for the schools of three of the change agents but this support was constrained by lack of available funding for such support to be sustained.

The insights emerging from the analysis in this section of the chapter relate to capacity building to enhance support for school language change and include the following: Capacitating educators/creating communities of practice, Capacitating parents/increasing parental involvement with school, Departmental monitoring of school language change/trilevel development. These insights are developed at the end of this chapter and used to inform the emerging theory.

5.3 Section Two: Understanding the Nature and Potential for change of Individuals and Organisations

Douglas (1997) argues that many individuals and organizations may know that there is some need for them to change but this does not imply that they know where and how change should take place and they often experience frustration at not achieving success in their attempts to change. The reason for their failure is a lack of knowledge of the change process itself and the areas that need to be targeted for change to be constructive. In such situations, Douglas (1997) goes on to argue, external assistance may be sought from skilled change agents who should be able to locate the actual area where change is required, have knowledge of the kinds of change which will be required and know also

what kinds of effort will be required. What is also critical for the change agent is a calculation of the potential that individuals or organizations have for change and such a calculation requires a deep understanding of the nature of such individuals or organizations. It is this understanding that Douglas (1997) argues for in the next sensitising concept used to orient the analysis of the data:

To change anything, living or inanimate, it is necessary to try to understand the nature, structure and potential of that thing or organism if the process of change is to be constructive and beneficial rather than damaging.

This precondition for change applied to school language change implies that it is imperative that the language change agent has a deep understanding of both the stakeholders within the school community and the school itself if the process of change is to be constructive and beneficial rather than damaging. An understanding of the nature of stakeholders to calculate their potential for change would involve inter alia an understanding of their priorities, their motives and their understanding of language issues in schools including how languages are learnt and how learning is negotiated through one or more languages. A deep understanding of the nature and structure of the school as an organization is critical to calculating its potential for engagement with the process of language change.

When this sensitising concept was used to frame the analysis of the data, there was evidence that the change agents demonstrated an understanding of the nature of critical stakeholders within the school and the nature and structure of the school itself which enabled them to make a reasonable calculation of the potential of such stakeholders and the school for change, thereby enabling the agents to effect change in a sensitive way in their schools. In this sense, the data revealed, they were conscious that in-school conditions would always dictate the level and pace of change or how such conditions could prevent any change initiative from taking root and being sustained. However, it was also evident that there were some lapses in this understanding which adversely affected in some instances the way language change was effected and may have disabled the language change process in such instances.

This section of the chapter focuses on three themes, viz. understanding the nature, structure and potential of the school for language change; understanding the potential of educators for change; and understanding the potential of parents for change.

5.3.1 Understanding the nature, structure and potential of the school for change

This part of section two examines the need to understand the nature, structure and potential of the school as an organization to meet the challenges of language change to ensure the sustainability of such change. In this respect the change agents identified the following as dictating the level and pace of change or as preventing change from taking place at all: availability of resources, financial constraints, other school priorities, and ethos of the school. Agents R and G also showed an understanding of how the school could be organized and structured to accommodate language change.

Agents L and R identified limited material resources and financial constraints as dictating the level and pace of language change in their schools as conveyed by the following responses from Agents L and R respectively:

You see another thing it boils down to is resources. And also, I'm not looking for excuses, also we are governed by resources.

In fact the changes (to the school language policy) are a bit late in coming and I need to give you some idea why it was late in coming, it is because of finance constraints. We couldn't change the policy because we did not have funds to employ a teacher to take charge of the language.

In the second response above, Agent R demonstrates how an understanding of contextual factors in his school aided him in moderating the pace of language change at his school. It is evident that a hasty revision of the school's language policy without considering the availability of a qualified isiZulu language teacher to teach the language would have

made such change detrimental rather than beneficial. Furthermore, an understanding gleaned from initiating language change at his school had informed him of how to review language changes already made at his school so as to sustain the language change process at his school. This understanding is implicit in the following response from Agent R:

I find it very difficult now to sustain the direction that we have chosen where we said that we are going to introduce the indigenous language as the 1st additional language. Why I'm saying this is because of the practical issues, things like resources, and funds to fund the teacher so from next year, the curriculum has to be reworked around the practicality issue so for sustainability that is the point I want to make.

Priorities other than language change in schools may have to be addressed before addressing language issues in school and ignoring such priorities in favour of language change might prove to be detrimental. This understanding of the need to address more pressing needs of the school than language change is shown by Agent L who spoke of other school priorities that needed to be addressed before language change at his school and this had limited his attempts at initiating and sustaining school language change. This is captured in the following response from Agent L:

There were other obstacles when it came to the normal functioning of the school as a whole...there were other obstacles besides isiZulu...the main reason being there were other priorities.

Agent L did not articulate clearly what these priorities were but his reference to “obstacles when it came to the normal functioning of the school” suggests that these priorities dealt with the challenges faced by the SGB and principal in the day-to-day running of the school, notably, the availability of adequate funds, sufficient staff, maintaining proper tone and discipline in the school and attracting learners to the school. Agent L stated: “(isiZulu) is important for our children; I am talking about our children that are here. The idea first is to get them here.” This response points to the challenge to attract learners to the school and to keep existing learners in the school.

Understanding the ethos of a school and the way in which a particular school functioned that made it different from other schools was raised by Agent R as an issue that needed to be factored into any school reform attempt. He considered an insight into the inner workings of a school crucial for incoming members of staff, particularly those appointed in promotion posts. It was for this reason that, as much as he strongly recommended the appointment of African teachers at his school to meet his agenda of school language change, he was, by his own admission, circumspect about new African teachers being appointed in promotion posts. He was aware that the position he was taking on this issue might be construed as racist or at least elitist, particularly when he talked about maintaining established standards, but it was his contention that educators, African or otherwise, need to be able to maintain the ethos of the school before being moved into managerial posts. Ignoring the ethos of the school in favour of school reform, he implied, would be counter-productive for the school and render any resultant school reform detrimental rather than beneficial. His views on this issue are captured in the following responses:

They must move up by stages, if you are in a school like this you will really appreciate the problems of the school if you was a teacher here and go up to HOD and then DP I think that will be the best experience and you will know exactly what's happening here because our schools are not like the isiZulu schools, I am not comparing them in any way but they are different.

What we would like is to get a better percentage of Zulu teachers while keeping the Indian teachers that are here to set the standards because the Zulu teachers, without being too judgmental, they need to come on board. They got some way to go before they can come on par with our teachers. That's my personal opinion and I can get into trouble for that.

Despite the contextual factors that limit or constrain attempts to transform a school's language policy and practices, a school can be organized in ways which counteract the limiting contextual factors. For example, Agents R and G showed an understanding of how the school could be organized to accommodate school language change without seriously compromising the position of existing educators on the staff. Agent G

mentioned earlier in the analysis that dropping Afrikaans at his school had not compromised his Afrikaans teachers greatly because primary school teachers are trained to teach in virtually any learning area unlike their counterparts in secondary schools who specialize in certain learning areas. Thus, with the help of his management team, he was able to safely redeploy his Afrikaans teachers within his school.

Perhaps a critical understanding about organizational change articulated by Agent R was that change must be gradual and incremental to be beneficial rather than damaging. This understanding was conveyed in the following response to the question of whether English will remain as the school's LOLT:

Yes, English. But for the first additional and second additional maybe we can change. Our first additional right through the range it was Afrikaans from Grade 3 right through to Grade 7 but we found that now because of the fact that there are Zulu children that need to learn the language, and that Afrikaans was not that important so we would have to look at first additional being isiZulu and second additional would have to be Afrikaans. But we can't cut across the curriculum straight away ... we would have to phase it in. The first grade that we are phasing it in right now is in Grade 4.

Agent R's caution that "we can't cut across the curriculum straight away...we would have to phase it in" recalls Toffler's (1970) suggestion that change has to be at an appropriate level and has to be made in the right areas to prevent the shock that enforced and sudden change brings about.

Organizational issues also involved reviewing the time allocations for various language offerings as the language policy of the school changed. The implementation of the new language policy at Agent G's school had created a fresh dilemma for him making it necessary for him to consider further organizational changes as reflected by the following responses:

Basically we are in an experimental phase where we are looking at whether the policy we have got at the moment serves the needs of the learners and the parents. What we find is the performance in English is dropping as we increase the time for isiZulu so it means that we will

end up looking at creating more time for English, at the same time not sacrificing Zulu.

Well, since the implementation of the policy of giving isiZulu equal time in each grade as a language, we were looking at the future where we could increase the time allocation for English. The present allocation is 50 –50.

The dilemma that Agent G experienced recalls the concerns raised by some educators at Agent L's school. Educators resistant to school language change at Agent L's school justified their stance by also raising the concern of English being compromised with a reduction in time allocation for the subject to accommodate changes to the school language policy. While it might appear to be an easy organizational issue to address this dilemma, whatever reshuffling is made would compromise one or other language/s. Hence, it is not possible to increase the time allocation for English to address the poor performance in the subject without sacrificing isiZulu. Consequently, despite the understanding that Agents R and G showed of organizing the school in ways which would enable language change, the change process was far from seamless. What was evident from the analysis of the data was that while transformation of a school's language policy and practices was intended to have a positive impact on the school and was expected to be beneficial and was probably beneficial for the learners, it could also impact on the school adversely as was suggested in the first of the above responses and which Douglas (1997) refers to as the unintended and unforeseen consequences of intentional change.

This part of section two focused on the need to understand the nature and structure of the school as an organization targeted for change so as to calculate its potential for change and where possible to use this knowledge to increase its potential for change by developing the organizational capacity of schools to engage in language change. The data revealed that critical factors dictating the level and pace of school language change were the availability of resources and funds to enable such change. The data also revealed that maintaining a school's ethos may act counter to school reform and addressing other school priorities deemed more important than language change may inhibit the fast-

tracking of school language change. However, it was evident that ignoring these factors in a quest to fast-track school language change would be detrimental rather than beneficial. The data also revealed that while creative school management and organization may counteract some of the factors disabling language change, the change process was fraught with complication and may and often does result in unintended outcomes.

5.3.2 Understanding the potential of educators for change

The data revealed that before initiating change the change agent should develop an understanding of various factors which shaped an educator's response to change and impacted on his/her potential for change. In interrogating educator resistance to school language change (Part 2 of Section 1), the analysis revealed the existence of various factors resulting in negative educator dispositions to change. Developing a deep understanding of these issues and factoring them into the language change process was necessary. In addition it was necessary to calculate the potential for school language change of educators and to augment this potential if necessary, which this part of the analysis contemplates.

According to Douglas (1997), it is not just resistance to change but also incapacity to effect change that thwarts efforts at sustaining change. Douglas (1997) argues that a factor basic to resistance is the actual scope for change which exists in individuals and groups and their ability to make use of it. He adds: "If we insist on changing people, we are bound to discover the extent of their ability to cope with change – which implies not just a calculation of present capacity but also of future probability." (Douglas 1997:251). In light of this observation, it is critical to calculate the potential of educators to engage in the kind of language change envisaged by the change agents.

Earlier in the analysis emphasis was thrown on the inability of many Indian teachers to communicate in isiZulu, which was reportedly compromising their ability to transform

their classroom language practices by embracing bi- or multilingual teaching and learning strategies. This incapacity of Indian educators to engage in bi- or multilingual education was identified by various change agents as stifling their efforts at initiating and sustaining school language change. The following responses from Agent S reflect this position:

If you don't have any knowledge of isiZulu it is a bit difficult to implement it.

And, of course, it gets a little more difficult (to code-switch) when you are teaching other subjects. English is not so bad, teaching the other learning areas (is difficult).

Firstly we do not have teachers who can communicate in Zulu so that they (African learners) can understand, secondly our curriculum is very basic in isiZulu and it's predominantly in English, catering for English first language learners so during the exam situation we are at a disadvantage.

The position reflected in the above responses is reinforced by Agent R's contemplation of the limitations of Indian educators to converse in and use isiZulu as an additional LOLT. His views are captured in the following responses:

The curriculum (document), of course, it states that the language of learning and teaching, the LOLT should be the MT. So that's what it says. So now in our school it means we need to teach in isiZulu. Now we know what the practical issue behind that is. It is not possible. Certain schools there are, but we don't have the manpower and we don't have the ability. In the Zulu schools they all teach children in isiZulu, and as a first language as well.

They (referring to the educators) are limited by the knowledge of the language. It gets frustrating. You speak English and your children don't understand it, and you want to try and explain it in some other way and in their language, because teaching is about the use of language so if you haven't got the command of that language it makes it very, very difficult to get your point across, to teach. It gets frustrating.

While being able to communicate in isiZulu was critical to the language change process, Agent R cautioned that being able to speak isiZulu was not enough; educators would

have to speak the language reasonably clearly with proper pronunciation and intonation for it to be acceptable to African learners and parents. Hence, the potential of educators to engage in the process of school language change became appreciably reduced if in addition to not being able to speak isiZulu, those educators who could speak some isiZulu were speaking it badly. Agent R addressed this issue in the following response:

The qualifications (in isiZulu) I do have but the other point is that the practical aspect of the language you need to know. IsiZulu is a language like that and communication is important, you need to be able to express it and that you can only get by working with the Zulu children and it teaches you and you learn not only with the pupils, you learn from them as you speak and while you're communicating in their language, sometimes you break away into English so the children, they know what's happening.

Evidently possessing qualifications in isiZulu was not adequate according to Agent R if educators could not speak the language in ways that were acceptable to an isiZulu-speaking audience and constant practice in using isiZulu and refining their understanding of the language through communicating with isiZulu learners would raise educators' potential to engage meaningfully with the language change process initiated by the change agents.

Agent R went on to assert that educators must communicate in pure isiZulu; only this would be acceptable and anything else would be construed as an insult to isiZulu-speaking parents and learners. He strongly disapproved of Fanagalo³⁷ as captured in the following response:

The problem is you have to be proficient in the language, both the languages. If you just use Fanagalo instead of isiZulu then you would use a lot of words which are derogatory to the child so that is one shortfall I think.

³⁷ Fanagalo was established as a *lingua franca* between speakers of various languages found in South Africa and was mainly used in mines throughout the country. It can be viewed as a pidgin and is basically a simplified version of Zulu (and Xhosa) and related languages with adaptations of modern terms from English, Dutch and Afrikaans. About 70% of the lexicon is from Zulu. It evolved from contact between European settlers and African people especially in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Fanagalo has unfavourable and negative connotations for many South Africans.

While this change agent displayed a crucial understanding of the need to communicate in appropriate isiZulu, Agent G was not mindful of the repercussions of communicating in Fanagalo. This is evidenced by the following response to the question of whether he was able to communicate adequately with African learners at his school:

Yes because I can communicate with those who do not understand English, I do speak isiZulu and Fanagalo. And that makes me able to communicate with them when I have contact with them. Of course if there is a completely illiterate person who does not understand a single word of Fanagalo or English then we need an interpreter.

Agent G's erroneous belief that communicating in Fanagalo was acceptable might compromise the language change process at his school, particularly in the light of his own admission, captured earlier in the analysis, that African parents are unhappy about the quality of isiZulu used by Indian educators in the classroom.

The part of section two focused on the need to understand the potential of educators to engage in school language change before initiating such change. The main factor determining the potential of educators to engage in language change that promotes bi- or multilingual education was the ability of educators to speak isiZulu reasonably competently in addition to English. The analysis revealed the incapacity of Indian educators in all four schools to converse in isiZulu and use it as a medium of instruction. The data suggested that the change agents had to include this on their change agenda by creating conditions to develop the potential of educators to communicate in isiZulu. While the data revealed that educators in Piper, Mulberry and Willy Wonke schools in particular were capacitated by the change agents in these schools, evidently there was a need for greater capacitation of these stakeholders enabled by establishing a network of support for the work of the change agents contemplated earlier in this chapter. This network of support is implicit in Fullan's (1993) argument that collaboration both within the school and with the education department and outside agencies is crucial for sustaining educational change.

5.3.3 Understanding the potential of parents for change

This part of section two considers the need to understand the potential of parents to engage in school language change before initiating such change. The data revealed that parents' potential for engaging in language policy revision, as captured earlier in this chapter (Support from Parents), was reduced by their incapacity for policy engagement.

According to the data the incapacity of parents on the SGB and the wider parent community to deliberate on curricular and policy reform had limited their involvement in this respect. It was the contention of Agent S that parents "don't even know their rights as parents and rights of the pupils". This incapacity of parents, according to Agent R, was not generic but peculiar to their schools. He added, "In other schools like Queens Girls, they don't have that problem. They have parents on the SGB who are au fait (with education policies), who are professional people, who are well educated."

The general incapacity of parents and parent representatives on the SGB to engage in language policy reform was evident at the schools of all four change agents. This had in effect reduced the potential of parents to engage in the language change process in these schools. The change agents were sensitive to the limitations this imposed on their attempts to drive and sustain language change at their schools. It was for this reason that they strongly supported capacitating parents and SGBs.

In contemplating the need to develop an understanding of parents' potential for engagement with school language change, this section of the analysis revealed an acknowledgement by the change agents of parents' incapacity to engage meaningfully with language policy reform. The analysis revealed further the need for the potential of parents in this regard to be developed through capacity building.

5.3.4 Summary

Douglas' (1997) contention that it is necessary to understand the nature, structure and potential for change of targets of change for change to be beneficial rather than damaging was used as a sensitising concept to orient the analysis of the data in this section. The analysis revealed that an understanding of various in-school factors dictating the level and pace of school language change as well as factors affecting educators' disposition to and potential for school language change had to be factored into the change process by the change agents. These included the following: availability of resources and funds for school language change, addressing school priorities other than language change, ability to organize the school to meet the challenge of language transformation without marginalizing key stakeholders, threats to job security of some educators affecting their disposition to language change and ability of educators to speak isiZulu impacting on their potential for language change. Lacking an understanding of these factors or ignoring them, it was suggested by the data, might render the resultant change detrimental rather than beneficial or might abort the change process altogether. This section of the chapter also revealed that the main factor affecting the potential of parents to engage with school language change was their general inability to participate meaningfully in this process and an understanding of this leading to intervention that would capacitate parents was vital. The data also revealed that African parents' disposition to school language change hinged very heavily on their perception of whether the school language policy and practices would give their children access to high levels of literacy in English. Taking cognizance of this issue was critical to prevent parents from blocking school language transformation initiatives.

The insights emerging from this section of the analysis are the following: Present potential and future probability of targets to engage in school language change, Augmenting potential through capacitation (educators, parents and organizational capacity of school). These insights are developed at the end of this chapter and used to inform the emerging theory.

5.4 Section Three: Institutional Language Change

Douglas (1997) argues that “individuals, groups and organisations are not isolated units where change can be effected internally, but they are embedded in other larger systems and contain within themselves smaller systems, all of which are affected by any incident involving the apparently defined unit”. This idea of interdependence within a system leads to the assertion that change in an organization like a school can only be sustained if collective change takes place, i.e. where there is whole school change involving most if not all individuals within the school embracing change. Douglas (1997) argues that it is still the individuals who comprise the organization who have to change if the organization itself is to change. Fullan (2005b) argues that systemic change goes beyond collective commitment to change within individual schools but involves change at all levels of the education system, school and community, district or local education authority, and state or national policy.

Organizational or whole school change is often effected by one individual inducing change in others. The following sensitising concept from Douglas (1997) used to orient the analysis of the data captures this precondition for whole school language change:

What emerges clearly from the nomenclature of change systems is the fact that change is effected by one individual inducing it in others.
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According to the data, there was little evidence of whole school language change. However, there was evidence that some of the change agents had induced language change in others within their schools. While this inducement of change was intentional on the part of the change agents, there was also evidence of what appeared to be unintentional language change induced by other educators. Through their practice of CS for academic and non-academic purposes in and out of the classroom, at the assemblies and on the playground, certain educators in the schools of some of the change agents had induced others to imitate this practice in their own classes, albeit in a more limited way. This section of the chapter explores how the change agents and other educators had

induced language change intentionally and apparently unintentionally in others at the four schools and considers what implications this has for whole school language change.

5.4.1 Change agents inducing change

According to the data, three of the change agents had managed to induce change in others, albeit in a very limited way.

Despite Agent L's contention that as a SGB chairperson he did not have the power to make any real language change in the school and that the SGB was deliberately excluded from participating in policy and curriculum reform at his school, it was possible that he may have changed the principal's thinking on language issues at the school. He states: "I'm not saying I did a lot but what I did was I managed to change the principal's style of thinking on numerous issues." There was evidence of a change in the principal's mindset about language offerings at the school. An analysis of retrospective data from the HSRC project revealed that the principal was previously reluctant to offer isiZulu to her learners over Afrikaans. She remarked, in an individual interview, during the HSRC project: "I don't know at what level isiZulu is being done at the high school and whether there is a matric paper for isiZulu." She was also sceptical about the value of MT education as captured in the following response from the same HSRC interview:

If it's going alongside English, then it's okay but I think it will be very difficult for students now if they had to learn through their MT totally in our schools here in South Africa, primary and high. Then what happens to them when they go to tertiary institutions? You see that is my question or even at matric level, maybe at matric they can write the paper in their MT then when they go to a tertiary institution, how do they cope? And if they are only doing English as a L2 would they really be able to understand lectures and textbooks which are mainly written in English at tertiary institutions?

While the principal was still circumspect about engaging in full-scale language change at her school at the time that the current study was undertaken, she was nevertheless contemplating elevating isiZulu over Afrikaans as second additional language. In addition

she was instrumental in the appointment of a qualified Zulu language educator at her school. As was captured earlier in the analysis, although the isiZulu that was taught was elementary, the learners were for the first time being exposed to more meaningful input in isiZulu from a qualified Zulu language educator; prior to this isiZulu was taught by existing Indian staff members with no qualifications in isiZulu.

The change in the principal's stance about revising the language offerings at the school and encouraging greater participation of the parents and the SGB in language policy reform at the school, as captured earlier in the analysis, could be attributed to any numbers of factors inducing change in her. However, Agent L's pursuit of the isiZulu issue with the principal had perhaps persuaded her to change her position on language reform at the school.

While Agent S was able to sustain language change in terms of her own classroom practice and modes of assessment, she was unable to initiate a whole school language change process. However, according to the data, she was able to involve two colleagues in measures to transform their own practices. These included encouraging pupil-pupil code-switching in the completion of tasks in pair work and using isiZulu-English bilingual worksheets to aid conceptual understanding for African learners. As was captured earlier in the analysis, she shared bilingual worksheets that she had generated with these colleagues and assisted them together with Miss T (school's administration assistant) to generate their own worksheets. Agent S also alluded to one other colleague who began using multilingual worksheets in her Afrikaans lessons. Evidently these educators were receptive to attempts to change their classroom language practice to one that catered to the diverse linguistic needs of their learners and this change was perhaps induced by Agent S.

Agent S also spoke of how she had induced change in a student teacher to whom she was assigned as mentor. While this did not further institutional language change at her school, the data revealed that she had transformed his understanding of classroom language practices and possibly her impact on him may act as a catalyst for his own attempts to

transform school language practices and policies as an educator in service. Agent S recalled her experiences of inducing change in the student teacher in the following response:

The student teacher, I was his mentor, that was memorable...he was not used to teaching in a class, a mixture with African pupils actually it was quite trying for him, he had a lot of problems with the discipline and from time to time I would take over the class and he would watch how I managed the class, and the fact that I could speak isiZulu made it easy for me to discipline the class. So that made him aware that he needed to learn isiZulu. He did tell me that he was going to take a course in isiZulu.

From the data it was evident that Agent G's attempts to drive language change at his school resulted in at least one educator being induced to change. The educator spoke about how she was keen to learn isiZulu so that she could use it as an additional LOLT and for other purposes like maintaining discipline and issuing instructions. When she decided to attend a Zulu language course at Chatsworth Teacher's Centre (CTC) that required leaving school before normal closure of school for the day, she felt encouraged by the principal's positive response to her request for leave. This is captured in the following response:

I had told my friend that I wanted to learn isiZulu, purely for conversation. Their school had received a circular from CTC telling them about this isiZulu course. She called me and said there is an isiZulu course and if I want to go for it. And of course I had to organize time off from school because I had to leave before closing time at school. So the principal agreed and I put myself on that list.

When asked if there was any other motivation to learn isiZulu apart from her own need to use isiZulu as an additional LOLT and to facilitate classroom management, she said that motivation came from the school. When she was asked if she was strongly encouraged by the school to learn isiZulu, this was her response:

Oh yes. When I started of at school there was a couple of questionnaires that was sent of by the senior management to ask us what is it that we needed, that was what I needed at that time.

Subsequently as part of the school's improvement plan there were two Zulu courses to get us to start learning Zulu.

As was captured earlier in the analysis, the two isiZulu language courses, focusing on equipping educators with basic isiZulu so that they may be able to give directions and instructions and offer simple explanations to their learners in isiZulu where necessary, were initiated by Agent G after he mandated his management staff to undertake a needs analysis with the teaching staff to ascertain their needs in terms of professional development. Hence, Agent G was partly a catalyst for language change in this educator.

5.4.2 Other educators inducing change “unintentionally”

As was captured earlier in the analysis, there was evidence that African educators at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools unconsciously or apparently unconsciously induced Indian educators to transform their own classroom language practices. Apart from seeking the assistance of African educators to help them communicate with African learners who had difficulty in understanding English, Indian educators in both of these schools were reportedly following the example of their African colleagues in engaging in Zulu-English classroom CS for instructional and classroom management purposes. As was captured earlier in the analysis, when an African educator at Willy Wonke Primary was asked if her HOD approved of her CS in the class, she remarked that her HOD would not object because she also code-switched in her classes.

The response from the African educator at Willy Wonke Primary raises the following questions:

Did African educators consciously use isiZulu as an additional LOLT?

Did African educators consciously induce their Indian colleagues to use isiZulu or was it done unconsciously?

Was isiZulu used in the classroom covertly?

Did the African educators subtly advance the use of isiZulu?

The answer to the first question is that isiZulu was used consciously by African educators to help African learners who were struggling to learn through the medium of English – the use of isiZulu and English through CS allowed teachers to assist African learners to negotiate learning through their MT and their L2.

Was isiZulu used covertly in the classroom? Not in the case of three of the schools. Agent R particularly favoured CS at his school. Although he conceded that it slowed down the lesson, he saw it as the only way to get through to the majority of his African learners. However, at Willy Wonke Primary isiZulu was used covertly. As captured earlier in the analysis, there was opposition at Willy Wonke Primary to the use of isiZulu as a LOLT; Indian teachers felt that it was an English-medium school and so only English should be used as a LOLT. Hence, the question was posed to an African teacher who code-switched if her Head of Department would approve of her CS. The answer given by the African educator (captured in the previous paragraph) suggested that despite opposition to CS from Indian teachers at the school, the HOD, who was Indian, also code-switched. Evidently this was done covertly because of the opposition to CS by her Indian colleagues. Why did she “risk” engaging in this practice considering the opposition to it? Evidently she had seen the benefits of it in terms of classroom management if not for teaching and learning purposes.

Did the African educators subtly advance the use of isiZulu? Perhaps the intention was there to spread the use of the language and to encourage other, Indian, teachers to see the benefits by assisting them through clarifying instructions and directions or clarifying key concepts in isiZulu for African learners in the classes of these Indian teachers. So what might appear to be an unconscious inducing of Indian teachers by their African colleagues could really be a subtle but conscious inducing of Indian teachers to use isiZulu as an additional LOLT and a subtle advancement of isiZulu in the school.

5.4.3 Summary

Douglas' (1997) contention that systemic change is effected by one individual inducing change in others was used as a sensitizing concept to analyse the data in this section. The data revealed that systemic change in the form of whole school language change was not evident in any one of the schools of the change agents. However, there was evidence of the change agents inducing change in some educators in their schools. In the case of Agent L, it was evident that his pursuit of the isiZulu issue in his school may have been instrumental in changing his principal's position regarding the level at which isiZulu was offered at Bo Peep Primary. Agent S, according to the data, was able to induce change in three of her colleagues who began to use multilingual educational strategies in their classes to address the linguistic diversity of their learners. She also had reportedly sensitized a student teacher she was mentoring to the value of isiZulu-English code-switching to aid classroom management and to accomplish a range of academic functions in classes comprising linguistically diverse learners. Agent G, the data suggested, was able to motivate one of his educators to develop her own bilingual proficiency through her own efforts as well as his initiation of isiZulu language classes for his staff. The data also revealed that besides the change agents, African educators at Piper and Willy Wonke primary schools had induced their Indian colleagues to transform their classroom language practices by using isiZulu as an additional LOLT to meet the challenges of teaching linguistically diverse learners. The data revealed that what appeared to be unconscious inducing of Indian teachers by African colleagues to use isiZulu in their lessons was really subtle but conscious inducing as well as subtle advancement of isiZulu as additional LOLT.

The insights emerging from this section which dealt with a precondition for whole school language change (i.e. one or more individuals inducing change in others) were the following: Whole school language change versus pockets of change, other conditions necessary for institutional language change. These insights together with those signalled earlier in this chapter are developed hereunder and are used to inform the emerging theory.

5.5 Emerging Insights

The insights emerging from the analysis in this chapter focus primarily on support for school language change enhanced through capacity building and creating conditions for institutional language change, and include the following issues: Calculating potential for SLC of targets and augmenting potential through capacity building, Capacitating educators/creating communities of practice, Capacitating parents/increasing parental involvement with school, Departmental monitoring of school language change/trilevel development, Whole school language change versus pockets of change, Other conditions necessary for institutional language change.

5.5.1 Enhancing Support through Capacity Building

A critical insight emerging from the data analysis in this chapter relates to the necessity for support to sustain school language change. The analysis revealed that support must come from three main sources, viz. the education department, educators within the school and parents. The analysis also revealed that for educators and parents to support the school language change process they need to be capacitated to provide meaningful support. In addition, the organizational capacity of the school should be developed to cope with language change. Developing the capacity of the key stakeholders and the organizational capacity of the school for change must, according to the analysis, begin with establishing their potential for change i.e. present potential and future probability for school language change.

5.5.1.1 Present Potential and Future Probability for Change

The change agent has to discover the scope for change which exists in the targets of change and their ability to make use of it; calculating the present potential and future probability for change of targets of change are critical in counteracting resistance to change and preparing people for change (Douglas 1997).

The analysis revealed that embarking on school language change without discovering the scope for language change that exists within individuals (educators and parents) and the school would be disastrous. The data revealed that some of the change agents had developed a deep understanding of the nature and potential for change of key stakeholders and the school and had used this understanding to attempt to enhance the scope for change of these targets of change. However, there were also limitations in this understanding which resulted in change being forced thereby eliciting strong resistance from individuals and invariably thwarting the change process in at least one of the schools in the study.

While calculating present potential for change is necessary to augment this potential, calculating future probability for change is just as important, particularly for sustaining change. Douglas (1997) contends that part of the change process has to prepare people for the process of change, to learn how to learn with the production of anticipatory information. Projections into the future to anticipate what will be needed to sustain change are vital for the change process (Douglas 1997). The analysis revealed that the change agents had addressed only the present potential for change of targets of change and attempted to augment this potential in a bid to effect change. However, the experiences gained from initiating SLC may have sharpened insights of the potential required to sustain SLC, which could be used to make projections about the future probability for change of targets of SLC.

Thus, in terms of capacitating individuals and the school for language change, an important insight arising out of the analysis is that predicting the future probability for

change of targets of SLC is as crucial as calculating their present potential for change. Sustaining school language change would mean acting on present potential and predictions of the future probability for change of the targets of SLC.

5.5.1.2 Trilevel Development and Support for SLC

The analysis revealed that the education department needed to support the process of language change in schools through monitoring school language change, providing human and material resources to facilitate language change, assisting the principal and management staff to build organizational capacity for language change, and by capacitating educators and parents to engage meaningfully with language change. This supportive role of the education department presupposes Trilevel development at national, provincial and local levels of the education department to drive systemic language change.

It was evident that change agents operating at school level could at best initiate and sustain pockets of change within their own schools. Involving all stakeholders in the school in whole school language change was difficult for the change agents to achieve. For whole school language change and language change across schools to be effected, development at all levels of the education department was required to complement and support the work of change agents initiating language change at school level.

Part of this development embraces monitoring school language policy revision. An insight emerging out of the analysis was that implementation of the state's LiEP which necessitated transforming school language policies and practices to address the needs of linguistically diverse learner populations required monitoring of such implementation at all levels of the education department. The national education department needed to ensure that the provincial education departments were monitoring the implementation of the national language policy in education in schools in each province. The delegation of responsibility within the education department means that implementation of the language policy in schools would be ultimately monitored by the SEM. However,

regional, district and circuit managers must be fully apprised of the status of language policy development/revision in schools falling within their jurisdiction and must support such initiatives through the SEM. Fullan (2005b) recognizes that superintendents as change leaders are critical to school reform by committing to pursuing public value through changing context and giving people new experiences, new capacities and new insights into what should and can be accomplished.

The analysis suggested that Trilevel development implied more than just monitoring implementation of transformative policies at school level but also involved capacitation of parents and educators to engage meaningfully with change. What emerged from the analysis was that the best efforts of the change agents were thwarted by the incapacity of parents to engage with language policy change and the incapacity of educators to transform their classroom language practices because of their inability to communicate with learners in any language but English. In addition, the language change process was stifled by the lack of material resources like bilingual and multilingual texts that would aid educators and learners to realize the potential of multilingual education and enable language change initiated by the change agents.

The analysis revealed that the education department's role in capacitating educators to support SLC meaningfully would involve providing in-service courses for educators to develop their bilingual or multilingual competency. The data revealed that this should entail offering competent in-service courses in isiZulu for non isiZulu-speaking educators in KZN and providing financial incentives to educators to encourage them to take such courses. The education department's capacitation of parents, according to the analysis, should begin with advocacy campaigns sensitizing parents to the new post-apartheid LiEP and proceed to capacitating parents on the SGB to unpack the LiEP, interrogate the existing language policy of their school in light of the underlying principles of the LiEP and make meaningful inputs for revision of the policy if necessary. The data also revealed that while school principals should assist in building capacity for parent representatives on the SGB, it was the education department's mandated role to capacitate parents to engage meaningfully with language policy.

Development at all levels also entailed that the national education minister ensured that teacher education was part of language-in-education reform through making at least one African language compulsory (preferably the main African language in the province) in PRESET courses. In addition INSET courses in African languages as part of lifelong learning initiated and co-ordinated by the education department must be part of this development.

Trilevel development as an insight is critical to include as a condition for effecting and sustaining language change within individual schools and effecting systemic language change across all levels of the education department.

5.5.1.3 Building Bridges between the Home and the School

Building capacity for parents to participate meaningfully in school language policy reform is one way of enhancing parental participation in their children's education. Another way is to build bridges between the home and the school. This insight emerged from the efforts of Agent S to involve parents in their children's learning and the application of Faltis' (1993) multilevel approach to maximizing parental involvement with the school through the co-operative efforts of the school, teachers and parents.

The attempts of Agent S to canvass the help of parents to assist their children at home are of significance to enhancing parental involvement with the school. According to the data, Agent S wanted the parents of at risk African learners to assist with their children's learning by reinforcing at home what she was doing at school, viz. using bilingual teaching/learning strategies to mitigate the difficulties these learners were experiencing in learning through the medium of English only. Agent S failed to get the help of these parents. The use of Faltis' (1993) approach to ascertain why Agent S failed revealed that Agent S did not establish the crucial first level contact with the parents in order to access the benefits of third level contact, which is eliciting parental participation in their children's learning at home. First level contact involves teachers learning first hand about

parents' daily experiences and the community in which they live from home visits and individual contact with the parents and other caregivers.

The use of Faltis' (1993) approach to establish close contact with the parents and to win their trust so as to get them involved not only in their children's schoolwork but also in enabling parents to play a more decisive role in curricular and policy decisions at school (fourth level of home-school contact), is of significance to attempts to enhance parental involvement in school language change. The initial focus of the school's efforts should be on the first two levels of contact with parents, viz. learning first-hand about parents and their communities and sharing information about the school with the parents. This is especially significant in the case of all four schools in the study where the majority of teachers who are Indian are really ignorant about the home background of their African learners and the community from which they come. Faltis (1993) argues that his multi-level approach is well suited for working in a culturally and linguistically diverse classroom.

Learning about the daily experiences of parents, the challenges they face in their communities and their priorities for their children's education would not only be informative for the school but will also eventually lead to a close relationship based on mutual trust developing between the home and the school which can be built upon to access the crucial fourth level of home-school contact which is getting parents involved in curricular and policy decision-making at school.

The implications of this insight are that encouraging closer contact between the home and the school would lead ultimately to parents playing a more meaningful role in school governance structures particularly in the realm of policy development and policy revision which would include school language change.

5.5.1.4 Communities of Practice and SLC

The analysis revealed that in addition to capacitating educators to develop bilingual competency through in-service courses in isiZulu offered by the education department, collaboration within and across schools was necessary to create communities of practice that would enhance transformative classroom language practices through the sharing of quality knowledge and skills derived from experiences of practising school language change.

Lave & Wenger's (1991) model of situated learning proposed that learning involved participation in a community of practice whose members are engaged in the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. Members are brought together by joining in common activities and by what they have learned through their mutual engagement in these activities (Wenger 1998). According to Wenger (1998), communities of practice produce the shared repertoire of communal resources which would include routines, sensibilities, artifacts, vocabulary and styles. A community of practice involves more than technical knowledge or skill associated with undertaking some task; it involves practice; a way of doing and approaching things that are shared to some significant extent among members and where learning is an evolving, continuously renewed set of relations (Lave & Wenger 1991). Participation in a community of practice is not so much about learning from talk but about learning to talk which would draw attention to the need to understand knowledge and learning in context (Lave & Wenger 1991). Hence, learning does not belong to individual persons, but to the various conversations of which they are a part (Smith 1999).

The creation of communities of practice has important implications for changing classroom language practices. Sharing of ideas, knowledge and skills and talking about successes, challenges and threats with colleagues pursuing a common enterprise within one's own school and in other schools makes change less daunting than having to go it alone. This point is raised by Agent S who mooted the idea of forming a committee within her school whose members comprised language teachers pursuing a shared

enterprise, viz. development of bilingual or multilingual LTSMs and sensitizing all teachers to the value of multilingual education and teaching of isiZulu in addition to English and Afrikaans. In extending the idea of communities of practice to include McLaughlin & Talbert's (2001) professional learning communities, the analysis revealed that weak professional learning communities existed in some of the schools in the study, which meant that educators in these schools were not supported by their departmental heads to transform their classroom language practices as part of the language change process in their schools. The analysis suggested that creation of strong professional learning communities within schools which would involve teachers and management staff working collaboratively on a common enterprise, in this case transforming school language practices, was crucial for language change to be sustained.

Agent S expanded on the idea of collaboration within schools to collaboration across schools through networking. The communities of practice arising from this endeavour would draw members from several schools within a circuit pursuing a common enterprise of sharing and pooling ideas for teaching and learning isiZulu and employment of bilingual and multilingual teaching/learning strategies including developing of material resources for the same. This is in keeping with recommendations made at the Conference on Language of Learning and Teaching at Schools in KwaZulu-Natal (Karlsson & Moodley 2004) that teachers with diverse language proficiencies should work in teams to develop English-speaking colleagues' proficiency in isiZulu and give lessons to develop greater code-switching competence among colleagues.

It is evident from the analysis that creation of communities of practice within and across schools which would allow educators to collaborate through shared knowledge and skills on the common enterprise of transforming classroom language practices to meet the diverse linguistic needs of their learners is critical to sustaining language change initiatives in schools.

5.5.1.5 Building Organizational Capacity for SLC

Building organizational capacity for school language change is as important as building the capacity of individuals within the school for such change to be sustained. The analysis revealed that part of the responsibility for building organizational capacity for schools to engage meaningfully with language change was the education department's but the main responsibility should be shouldered by principals working closely with the language change agents.

The education department's role of building organizational capacity, according to the analysis, would involve facilitating the provision of human and material resources for such change. Material resources would include bilingual or multilingual texts and other LTSMs to encourage bilingual or multilingual teaching/learning strategies, and suitable texts to support the teaching of new language offerings following the change in the school's language policy. Human resources, according to the change agents, would involve facilitating the provision of qualified educators to teach the new language offerings. In the case of the schools in the study it would be isiZulu offered in addition to English and Afrikaans or replacing Afrikaans.

An important insight emerging from the analysis was that a critical part of building organizational capacity for school language change was a management/administrative issue and therefore was the responsibility of the principal and his management staff guided by the language change agent. Organizational issues would include time-tabling, teacher deployment, procurement and/or development of LTSMs and ensuring that there was no mismatch between language offerings of receiving secondary schools and feeder primary schools that had revised their language policies.

The analysis revealed that creative management solutions, as offered by Agents R and G who were principals, would allow the school to be organizationally ready for school language change. However, the experiences of these change agents also revealed that building organizational capacity was not a seamless process. In terms of teacher

deployment to address a revised language policy that included isiZulu in addition to English and Afrikaans or isiZulu replacing Afrikaans, the data revealed that this would not pose a management dilemma nor would it compromise teachers of Afrikaans as they could be easily deployed in other learning areas since primary school teachers were not specialists and should be able to teach virtually any subject offered at primary schools. Time-tabling which included adjusting time allocations for the different language offerings to address a change in language policy was not as easy as deploying teachers. Allocating equal time for all languages as subjects, new and existing, resulted in a decrease in time allocation for existing language subject offerings which created problems of syllabus coverage and invariably led to deteriorating learner performance as was evidenced at Agent G's school. In terms of material resources to support language transformation, the view expressed by both Agents R and G was that the education department should facilitate the provision of LTSMs. However, where there were problems encountered in delivery as was evident in the tardy provision of LTSMs by the education department which compromised the process of language change in the schools in the study, Agent R felt that school management should be proactive in such situations and source alternative teaching and learning resources or manage the development of such resources.

Perhaps a significant insight emerging from the analysis was that in considering the organizational capacity of the school for language change, the change agent had to ensure that change was incremental. This was necessary to allow educators to adjust to change more easily and to obviate the strain that too sudden and too great a change would have on the organizational capacity of the school. Another vital but sometimes neglected part of organizing for language change, arising from the analysis, involved school managers liaising closely with receiving schools for intake of learners transferring to secondary schools. Principals of feeder primary schools would have to ensure that receiving secondary schools offer the same languages as the feeder schools. The data revealed that the high prevalence of receiving high schools offering isiZulu in place of Afrikaans in the circuit in which Agent G's school was located motivated the language policy change at his school that resulted in isiZulu displacing Afrikaans as additional language.

Building the organizational capacity of a school to accommodate changes in its language policy and practices is critical to the success of any SLC initiative. This insight should inform the SLC process to ensure the sustainability of SLC initiatives.

5.5.2 Whole School Language Change versus Pockets of Change

What seemed to emerge strongly from the analysis was that despite the best efforts of the change agents, whole school language change was beyond their compass. What was achieved were pockets of change within the schools in the study. Even where two of the change agents were able to initiate a revision of their school language policy, this did not necessarily result in all the educators in their schools accepting the need to engage in language change at least in terms of attempting to transform their own classroom language practices to accommodate the linguistic diversity of their learners. Only some of the educators were induced to develop their bilingual competence in order to explore the possibilities this would give them in experimenting with innovative bilingual practices in the classroom. In other words institutional language change did not take place.

What constitutes institutional or whole school language change? This would involve a change in language policy and a change in language practices in the school with all educators and other staff members participating in the change process. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) list the following characteristics desirable for education leading to multilingualism: multilingual administration and staff, bi- or multilingual teachers, committed monolingual or multilingual parents, progressively multilingual students, multilingual educational context, multilingual educational strategies, multilingual teaching/learning materials and multilingual fair assessment.

One of the preconditions for institutional language change deliberated in the data analysis was that one or more individuals must be able to induce change in others within the school. It was evident from the analysis that the change agents and other educators were able to induce only some of the educators in their schools to transform their classroom

language practices as part of the language change agenda at their schools. The “heavy shift” as one of the change agents put it had not happened in any of the schools in the study. Evidently the existence of other conditions was necessary to induce institutional language change.

5.5.3 Other conditions for Institutional Language Change

The analysis suggested that the existence of other conditions within the school was necessary to encourage whole school or institutional language change. In this respect, two important insights emerged from the analysis. Firstly, change agents must integrate moral purpose and change agency to effect individual and institutional language change simultaneously (Fullan 1993). Secondly, change agents must create an ethos of change in their schools.

5.5.3.1 Moral purpose and change agency

Fullan (1993) identifies moral purpose as being the key to sound education practices and the basis for engaging in productive educational change. Moral purpose involves making a difference in the lives of learners i.e. bringing about improvements, which is a change theme. However, Fullan (1993) notes that commitment at the one-to-one and classroom levels alone is a recipe for moral martyrdom, and urges teachers to combine the mantle of moral purpose with the skills of change agency to effect institutional change.

The analysis revealed that all of the change agents were driven by moral purpose. Agents R and G as school managers were committed to making a difference to their learners by addressing their diverse linguistic needs through driving the process of language policy change at their schools, securing suitable educators to realize this change and by attempting to empower existing educators on their staff to carry the change forward. Agent S, as a level 1 educator, was committed to changing her own classroom language practices and through adopting a range of bilingual teaching/learning strategies addressed the diverse linguistic needs of her learners, and she attempted to share this with her

colleagues. Agent L, as SGB chairperson, was committed to addressing the needs of the African learners at his school by exposing them to Zulu-English bilingual instruction and developing the isiZulu competence of Indian learners by exposing them to high levels of literacy in isiZulu. This he set out to do by attempting a revision of his school's language policy and practices. While the change agents were driven by moral purpose, they were unable to adequately couple this with the skills of change agency to effect institutional language change.

Fullan (1993) identifies four core capacities for building greater change capacity and these are personal vision-building, inquiry, mastery and collaboration with each having its institutional counterparts, viz. shared vision-building; organizational structures, norms, and practices of inquiry; the development of increased repertoires of skills and know-how among organizational members; and collaborative work cultures.

Fullan (1993) elaborates on the four core capacities thus: Personal vision comes from within and exists independently of the organization one happens to be in but the more one takes the risk to express personal purpose, the more kindred spirits one will find and thus personal vision becomes a shared vision and the route to organizational change. Inquiry means internalizing norms, habits, and techniques for continuous learning and in terms of institutional change means creating organizational structures to encourage career-long learning among educators. Mastery involves strong initial teacher education and career long staff development and goes beyond exposure to new ideas by informing educators where these ideas fit. Developing collaborative work cultures on both a small-scale and large-scale is a core requisite for change for there is a ceiling to how much we can learn if we keep to ourselves (Fullan & Hargreaves 1991).

Some of the core capacities for building individual and institutional change capacity have already been identified as emerging insights in this chapter or had become evident in the data analysis. Creating communities of practice within and across schools to support language change finds resonance in the core capacity of developing collaborative work cultures. The core capacity of developing mastery through strong initial teacher education

and career long staff development is captured in part by the envisaged support from the education department which focuses on the role of the education department in facilitating the provision of PRESET and INSET courses for the realization of the underlying aims of the national language-in-education policy. In addition to these insights, the analysis also revealed that school management, specifically heads of departments, should be proactive and put programmes in place to develop the professional capacity of educators to engage meaningfully with school language change which is in line with creating organizational structures within the school to encourage career-long learning among educators.

The core capacity of translating personal vision into a collective vision to encourage institutional change requires further deliberation. It was evident from the analysis that two of the change agents did not consciously share their vision with others (parents and educators) in their school. Fullan (1993) contends that educators and school managers as change agents need to take the risk to articulate their personal vision and in the process they would find “kindred spirits” - individuals in their school that share their vision for change. It is this shared vision for change that would impel change and ultimately lead to sustained institutional change rather than pockets of change in the school.

According to Fullan (1993), taking the risk to present one’s vision to colleagues requires a strong and confident articulation of one’s vision; one needs to assert one’s vision without fear of compromising or antagonizing one’s colleagues even if one’s vision is a radical shift from the current position of the organization. It is only in this way that the change agent would be able to identify “kindred spirits” and begin the process of translating a personal vision for change into a collective or shared vision for institutional change. Agent S, who is reticent and unassertive by nature, as was evident in the data, was afraid of taking the risk of articulating her vision for language change for her school strongly and clearly to her colleagues and parents because she did not want to “come across as a know-it-all”. Consequently she may have lost the opportunity of identifying “kindred spirits” who shared her vision and who may have helped to turn her vision into a collective vision for language change at her school. Hence, her inability to effect

institutional language change at her school was partly a result of a lack of shared vision driving the process of change at her school; the data revealed that only three educators and the administration assistant at her school identified with her vision and purpose. The lack of a strong and confident articulation of his vision for change may have also prevented Agent L from translating his vision for change into a shared vision that might have eventually led to institutional language change at his school.

Agents R and G by virtue of their positions as school principals and having influential voices at SGB meetings were able to articulate their vision for change clearly to both educators and parents but evidently their vision was not shared by a large number of educators in both their schools. The analysis revealed that Agent G's overbearing nature meant that his vision was not shared with educators but forced upon them and they reacted by resisting his vision for change. Agent R, according to the analysis, was more tactful and conciliatory but even his vision was not shared by the majority of his educators and this was partly because he did not articulate his vision strongly. Despite the usual fear principals have of inviting opposition from their educators by introducing change, Agent R needed to take the risk to articulate his vision strongly to reach out to "kindred spirits".

Developing the skills of change agency through building the four core capacities necessary to impel individual as well as institutional change is a critical insight that needs to be factored into the SLC process and is vital also for creating an ethos of change, which in turn would support institutional change.

5.5.3.2 Creating an ethos of change

The analysis revealed that for school language change to be sustained the language change agents needed to create an ethos of change in their schools.

The ethos of an institution encompasses its distinguishing character, moral nature, guiding belief, sentiments and fundamental values (Dictionary 2007). It follows then that

creating an ethos of language change within schools would go beyond building institutional change capacity as contemplated earlier in this section of this chapter. Creating an ethos of change in an institution like a school would involve cultivating in its members a disposition, a spirit and an attitude which strongly embraces change as a means of addressing learner needs, improving learner performance and empowering learners and ensuring that the spirit of change permeates all teaching and learning enterprises in the school. The ethos of change must be embedded in the organization in order to produce change over time (Kell 2000). Embedding language change in schools would involve primarily changing mindsets to accommodate such change as was identified as a priority by the change agents. Ultimately changing attitudes and shifting mindsets of both educators and parents would lead to an ethos of change and this is a critical insight that needs to inform any language change initiative at school level.

5.6 Theorizing Moment

The theorizing moment arising from the analysis and insights in this chapter was manifested by the emergence of the key category of Support for SLC. Linked to this key category were the major categories of Capacitation to enhance support and Support for institutional language change. The interaction between this key category and its related major categories is interrogated in the final chapter and used as further building blocks to generate a theoretical framework to understand the process leading to sustained SLC.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter extended the data record and analysis section of the study by using three sensitizing concepts to orient and guide the analysis of the data. These sensitizing concepts were: the need for support to sustain change, understanding the nature and potential of individuals and organizations for change, and whole school language change is effected by one individual inducing change in others.

Using the sensitising concept of the need for a network of support to sustain school language change to guide the analysis generated the following themes: in-school support, support from parents, support from the education department, support from NGOs. In-school support was evident at the schools of two of the change agents and was manifested as support from African educators to their Indian colleagues in communicating with African learners who were struggling with English and support for the school management in communicating with African parents who were unable to speak English and conducting assemblies in isiZulu to reinforce messages and announcements made in English for the benefit of African learners. It was evident that collaboration among educators within and across schools was necessary to create a community of practice which would give greater impetus to language transformation in schools and provide practical support for educators to transform their own and their learners' classroom language practices. The data revealed that there was also peer support with African learners helping their Indian peers to learn isiZulu and also assisting other African learners to mediate learning through English and isiZulu by offering interpretations and translations of teacher input in isiZulu. In addition there was evidence of Indian learners assisting their African peers to learn English. There was also evidence of African support staff assisting management and educators in easing communication with Foundation Phase African learners. Support from parents, the data revealed, was limited and should be enhanced by capacitating parents to engage in the development and revision of language and other policies. In terms of support from the education department, it was evident that there was minimal support to schools to engage in language change that promoted multilingual education. Of concern was the total lack of monitoring of the implementation of the post-apartheid LiEP by the education department at the school, district, regional and national levels. Support from NGOs, the data revealed, was useful but was not sustained because of inadequate funding.

In using the sensitising concept of the need to understand the nature and potential of key stakeholders and the school as an organization to engage in language change to frame the analysis revealed that there was a range of factors which impacted on the disposition of educators to school language change and developing an understanding of these factors

and those that influenced parents' disposition to school language change was crucial to the language change process. In addition, the data revealed that calculating the potential of both educators and parents and the school as an organization to engage in language change was critical to sustaining such change.

Using the sensitising concept which indicated that whole school language change is triggered by one individual inducing change in others to guide the analysis revealed that none of the change agents were able to initiate whole school language change. The data revealed that two of the change agents succeeded in inducing one individual in each of their schools to change and a third change agent was able to induce three of her colleagues to transform their classroom language practices and influence a student teacher to acknowledge the gains of isiZulu-English bilingual interaction with learners. There was evidence also of African educators who appeared to unconsciously induce their Indian colleagues to engage in bilingual classroom practices but were consciously, albeit subtly, advancing the use of isiZulu as an additional LOLT.

The insights arising from the analysis in this chapter were detailed and used to inform the emerging theory manifested at this stage as a second theorizing moment. The theorizing moment in this chapter yielded the key category of Support for SLC and its related major categories of Capacitation to enhance support and Support for institutional language change, viz. Managing SLC and its related major categories and impacting factors which are used to generate a theoretical understanding of SLC.

The next chapter completes the analysis section of this study by focusing on the understandings of language issues that the change agents had developed from their experiences of initiating language change in their schools and contemplating how such understandings can enhance the school language change process.

CHAPTER SIX

UNDERSTANDINGS DEVELOPED FROM INITIATING SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

6.1 Introduction

Attempting to initiate change in others may not necessarily result in the desired outcome. In many instances change may fail to take root and be sustained or change agents may fail to initiate the change process. Despite this, the understanding acquired by change agents through attempting to initiate change is often illuminating. This consequence of intended change is explored by Douglas (1997) in the following sensitising concept used to orient the analysis of the data in this chapter:

It is more than possible that the levels of understanding achieved by some change agents greatly surpass their ability to initiate change processes.

Using this sensitising concept to orient the analysis of the data revealed that while some of the change agents have experienced marginal success in sustaining language change in their schools and others have been unable to initiate the language change process at their schools, the levels of understanding acquired by all the change agents about school language change in particular and language issues in schools in general surpassed their ability to initiate and/or sustain language change at their schools.

Of significance were the diverse perspectives offered by the different change agents on various language change issues culled from their experiences of attempting to drive language change in their schools. These perspectives were offered not only in the individual interviews with change agents but particularly in the Focus Group Discussion where the agents often contested each other's positions based on the understandings they

had acquired from their own experiences of attempting to initiate and sustain language change in their schools. This contestation of each other's positions as well as the sharing of common experiences of school language change may have furthered the levels of understanding already acquired by these change agents.

This chapter explores the understandings that the change agents have acquired which encompass the following language issues: mother tongue (MT) communication with parents, learners and departmental officials, Bi- and multilingual teaching/learning strategies, mother tongue (MT) education, Market potential of isiZulu, and Intellectual status of isiZulu.

6.2.1 MT communication with parents, learners and departmental officials

Through examining the various change agents' experiences of communicating with African learners, parents or departmental officials or all three in isiZulu in different forums, this section explores the value of MT communication with learners and other key stakeholders. The data revealed that while the change agents differed on the manner in which African learners and parents were addressed in forums of mass communication, in principle they were in agreement that communicating with parents and learners in their MT was a critical part of the school language change agenda.

Agents R and G strongly asserted the value of MT communication with African parents and departmental officials. Perhaps because the first line of communication with the school for parents and department officials is the school principal, it was really Agents R and G rather than Agents S and L who came to appreciate the significant advantages of being able to communicate with African parents and departmental officials in isiZulu.

The experiences of school language change of Agent R had enabled him to develop an understanding of the value of communicating with African parents in what he termed isiZulu "proverbs". The following responses demonstrate how he was able to get through

to African parents, which might not have been possible if he spoke to them in English only:

The isiZulu language has proverbs and parents are always very impressed when I use these proverbs so I don't need to explain so much in English. Proverbs like if you are causing problems or you are bringing problems on yourself. Now parents would not understand bringing problems on yourself, but if you say *ukuzifaka enkingeni* that means you're bringing trouble on yourself. It means a lot more than just that. And somehow the parents understand it.

You know when you tell them you need to pay school fees. If you pay school fees then I can teach your child better but I tell them simply *Izandla ziya gezana* that means hands wash each other so they understand straightaway why they must pay school fees. One sentence and it's finished and they are very happy about it...you can't wash one hand by itself, in isiZulu you say you need the other hand, so you rub it, you wash it...so these are things that do help and when you tell a Zulu parent that, he respects you, he understands what you're talking about.

The understanding acquired by this change agent revealed that the use of these isiZulu expressions not only facilitated communication and heightened understanding but went beyond mere semantics when he recognized that African parents felt affirmed and respected when he switched to isiZulu. This critical understanding that Agent R had acquired is closely linked to the Speech Accomodation Theory (Giles et al 1977) which is concerned with the motivation and social consequences which underlie people's speech styles, including language shift. Giles et al (1977) propose that the extent to which individuals shift their speech style or language toward the speech style or language of their interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval is communicated. This style shifting or language shifting is termed convergence. According to Giles et al (1977), the more a person desires another's approval and the more he or she wishes to integrate with another, the more that individual will converge his or her speech in the direction of the other up to a certain level depending on his or her linguistic repertoire. Findings from a Montreal study (Giles et al 1973) confirmed fundamental speech accommodation ideas. It was discovered that the more effort in convergence a speaker was perceived to have made (for example, the more French English Canadians used when sending a message to

French Canadians), the more favourably the speaker was evaluated, and the more the listener would converge in return. Hence, Agent R had developed an understanding that switching to isiZulu did not only ease communication with African parents but also allowed him to integrate more meaningfully with them and gain their approval.

Agent R reiterated the need for showing respect for African parents when he asserted: “I switch for respect, just to show them (African parents) look I am not just throwing English at you but I respect your language and I will also address you in that language”. In addition to acquiring an understanding of the need to show respect through choosing an appropriate language of communication with parents, he also spoke, in the following response, of how he gained respect and acceptance for his use of isiZulu in communicating with African departmental officials:

Not only in the school situation that I have noticed that. When I call my superiors at the education department, it is very difficult to get help from them because some of them can be extremely rude if you are English-speaking. So if I quickly switch to Zulu they somehow change their attitude and I can get anything from them, all the help that they can give me. And I treat them with respect because, of course, respect is an important aspect of the language. And I found that over the years I can get a lot from them by conversing in their language rather than in English.

It is this aspect of respect that prompted Agent R to challenge the position of Agent G on the manner of communicating with African parents at school meetings. The issue arose during the Focus Group Discussion when the change agents were responding to extracts from transcripts of individual interviews with the change agents and significant others from their schools. The extracts were used to provoke discussion during the Focus Group session. The extract that agent R responded to was one that focused on the way a plenary session at a Parents Meeting was conducted at the school of one of the change agents. It involved the use of an interpreter to facilitate communication with African parents who were having difficulty in following the presentation in English. According to the extract, translation from English to isiZulu was done “line by line or phrase by phrase or sections at a time”. It was this that was strongly condemned by Agent R who felt that the use of

interpreters was distracting and insulting to African parents. His view is captured in the following response:

It is not the best way to address the parents and you have to treat the parents with respect. If you have a large number of Zulu parents you should address them in their own language if they so desire. Of course you will ask them if they are quite happy with you speaking in English but getting an interpreter to stand there and it disturbs you, it's like some of these sermons, it's not nice, it's not respecting the parents.

Agent R felt that any kind of translation, whether it was a line-by-line translation or where the entire presentation was done in English and then isiZulu, was unacceptable. He felt that “there would be no need for two people to say the same thing.” He went on to add, “If they don’t understand the English, why do you have to say it in English, so say it in the language that they understand”. When Agent R was asked for his thoughts about the same person addressing the parents through code-switching i.e. alternating between isiZulu and English, his response was the following:

I think perhaps you can get a better response if there's one person addressing the parents and he highlights certain things in each language, yes I think the parents can even follow that and respect you for that. Yes, I think that will be a good idea. I also do that, you can use quite a lot of expressions from the language (isiZulu) so I keep them listening.

Evidently Agent R approved of selective code-switching where he made salient parts of his address more emphatic by switching from English to isiZulu and through the use of commonly used isiZulu expressions that the African parents could readily relate to.

Unlike Agent R, Agent G defended the use of interpreters at Parents Meetings. Not having the ability to use isiZulu as Agent R did, he had to resort to the use of African teachers from his staff to translate for him at these meetings. While he conceded that the ideal situation was to have one person addressing the parents throughout, it was evident that in his case it was not possible to do that. Furthermore, from his experience he found

that many African parents understood English but because he was not sure of this he had an interpreter on standby. His views are captured in the following response made during the Focus Group Discussion:

I just want to come back to the addressing of parents. Although I agree with what Mr R said that ideally there should be one person addressing the parents but at times for practical purposes we need to code-switch or have an interpreter when we are discussing technical aspects and there needs to be full understanding but recently I find when you speak to the parents and if you greet them basically in isiZulu then they accept you as a person who's trying to communicate in isiZulu and if you ask them do you want this thing to be explained in isiZulu they say no I understand the English so although you find that we assume that the many of parents are illiterate they have a good understanding of English and therefore it may not be necessary to translate into isiZulu but from our side we are not sure that all parents understand we have an interpreter to interpret.

While Agent R generally gained the approval of African parents and managed to decrease the social distance between himself and them when he switched to isiZulu, there was one experience of communicating in isiZulu with African parents when he got the opposite reaction. Agent R reflected on this experience in the following response:

Even at parents meetings also, when I speak English, they are quite happy about it, they are very happy. I went to a funeral once also, when I was speaking in English, every sentence they applauded. Then when I switched to isiZulu they were silent.

In light of the foregoing discussion of the value of communicating with African parents in the MT, the reaction of the African parents at the funeral gathering is intriguing. From the reaction of the parents it appeared to Agent R that they disapproved when he switched to isiZulu when prior to that they had applauded his use of English. An explanation for the behaviour of the parents can be found in a similar situation cited in a study by Hymes (1972) in which an English-speaking European, addressing an East African official, switched to Swahili in order to accommodate the latter. However, this did not gain the official's approval but offended him. According to Hymes (1972) such accommodation might be interpreted by the official as condescension and as implying that the European

thought him incapable of understanding English. Thus, the parents who applauded Agent R's use of English might be the young, upwardly mobile African parents who understood English well and who had come to attach more value to English than isiZulu. This group may have felt insulted when Agent R switched to isiZulu and they communicated their disapproval through their silence when he switched to isiZulu. They may have interpreted the switch to isiZulu as implying that they did not understand English. Ngugi's (1986) explanation for the mindsets of contemporary Africans (which includes the African parents that Agent R spoke of) who value English above their own indigenous languages is illuminating. Ngugi (1986) speaks of the colonizing of the minds of African people when he reflected on how colonialists controlled Africans by forcing them to speak European languages and taught African children that speaking English was good and guaranteed advancement and that native languages were bad and this worked to separate African children from their history which was then replaced by European history in European languages. In Ngugi's (1986) Kenya, colonization propagated English as the language of education resulting in orature in Kenyan indigenous languages disappearing. In a bid to decolonize the African mind, Ngugi (1986) makes a bold call to African writers to write in African languages, arguing that writing in African languages is a necessary step toward cultural identity and independence from centuries of European exploitation. Like Ngugi (1986), Alexander (2005) calls for the empowering of indigenous African languages and the decolonization of the minds of billions of African people.

In the case of communicating with learners, all four change agents had developed an understanding of the value of MT communication with learners both in a teaching/learning situation or when learners are addressed at assembly or addressed informally for a range of non-academic purposes. Just as isiZulu was useful in the classroom to level 1 educators like Agent S, it was also beneficial to school principals like Agents R and G when they engaged in one-on-one interactions with African learners when they were disciplining them or extending pastoral care to these learners in the office or when they were delivering important messages or making special announcements to the whole student body at school assemblies. While Agents R, G and S have derived this

understanding from the use of isiZulu in the classroom, principal's office or at school assemblies, the SGB chairperson showed an intuitive but scholarly understanding of the value of MT communication with learners.

What seemed to underpin the understandings of all four change agents was that the use of the MT touches the emotions of the learners. Agent G articulated this understanding in the following response:

What I can say is that isiZulu-speaking learners when they're addressed in their MT are all ears. If you address them in English, whether you are the principal or a teacher in the assembly area then they are always distracted and talking. Probably they don't understand what you are saying but even if a layperson addresses them in isiZulu they listen attentively. So if you want to reach their hearts you gotta use their language, their MT.

Agent L spoke of generating enthusiasm and pushing up confidence levels of learners by switching to the MT in the following response:

See in a learning environment if you speak their MT, even a few words suddenly there is a little bit of enthusiasm, then their confidence goes up. When a teacher enters a class if he says good morning, siyabonga, greets them, breaks the ice and wins both the English-speaking pupils and the isiZulu-speaking pupils and besides the greeting where he can make it interesting where the mindset is changing is once he is doing something new, eg if he is doing science, he should know the isiZulu word for science.

When Agent S was questioned about whether bilingually conducted assemblies were useful, her response was the following:

It will be because you are giving recognition to another language. It will help the isiZulu-speaking children to accept their language as any other language...and also help them to relate in their language in the classroom. At the moment they feel embarrassed.

Agent R spoke of gaining solidarity from African learners through using the MT. He said: "They (African learners) feel that when a person speaks their language they identify with

you, they can converse better with you.” He recounted, in the following response, an incident where he was able to gain the trust of a young learner in distress by switching to her MT:

You see when it comes to confidential issues and so on and the children find it difficult to express themselves, just the other day we had a problem where a little child was lost and she didn’t know who to go to and she was crying and here I had to switch to isiZulu and that straight away comforted the child and the child knew that she could speak to somebody.

Agent R also felt that having signs, posters, directions and notices in all the languages spoken by the learners would be a good idea. He felt that it would affirm the learners’ MT and restore its value in their minds. His view is captured in the following response:

The children would know now that English is not the only language because we mustn’t elevate one language above the other. It is good to show them that their language is just as important although communication in English is important for university.

The above responses from all four change agents reflecting their understanding of the value of code-switching in raising the affective levels of African learners by affirming these learners through affirming their mother tongue is closely linked to what in code-switching literature (Gumperz 1982, Cook 1991, Martin-Jones 1995) is termed the social functions of code-switching. In schools and classrooms code-switching is used by teachers to build solidarity and intimate relations with the students thereby creating a supportive learning environment in the classroom (Adendorff 1996, Sert 2005).

The use of interpreters for mass communication was raised once again in the Focus Group Discussion, this time at school assemblies. The change agents were responding to an extract from an interview transcript which described how assemblies were conducted bilingually in the school of one of the change agents where one teacher conducted the assembly in English and then the announcements were repeated in isiZulu by an African educator for the benefit of the African learners. Agent R strongly disapproved of this

practice arguing once again that it was very distracting and insulting to African learners. Agent R's position was conveyed by the following response:

You are having a teacher doing the assembly in one language and then you get an interpreter, I don't know if that's good. It's very, very poor to have an interpreter, everything you say then the interpreter says it again. I think even with the Zulu children if you speak in English, if you do it slowly, you speak slowly, that would be better. Even at a parent's meeting it causes a problem you rather get someone to express either in English or isiZulu.

While he conceded that he did conduct assemblies bilingually, he emphasized that there was no interpreter but that he switched to isiZulu "sometimes to express a point". He added, "Some English words do not express certain things that you want to get across and in isiZulu you find a nice expression that says more than ten sentences in English and the children, straightaway it gets to them. It does help, it does help."

The code-switching that Agent R practised when addressing the school assembly performed a valuable function of paraphrasing his message in isiZulu so as to reiterate, clarify and reinforce the message for his African learners. Adendorff (1996) discovered the widespread use of similar code-switches by the principal in his study.

This part of the chapter examined the understandings articulated by the change agents of the value of MT communication. In sharing their understandings gained from either their experiences of MT communication with African parents, learners and departmental officials or in the case of Agent L, his intuitive knowledge of the value of MT communication, each change agent had deepened his/her own understanding as well as the understandings of the other change agents concerning effective communication with parents, learners and departmental officials. What emerged from the data was the value of MT communication with these stakeholders and while it may not be possible always for educators and school managers to communicate with these stakeholders as Agent R desired, it was evident that school personnel should improve their competence in the languages spoken by the learners, their parents and significant others in the school

community. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) strongly recommend that for education leading to multilingualism the administrators, teachers and clerical staff of the school must be multilingual or minimally bilingual. These writers add that preferably the staff should be productively fluent in more than one language, but at a minimum they should all have receptive bi/multilingual ability or willing to work toward it within a specified time limit.

6.2.2 Multilingual Education (MLE) Strategies

In terms of MLE strategies the four change agents displayed understandings of the value or otherwise of strategies like code switching (CS), bilingual testing and the use of bilingual LTSMs gained from their experiences of engaging in school language change. These understandings were similar in some but differed in other respects.

6.2.2.1 Code-switching

Agent S developed an understanding of the value of code-switching by exploiting the academic functions of code-switching. According to the data, she resorted to CS when the need arose to clarify difficult concepts for her learners in isiZulu when they were experiencing difficulty in understanding these concepts in English. The value of reiteration in isiZulu of key points of the lesson in a quest to clarify and/or reinforce through elaboration and illustration information already conveyed in English and to enhance understanding of important concepts is also evident in other studies that examine the value of Zulu-English classroom code-switching (Adendorff 1996, Govender 1998, Naidoo 2000).

While Agent S had developed an understanding of the value of code-switching as a teaching/learning strategy, she also developed awareness that for educators to fully exploit this strategy they had to be proficient in both English and isiZulu. She indicated that her ability to exploit this strategy fully was constrained by her limited competence in isiZulu. She found that her limited competence in isiZulu limited her ability to switch to

isiZulu when the need arose during her lessons. When asked, during a post-lesson interview, if the number of African learners in her class determined the amount of CS she engaged in, her response was the following:

Actually, it depends on my limitations as well. In order to teach I have to become more proficient in the language. If I am not comfortable then I won't be teaching them effectively. Certain learning areas make it a little easier, like English because I can speak it, I can translate words and I can simplify, I use, if the situation dictates, more code-switching. But in the other hand if I have to translate difficult concepts, it makes it more taxing.

She reiterated this position in the Focus Group Discussion with the following response:

In terms of sustaining what I started at the grade 4 level I could manage code-switching but when you get to the higher grades it becomes increasingly difficult to code-switch because of my inability to speak the language well.

Observations of her lessons in English and Social Science confirmed that she was able to switch to isiZulu more easily in the English lesson than the Social Science lesson. It was discovered that there were very few switches to isiZulu in the Social Science lesson and when there was a need to switch to isiZulu to clarify some difficult concepts in the Social Science lesson, this was not forthcoming. This issue was raised with Agent S during the post-lesson interview and her response was the following:

As for the Social Science lesson it involves a lot of facts and one has to be careful as to how one conveys those facts in Zulu, I have got to be very conversant with the language in order to do that.

The implication is that Agent S lacked the capacity to switch to isiZulu to unpack more challenging concepts and this limited her ability to use CS effectively. Agent G picked up on this limitation during the Focus Group Discussion by making the following assertion which furthers understanding of limitations to the use of CS as a teaching/learning (T/L) strategy:

What that means is that the teacher who's code-switching should be from the culture which the majority of the learners come from. If we are looking at Zulu, the majority of teachers should be from that particular culture, otherwise code-switching will not be effective because as maam mentioned as the learning area becomes more technical and more detailed, code-switching becomes more difficult.

This difficulty of non-native speakers of isiZulu to use CS effectively as a T/L strategy was perhaps the reason why African parents in Agent G's school (captured earlier in the analysis) were resistant to non-native speakers of isiZulu teaching through and in isiZulu and why there was reportedly resistance from a departmental official to the use of Zulu-English classroom CS as captured in the following response from Agent S:

I went to one workshop where one of the black co-ordinators asked us how we got through to pupils and I mentioned code-switching, but she wasn't too happy because she felt I wasn't adequately qualified to speak Zulu. And I shouldn't be code-switching...but you see it works for me and we told her that it works and she still wasn't impressed. I said that was the only way we could get through to them and there was no other way.

While Agents S and G displayed an understanding of the restricted use of CS as a T/L strategy for non-native speakers of isiZulu, Agent R identified a limitation of CS as a T/L strategy. Agent R spoke of the amount of time that was expended in alternating between English and isiZulu and how this slowed down the pace of teaching and learning. However, he qualified this by admitting that in school contexts like the ones the four agents were operating in, educators were left with little option but to practice CS if they were reasonably competent in isiZulu and English. Agent R's position is captured in the following comment he made during the Focus Group Discussion:

I admire the way maam went about using code-switching. I also found that in my classes I had also used it but at the same time I found that progress in teaching was very slow because you got to use English and then isiZulu to explain it and it's very time-consuming and it gets a bit frustrating for the teacher. It's not the best way to do it if we had an option but we don't have an option so I admire maam I think for doing that and getting the kind of success she was getting through code-switching.

Despite the value of code-switching as attested to by Agent S and reflected in the literature on code-switching cited earlier, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) allude to the limitations of extensive use of code-switching. While they allow for code-switching in the emerging multilingual phase with the teacher giving translation equivalents when needed, they maintain that teachers should actively teach through the medium of one language and/or teach only one language. Their contention is that if the one language-one person relationship is not clearly demarcated, learners would not be forced to respond to the teacher in the language in which input is received and invariably would not develop adequate proficiency in both or all the languages they are exposed to. These writers further contend that students should be shown “that it is not necessary to choose either/or, but a both/and; and that this latter choice is both possible and preferable” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia 1995: 236).

An added layer of understanding of the use of code-switching in the classroom was supplied by Agent L. While Agents R, G and S saw CS as a strategy to assist African learners to meet the challenges of learning in a largely English-dominant school context, Agent L saw CS as a way of addressing English-speaking learners’ deficiency in isiZulu. He saw isiZulu-English classroom CS as a means of introducing the English-speaking Indian learners to isiZulu, which would then initiate their own learning of isiZulu. Agent L spoke of the need for all educators to learn isiZulu and to use the isiZulu to “break their normal English” teaching, adding that there could be “70% English, 30% isiZulu to crack the code of teaching that in isiZulu”. When he was asked if this was an attempt to clarify concepts for African learners, this was his response:

No, you are on a different plain, I am not saying the teacher must learn isiZulu to teach the African children. I am telling you the teacher must learn isiZulu to teach the English children.

The above response is consistent with Agent L’s view that Indian learners’ deficiency in isiZulu should be addressed so that they could be equipped with isiZulu to make them competitive in the marketplace.

While code-switching as a teaching and learning strategy remains a controversial issue with opponents claiming that it countenances language interference (Skiba 1997), it is nevertheless widely used to achieve a variety of academic functions. Cook (1991) reviews various creative uses of code-switching to aid the teaching and learning of a second language which are in some ways similar to the manner in which Agent S utilized code-switching. The understandings of the strengths and weaknesses of code-switching as a teaching/learning strategy sharpened through discussion and debate during the Focus Group Discussion may have helped to heighten awareness of how this strategy could be used to advance transformation of linguistic practices in post-apartheid schools.

6.2.2.2 Bilingual Assessment Practices

While there was some concurrence in the understandings of the different change agents on the strengths and limitations of CS as a T/L strategy, there was strong contestation over the value or otherwise of bilingual assessment practices.

As was captured earlier in the analysis, it was the practice of Agent S during exams and tests to read the instructions and questions to learners in English and then translate this into isiZulu for the African learners and she also allowed learners to answer in isiZulu if they could not articulate their answers clearly in English. Agent G was strongly opposed to this bilingual assessment practice as captured in the following response during the Focus Group Discussion:

I think the point of CS was to enhance their understanding of a concept, not to use CS as an answer to the question. So if the language of instruction is English, you answer in English but for understanding purposes the teacher code-switches and the child has a better understanding but he must still come back to the language of instruction to answer the questions.

Evidently Agent G was not opposed to isiZulu translations of test questions and instructions to aid comprehension for African learners. However, he was opposed to

African learners being allowed to answer in isiZulu, arguing that tests must be conducted in the language of instruction. While the dominant language of instruction in Mulberry Primary was English, Agent S engaged in isiZulu-English code-switching to mitigate the disadvantage experienced by African learners for whom English was a second language. It was in this spirit of addressing the needs of African learners and meeting in some way the challenge posed by the linguistic diversity of her learners that Agent S allowed learners to answer test questions in the language of their choice (either English or isiZulu). As much as Agent G was sincere about transforming the language policy and practices of his school, he was still strongly influenced by past linguistic practices at his and other schools prior to 1994 which recognized English as the dominant language of instruction and only language of assessment. Added to this was the pressure Agent G experienced from a section of his teaching staff who was opposed to teachers practicing isiZulu-English code-switching in the classroom and forced him to declare at a staff briefing that the school was unequivocally an English medium school.

Agent S defended her assessment practice during the Focus Group Discussion by asserting that in an examination, one was testing understanding and knowledge and not language and if a child offered the answer in English or isiZulu it should be accepted. Agent S reinforced her position by stating, “In orals we do it, so if we accept it in oral work I don’t see why we shouldn’t accept it in written work. The child only does that because the child doesn’t know the English equivalent.” Agent R concurred with Agent S by making the following assertion in the Focus Group Discussion:

The truth is that when you ask a child to tell a story or to relate an experience in English, the child can’t. Yet that same child will relate that experience so well in his MT that you can give him a 100%, so that is a problem you see, so why should we not accept that.

While the language of assessment is a difficult issue to reach consensus on in contexts where code-switching is used as a teaching/learning strategy, Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) maintain that authentic and fair multilingual assessment should be practiced in multilingual school contexts. These writers elaborated by recommending that content

assessment should be conducted in the language in which the student has received the instruction or in the language which the student chooses.

6.2.2.3 Bilingual LTSMs

The use of bilingual LTSMs was strongly supported by Agent S who encouraged her learners to create bilingual charts that were used for teaching and learning and not just to adorn the class. She reported that she used isiZulu to support her African learners' acquisition of the target language by encouraging them to create their own little isiZulu-English bilingual books. Based on her experiences of preparing and using bilingual worksheets, she had come to understand the immense value this has for the learners. However, Agent R felt that bilingual worksheets would be confusing for the learners. His view is captured in the following response:

Bilingual worksheets, really in my opinion, I don't see how it's going to help. It may confuse the children. Say suppose you are teaching weather and if you give them a bilingual worksheet perhaps on clouds, I don't know how that's going to work. I don't know, its going to cause confusion but if you teach it in one language straight through or if you are teaching the language, like you teaching Afrikaans and you have it in English and Afrikaans perhaps there the bilingual worksheet will work but if you are teaching concepts, I am not sure how it will help.

The above response reflects some confusion over the concepts bilingualism and code-switching which might explain Agent R's position regarding bilingual worksheets. Code-switching is a type of bilingual or multilingual interaction variously described but best summed up as the alternative use by bilinguals or multilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation (Milroy & Muysken 1995). Bi- or multilingual teachers and learners have exploited the value of code-switching to achieve a range of academic and social functions discussed earlier in this section of the analysis. Agent R like the other three change agents had evidently developed an understanding of the value of code-switching in aiding learners to negotiate learning in both their first and second languages. This is reflected in "like you teaching Afrikaans and you have it in English and

Afrikaans”. Here, Agent R was evidently alluding to English-speaking learners whose acquisition of Afrikaans as a target language was aided by strategic teacher-led English-Afrikaans code-switching. The confusion arose when he equated this code-switching with English-Afrikaans bilingual worksheets which he implied would advance understanding of Afrikaans terms. The confusion was further compounded by Agent R claiming that bilingual worksheets (really English-Afrikaans code-switching) would work in the teaching/learning of languages but not for content subjects. He implied that bilingual worksheets would not aid in conceptual understanding but would confuse the learner. Evidently Agent R was not fully aware of how bilingual or multilingual texts are structured by using two or more languages (the first languages of different linguistic learner groups) to advance understanding of key concepts. By using these languages side-by-side the worksheets have the added advantage of encouraging language learning as well. Multilingual resources developed by the Early Learning Resource Unit of PRAESA (Bloch 1994) exploit both these functions. Multilingual posters developed by the unit aid teachers to communicate the same message in different languages and encourage children to begin reading phrases in different languages at appropriate times and to teach each other their languages in a meaningful context.

While Agent R felt that bilingual worksheets might be confusing, he conceded that it was sometimes necessary to use them as reflected in the following response to the question of whether he had a problem with the bilingual worksheets:

Yes, that would be a problem also because it takes a lot of time to make these things but sometimes you have to do it.

It would appear that he was concerned that developing such materials would be time-consuming but felt educators needed to resort to using such learning/teaching aids.

Perhaps if one had to fuse the understandings of Agents S and R of the value or otherwise of bilingual LTSMs, one would acknowledge that the positions of these agents reflected the understanding that bilingual worksheets were useful LTSMs but should be developed carefully so that their use would enhance learning rather than confuse the learners. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) recommend that in developing an educational context

and culture that promotes multilingual education teaching materials in all languages of the students must be used. These writers add that where teaching materials do not exist in a lesser used language, teachers must produce their own utilizing the resources of community elders and students themselves, and multilingual materials must be used to encourage students to make contrastive analyses of texts and to become aware of language differences and similarities.

This part of the chapter revealed that the change agents had developed understandings of the usefulness or otherwise of the following multilingual education strategies: code-switching, bilingual assessment practices and use of bilingual LTSMs. In terms of CS the understanding was that while Zulu-English CS in the main was a useful strategy to aid African learners to negotiate learning in both their L1 and L2, use of this strategy was constrained by the level of competence of Indian educators in isiZulu and furthermore a limitation of CS was that it was time-consuming and slowed down the lesson. Bilingual assessment was a highly contested issue in the Focus Group Discussion with debate over whether African learners should be allowed to answer tests in isiZulu if they were unable to articulate their answers clearly in English. In respect of bilingual LTSMs, the understanding was that such resources were useful if they were carefully developed and did not confuse the learners.

6.2.3 MT Education

Research undertaken by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) and the UNESCO Institute for Education (Ouane & Glanz 2001) and language research in South Africa (Alexander and Bloch 2004, Sigcau 2004) have confirmed the value of MT education, citing its cognitive, psychological and pedagogical advantages. Supporting the views of these writers, all four change agents articulated understandings of the value and benefits of implementing MT education particularly in the Foundation Phase. This section of the analysis explores these understandings and considers implications for school language change initiatives.

Agent R felt that MT education was necessary particularly in the child's formative years, stating: "The RNCS document says that for a reason. It is important to have it done in your MT and then you teach in English thereafter." Agent R motivated the need for MT education in the following response:

You see the MT, if we're speaking specifically about isiZulu, that language children will be able to express themselves much better than in English. There are words specifically in their language that says things that the English language cannot say. So I suppose there is a need to make them express themselves in their language.

Agent L's understanding of the value of MT education is captured in the following response:

It is good for a child if it's in the mother tongue, obviously you cannot have many mother tongues. Let's talk only for isiZulu. If the person in isiZulu has got the opportunity of learning a subject in isiZulu, learning Maths in isiZulu, it will benefit the child in understanding. Right now the Maths with the Africans is so low. Now if we do it in their language and it can be done, if you take Maths, it can be taught in isiZulu. There's hardly any isiZulu words, but if you talk in their language they would be able to understand the concept of the Maths and be able to apply it properly and if they are doing their exams or tests, it's the same as A.B.C.D. but in isiZulu and the answers is the same.

Agent L's contention that Maths can be taught through the medium of isiZulu is confirmed by Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh's (2002) discovery, through archival research, of the publication of various textbooks during the years of Bantu education in strongly developed African languages. Of particular note was the discovery of a Std 4 (now Grade 6) Arithmetic textbook in isiZulu which was published before its English equivalent. The textbook covered all major sections of the syllabus for Std 4 including notation, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractional numbers, mixed numbers, decimal fractions, money, metric system, geometrical drawings, area, sets and number sentences and some sections were more detailed than the English equivalent. According to Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2002) analysis of African terminology and textbooks developed during the period of Bantu education would speed up the process of producing

modern and appropriate textbooks in African languages to meet the need of delivering MT education.

When Agent G was asked if he felt that English as a LOLT was hampering access to knowledge for African learners, his response was:

It definitely does, the children who come from an isiZulu background whose first language is isiZulu respond much more quickly to the language they already know.

Agent G's contention that children respond more quickly to a language they know raises the issue of the pedagogical advantages of mother tongue education. Mother tongue literacy would obviate what in the literature (Chick & Hornberger 2001, Ouane & Glanz 2001) is termed "safe talk" where teachers and learners facing difficulties with a foreign medium of instruction lapse into rote learning and repetition and active learning does not take place.

Agent S felt that the MT is "the only language that they (African learners) feel confident and comfortable to express themselves in". The raising of confidence levels of African learners through use of their MT for teaching/learning is linked to the psychological advantages of MT education. Ouane & Glanz (2001) claim that the MT and the respective culture are key sources of identification and self confidence, adding that through the use of MT education, communicative practices of the learner's community are valued and this expands the learner's communicative repertoire and his/her possibilities to shape and participate meaningfully in classroom interaction.

When Agent S was asked to elaborate on the value of MT education her response was:

In terms of the MT pupils will be able to communicate with ease and confidence and for their cognitive performance and if they had to think in their MT and do the thing in English, it will be difficult.

In terms of cognition she felt that many educators were not aware that African learners were thinking in their MT and then trying to answer in English and that educators had “to give them time to think and to translate”. Evidently this, according to Agent S, would be obviated if the learners were taught through the medium of their MT. The cognitive advantages of literacy education in the mother tongue have been firmly established by bilingual research by Cummins (1981) whose Linguistic Interdependence Principle confirms that learners who have a strong foundation of literacy in the mother tongue are able to develop a better command of a second language. Ouane & Glanz (2001), in full agreement with Cummins (1981), claim that learners who first learn reading in their mother tongue have a better command of a foreign language in its written and oral mode, adding that developing bilingualism and biliteracy is an asset to learners as it enhances their cognitive performance and metalinguistic abilities and a general more flexible intellectual orientation.

While the various change agents favour the implementation of MT education, Agents G and R qualify this by stating that it should be implemented in the early years of schooling, in the Foundation Phase, and that learners must be exposed to English soon after or even before they exit the Foundation Phase.

In this respect, although Agent R felt that English “shouldn’t supersede the other languages but be on par with them” and that the MT should be maintained at schools such as his, he qualified this by saying that instruction in the MT should be offered “in the earlier levels”. He felt that “around grade 6 and 7 the children should be able to manage with English when they’ve been in (the) school from grade R”. He also expressed the view that such African learners “should be able to manage with English in high school also”. The following response captures his thoughts about the period during which African learners should be receiving MT education:

We should be teaching them in their MT from the early grades and we should wean them like the children who drink milk and then we give them a little solids...perhaps in Grade 2 and in Grade 3 that is the right time, we should introduce the children to be taught in any other language.

Agent G felt that instruction in English should begin sooner. His view is captured in the following response:

I will say for the first year of teaching in Grade R, it should be in the MT but gradually from grade R to end of Grade R it should be phased into English. Because the longer you delay the introduction of English as a language to be taught the more difficult the child would find it to cope in the other grades.

Furthermore, in the Focus Group Discussion Agent R expressed his anxiety about whether “instruction (is) going to be in two languages or one language and that’s your MOI”. As captured earlier in the analysis, this change agent felt that using two languages to teach the learner would be confusing. Evidently he prefers a medium of instruction rather than *Languages of Learning and Teaching*. The understanding that Agent S has developed reflects a more flexible attitude. When Agent R expressed a need for “a clear cut direction” in terms of a single medium of instruction (MOI) or two languages of instruction (presumably bilingual instruction), her response was: “I see that taking some time; because of the transformation, you have to use both the languages.”

It is evident from the responses of Agents R and G that while they felt that MT education was valuable, their understanding was that learners should be exposed to instruction in English early in their schooling in order to gain high levels of literacy in English to cope in the higher grades. Their views about when transition from the MT (if not English) to English as LOLT should take place is in keeping with prevailing models of bilingual education in Africa that are “early exit models” preparing ground for the transition to the official languages and all condemned to fail as, contrary to maintenance bilingualism, there is no real transfer of learning secured and taking place (Ouane & Glanz 2001). In contrast to early exit models of bilingualism pedagogical strategies for mother tongue-based bilingual education have been developed by PRAESA (Alexander & Bloch 2004). According to Alexander & Bloch (2004) mother tongue-based bilingual education refers to a system in which the mother tongue is used as the language of teaching as far as possible and if it is either replaced or complemented by a language of wider, or of international communication, is never abandoned but rather sustained as a

complementary language of teaching. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) recommend that for education leading to multilingualism, the MT should be used as a medium of instruction throughout the whole educational process from Kindergarten to Grade 12 and only after the first 6-7 years of schooling the time devoted to using the MT as a medium of instruction can be decreased and the second language can be increasingly used as a medium.

This part of the chapter considered the understandings advanced by the various change agents of the value of MT education. While the common understanding was that MT education should be practised, the understanding developed by Agents R and G that early transition to English as LOLT would result in African learners gaining high levels of literacy in English more quickly was flawed as research findings (Cummins 1981, Macdonald 2001) have confirmed that only a strong foundation of literacy in the MT would lead to learners acquiring high levels of literacy in a second language. However, the understanding shared by Agent S in the Focus Group Discussion of the value of using the learners' L1 as a complementary LOLT may have sharpened the understandings developed by the other agents of the use of MT literacy to meet the challenges of school language change in post-apartheid schools and classrooms.

6.2.4 Market potential of isiZulu

Three of the change agents, agents R, G and L articulated a market-driven understanding of the need to learn isiZulu which they considered to be a compelling motive for non isiZulu-speakers to learn isiZulu. This section of the chapter considers these understandings and how they might impact on attempts to initiate and sustain school language change.

As was alluded to earlier in the analysis, Agent L expressed a strong desire for Indian children to learn isiZulu. While this change agent had stressed the need for isiZulu to be used in the classroom in addition to English to allow the African learners to negotiate learning more easily through both English and their MT, he emphasized, in the following

response, that there was a greater need for isiZulu for the Indian learners than the African learners:

I am being selfish by telling you point blank the grounds of learning isiZulu is more for our Indian kids than the Zulu kids. Here the future financial force, the financial people are gonna be Zulu people. I say isiZulu-speaking people, the buying power is gonna be isiZulu speaking people. So if you need a cut of the buying power you need to know isiZulu. It's economics.

Agent L's reference to economic power gained through acquiring competence in isiZulu in addition to English is strongly linked to the issue of language and power and the concept of linguistic capital (Bordieu 1991) contemplated by Kamwangamalu (2000) earlier in the analysis and Alexander's (2005) contention that the evolving markets in post-apartheid South Africa has meant that maintaining an attitude that African languages have no economic or cultural value is self-limiting, self-defeating and self-destructive. Alexander (2005) cites preliminary research findings, captured earlier in the analysis, of the increasing use of African languages in the economic sector, public service administration and parastatal communications firms and claims that if this trend continues the market potential of African languages will be enhanced in ways that cannot now be anticipated. It is this same market potential of African languages that agents R, G, and L consider to be one compelling reason among others for non Zulu-speaking learners to acquire competence in isiZulu.

In the following response, Agent L reiterated the point that Indian learners would enhance their marketability if they knew how to speak isiZulu:

Sooner or later that same car sales person who knows isiZulu will have an edge, as soon as you talk in his mother tongue. He needs to make a deal, he needs to sell a car, if he knows isiZulu, the probability of him winning the customer on his side is more them tripled.

In responding to the first of the above responses used to provoke discussion in the Focus Group session, Agent G's understanding was that the response firstly raised the issue of the need to cater to the needs of Indian learners when isiZulu is being taught. He felt that

“the level at which isiZulu is being spoken is the level which the majority can understand but the minority or the few non-Zulu children in these classes are severely disadvantaged”. He added, “The teacher I think in these classes should consider the performance levels of the Indian children at a lower level and requirement than the Zulu children.” Secondly, Agent G felt that the response also highlighted the utility value of isiZulu as expressed in the following response:

Yes, but the truth is isiZulu is going to be the demand of industry also. You must be fluent or be able to communicate in isiZulu to make it in the private sector.

Agent R articulated a similar understanding of the economic value of gaining proficiency in isiZulu in the following response:

In recent times, in the last few years now, we have found that for most posts that are advertised, you must have a command of isiZulu, you must be able to communicate in isiZulu. So it's coming forward and many posts that are advertised for teaching you need the second language. Even in businesses as well, you need a second language. Definitely you would have to know isiZulu. If you know isiZulu and English you stand a better chance of getting a job in a company than a person who can only speak English.

While Agent R's understanding of the value of being competent in isiZulu is partly market-driven, this agent cautioned, in another response, that one should not be fixated on the utility value of languages. In responding to a view held by the principal of Bo Peep Primary that there is no real utility value in learning the Eastern languages, his response was:

When you look at utility value, there are some things that you can buy, some things you can never buy. When you talk about education, education is not utility based. Education must go beyond utility. And in a primary school if the child only likes soccer, it's not good. In the primary school the child must play all codes of sport. In the high school, the child selects but now because he has played all these sports, he can find a sport that he is good at and concentrate on that. It's the same thing with these languages, you need to give the child a broad

background, and you are not giving him specialist tuition in the Indian languages.

This part of the chapter considered the understandings developed by three of the change agents of the market potential of African languages, the implications of which for school language change are that these understandings, in affirming the need for all learners, both African and Indian learners, to acquire competence in the use of isiZulu to enhance their marketability, should fast-track the language change process in the schools of the four change agents.

6.2.5 Intellectual status of isiZulu

According to Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) liberation from linguistic dependence on European languages must involve promotion of African languages, especially in academia, as a strategy to promote greater intellectual and scientific independence from the West. Alexander (2004), in full agreement with the Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) and Ngugi (1986) who called for the decolonizing of the African mind, coined the term Static Maintenance Syndrome which means that while native speakers of African languages value their languages, they do not believe that their languages can ever attain the same power and status as, for example, English and consequently ordinary African parents explain their opposition to MT education by claiming that African languages do not have words to deal with Mathematics and Science. Alexander (2005) calls for the intellectualization of African languages, a concept introduced earlier in the analysis, through language development (corpus planning) and use of African languages in all the most powerful domains of social life (status planning). It is this issue of the intellectualization of African languages that three of the change agents contemplated when they shared their understandings of the possibility of using African languages to communicate modern knowledge, notably in the fields of Science and Technology. This part of the chapter explores these understandings and their implications for school language change.

When asked if African languages could be used to communicate modern knowledge if learners and teachers were free to borrow terminology from English, Agent L's response was the following:

Yes. This (referring to the dictaphone), an African person hasn't invented it but you lift it up and tell him, this is a tape recorder. In the African language it is I-tape recorder. They are now identifying it as a tape recorder. And now it becomes a part of their words. And if they look at it, it's called a tape recorder. Now in normal isiZulu you explain a tape recorder records your voice, obviously there must be words in isiZulu to say that and that it plays music and those words are in isiZulu. But the actual tape recorder there isn't a word for that.

Agent L's understanding of how new words become part of a language's lexicon and how a new concept becomes unpacked through the use of existing words and concepts in the language, showed a scholarly understanding of how languages grow and develop. Hence, the borrowing he cited furthers conceptual understanding and is instructive rather than being a meaningless borrowing.

Agent G had developed a similar understanding of how languages grow and evolve by borrowing words from other languages. His response to the question of whether English borrowings are acceptable when one is using an African language to communicate modern knowledge was the following:

I think all languages are living and new words are added to the language all the time, so it could be one way to increase the language in terms of its vocabulary.

Agent G's point that the process of evolution and expansion of isiZulu, like other languages, includes borrowings was confirmed at a seminar on lexicography. The seminar which was organized by the State Language Services in 1996³⁸ was followed by meetings held by PANSALB to gather synopses of the state of lexicography of the 11 official languages in South Africa. In terms of isiZulu, the focus was on the isiZulu Dictionary Project and one of its aims and objectives was to record changes in the

³⁸ Seminar on *Lexicography as a financial asset in a multilingual South Africa* held in Stellenbosch on 12 April.

vocabulary of the language. The contention was that all languages are dynamic. They constantly incorporate new items of vocabulary and new vocabulary items include coinages and borrowings. Consequently, it became imperative to include the established, new vocabulary in the language. Hence, the project involved incorporation of new words into the isiZulu language derived from borrowings and coinages from other languages.

Agent R was opposed to borrowings as he saw this as contributing to the loss of a language's purity. His understanding was: "You are going to evolve a new language – a South African language. That's what's going to happen. So we won't have a pure isiZulu language." During the Focus Group Discussion he cited the following example of how learners are merging isiZulu with English, which, in his view, is a perversion of the isiZulu language:

I've noticed it in children now using English and Zulu. Now they are using the suffix, eg. "Sir, this boy is gangar-ing me." *Gangar* is an isiZulu word for making mischief. There is no such word as "gangaring", -ing is a participle (English). So they use "gangaring", so what they are doing now they're using an isiZulu word and they using an English word. Now you can say: "Mfaan nya gangar" which is: this boy is making mischief, you can't say "This boy is *gangaring* me" ...that's what's happening. We are going to get a new language soon that has this kind of thing. There is the danger of that, I hear it a lot.

Agent R's opposition to the type of borrowing cited in the above response is vindicated by Poplack's (1980) explanation of the two main restrictions to code-switching, one of which is the free morpheme constraint. According to Poplack (1980) a speaker may not switch language between a word and its endings. Following this argument, the English participle cited in Agent R's response cannot be attached to the isiZulu word to convey a meaningful message.

Agent L, however, challenged Agent R's language purism view by arguing for language creolisation, which he saw as a natural process of language growth and development. His understanding is captured in the following response rendered in the Focus Group Discussion:

But I think as much as we may not agree with that type of thing, that is how language develops because the isiZulu language becomes part of the English language...I think we must all understand there are very few languages in the world that are absolutely pure languages. There are always exchanges and adoption and adaptation and acceptance of other existing languages and this is going to happen in S.A. also. I mean Afrikaans is a good case in point of a language that has borrowed from other languages and English also has borrowed from other languages so that is going to happen invariably and there is nothing we can do to stop that but isiZulu is a growing language and it will adopt other languages, modern technology, expressions and so on.

In articulating his understanding of how African languages are developing in response to modern technology, Agent G cited an example, in the following response given in the Focus Group Discussion, of a newly acquired word in isiZulu, which goes beyond simply borrowing the English equivalent and is more expressive in unpacking the new concept:

I think the recent explanation of cell phones, the isiZulu word (for cellphone) actually means “that, that cries in your pocket”, so they do come up with words that are more colourful than the English words in terms of expression. So there is scope for the language to develop in terms of words and expressions.

By contrast Agent R’s understanding was that isiZulu is still in its infancy in terms of being a “documented” language; hence, it does not have a large repertoire of words particularly to communicate technical knowledge. He cited the use of English borrowings but implied that this would not be effective enough to unpack the new concepts. His position is captured in the following response:

The isiZulu language is, you are talking MT isiZulu, it has just been recently documented and so the highly technical stuff and so on is very difficult. Now to teach Physiology, Chemistry, is very difficult to teach them in isiZulu, you got to borrow English words from the standard words, plutonium, golita for gold...possibly there is a dictionary for these terms but I find it is restrictive.

Agent R’s claim that isiZulu was restrictive in terms of its ability to communicate scientific knowledge is refuted by Heugh & Mahlalela-Thusi’s (2002) archival research (cited earlier in the analysis) that unearthed extensive terminology in the African languages and Maths and Science textbooks written in African languages in the Bantu

Education era. In addition, a recent publication of a multilingual textbook for Grade 9 learners (Loewe 2007) confirms the intellectual status of African languages. The book, a collaborative effort involving ten authors from Rhodes University, UCT and UKZN, which is entitled: *Understanding Concepts in Mathematics and Science: A multilingual learning and teaching resource in isiXhosa, isiZulu, English and Afrikaans* unpacks 54 key concepts in Maths and Science.

This part of the chapter examined the understandings articulated by three of the change agents on the intellectual status of isiZulu. Two of the change agents, Agents L and G had developed an understanding that isiZulu with English borrowings could be used to transmit modern knowledge; they saw borrowings as a normal orientation in the evolution and expansion of a language. Agent G also cited an example of isiZulu responding positively to technological advances through inclusions of new coinages in the language's lexicon to describe new inventions. Agent R was opposed to borrowings which he felt were aberrant and perverted isiZulu and also did not advance conceptual understanding. The debate around the intellectual status of isiZulu in the Focus Group Discussion where individual understandings were pitted against each other allowed the change agents to sharpen their own understanding of the possibility of using isiZulu to transmit modern knowledge which should inform their own attempts at initiating and sustaining transformative language practices at their own schools which included using isiZulu as a LOLT additional to English.

6.3 Summary

Douglas' (1997) contention that the levels of understanding achieved by some change agents greatly surpass their ability to initiate change processes was used as a sensitising concept to guide and orient the analysis of the data in this chapter.

The data revealed that while the change agents had experienced marginal success in initiating and sustaining language change at their schools, the experience of attempting school language change raised their levels of understanding of the school language

change process and language issues in schools and the wider community. The understandings articulated by the change agents comprised the following: Value of MT communication with African learners, parents and departmental officials, Value or otherwise of MLE strategies like CS, bilingual assessment and bilingual LTSMs, Value of MT education, Market potential of isiZulu and Intellectual status of isiZulu.

The data revealed that there was consensus among the change agents on the value of MT communication with learners and key stakeholders in the school community. Change agents spoke of how switching to isiZulu eased communication with African learners, parents and departmental officials and more significantly raised the affective levels of the latter which often allowed the addresser to gain approval from them. However, two of the change agents differed on the manner in which African learners and parents should be addressed at school assemblies and parents' meetings. One of these change agents disapproved of the use of interpreters and translators claiming that this was insulting while the other felt that managers who were left with little option had to turn to using translators to clarify in isiZulu the message initially conveyed in English.

There was some consensus among change agents on the value of code-switching and use of bilingual or multilingual LTSMs. However, bilingual assessment practice was a contested issue in the Focus Group Discussion. Two of the change agents approved of learners responding in the language of their choice in tests/exams while one of the change agents insisted that learners must respond in the language in which instruction was received.

The data revealed that all the change agents agreed that MT education was valuable but two of the agents expressed that early transition to English as LOLT would allow easier access to high levels of literacy in English for African learners. This view was tempered by the contention that isiZulu should not be replaced by English but used as a complementary LOLT to English.

All four change agents stressed the market potential of isiZulu by asserting that acquiring isiZulu in addition to English would enhance the future potential of learners in the marketplace. Linked to this understanding was an understanding of the intellectual status of isiZulu with two of the change agents arguing strongly that isiZulu has the potential to transmit modern knowledge with the aid of borrowings. This view was contested by another change agent who, preferring “pure” isiZulu, felt that borrowings did nothing to further conceptual understanding but merely perverted the isiZulu language. This agent also argued that isiZulu was still in its infancy as a documented language and needed to be developed further before it could be used to transmit modern knowledge.

The understandings acquired by the change agents through their experiences of initiating/attempting to initiate school language change were evidently deepened and sharpened through debate and contestation during the Focus Group Discussion.

6.4 Emerging Insights

Critical insights emerging from the analysis in this chapter which focused on understandings developed from initiating school language change are the following: Understanding language issues impacting on school language change, Sharpening understandings through sharing similar/divergent experiences.

6.4.1 Language issues impacting on SLC

The analysis revealed that although the change agents were able to effect only marginal change in their schools, the experiences of initiating language change in their schools allowed them to grow in understanding of the school language change process and what enables and disables the process. In this respect they became sensitised to various language issues impacting significantly on SLC. The insights emerging from an understanding of these language issues are deliberated hereunder to determine how they might inform and enhance the SLC process.

The change agents developed an understanding of the value of MT communication with learners and key stakeholders in their schools. In this respect they became aware of the need to communicate in isiZulu in addition to English with African learners and parents. The switch to isiZulu, the analysis revealed, not only eased communication but served other purposes as well. It increased the affective levels of African learners and parents which allowed for greater integration of African learners in previously Indian schools and increased the level of participation of African parents in the corporate life of their children's school. The use of isiZulu and English as languages of communication particularly at Willy Wonke and Piper primary schools affirmed the equal value of both these language, which were the main home languages of learners at the schools. This affirmation is critical to ensuring the success of language transformation aimed at education leading to multilingualism. In addition it creates a multilingual educational context (Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia 1995), which is an important condition for the kind of SLC envisaged by the change agents.

All four change agents articulated an understanding of the value of MT education. Their experience of initiating SLC sensitised them to value of using the MT as a LOLT particularly in the Foundation Phase. While Agents R and G favoured early transition to English as LOLT, this was counterbalanced by Agent S supporting the use of isiZulu as a complementary LOLT and stressing the cognitive advantages of acquiring literacy in the MT. It is especially the understanding developed by Agent S of the need to maintain both English and isiZulu as LOLTs perhaps throughout the primary school phase that is critical in informing any SLC agenda.

The change agents articulated understandings they had developed of the value of using various MLE strategies culled from their experience of using these strategies or observing others in their school using these strategies. In sharing their understandings, the change agents identified the strengths and limitations of these strategies and advised on the manner and the extent to which they should be used in the classroom. These understandings in adding to existing knowledge about the use of MLE strategies to

address the linguistic diversity of learners in the classroom are crucial in informing SLC that encouraged multilingual education.

The change agents shared their understandings of two further language issues which in the context of the national LiEP which strongly encourages the use of the previously marginalized African languages both as subjects and as LOLTs are very significant. These understandings focus on: the market potential of African languages, and the intellectualisation of African languages.

The change agents identified the market potential of languages as a key factor motivating language choices in school. They recognized that African parents' preference for English for their children was motivated by a strong belief that English will increase their children's marketability. Furthermore, it was argued that the need for their children to gain access to high levels of literacy in English was a factor influencing the decision of African parents to send their children to the English-medium schools of the four change agents; schools that they perceived delivered quality education in English. However, as a counterpoint, the change agents recognized the commercial value of isiZulu as well. Three of the change agents developed an understanding of the value of isiZulu in the business sector, particularly in the retail industry where the increasing earning and buying power of black South Africans would demand that salespersons are proficient in isiZulu in addition to English. The change agents also spoke of the need for a command of isiZulu in industry as well as the professions, notably education, citing job advertisements in KZN that specifically required applicants to be bilingual in English and isiZulu. This understanding feeds back into the language change process by providing schools with a compelling argument to campaign for the offering of African languages as subjects and for their use as additional LOLTs and to encourage parents to select indigenous African languages in addition to English for their children and to discourage the neglect of African languages by African parents who erroneously believe that only English can give access to wealth and power.

Closely linked to the commercial value of African languages is the intellectualization of African languages, which would allow these languages to be used for the transmission of modern scientific knowledge and increase their linguistic capital. The intellectual status of African languages was strongly affirmed by some of the change agents in this study who developed the understanding that isiZulu with the aid of borrowings has the capacity to communicate modern knowledge. Contrary to views that the use of borrowings did little to further conceptual understanding, one of these change agents demonstrated how the borrowing is actually a coinage for a new concept, which is then unpacked by existing isiZulu words and expressions thus furthering conceptual understanding. He also indicated that the coinage then becomes an accepted word in the isiZulu lexicon. One of the change agents also showed understanding of how isiZulu has kept pace with advancing technology by citing the creation of a new term in isiZulu to describe a modern invention. The understandings developed by some of the change agents of the intellectual status of isiZulu is critical in informing school language change that seeks to transform classroom language practices by advocating the use of African languages alongside English as LOLTs to address the linguistic diversity of learners and to encourage bilingualism and multilingualism.

The insights emerging from understandings developed of critical language issues impacting on SLC are not only crucial to informing and thereby enhancing the SLC process but also contribute to generating a theoretical understanding of SLC.

6.4.2 Sharpening understandings

The sharing of individual understandings of language issues impacting on SLC in the Focus Group discussion and the contestation and concurrence of views that occurred acted to sharpen understandings thereby providing further insights to inform the SLC process.

Sharing of similar experiences leading to agents developing similar understandings was evident in the agents concurring over the value of: MT communication with learners and key stakeholders, the judicious use of MLE strategies and maintaining the MT in the foundation phase. Agents also concurred over the market potential of isiZulu, and there was some concurrence over the intellectualisation of isiZulu. The replication of common understandings signifies that the targeted language issues are critical elements determining the success of initiating and sustaining SLC that encourages multilingualism. The use of this insight to inform the generation of a theoretical framework to understand SLC is vital.

Sharing of divergent views on the targeted language issues served to develop and sharpen understandings of these issues. This was particularly evident in the differing views on how English and isiZulu should be used in forums of mass communication to address the linguistic diversity of learners and parents, on the use of bilingual assessment practices and the capacity of isiZulu to transmit modern knowledge. There was debate over the use of isiZulu-speaking interpreters at parent meetings and school assemblies. The argument that this undermined the dignity of isiZulu speakers was countered by the practicality argument that the use of interpreters was necessary in the short term. Contestation over the use of bilingual assessment practices was fuelled by debate over whether it was sound for African learners to be assessed in isiZulu when the main input was made in English. Debate over the capacity of isiZulu to transmit modern scientific knowledge was fuelled by the argument that using borrowings from English did little to further conceptual understanding and that isiZulu had to be significantly developed to handle scientific jargon. This was countered by the argument that use of borrowings not only furthered

conceptual understanding but was also a normal orientation in the growth and development of any language.

The contestation of views served to extend understandings already developed by individual agents. This insight suggests the value of sharing understandings of implementing SLC in communities of practice as deliberated in chapter five thereby leading to ongoing reflection on and enhancing the process of SLC.

6.5 Theorizing Moment

The theorizing moment arising from the analysis and insights in this chapter was manifested by the emergence of the key category of Evolving Understandings informing and enhancing SLC. Initiating SLC developed in the change agents understandings of critical language issues associated with the roles and functions of languages within schools and the wider community. These understandings were sharpened and extended by dialogue among the change agents. The relationship between the resultant evolving understandings and the SLC process is deliberated in the final chapter and used as further building blocks to generate a theoretical framework to unpack the SLC process.

6.6 Conclusion

The analysis of the data in this chapter revealed that the change agents had developed understandings of critical language issues impacting on the process of SLC. The insights emerging from the analysis focused on how these understandings could inform the SLC process and used to inform the emerging theory manifested at this stage as a third theorizing moment. The theorizing moment in this chapter yielded the key category of Evolving Understandings from initiating SLC. The mutually supportive relationship between these understandings and the process of SLC is deliberated in the final chapter and used to generate a theoretical understanding of SLC.

The next and final chapter uses the emergence of key and major categories and impacting factors arising from the three theorizing moments to develop a theoretical framework to unpack the process leading to sustained SLC.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK EXPLICATING THE PROCESS OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE

7.1 Introduction

The last three chapters collectively comprised the data record and analysis section of the study. Guided by the research questions, the analysis and interpretation of the data firstly sought to describe the four change agents' individual and collective experiences of driving language change, highlighting similar and discrepant experiences with a view to developing a deep understanding of the phenomenon of school language change. Secondly, it sought to address the question of if, how and why the change agents were able to sustain or not sustain language changes that they had initiated at their schools.

Data analysis was guided and oriented by what the literature on grounded theory (Gephart 1999) terms sensitising concepts. The sensitising concepts focused on critical change issues and guiding principles for education leading to multilingualism. Using the sensitising concepts to guide the analysis resulted in micro level analysis of data slices corresponding to each of the sensitising concepts. Comparative analysis of data slices led to clustering of similar data slices into themes which were then integrated to generate initial categories and sub-categories. Engagement with these initial categories and emerging insights from the data analysis led to the manifestation of theorising moments which delimited the initial categories further, culminating in the emergence of three key categories and their related major categories and impacting factors.

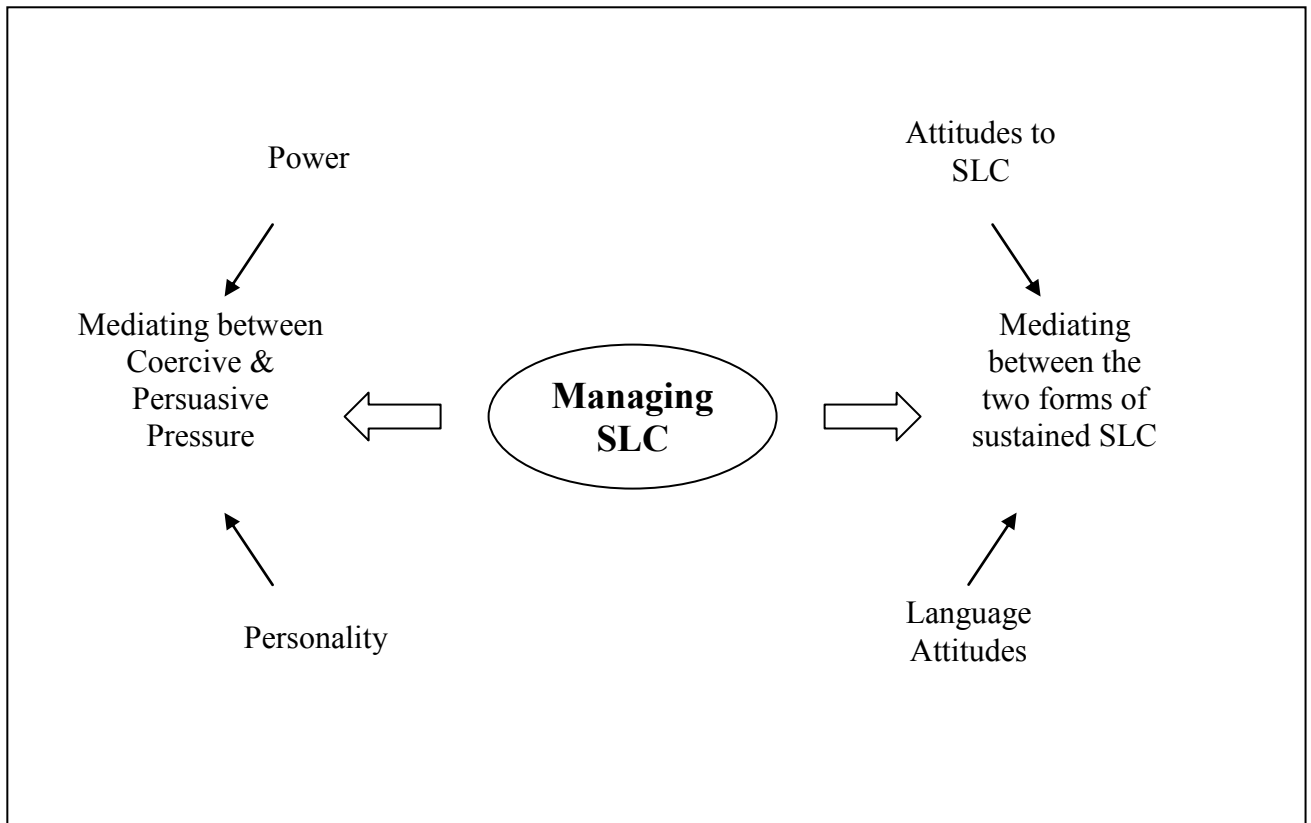
The key categories are: *Managing SLC*, *Support for SLC*, and *Evolving Understandings from initiating SLC*. The interaction between each of these key categories and their related major categories and impacting factors are deliberated in the following section

and are used to inform the development of a theoretical framework to explicate the SLC process which is the culmination of this chapter. Comparison of the emerging theory with extant literature to refine the theoretical framework involves comparison largely with change and educational change literature. Limited recognized literature on attempts to induce school language change exists to make what would understandably have been a more insightful comparison with extant literature.

7.2.1 Managing SLC

The theorizing moment in Chapter Four revealed the emergence of the key category of Managing SLC to which were linked the major categories of managing pressure to sustain SLC and managing the two forms of sustained SLC and factors impacting upon them. The following figure (Figure 7.2.1) diagrammatically depicts the relationships between these categories and impacting factors:

Figure 7.2.1: Managing SLC



Managing SLC the study revealed involves on the one level managing pressure to sustain SLC. The literature on educational change (Fullan 1993, Morrison 1998, Hopkins 2001) is ambivalent on the use of pressure to effect change. While these authors advise against pressuring educators to engage in change as it increases resistance, there is also the suggestion that pressure is sometimes necessary to impel change. In relating educational change to managing change in the worlds of business, industry and commerce, Morrison (1998:129) observes: “The use of pressure and force to induce change has long been recognized as perhaps unattractive but necessary in organizations (i.e. the use of power-coercive strategies)”. However, Senge (1990) cautions against using force to induce change and argues for removing the factors impeding growth rather than pushing growth. Hopkins (2001) agrees with Fullan (1993) that the more complex the change the less you

can force it, but observes that in the Implementation Phase of educational change a mix of pressure and support should be employed.

The study likewise revealed that while pressure can be used to induce SLC it must be carefully employed with the change agent mediating skilfully between coercive pressure and subtler, more persuasive forms of pressure. Managing pressure implies acknowledging the influence of two critical factors, viz. power and personality on the use of pressure to induce SLC. Harnessing the lever of power coupled with a blend of assertiveness and accommodation, the study indicated, was critical to using pressure optimally to induce change in various areas of language policy and practice in schools.

The second level of managing SLC as captured in Figure 7.2.1 involves mediating between the two forms of sustained SLC. One form is the use of pressure to sustain SLC and the other, diametrically opposed form, is encouraging acceptance and integration of SLC without imposing change. In managing SLC the change agent has to mediate cleverly between the two forms of sustained SLC change. The antithetical positions occupied by these two forms of sustained SLC demands that the change agent integrates the use of pressure to sustain SLC with encouraging acceptance of such change. The figure depicts two critical factors impacting upon the management of the two forms of SLC, viz. language attitudes and attitudes to SLC. The study revealed that both these attitudes were integral to acceptance of or resistance to SLC. To encourage greater acceptance of SLC the change agent has to avoid exerting pressure that might invite resistance, remove the factors impeding change as suggested by Senge (1990), and encourage a more favourable disposition to SLC by developing more positive language attitudes and attitudes to change. In removing the factors impeding change the study revealed that the biggest instigators of resistance to SLC were fear of change and the perceived threat posed by change. These impeding factors can be removed by disseminating to targets of SLC change knowledge and knowledge of the type of school language change contemplated by the change agent to obviate targets of change developing unnecessary fears about change. This would also reinforce the establishment of positive attitudes to SLC by emphasising the rewards over costs of engaging in SLC.

The study revealed that the provision of tangible rewards in the form of financial incentives for educator participation in SLC is also an effective booster of positive attitudes to change. Developing more positive language attitudes through emphasising the equal value of all languages spoken by learners in the school and in their communities and encouraging multilingualism over monolingualism in schools is critical to engendering acceptance of the kind of SLC contemplated in the study.

Literature on change in the business world (Buchanan & Boddy 1992) reflects that people would resist changes that affect adversely their power, influence and responsibility and that handling change effectively demands taking cognizance of minimizing loss of power and influence. The study also revealed that threats of disempowerment and loss of influence characterized resistance to radical school language policy change which made it incumbent upon the change agent to correct this perception which was evidently flawed. In addressing resistance to change Morrison (1998) suggests among others the following ways to minimize or eradicate resistance derived from perceived loss of status, lack of clarity on the benefits of change and fear of loss of control: extensive communication, compensation, addressing self esteem, the presentation of logical and compelling benefits, cost-benefit analysis, giving examples of where the change has worked (with visits), providing opportunities for people to voice concerns and fears in a non-threatening environment and engaging people in discussing the reasons for the change.

Morrison (1998) cites the Expectancy Theory culled from business to illuminate the notion of resistance and ways of overcoming it. The author states that Expectancy Theory argues that people will involve themselves in change if they expect it to be worth while and to lead to personal benefits. Lawler (1991) cites financial benefits as one of these benefits. This is in keeping with the use of financial incentives to motivate educators to engage in SLC raised in the study.

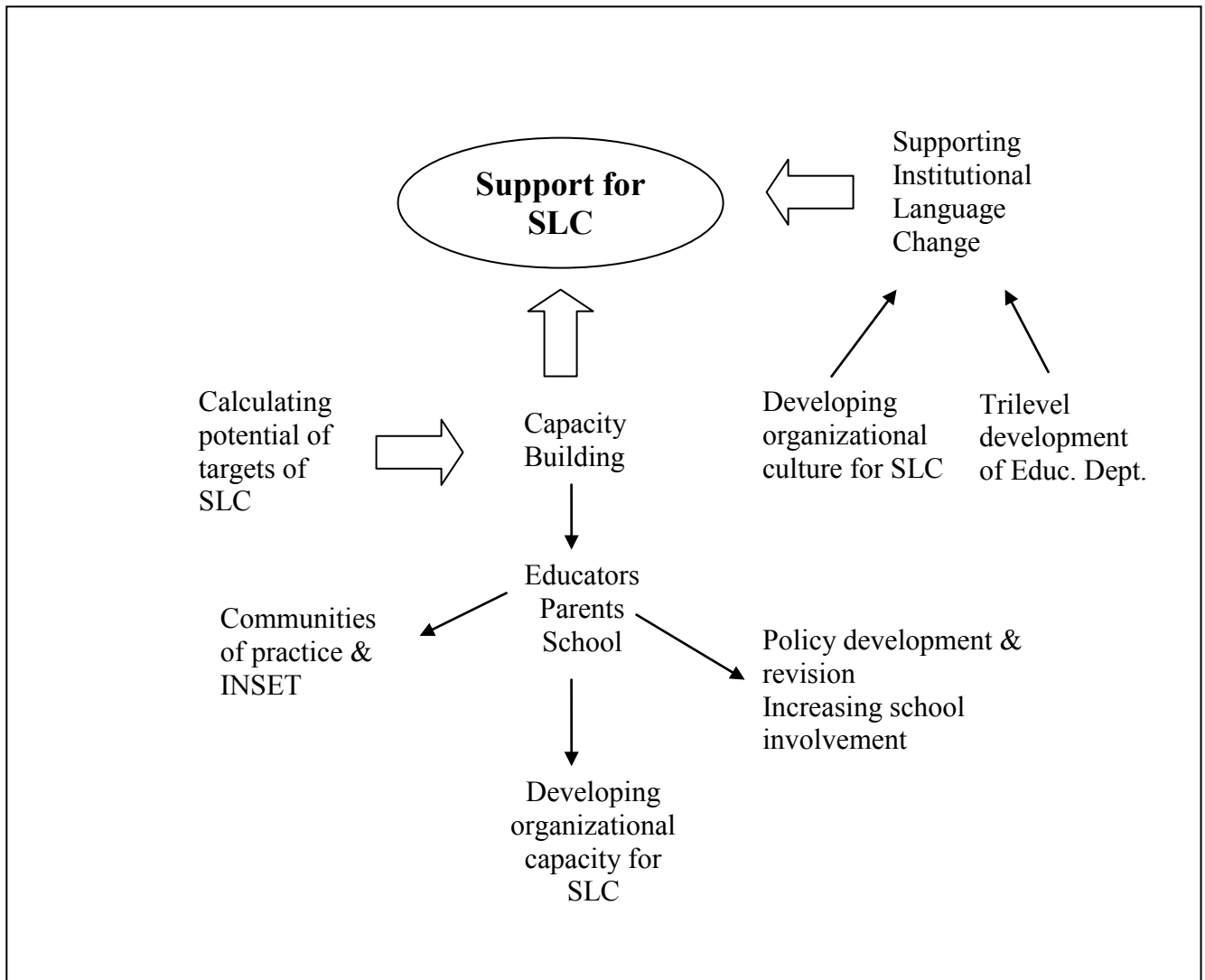
Comparison with the extant literature confirms the critical nature of the key category of Managing SLC and its related major categories and impacting factors to the process of change. This key category and related categories would be articulated with other key

categories and related concepts deliberated in this section in the process of developing a single framework for understanding and explicating the SLC process.

7.2.2 Support for SLC

The theorizing moment in Chapter Five revealed the emergence of the key category of Support for SLC which is critical to sustaining SLC to which were linked the major categories of capacity building of targets for SLC and facilitating institutional language change. Linked to capacity building is the critical factor of calculating the potential for SLC of targets to mount appropriate forms of capacity building to support SLC. Linked to the major category of facilitation of institutional language change is the development of an organizational culture for SLC and trilevel development of the education department to support institutional language change. The following figure (Figure 7.2.2) diagrammatically depicts the relationship between the key category of Support for SLC and major categories:

Figure 7.2.2: Support for SLC



The study revealed that central to the SLC agenda was support for SLC. The figure depicts that critical to support are capacitation and ways of facilitating institutional language change. The study revealed that capacity building of targets of SLC was vital to enable meaningful engagement with SLC and to enhance support for the SLC process. The study also revealed that developing an organizational culture for language change coupled with tangible support from the education department facilitated institutional language change. The need for ongoing support for educational change is identified by

Hopkins (2001) who asserts that in the Implementation phase of change within a school there must be adequate and sustained staff development and in-service training. Morrison (1998) extends the idea to include support of people and the organisation to support change by observing that change efforts in both schools and industry require investment in structures, institutions, people, technological and psychological support.

Figure 7.2.2 depicts calculating potential of targets of change as a critical first step in the process of building capacity for SLC. This would involve calculating the potential of key stakeholders (educators and parents) and the potential of the school for engagement with SLC to identify areas for capacitation and support. The study revealed that calculating potential included present potential and future probability for engagement with SLC to ensure sustainability of SLC.

Capacity building of educators as depicted in the Figure 7.2.2 involves capacity building through INSET and through the creation of communities of practice. INSET for SLC would involve provision of competent courses by the education department and other agencies to develop the bi- or multilingual competence of educators to enable them to engage in bi- or multilingual educational practices which are central to the kind of SLC conceptualised in this study.

Capacitation of educators for SLC also involves collaboration among educators. The study revealed that collaboration within and across schools was necessary to create communities of practice that would enhance transformative classroom language practices through the sharing of quality knowledge and skills. Within schools this would entail the creation of professional learning communities which would involve teachers and management staff working collaboratively on developing educator capacity to transform classroom language practices by realigning practices to advance bi- or multilingual teaching/learning strategies. Creation of communities of practice across schools would involve the collaboration of educators from clusters of schools within a circuit pursuing the common enterprise of sharing and pooling ideas for employment of bilingual and

multilingual teaching/learning/assessment practices including developing of material resources for the same.

Morrison (1998) draws attention to the value of collaboration to support educational change by citing the use of the collegial model in business and industry which foregrounds shared responsibility for the realization of an organisation's change objectives. Bush & Middlewood (2005) describe collegiality in educational terms by stressing that it supports among other things participatory approaches to decision-making, shared values, beliefs and goals and shared responsibility and accountability. Morrison (1998) suggests that collegial models might be useful for change within schools if longer-term and sustainable changes are required, if changes in organisational culture are perceived as important, if consultation, collegiality, collaboration, participation, flexibility, complimentary expertise and creativity are to be utilized fully, and if the organisation is to develop its adaptability and capability for change. McLaughlin and Talbert's (2001) findings on the existence of strong professional learning communities in schools which aids school reform and Fullan's (2005a) recommendation of developing networked learning communities involving clusters of schools to sustain change cited earlier entrenches the value of collaboration and collegiality to sustain educational change.

Developing the capacity of parents for engagement with SLC as depicted in Figure 7.2.2 involves developing the capacity of parents to make input into school language policy development and revision which the study indicated was the joint responsibility of the education department and the principal of the school. Statutory provisions as contained in the South African School's Act (Act 84 of 1996) confirm this joint responsibility. Further to this, parental involvement with the school needs to be enhanced, which begins with teacher-parent contact to encourage greater involvement of parents in their children's learning and culminating in the highest level of parental involvement in the school by participating in curricular and policy decision-making (Faltis 1993). The study revealed that while creating closer links between the school and parents is a co-operative

endeavour of the school, teachers and parents, the school needs to initiate the process of enhancing greater parental involvement with the school.

Developing the organisational capacity of the school for language change depicted in Figure 7.2.2 is as critical as developing stakeholder capacity for engagement with SLC. The study revealed that building organizational capacity for the school to engage with language change was the responsibility of the school and the education department. The education department's responsibility entails supporting the school with material and human resources to meet the challenges posed by a revision of the school's language policy and practices. However, developing organisational capacity for SLC is in the main an administrative and management issue and involves developing the infrastructure of the school to meet the needs of SLC. Therefore, developing such capacity fell within the realm of the principal and the school management team guided by the change agent and includes time-tabling, teacher deployment, procurement and/or development of LTSMs. The study revealed that creative management planning solutions were necessary to address the challenges presented by changes in a school's language policy and practices. Literature on educational change (Fullan & Miles 1992, Hopkins 2001, Fullan 2005a) supports this finding by reflecting the need to empower both individuals and the school for change. Fullan (2005a) observes that in addition to developing individual and collective capacity as defined by knowledge, resources, and motivation, the development of organisational capacity which involves improving the infrastructure is critical for effective and lasting change within schools. Hopkins (2001) observes that once a school has developed the capacity to change then successive cycles of innovation become much easier and that if a school's organisation is not well attuned to change, more effort needs to be given initially to building capacity and limiting the amount of classroom change.

Figure 7.2.2 depicts the facilitation of institutional language change as the second major category linked to support for SLC. The study revealed that the change agents failed to effect institutional language change. What they achieved were pockets of change in each of the four schools even when the language policy was radically changed in one of the schools. What emerged was that for institutional language change to be effected an

organisational culture that supported and facilitated school language change needed to be developed within the school and meaningful support from the education department for institutional language change was required, both of which were lacking. Figure 7.2.2 captures these two important conditions for institutional language change.

The study revealed that trilevel development of the education department for systemic language change across national, provincial and school level was necessary for whole school language change and language change across schools. This would entail in addition to facilitating the development of the capacity for educators in service and educators in training and parents for engagement with SLC, and supporting the development of a school's organisational capacity for SLC, the education department has a critical role to play in monitoring the implementation of language change in all public schools proposed by the LiEP (Sookrajh 1999, Joshua 2007). Such monitoring would compel schools as a priority to align their language policies and practices with the linguistic needs of their learners. This would make it an imperative for all key stakeholders in public schools to participate in and support the process of SLC thereby supporting and complementing the work of language change agents.

Another critical condition for institutional language change captured in Figure 7.2.2 is the development of an organisational culture that supports SLC. Skutnabb Kangas & Garcia (1995) maintain that creating a culture for education leading to multilingualism requires the involvement and support of all key stakeholders and a revision of the language policy of the school to cater for multilingualism. The study revealed that the change agents were able to induce only a very small number of educators in their schools to engage in SLC with some others being induced by African colleagues in their school to experiment with code-switching for instructional and classroom management purposes. The involvement of all educators and parents as conceived of by Skutnabb Kangas and Garcia (1995) was absent.

Inducing all key stakeholders in a school to engage in SLC requires that the prevailing organizational culture of the school be realigned to support language change. Deal and

Kennedy (1983) maintain that organisational culture, rather than its structure and strategies, is critical in organisations, as behaviour is affected by shared values, beliefs about the organisation, how it should operate, and how people should behave in it. Miles (1986) observes that a key activity during the Institutionalisation phase of change within schools is an emphasis on embedding the change within the school's structures, its organisation and resources. Morrison (1998:153) maintains that the development of the culture of the organisation is a key component of managing successful change and has to be addressed as a long-term and ongoing feature. In reviewing the types of broad cultures operating in organisations, Morrison identifies four types, viz. role culture, power culture, achievement culture and support culture, and while he observes that a culture which effectively balances all four major types is the most conducive to change, achievement culture is considered the most appropriate type to develop to entrench SLC within schools. Achievement culture reflects the following characteristics: Emphasis on results, standards, outcomes; collaborative and collegial; task focused with task groups and teams; using power to co-ordinate tasks in order to achieve results; extended and flexible use of expertise; significance of project leaders; high capability to change.

In developing an organisational culture that supports change within a school, Debowski (2008) contends that good articulation of the need for change and the likely outcomes are paramount, adding that ideally, each member of the school community should be able to describe how the proposed change will improve the school, their own work group and themselves and should have a clear picture of the final outcome and how it will impact on student outcomes and wellbeing. Fullan (1993) extends this idea by asserting that one of the core change capacities that a change agent needs to develop is the ability to translate personal vision into a shared vision which would impel institutional change, and this process is initiated by the educators and school managers as internal change agents taking the risk to articulate their personal vision and in the process they would find "kindred spirits" - individuals in their school that share their vision for change. It is this shared vision that would ultimately create conditions necessary for sustained institutional language change. The change agent has to create a cultural ethos of change in the school by cultivating in all key stakeholders an attitude which strongly embraces a shift to

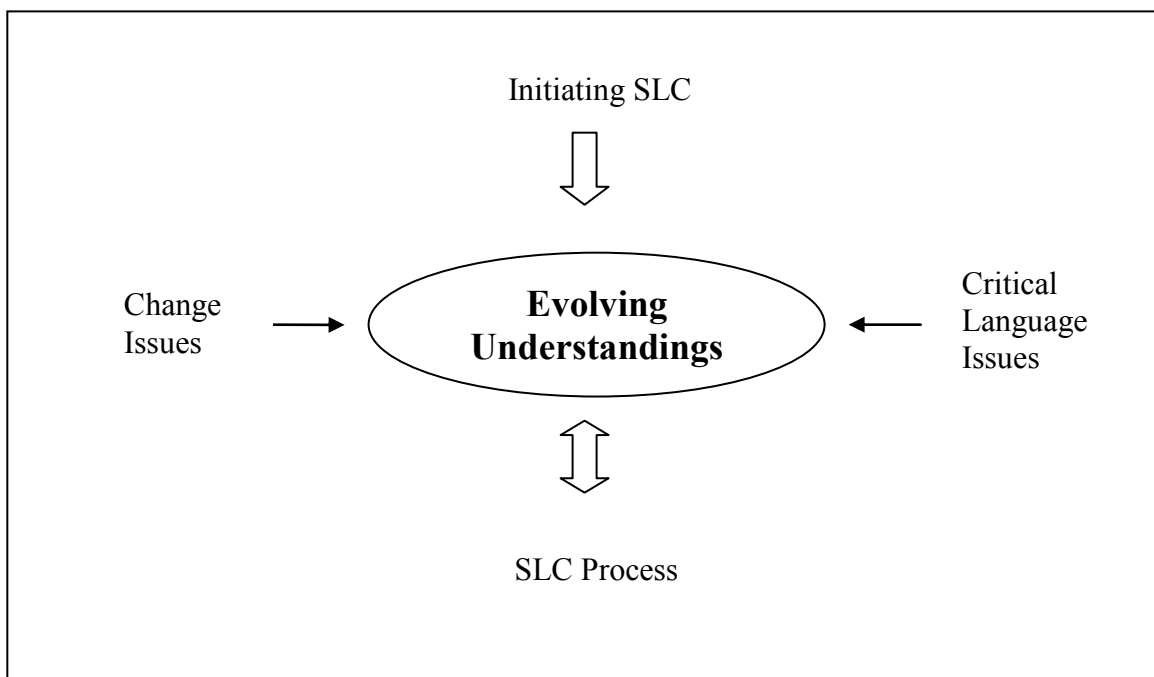
multilingual education as a means of addressing the diverse linguistic needs of learners, improving learner performance and empowering learners.

Comparison with the extant literature confirms the critical nature of the key category of Support for SLC and its related major categories and impacting factors to the process of sustained SLC change. This key category and related categories would be articulated with other key categories and related concepts deliberated in this section in the process of developing a single framework for understanding and explicating the SLC process.

7.2.3 Evolving Understandings and SLC

The theorizing moment in Chapter Six revealed the emergence of the key category of Evolving Understandings that arose out of initiating SLC. These understandings of critical language issues and change issues occupy a mutually supportive relationship with the process of SLC with each informing and enhancing the other. Figure 7.2.3 diagrammatically depicts this relationship:

Figure 7.2.3: Evolving Understandings and SLC



The study revealed that the change agents had developed understandings of critical language issues and change issues by initiating SLC. Figure 7.2.3 depicts these understandings as informing the process of SLC and in turn becoming enhanced through attempts at sustaining SLC. Through constant reflection, evaluation and modification of the process of SLC based on these evolving understandings, the process becomes enhanced which in turn enhances understanding of the process.

The study revealed that understandings critical to SLC that evolved out of initiating and attempting to sustain SLC and reflection on this process were understandings of language issues impacting on schools and the wider community. These included effective communication with key stakeholders and learners in the school through various mediums and forms, oral and written (notices, circulars, signs, directions) in both informal and formal contexts; feasibility of using different multilingual teaching/learning strategies, and their strengths and limitations; the value of extended use of the MT as a LOLT; societal language preferences and the market value attached to different languages and their impact on choice of various languages as subjects and LOLTs in school; and, the possibilities of using African languages to communicate scientific knowledge. Contemporary language and applied linguistics research (Alexander 2005, Chick & McKay 2001, Kamangamalu 2000, Sridhar 1986, Heugh 2003) and theories on language learning and languages of learning (Cummins 1981, Macdonald 2001) cited earlier in the study confirm the critical nature of all of these school and community language issues. Feeding these understandings back into the process of SLC would help to enhance the process.

Other understandings developed from initiating SLC involved understanding of the change process itself and what works, what does not, what impedes and what facilitates the process of SLC. Managing SLC develops understandings of resistors and enablers of change and provides change agents with knowledge of how to alter negative language attitudes and attitudes to change to enhance support for SLC. Constant reflection would

deepen and sharpen these understandings and would constantly enhance and refine the SLC process.

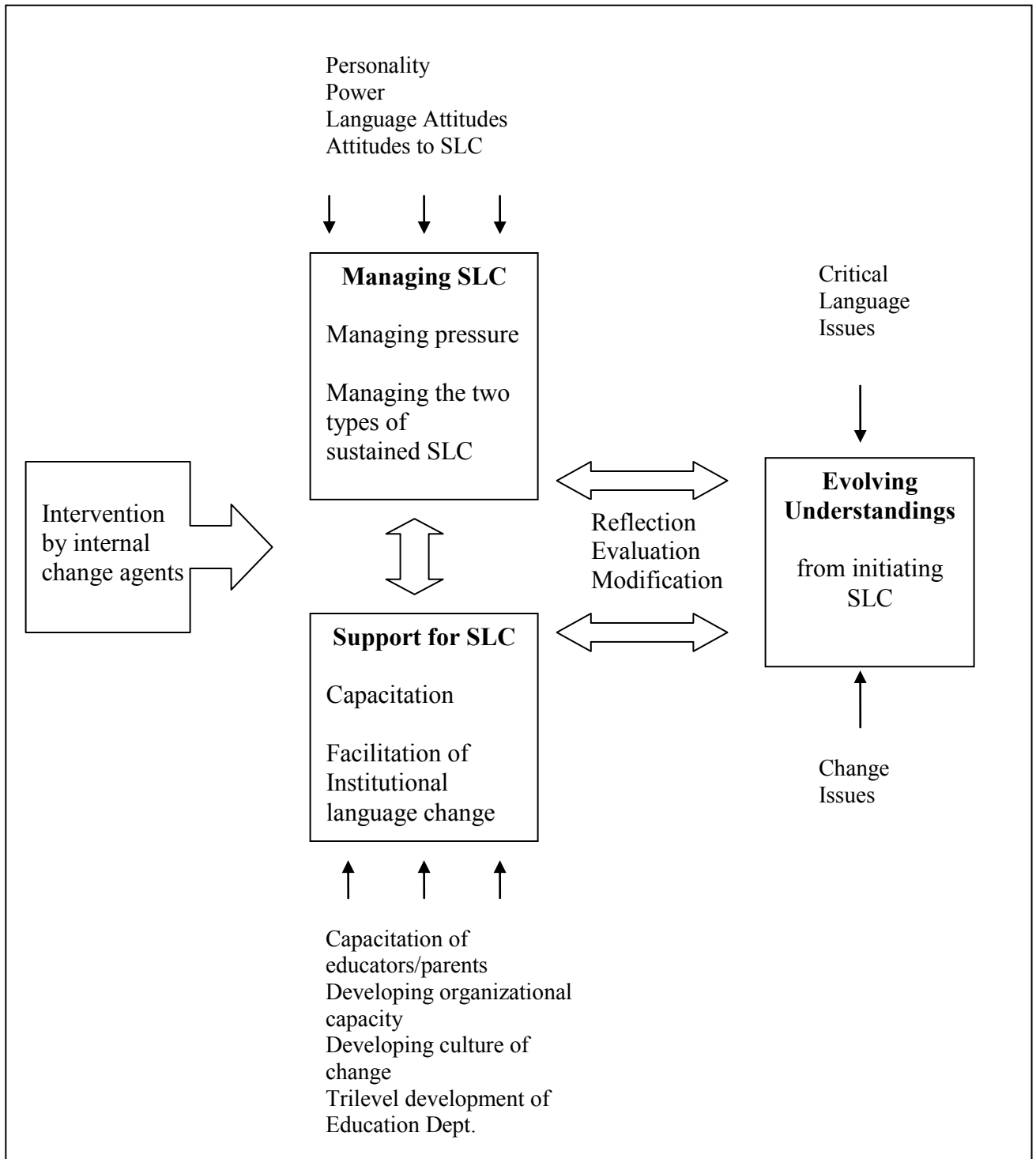
The literature on experiential learning (Kolb and Fry 1975, Kolb 1984, Jarvis 1995, Boud et al 1985) illuminates the role of reflection as a critical facet of learning from experience. Experiential learning “is actually about learning from primary experience” (Jarvis 1995: 75). Experiential learning has its origins in the work of David Kolb who was interested in the nature of individual and social change. Kolb & Fry (1975) developed a model of experiential learning out of four elements: concrete experience, observation and reflection, the formation of abstract concepts and testing in new situations. Two aspects of Kolb’s (1984) work which is of significance to developing understandings from initiating SLC are the use of concrete experience to test ideas, and use of feedback to change practices and theories. Boud et al (1985) working in the field of experience-based learning identify reflection as critical in turning experience into learning. In contemplating what reflection is, these authors considered the following activities to be related to reflection: making sense of experiences we have had, comparing notes, roundtable discussions, carrying out a post-mortem (metaphorically speaking), and having an informal discussion. It is from this perspective of reflection and experiential learning that reflection on the process of initiating SLC is considered a learning experience, giving the change agents deep understandings of the SLC process which then can be used to refine the process.

The key category of evolving understandings from initiating SLC is articulated with the other categories and their related major categories and impacting factors to develop a theoretical framework to understand the process leading to sustained SLC. The framework is unpacked in the next section.

7.3 A Theoretical Framework for Understanding the SLC Process

Following from the reduction of the findings to key and major categories and related concepts from comparative analysis of data slices, and the deliberation on the relationships between key and major categories and impacting factors, a theoretical framework to illuminate the process leading to sustained SLC is proposed. Figure 7.3 depicts the framework diagrammatically.

Figure 7.3: Theoretical Framework for the SLC Process



A process of comparative analysis of data slices generated initial categories that were further delimited to generate key and major categories and related factors. The three key categories were defined and labelled as *Managing SLC*, *Support for SLC* and *Evolving Understandings from initiating SLC*. Figure 7.3 shows how the three key categories are integrated to illuminate the process leading to sustained SLC emanating from intervention from internal change agents to drive and sustain SLC. Key categories were further decomposed into related categories. *Managing SLC* comprised Managing Pressure to effect SLC and Managing the two types of sustained SLC. The framework shows the factors impacting on these two categories related to *Managing SLC* viz. personality, power, language attitudes and attitudes to SLC. Harnessing power using a blend of assertiveness and accommodation to optimise the employment of pressure to sustain SLC, and encouraging the formation of positive attitudes to SLC and developing attitudes that acknowledge the equal value and use of all languages spoken by the learners as subjects and LOLTs in the school are critical to managing SLC. More details of the impact of these factors are given earlier in this chapter. *Support for SLC* comprised Capacitation of targets of SLC to enhance support, and Facilitation of Institutional Language Change. The framework shows that the factors impacting on these major categories are: Capacitation of Educators and Parents to enhance their support for SLC, Developing the Organisational Capacity of the School for SLC, Developing an Organisational Culture for SLC, and Trilevel Development of the Education Department to support institutional language change. Capacitating educators involves collaborative work among educators to address the challenges of transforming classroom practices to cater for multilingual education and INSET to develop the bi- or multilingual competence of educators, and capacitation of parents involves developing their capacity to engage in language policy development and revision, and increasing parental involvement in the school leading to greater support of SLC initiatives. Developing organisational capacity involves developing the infrastructure of the school to support SLC. Trilevel development of the education department involves systemic language change evident at national, provincial and local levels to support institutional language change. Creating a cultural ethos in the school that strongly supports SLC is critical to facilitating whole school language change. More details of the impact of these factors are given earlier in

this chapter. *Evolving Understandings from initiating SLC* comprised understandings developed by change agents through initiating SLC, reflection on the process, and dialogue among the change agents on their experiences of initiating SLC. The framework shows how these understandings feed back into the process of sustaining SLC. These understandings focus on understanding how critical language issues impact on SLC and understanding how the process of SLC unfolds and what impedes or facilitates the process. As detailed earlier in this chapter, constant reflection on the process would deepen understandings and enhance and refine the process. The three key categories of SLC do not operate in isolation but work conjointly to sustain the change initiated by the change agents. The interconnectedness of the three key categories is indicated by the double arrows linking up these categories.

The proposed theoretical framework to understand the process leading to sustained SLC is in some ways similar to Debowski's (2008) model of Strategic Educational Change. The model identifies change targets and change influences as key to effecting systemic educational change. The change targets comprise the school as an organisation, work groups and individual educators. The change influences, which play a major role in enabling systemic change, are: effective leadership, which includes leadership throughout the various layers of the school; organisational culture that encourages innovation, collaboration, quality outcomes and high performance; an educational framework which clearly specifies principles, standards and likely consequences of the change on educational practices; and policies, systems and processes which are re-engineered to create an integrated architecture for change.

The similarities between the model for Systemic Educational Change and the proposed framework for SLC are the common identification of individual targets of change and the school organisation as target of change, the common attention given to capacity building to support change, and the common need to create an organisational culture within the school to support change. Debowski's (2008) model speaks of subject discipline work groups and effective leadership to support change and the proposed framework identifies in-school and across school collaboration of educators through the formation of

professional learning committees and communities of practice to capacitate and support educators in transforming classroom language practices. The model identifies the need to create a culture that encourages innovation and collaboration and the framework for SLC similarly identifies developing an organisational culture that supports SLC by inculcating in all key stakeholders the sharing of a common vision for language change. Finally, the model's identification of the need for promoting change at the broad organisational level resonates with the framework's identification of the need to develop the organisational capacity of the school to support SLC.

In proposing a theoretical framework for SLC, the intention of the study was to deepen understanding of the complex process of SLC and the myriad factors influencing the change process which often leads to the process being aborted soon after it is initiated or even before it is properly initiated. The intention was not to make generalisations about the process of SLC, as contextual factors and the idiosyncratic behaviour of targets of change render it impossible to make definitive conclusions about the change process. Thus the researcher cautions against using the theoretical framework as a blueprint for initiating and sustaining SLC. Rather, it can be used as an aid in planning SLC.

7.4 Summary

This chapter proposed a theoretical framework for the process of sustaining SLC. The process of developing the framework began with identifying and naming the key categories and their related major categories and impacting factors arising from the comparative analysis of data slices and the resultant insights emerging out of the analysis. The identification of the categories and impacting factors was followed by deliberation of the relationships between each of the key categories and its related major categories to illuminate how the categories articulate with each other to sustain SLC. The key categories were: Managing SLC which incorporated managing pressure for SLC and managing the two forms of sustained SLC, Support for SLC which incorporated capacitation of targets of SLC to enhance support for SLC and ways of facilitating and supporting institutional language change, and Understandings evolving from initiating

SLC and reflecting on the experiences of initiating SLC. These key categories, related major categories and impacting factors were then integrated into a single framework illuminating the process leading to sustained SLC. Comparison with extant literature largely on educational change was made in the process of refining the emergent theory.

7.5 Conclusion

This study, contextualized in four post-apartheid primary schools each comprising a heterogeneous linguistic composition of learners, interrogates attempts to initiate and sustain language change in these schools. The language change initiatives involve revision of school language policies and practices by encouraging bi- and multilingualism so as to address the linguistic diversity of the learners. In examining language change in these schools the experiences of four language change agents (one in each of the schools) who are also key stakeholders driving language change in their schools are interrogated.

The study revealed that some of the change agents were more successful in sustaining language change in their schools than other agents. A critical factor affecting the ability of change agents in the study to sustain language change was the power vested in them – the greater the power, the greater the latitude of influence of the change agent and the more successful the agent was in effecting language change. However, the study also revealed that the personality of the change agent affected how effectively the change agent was able to use his/her power to effect language change.

The study revealed that the change agents were either enabled or disabled by a variety of factors existing in their schools. The resistance by educators and parents who were motivated either by fear of change or the threat language change constituted or by poor perceptions of African languages disabled the language change process. Conversely support from within the schools from teaching and non-teaching staff and learners enabled the language change process. Limited support from the education department and limited parental participation in the language change process limited the ability of the change agents to sustain language change initiated in their schools.

A significant finding was that despite effecting a measure of change in each of their schools, none of the change agents were able to effect institutional language change. Sustainability of language change implies language change becoming institutionalized in the schools. While the study revealed that the change agents had not adequately developed the skills of change agency to propel institutional language change, the main factors disabling institutional language change were the lack of systemic language change at all levels of the education department and the inability to create an cultural ethos of change in each of the schools because of disabling language attitudes of key stakeholders in the schools.

While the study provides no definitive answers to the problem of the mismatch of language practices and the linguistic composition of learners in bi- and multilingual school contexts in post-apartheid South Africa, the study has attempted to deepen understanding of the process of school language change and proposed a theoretical framework for understanding the process leading to sustained SLC, which if used judiciously can aid planning for SLC. No doubt further research needs to be undertaken to uncover the process of school language change further and the factors and conditions that enable and disable the process.

In conclusion, the following observation by Colin Baker (1992: 21) which is instructive for any language change initiative in a multilingual context provides a fitting closing comment:

Attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. Having a favourable attitude to the subject of language attitudes becomes important in bilingual policy and practice.

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Appendix A

HSRC Project on Multilingual Education

A national project was undertaken in the KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces by the HSRC in 2004 titled *Multilingual Education: Factors promoting or inhibiting multilingualism in post apartheid South African Schools*.

The HSRC project focused on identifying and understanding the factors promoting and inhibiting the implementation of multilingual education as contemplated in the Language-in-Education Policy (Doe, 1997) with a view to recommending strategies for greater implementation of the policy.

Schools were purposively selected for the project – sample schools had to have a linguistically heterogeneous learner population, should have received some form of support in language policy development and/or implementation from governmental and/or non-governmental agencies, should have a demographic profile representative of an “average” lower middle class/working class community, and should have significant numbers of learners with an African language as a home language. 15 schools were selected from the Gauteng province and 5 from the KZN province. For the purposes of this study, reference will be made to the KZN schools only.

The 5 KZN schools were English-medium primary schools, 4 located in the sub-economic township of Chatsworth and one in Malakazi. The schools were historically Indian schools but since the early 90's had admitted African learners, many of who come from various neighbouring African townships while some reside in council homes or informal settlements in Chatsworth and Malakazi. While the learner population in all 5 schools comprises of African and Indian learners, the educators are totally Indian. 4 of the schools were among 17 similar primary schools that received support from ELET to meet the challenge of teaching a linguistically diverse learner population. 1 of the schools was supported by Ikhwezi a CPDS (Continuous professional development) provider, offering ongoing life-long learning to educators in service. Ikhwezi supported Willy

Wonke Primary by providing isiZulu classes and computer literacy lessons for the educators

The ELET *Language for Learning Project* arose out of a concern over under-achievement in most primary schools, with the key factor in this under-achievement being the LOLT. The project sought to enable educators to improve learning in Science, Mathematics and English by improving the use of language in these subjects in grades 4-7. The specific objectives of the project were: to make educators aware of the language demands of lessons in English, Science and Mathematics; to enable educators to analyse the language demands of tasks and to enable educators to use different forms of support for reading, writing, listening and talk in English, Science and Mathematics. Using the workshop format, the project exposed participating educators to five modules, viz. *Writing, Reading, Listening, Talk* and *Overview*. The workshops supported by relevant teacher guides introduced educators to key principles and concepts and the generation of language support materials using both visual and verbal texts for English, Science and Mathematics. The workshops were followed by school support visits and lesson observations of participating educators to assist them in the effective implementation of the support programme and to evaluate the extent to which educators and learners are benefiting from the project. Of special significance is the module entitled *Talk* which exposes the participating educators to the benefits of bilingual classroom interaction which included among other strategies, the use of teacher initiated code-switching (switching between English and the learners' L1), translations by the teacher and learners into the learners L1, and code-switching among learners in group and pairwork prior to reporting back in English. The project was run during the 2003 academic year in two school districts in KZN, one was Ndwedwe (rural area) and the other, Chatsworth (urban area). The schools in Chatsworth were considered for the HSRC project because of their linguistically diverse learner populations; the Ndwedwe schools comprise linguistically homogeneous learner populations.

In each of the 5 schools data was gathered from interviews (principal, 2 educators, focus group of 6 Indian/African learners, 3-4 parents) to ascertain attitudes towards and

perceptions of multilingual education, lesson observations (lessons of the 2 educators interviewed) to ascertain whether classroom practice encouraged and promoted multilingual education, analysis of the school's language policy and learning materials used by the 2 educators to determine whether the school's espoused and enacted policies articulate the spirit, vision and principles of the LiEP, and observations of the school and classrooms of the 2 educators to identify evidence of multilingual learning/teaching aids (posters, charts, signs, labels, directions).

The main findings emerging from the analysis of the data were categorised as factors that enable and disable the practice of multilingual education in the sample schools. The disabling factors are: **Limited policy support** - the rudimentary school language policy texts reflect that schools have not had much support in interrogating the national LiEP and articulating its vision and underlying principles. Support from the education department, if not to drive the process of language policy implementation but merely to provide financial and human resources, was restricted to a once-off one day workshop on understanding and implementing the LiEP soon after its launch in 1997. **Monolingual status of educators** - the inability of the majority of educators to speak isiZulu rules out the possibility of some degree of teacher-led code-switching i.e. code-switching to check for understanding, to clarify instructions and to explain simple concepts. **Lack of conducive climate for Multilingual Education** - there is no rigorous attempt in any of the schools to create a conducive climate for multilingual teaching and learning. The general lack of multilingual posters, charts, labels, signs and other resource materials means that there is very little encouragement for all users of the school to interact bilingually or multilingually. **Overemphasis on English** - all the schools overemphasise the value of English and this marginalizes isiZulu. While code-switching by some educators and African learners, and mother tongue usage by African learners are encouraged, these forms of bilingual interaction are expected to be practised conditionally; English is the recommended dominant language of instruction. The enabling factors are: **Positive attitudes of educators, parents, learners** - the majority of parents, learners and educators are open to various suggested bilingual practices in the classroom, and the learning of isiZulu as a subject in addition to English. A positive feature is the insistence by parents

that a qualified educator should teach isiZulu and the subject should be treated seriously - presumably offered as an examination subject. ***Support from NGO's*** - the only real support for the implementation of multilingual education that the schools received was from the NGO, ELET and IKHWEZI, a CPDS provider. The support was useful in sensitising educators to the language challenges facing African learners in English dominant school contexts and encouraging educators to implement various teaching and learning strategies and LSM's to assist learners to negotiate learning in both English and their mother tongue. ***School initiatives (agents of change)*** - the data clearly confirmed the existence of individual agents of change who, despite the lack of policy support and limited material support, were attempting to transform language policy and/or practices in their schools. The change agents were individual stakeholders in four of the five KZN schools, one change agent in each school. The change agents were two principals, a level 1 educator and a school governing body (SGB) chairperson. While the principals were driving language policy change and broad institutional change, the level 1 educator was transforming her classroom practice and assisting other educators to transform their own practices to meet the challenges of teaching classes comprising linguistically diverse learners and to articulate the underlying principles of the multilingual LiEP. The SGB chairperson articulated ideological change and proposed radical changes to the school's language policy, particularly the LOLT.

Appendix B

SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE AGENTS: INTERROGATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE INITIATIVES

Interview Schedule for SGB Chairperson
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(Adapted from HSRC Interview Schedule for Parents/Guardians: 2004)

A. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA (Chairperson's qualifications & background)

1. Please indicate the highest education level.	
<i>(Circle only one option)</i>	
Finished some Primary School years, or did not go to school	1
<u>Finished Primary School / Grade 7</u>	2
Finished some Secondary School years	3
Finished Secondary School / Grade 12	4
<u>Finished a diploma or part of a diploma</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Finished Technikon</u>	<u>6</u>
Finished Some University years	7
Finished University Degree	8
I don't know	9

If you have acquired a degree or diploma, provide details about this qualification.

2. Please provide details about your occupation. If you are currently unemployed or retired, please provide details about your previous occupation.

3. What is your home language? (Circle only one)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
1	2	3	4	5	
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other, specify
7	8	9	10	11	12

4. Do you or other members of your family speak any other language/s? If so, state the language/s and to what extent it is spoken.
5. Do you or other members of your family interact with other languages through watching TV programmes, films and live performances, performing prayer and rituals, etc. If so, state the language/s and the type and degree of interaction.

6. What language do your children speak most of the time at home? (Circle only one)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
1	2	3	4	5	6
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other, specify
7	8	9	10	11	12

7. How many English books do you have at home?	
Fewer than 10	0

10 to 25	1
26 to 100	2
101 to 200	3
More than 200	4

8. How often are these books accessed, by whom and for what purpose?

9. How many books in other languages do you have at home? State the language/s.	
Fewer than 10	0
10 to 25	1
26 to 100	2
101 to 200	3
More than 200	4

10. How often are these books accessed, by whom and for what purpose?

	Yes	No
11. Do your children ever go to a library? (Circle one)	1	2

	Yes	No
12. Do you as parent buy newspapers and/or magazines?	1	2

13. In what language are those newspaper/s or magazine/s? (Circle only one)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
1	2	3	4	5	
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other, specify
7	8	9	10	11	12

14. How often do your children read such (or other) newspapers or magazines? (Circle one)			
Never	Once or twice a week	3 or 4 times a week	Almost daily
0	1	2	3

15. How often do you as parent read such (or other) newspapers or magazines? (Circle one)			
Never	Once or twice a week	3 or 4 times a week	Almost daily
0	1	2	3

16. Do your children have access to electronic media (Internet, computer games, etc.)? If so, what is the language/s of interaction?

B. INFORMATION ABOUT THE SGB

1. For how long have you served on the SGB and in what capacity?
2. Describe the composition of the SGB (i.e. how many parents and educator reps are on the SGB, are the secretary and deputy chairpersons educators or parents, what is the role of the principal on the SGB?)
3. Are you aware of the qualifications and occupations of the other parents on the SGB and what language/s they speak? If so, could you please provide this information?
4. What role does the SGB play? (i.e. Does the SGB make an input into: curricular, co-curricular, extra-curricular issues, conduct and discipline of learners, fundraising, any other issues?)
5. How effective is the SGB in fulfilling its role function? Explain.
6. Has there been capacity building for parent members on the SGB? If so, what kind of support was provided and who provided this support?
7. What other support is provided to the SGB to carry out its function effectively? Explain.
8. As SGB chairperson, are you adequately supported by the school and other members of the SGB to enable you to carry out your function effectively? Explain.

C. Language Policy

	Yes	No
1 Does your school have a language in Education policy?	1	2

2. How was this policy developed i.e. what processes and procedures were engaged in?
3. Were there any public meetings held to decide on the school's language policy?
4. What role did the parents and the SGB play in the development of the policy?

5. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project) you expressed a strong desire for learners at your school to become proficient in IsiZulu and for IsiZulu to be used as a second language of instruction. You indicated at the time that at your next SGB meeting you were going to table the offering of IsiZulu as an exam. subject. In light of this:

- What is the SGB's position on the choice of IsiZulu as a subject?
- What is the SGB's position on multilingual education?
- Have you attempted to promote multilingual education within the SGB? If so, have your attempts been successful or have they been met with resistance? Explain.
- As SGB chairperson have you made attempts to amend your school's language policy? If so, were your attempts obstructed or supported? What challenges, if any, did you face in your attempts to amend the policy? Explain

6. If the school's language policy has been revised:

- What changes have been made/are being made to the school's language policy?
- What was the SGB's contribution to the revision process?
- Were the parents and the staff involved in the revision process and what was the level of their participation?

7. What are the main characteristics of your school's language policy i.e. Does the policy state what languages are offered as subjects in the school, what language/s may be used as LOLTs, what language/s may be used on the playground and at assembly, what language/s may be used to correspond with parents through notices and at parents meetings?

8. The principles that underpin the national LiEP are the following ... (state underlying principles briefly for respondent). To what extent does your school's language policy embrace these principles? Explain.

9. Are you satisfied with your school's language policy i.e. Do you think it provides easy access to knowledge for learners? Does it offer a fair choice of languages as subjects? Does it allow for effective communication with parents?

D. Language Practices

1. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project), you expressed a strong desire for language practices at your school to change and embrace multilingualism. As chairperson, have you used the SGB to influence such a change at your school. In this respect, have you attempted to:

- Encourage code-switching (switching from IsiZulu to English and vice versa) to assist learners whose mother tongue is not the school's official Medium of Instruction?
- Make the school a more multilingual environment (through the erection of multilingual posters and signs) to assist learners and parents whose mother tongue is not English?
- Encourage the holding of school meetings with parents and SGB meetings bi- or multilingually?
- Encourage the school to correspond with parents through bi- or multilingual notices and letters?

2. If these attempts have been made, explain:

- How successful they have been i.e. what changes have been made and are these changes being sustained?
- Whether you have been supported in bringing about and sustaining these changes and by whom and how.
- Whether your efforts to drive and sustain these changes have been obstructed and by whom and how.

3. In our prior interview you spoke about the value of bi- and multilingualism in improving learners' career prospects. In light of this, have you, from the SGB, stressed to the parent community the value of their children being bilingual or multilingual in English and one or more indigenous African languages, and how this might improve their career prospects? If so, what has been the response from the parents?

E. Views about Languages and Multilingualism

1. Do you think it is important for your children to (Circle the one that applies in each row)	Yes	No
a) speak well in African languages in school	1	2
b) read well in African languages in school	1	2
c) understand African languages well in school	1	2
d) write well in African languages in school	1	2

Provide reasons for your choices.

2. Do you think it is important for your children to (Circle the one that applies in each row)	Yes	No
a) speak well in English in school	1	2
b) read well in English in school	1	2
c) understand English well in school	1	2
d) write well in English in school	1	2

Provide reasons for your choices.

2. Do you think that teaching and learning through the medium of the learners' mother tongue is a good idea? Please explain.
3. Do you think that children should be taught through the medium of African languages? Why?
4. Do you think that African languages can be used in their current state to understand and express modern knowledge (Science, Geography etc) if learners and teachers are free to borrow terminology from English?
5. Do you think children should be taught in English? Why do you think so?
6. Do you predict that the current linguistic practices at your school will change over the next few years? Explain.
7. What are your predictions about linguistic practices at schools provincially and nationally in the near future? Explain.
8. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project) you said *the day I see Maths (at tertiary level) being taught in Zulu, it will be too good*. What are your predictions about African languages being used as MOI at tertiary level in the near future?
9. What type of school/medium of instruction would you ideally like to have? Explain.
10. What opportunities do you see as favouring a shift towards your ideal school?
11. What opportunities have you created to facilitate this shift?
12. Who is supporting you in making this shift and what support have you received?
13. What other forms of support you would like to receive to enable such a shift?
14. What factors are obstructing such a shift?
15. Do you believe that a good command of English will favour learners in their careers?
16. In addition to English, would a command of an African language be an advantage for their careers?
17. Do you believe there are careers/jobs that both require a command of English and an African language? Which ones?

F. GENERAL

1. What other language policy and/or practice change that you (as SGB chairperson) have initiated and sustained at your school?

2. What are the greatest challenges you have encountered in attempting to bring about language policy and/or practice change at your school?

Is there anything not covered in this interview that you think might be useful for me to know?

Thank You Very Much

Appendix C

**SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE
AGENTS: INTERROGATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHOOL
LANGUAGE CHANGE INITIATIVES**

Educator Interview Schedule

(Adapted from HSRC Educator Interview Schedule: 2004)

A. SCHOOL CONTEXT (Please provide the following information)					
1. Name of School					
2. School EMIS Number					
(Request a copy of the school's EMIS survey for 2006 detailing the school's physical, material and human resources, curriculum, etc to construct a profile of the school. Supplement with field notes.)					
3. School Type/Medium (For Dual/Parallel & Single African mediums specify LOLTs)					
Afrikaans Med.	English Med	Parallel Med	Dual Med	Single African	Dual African
1	2	3	4	5	6
4. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by members of staff when they are together informally in the staff room at your school?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What is/are the first language(s) of members of staff?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

6. What percentage of the total staff is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	<u>English</u>	<u>African</u> ()	African ()	African ()
<u>Speak</u>				
<u>Read</u>				
<u>Write</u>				

7. What is/are the first language(s) of the learners?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

8. What percentage of the learners is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	<u>English</u>	<u>African</u> ()	African ()	African ()
<u>Speak</u>				
<u>Read</u>				
<u>Write</u>				

9. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by learners during their break?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

10. How would you describe the relationship between the learners of different cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds at your school?

B. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA								
1. Age of respondent								
Younger than 25	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Older than 60
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Gender	Male	1
	Female	2

3. "Population group " (<i>This is confidential information for research purposes only</i>)				
Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Other
1	2	3	4	5

4. What language do you speak most of the time at home? (<i>Circle only one option</i>)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What other languages do you speak? (<i>Circle those you speak best, three at most</i>)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

6. For how long have you been a teacher:		
6.1 At this school?		Years
6.2 At other schools?		Years

C. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	
1. What qualifications do you have in the subject you teach? (<i>Indicate highest qualification only</i>)	
Standard 8	01
Standard 8 + 1 year Educator training	02
Standard 8 + 2 years Educator training	03

Standard 8, 1 or 2 years Educator training + Matric	04
Matric	05
Matric + 1 year Educator training	06
Matric + 2 years Educator training	07
Matric + 3 years Educator training	08
Matric + 4 or 5 years Educator training	09
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and no Educator training	10
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and Educators training	11
Honours or equivalent degree	12
Master's degree	13
Doctoral degree	14

2. Are you studying at present?			
	Yes	No	
	1	2	
3. If <i>yes</i>, indicate the core field and level of study. (Select one option per column)			
Fields of study		Levels of study	
My own subject area	1	Isolated courses / or modules	1
Educational / school management	2	First diploma	2
Information technology / computer courses	3	Further diploma	3
Financial / accounting systems	4	First degree	4
Other (<i>Please specify below</i>)	5	Post-graduate studies	5
4. What INSET courses have you attended over the last 2-3 years? (Tick all those that apply)			
None			
Improvement of Matric results			
OBE (Curriculum 2005/21)			
S.A. College of Teacher Education courses			
Quality assurance training			
Training in Developmental Appraisal System			
University-based courses			
Other (<i>Please specify below</i>)			

	Yes	No
5. Have you attended professional development workshops/seminars that provided guidance in dealing with language and cultural diversity in the classroom?	1	2

5.1 Who hosted the workshop/seminar held?

5.2 When was this workshop/seminar?

5.3 What was the topic/theme?

5.4 What did you find useful about the workshop?

5.5 What would you say were the weaknesses of the workshop?

6.	Yes	No
Do you believe that you are adequately qualified to teach learners who speak a language which is not the medium of instruction at the school?	1	2

Please explain.

	Yes	No
7. Are you encouraged to undertake a course to improve your ability to speak a language that is not the medium of instruction at the school?	1	2

8. What incentives are you given to improve your qualifications in this respect (7 above)? Who provides the incentives?

9. Have you improved your qualifications in this respect? Provide details (if not already included in 3 above).

D. Language Policy

	Yes	No
1 Does your school have a language in Education policy?	1	2

2. How was this policy developed i.e. what processes and procedures were engaged in and who was involved in its development?

3. What role, if any, did you play in the development of the policy?

4. What role did the parents and the SGB play in the development of the policy?

5. Have there been attempts in the last two years (since the HSRC project) to revise the school language policy? If so, who was involved/is involved currently in revising the policy? What changes have been made/are being made to the language policy?

6. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project) you strongly supported a language policy that encourages MT instruction particularly in the foundation phase and favoured IsiZulu as an additional language over Afrikaans. In light of this, have you attempted to initiate a revision of your school's language policy in the last 2 yrs? Explain.

7. What are the main characteristics of your school's language policy i.e. Does the policy state what languages are offered as subjects in the school, what language/s may be used as LOLTs, what language/s may be used on the playground and at assembly, what language/s may be used to correspond with parents through notices and at parents meetings?
8. The principles that underpin the national LiEP are the following ... (state underlying principles briefly for respondent). Do you support these principles? Please explain.
9. Do you think that your school's language policy (current or in revision) embraces any of the underlying principles of the national LiEP? Explain.
10. Are you satisfied with your school's language policy i.e. Do you think it provides easy access to knowledge for learners? Does it offer a fair choice of languages as subjects? Does it allow for effective communication with parents?
11. Are you currently experiencing any difficulties in implementing the school's language policy? Explain.
12. Have you been able to overcome these difficulties? Explain.

Language Practices

1. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project) you discussed various multilingual strategies you employed to address the linguistic diversity of your learners and to make your lessons more accessible to all learners (here refer to appropriate sections of the transcript - focus on specific changes initiated by educator).
 - Use of multilingual charts and multicultural items.
 - Encouraging African learners to use their MT during lessons.
 - Use of code-switching (Zulu-English) as a teaching/learning strategy.
 - Use of multilingual worksheets/other teaching aids.
 - Use of MT in group work and pair work.
 - Preparation of bilingual (Zulu/English) excursion worksheet.

Are you are continuing to use these strategies? If so, describe the extent to which you have been using these strategies. If not, explain why you have stopped using these strategies.
2. You indicated in our prior interview that you were keen to test learners bilingually in the next exam. Were you able to accomplish this? Explain. If you have begun this practice, are you continuing with this practice? Explain.
3. Have you introduced any other changes in the last 2 years to address the linguistic diversity of your learners and to encourage multilingual education? Explain.
4. Have you received any encouragement or support to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning strategies? Who supported you? Describe the kind of support or encouragement you received.

5. How often do you and your colleagues meet to plan and co-ordinate the curriculum and teaching activities?				
Weekly	Monthly	Every term	Once or twice a year	Never
1	2	3	4	0

6. You indicated in our prior interview that it would be good for other educators to practice multilingual teaching/learning strategies in their classes and to allow their learners to use their MT in the classroom. You were keen to assist other educators in this respect (*refer to transcript "it would be good to have my fellow colleagues coming into my classroom..."*).
- Have you shared these ideas and strategies with your colleagues?
 - Have you been able to influence your colleagues to practise multilingual education? Explain, describing ways in which their practice has changed. (Probe for reasons why the attempts succeeded.)
 - If you were unable to influence your colleagues to change, explain why your attempts failed?
7. Do you know if colleagues, who have been influenced to practise multilingual education, are continuing this practice? Explain.
8. You **indicated** in our prior interview that African learners admitted to your school in the Intermediate Phase experience the greatest challenges in learning through the medium of English. Have you attempted to influence management to address the challenges facing these learners through encouraging the use of the MT in teaching and/or learning for these learners? Explain. (Probe for reasons why attempts succeeded or failed or why attempts were not made at all.)
9. What have you done to make your school/classroom a multilingual environment in the last 2 years?

10. Indicate what access learners have to textbooks (circle all that apply for each Grade you teach)	
Each Learner has own copy, which he / she keeps and can take home	1
Each Learner has a copy which they get at the beginning of a lesson and is collected at the end of it	2
Learners do not have direct access to textbooks but are given photocopies of selected pages from books	3
Learners have no access to textbooks or photocopies of pages of textbooks	4

In what languages are these textbooks? Who selects these textbooks?

11. Please indicate what other Learning/Teaching support materials (LTSMs) (magazines, guides, dictionaries, assessment packs, etc.) your school has received in the last 2 years for the grades and learning areas that you teach, and indicate who has provided them.

Type of learning support material	Provided by	In what language/s

12. Please comment on the adequacy or otherwise of these LTSMs, particularly in addressing the needs of schools/classrooms with linguistically diverse learners.
13. Have you introduced any materials (in addition to those mentioned in 1 above) to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners? Explain. (Probe for factors or conditions within the school that are supporting or impeding language change initiated by the educator.)
14. If you have introduced such material, are you continuing to use the materials? Explain.
15. If you have introduced such materials, are you continuing to source new materials or creating your own materials/adapting existing materials? Explain.
16. Have you received any support in sourcing or creating materials/adapting existing materials for purposes of multilingual education? Who supported you and what kind of support have you received? What kind of further support would you like to receive in this respect?
17. If you have not been supported in materials development, state exactly what kind of support you would like to receive in this respect.
18. Indicate the number of hours per week allocated to the languages on the timetable:

Language offered	At what level? e.g. L1, L2. L3	No. of hours per week

What are your perceptions of the weighting?

.

	Yes	No
19. In the classroom, have you continued to allow learners to express themselves in their home language or to engage in code switching?	1	2

Please elaborate.

Do you think that all teachers should allow learners to speak in their home language in the classroom?

	Yes	No
20. Are you continuing with the practice of code switching when you teach?	1	2

Please elaborate.

21. Do you think that teaching and learning through the medium of the learners' mother tongue is a good idea? Please explain.

G. Policy Support

1. Who supports you most in interpreting and implementing language policy and related curriculum documents?		
	Interpreting	Implementing
Head of Department		
Principal/Principals from other schools		
Learning Area Specialist		
District Officials		
Provincial Officials		
Non Governmental Agencies (NGOs)		
Other (<i>Please specify below</i>)		

2. Are you satisfied with the support you have received/are receiving in making sense of and implementing language policy and related documents? Please elaborate.

3. What support does the school management provide to assist you in managing a classroom which has learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?

4. Is the school management supportive of any attempts you have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in your classroom/school? Explain.

5. What support does the Department of Education provide to assist you in managing a classroom which has learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?

6. Is the Department of Education supportive of any attempts you have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in your classroom/school? Explain.

	Yes	No
7. Have you received support from NGOs or Higher Education Institutions (Universities) to address cultural and linguistic diversity among learners?	1	2

8. What was the focus of the support?

9. Describe how the agency went about supporting the school.

	Yes	No
10. Do you think the support your school received was useful?	1	2

11. Please explain what was useful about the support and how it has influenced the practices at your school.

12. Describe any other sources of support your school has received?

13. What further support would you need to assist you in managing a linguistically and culturally diverse classroom?

14. What support would you need to assist you in driving and sustaining multilingual education in your classroom and the school at large?

15. Is there anything not covered in this interview that you think might be useful for the researcher to know?

H. GENERAL

1. What other language policy and/or practice changes have been initiated at your school? By whom? Are the changes being sustained? Explain.

2. What has been the most significant language policy and/or practice change that you or others initiated and sustained at your school?

Is there anything not covered in this interview that you think might be useful for me to know?

THANK YOU

Appendix D

**SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE
AGENTS: INTERROGATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHOOL
LANGUAGE CHANGE INITIATIVES**

Interview Schedule for Principals

(Adapted from HSRC Interview Schedule for Principals: 2004)

A. SCHOOL CONTEXT (Please provide the following information)					
1. Name of School					
2. School EMIS Number					
(Request a copy of the school's EMIS survey for 2006 detailing the school's physical, material and human resources, curriculum, etc to construct a profile of the school. Supplement with field notes.)					
3. School Type/Medium (For Dual/Parallel & Single African mediums specify LOLTs)					
Afrikaans Med.	English Med	Parallel Med	Dual Med	Single African	Dual African
1	2	3	4	5	6
4. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by members of staff when they are together informally in the staff room at your school?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What is/are the first language(s) of members of staff?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

6. What percentage of the total staff is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	<u>English</u>	<u>African</u> ()	African ()	African ()
<u>Speak</u>				
<u>Read</u>				
<u>Write</u>				

7. What is/are the first language(s) of the learners?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

8. What percentage of the learners is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	<u>English</u>	<u>African</u> ()	African ()	African ()
<u>Speak</u>				
<u>Read</u>				
<u>Write</u>				

9. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by learners during their break?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

10. How would you describe the relationship between the learners of different cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds at your school?

B. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Age of respondent

Younger than 25	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Older than 60
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Gender	Male	1
	Female	2

3. "Population group " (*This is confidential information for research purposes only*)

Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Other
1	2	3	4	5

4. What language do you speak most of the time at home? (*Circle only one option*)

Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What other languages do you speak? (*Circle those you speak best, three at most*)

Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

6. For how long have you been a principal:

6.1 At this school?		Years
6.2 At other schools?		Years

C. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	
1. What qualifications do you have? <i>(Indicate highest qualification only)</i>	
Standard 8	01
Standard 8 + 1 year Educator training	02
Standard 8 + 2 years Educator training	03
Standard 8, 1 or 2 years Educator training + Matric	04
Matric	05
Matric + 1 year Educator training	06
Matric + 2 years Educator training	07
Matric + 3 years Educator training	08
Matric + 4 or 5 years Educator training	09
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and no Educator training	10
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and Educators training	11
Honours or equivalent degree	12
Master's degree	13
Doctoral degree	14

2. Are you studying at present?

	Yes	No
	1	2

3. If **yes**, indicate the core field and level of study. *(Select one option per column)*

Fields of study		Levels of study	
My own subject area	1	Isolated courses / or modules	1
Educational / school management	2	First diploma	2
Information technology / computer courses	3	Further diploma	3
Financial / accounting systems	4	First degree	4
Other <i>(Please specify below)</i>	5	Post-graduate studies	5

4. What INSET courses have you attended over the last 2-3 years? *(Tick all those that apply)*

None	
Improvement of Matric results	
OBE (Curriculum 2005/21)	
S.A. College of Teacher Education courses	
Quality assurance training	
Training in Developmental Appraisal System	
University-based courses	
Other <i>(Please specify below)</i>	

	Yes	No
5. Have you attended professional development workshops/seminars that provided guidance in dealing with language and cultural diversity in schools?	1	2

5.1 Who hosted the workshop/seminar held?

5.2 When was this workshop/seminar?

5.3 What was the topic/theme?

5.4 What did you find useful about the workshop?

5.5 What would you say were the weaknesses of the workshop?

6. Are educators at your school encouraged to attend workshops/seminars dealing with multilingual and multicultural education? By whom? Provide details of such workshops/seminars.

7. Are school-based workshops dealing with multilingual and multicultural education held at your school? Provide details of the workshops.

8.	Yes	No
Are you able to communicate adequately with learners at your school who speak a language that is not the medium of instruction at the school?	1	2

Please explain.

9. Have you taken course/s to improve your ability to communicate with learners at your school who speak a language that is not the medium of instruction at the school? Provide details.

	Yes	No
10. Are educators at your school encouraged to take course/s to improve their ability to teach learners at your school who speak a language that is not a medium of instruction at the school?	1	2

Provide details. (Who encourages them? What incentives are given to them to improve their qualifications in this respect? Who provides the incentives?)

C. Language Policy

	Yes	No
1 Does your school have a language in Education policy?	1	2

2. How was this policy developed i.e. what processes and procedures were engaged in and who was involved in its development?

3. What role, if any, did you and your staff play in the development of the policy?

4. What role did the parents and the SGB play in the development of the policy?
5. Have there been attempts in the last two years (since the HSRC project) to revise the school language policy?
6. If yes, explain:
 - What changes have been made/are being made to the school's language policy.
 - What was your contribution to the revision process.
 - Whether the parents, the SGB and your staff were involved in the revision process and what was the level of their participation.
 - Whether there were any obstructions to revising the school's language policy and what were these obstructions.
7. What are the main characteristics of your school's language policy i.e. Does the policy state what languages are offered as subjects in the school, what language/s may be used as LOLTs, what language/s may be used on the playground and at assembly, what language/s may be used to correspond with parents through notices and at parents meetings?
8. The principles that underpin the national LIEP are the following ... (state underlying principles briefly for respondent). To what extent does your school's language policy embrace these principles? Explain.
9. Are you satisfied with your school's language policy i.e. Do you think it provides easy access to knowledge for learners? Does it offer a fair choice of languages as subjects? Does it allow for effective communication with parents?
10. Are you and your staff currently experiencing any difficulties in implementing the school's language policy? Explain.
11. Have you been able to overcome these difficulties? If so, how?

D. Language Practices

1. In our prior interview (during the HSRC project), you affirmed the value of switching to the learner's MT to clarify meanings of difficult concepts and generally to help learners (who are unable to converse adequately in the school's medium of instruction) to understand what is being taught. Have you been able to encourage your teaching staff to employ code-switching as a multilingual teaching/learning strategy to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners. In this respect, have educators been encouraged to use one or more of the following forms of CS:
 - Teacher-led code-switching – where the educator switches to the learner's MT to clarify understanding.
 - Pupil-led code-switching – where the learner switches to his mother tongue to seek clarification.
 - Pupil-Pupil code-switching – where learners switch to their MT in group and pair work to complete tasks.

2. If educators have been encouraged to use this strategy, what was the reaction of the educators? Are your educators keen to employ one or more forms of CS? Explain.

3. If your educators are employing CS as a ML teaching/learning strategy, explain:
 - How successful this strategy is in catering for the linguistic diversity of your learners.
 - Whether educators are sustaining the use of this strategy.
 - What difficulties educators are facing in sustaining the use of this strategy.

4. What other multilingual teaching/learning strategies have your educators been encouraged to employ to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners?

5. If other ML strategies are being employed by your educators explain:
 - How successful these strategies are in catering for the linguistic diversity of your learners.
 - Whether educators are sustaining the use of these strategies.
 - What difficulties educators are facing in sustaining the use of these strategies.

6. What have you and your staff done to make your school a multilingual environment in the last two years?

7. Indicate what access learners have to textbooks (circle all that apply for each Grade you teach)	
Each Learner has own copy, which he / she keeps and can take home	1
Each Learner has a copy which they get at the beginning of a lesson and is collected at the end of it	2
Learners do not have direct access to textbooks but are given photocopies of selected pages from books	3
Learners have no access to textbooks or photocopies of pages of textbooks	4

In what languages are these textbooks? Who selects these textbooks?

8. Please indicate what other Learning/Teaching support materials (LTSMs) (magazines, guides, dictionaries, assessment packs, etc.) your school has received in the last 2 years and indicate who has provided them.

Type of learning support material	Provided by	In what language/s

9. Are these LTSMs adequate, particularly in addressing the needs of schools/classrooms with linguistically diverse learners? Explain.
10. Has your staff been encouraged to generate their own materials or adapt existing materials to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners? Who has led this initiative? What has been the response of the educators? What materials have been generated?
11. If your educators have generated their own materials, explain:
- How useful these materials are in addressing the needs of linguistically diverse learners.
 - Whether they are continuing to generate their own materials and if they have abandoned this initiative, why has this happened?
12. What support have your educators received from the school in materials development? Explain.
13. What support would your school require in materials development to cater for the needs of linguistically diverse learners? Explain
14. Indicate the number of hours per week allocated to the languages on the timetable:

Language offered	At what level? e.g. L1, L2. L3	No. of hours per week

What are your perceptions of the weighting?

15. What language/s are used at school assemblies and parents meetings?
16. What language/s are used in school correspondences and notices to parents?
17. How successful has your school been to date in implementing multilingual education?
18. What other changes in language practices have been made at your school in the last two years to cater for the needs of your (linguistically diverse) learners?

Policy Support

1. Who supports your school most in interpreting and implementing language policy and related curriculum documents?		
	Interpreting	Implementing
School Management		
Principals' Forum		
Learning Area Specialist		
District Officials		
Provincial Officials		
Non Governmental Agencies (NGOs)		
Other (Please specify below)		

2. Are you satisfied with the support you have received/are receiving in making sense of and implementing language policy and related curriculum documents? Please elaborate.
3. What support does the school management provide to assist educators in managing a classes which have learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?
4. Is the school management supportive of any attempts educators have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in their classes? Explain.
5. Are your educators supportive of any language policy and/or practice change that you and your management team have initiated? Explain.
6. What support does the Department of Education provide to assist you and your staff in managing a school which has learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?
7. Is the Department of Education supportive of any attempts you and your staff have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in your school? Explain.

	Yes	No
8. Have you received support from NGOs or Higher Education Institutions (Universities) to address cultural and linguistic diversity among learners?	1	2

9. What was the focus of the support?

10. Describe how the agency went about supporting the school.

	Yes	No
11. Do you think the support your school received was useful?	1	2

12. Please explain what was useful about the support and how it has influenced the practices at your school.

13. Describe any other sources of support your school has received?
14. What further support would your school need to assist you in managing a school with a linguistically and culturally diverse learner population?

F. Views about Multilingual Education
--

1. What is your prediction for the medium of instruction (MOI) at your school for the next few years?
 - a) the MOI will remain the same,
 - b) will change.

Explain.
2. What is your prediction for the medium of instruction (MOI) at other schools provincially and nationally for the next few years?
 - a) the MOI will remain the same,
 - b) will change.

Explain.
3. What type of School/medium of instruction would you ideally like to have?
4. What opportunities do you see as favouring a shift towards your ideal school?
5. What factors do you think will obstruct such a shift?
6. What forms of support would you need to enable such a shift?
7. Do you think that teaching and learning through the medium of the learners' mother tongue is a good idea? Please explain
8. Do you think African languages can be used in their current state to understand and express modern knowledge (Science, Geography etc) if learners and teachers are free to borrow terminology from English?
9. Do you support the principles underpinning the national LiEP (that I mentioned earlier in the interview)? Please explain.
10. Do you believe that a good command of English will favour learners in their careers?
11. In addition to English would a command of learners' home language be an advantage for their careers?
12. Do you believe there are careers/jobs that require both a command of English and an African language? Which ones?

G. GENERAL

1. What other language policy and/or practice changes have been initiated at your school? By whom? Are the changes being sustained?
2. What has been the most significant language policy and/or practice change that you or others initiated and sustained at your school?

THANK YOU

Appendix E

Focus Group Discussion: Programme

1. Introductions and modus operandi for the session. *(brief overview of programme, confidentiality, respecting other points of view)*
2. Recapitulation of the focus and purpose of the research study.
3. Purpose of the focus group discussion.
4. Brief comments by each participant of his/her experience in attempting to initiate and sustain school language change. *(The participant should focus inter alia on challenges, opportunities, support, and obstructions faced/received)*
5. Responses to individual experiences invited from other participants. *(Participants could identify and comment on similar experiences, for example)*
6. Participants respond to selected excerpts from interview transcripts. *(Participants allowed to challenge, contest, justify and affirm their own and other participants' perceptions of multilingual education, school language change and the role of change agents in this respect)*
7. Participants respond to excerpts from academic literature on change agents, language change agents and the role of change agents in initiating and sustaining school language change. *(Participants allowed to interrogate, assess, interpret, affirm, challenge, and contest the notion of change agents and each other's roles as change agents)*
8. Closure – the way forward i.r.o. language change in linguistically diverse school contexts.

Appendix F

SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE LED BY INTERNAL CHANGE AGENTS: INTERROGATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE CHANGE INITIATIVES

Interview transcript for Change Agent R. Note that answers to objective type questions and statistical information have been captured on the hard copy of the interview schedule used for the interview.

A. SCHOOL CONTEXT (Please provide the following information)					
1. Name of School		Excelsior Primary			
2. School EMIS Number					
(Request a copy of the school's EMIS survey for 2006 detailing the school's physical, material and human resources, curriculum, etc to construct a profile of the school. Supplement with field notes.)					
3. School Type/Medium (For Dual/Parallel & Single African mediums specify LOLTs)					
Afrikaans Med.	English Med	Parallel Med	Dual Med	Single African	Dual African
1	2	3	4	5	6
4. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by members of staff when they are together informally in the staff room at your school?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What is/are the first language(s) of members of staff?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

6. What percentage of the total staff is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	English	African ()	African ()	African ()
<u>Speak</u>				
<u>Read</u>				
<u>Write</u>				

7. What is/are the first language(s) of the learners?

English	Afrikaans	African languages	Other languages
%	%	%	%

8. What percentage of the learners is bilingual in English and an African language? *Specify the African language.*

	English	African ()	African ()	African ()
Speak				
Read				
Write				

9. What is/are the predominant language(s) spoken by learners during their break?					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

10. How would you describe the relationship between the learners of different cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds at your school?

Could you just run that by me again? We were talking about no racial problems, what do you normally say to these children that makes a difference? We don't encourage racialism because we tell the children in no uncertain terms that we have got no Indians in this school because Indians live in India. We are all South Africans. (Zulu switch) means I'm a person just like you so we are all people.

B. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA								
1. Age of respondent								
Younger than 25	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Older than 60
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Gender								1
Male								1
Female								2

3. "Population group " (This is confidential information for research purposes only)				
Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Other
1	2	3	4	5

4. What language do you speak most of the time at home? (Circle only one option)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati
01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

5. What other languages do you speak? (Circle those you speak best, three at most)					
Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	Sepedi	SeSotho	Siswati

01	02	03	04	05	06
Xitsonga	Setswana	Tshivenda	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Other
07	08	09	10	11	12

6. For how long have you been a principal:		
6.1 At this school?		Years
6.2 At other schools?		Years

C. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	
1. What qualifications do you have? <i>(Indicate highest qualification only)</i>	
Standard 8	01
Standard 8 + 1 year Educator training	02
Standard 8 + 2 years Educator training	03
Standard 8, 1 or 2 years Educator training + Matric	04
Matric	05
Matric + 1 year Educator training	06
Matric + 2 years Educator training	07
Matric + 3 years Educator training	08
Matric + 4 or 5 years Educator training	09
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and no Educator training	10
B. Degree (BA, BSc) and Educator training	11
Honours or equivalent degree	12
Master's degree	13
Doctoral degree	14

2. Are you studying at present?			
	Yes	No	
	1	2	
3. If yes , indicate the core field and level of study. <i>(Select one option per column)</i>			
Fields of study		Levels of study	
My own subject area	1	Isolated courses / or modules	1
Educational / school management	2	First diploma	2
Information technology / computer courses	3	Further diploma	3
Financial / accounting systems	4	First degree	4
Other <i>(Please specify below)</i>	5	Post-graduate studies	5

You are not doing any formal studies but you are doing some reading? Yes. My current interest is the transport problems. So I'm reading about transport, the supply chain problems, road transport, rail transport and various problems that affect our taxis. I'm also looking at areas of the current strikes (Transnet strikes) and readings and research on that.

4. What INSET courses have you attended over the last 2-3 years? *(Tick all those that apply)*

None	
Improvement of Matric results	
OBE (Curriculum 2005/21)	
S.A. College of Teacher Education courses	
Quality assurance training	
Training in Developmental Appraisal System	
University-based courses	
Other <i>(Please specify below)</i>	

	Yes	No
5. Have you attended professional development workshops/seminars that provided guidance in dealing with language and cultural diversity in schools?	1	2

5.1 Who hosted the workshop/seminar held?

5.2 When was this workshop/seminar?

5.3 What was the topic/theme?

5.4 What did you find useful about the workshop?

5.5 What would you say were the weaknesses of the workshop?

I didn't attend any professional development workshops dealing with language and cultural diversity in schools because they were no such courses being offered, although courses in languages were offered like isiZulu and English and stuff but it doesn't deal with the cultural diversity where you can handle all these matters. It needs to be handled, we are all on our own, we have to basically learn from experience. *You want to talk about some anecdotes?* I think maybe possibly that when you talk about cultural diversity in schools, it's a very very delicate topic, we need, many teachers need some guidance in this. Some of the teachers have some kind of relationship with the Zulu people, talking to them and working with them. But in the school situation you will suddenly find that the Zulu children, some of us have no experience of mixing apart from the fact that it is a phobia, they are afraid of their mixed colour and that's what happens. So it is these kinds

of things we face, the question here, the cultural diversity of the school, we need that here in integrated classes. *So nothing has come from the department as well? Ever since you took over the school and with a large number of African learners and a percentage of Indian learners? Has the department not come forward to assist you in any way to cope with this kind of diversity in your school?* No. Definitely not. *The SEM?* We do not get assistance in that direction at all. What happens is that we are always asked to transform, always asked to transform. You as a principal, you cannot transform because you don't have the authority to transform but we are left in the deep end here and I suppose we will learn to swim, we are keeping our head above the water. It's not the best but we are doing.. *So whatever changes you are making is your own initiative?* Yes, That's what it is. And we are changing because if we don't change, we die. We have to change, we are in a position where we have to change. *So it's a case of adapt or perish?* That's exactly what it is.

6. Are educators at your school encouraged to attend workshops/seminars dealing with multilingual and multicultural education? By whom? Provide details of such workshops/seminars.

Going back to the question. They've been encouraged but unfortunately there's no workshops? Yes. Nothing relevant. You can go and get assistance, although I've noticed some unions like APEC had some courses not exactly multicultural education but borders on that. But basically teachers would want to go to courses run by their unions if there is. So if it is not a union of choice, they don't go. *This APEC workshops, what were they about again?* If I can remember correctly over the years. There were courses with assistance being given to teachers to give them some help in handling multicultural classes, not that I can be specific on that but there were courses that I remember that were for ..*Their members only?* No. It was open to others too but generally you would not get people attending if you were not a member. *What about EKEWAZI, did they not assist you in any way? When I spoke to Mr L. Govender he did say that they had some courses for them on the handling of cultural diversity and challenges facing schools where there is a large number of African learners and how to cope with that? Have they not extended the same invitation to your school?* To be honest, I haven't heard about that. Possibly they've got courses but I haven't heard about it. If I did I would circulate that to the staff members. But I haven't heard of courses that can assist us with this kind of stuff.

7. Are school-based workshops dealing with multilingual and multicultural education held at your school? Provide details of the workshops.

8.		Yes	No
Are you able to communicate adequately with learners at your school who speak a language that is not the medium of instruction at the school?		1	2

Please explain.

Do you want to say a little bit more about your ability to speak the language? You have got some qualifications in the language? The qualifications I do have but the other point is that the practical aspect of the language you need to know. IsiZulu is a language like that and communication is important, you need to be able to express it and that you can only get by working with the Zulu children and it teaches you and you learn not only with the pupils, you learn from them as you speak and while you're communicating in their language, sometimes you breakaway into English so the children, they know what's happening. *Would you say you do a large amount of code-switching where you move in and out of isiZulu and English? Or is it a large percentage of isiZulu and a few switches to English when you are addressing those particular learners?* You see over the years at this school there was a larger percentage of Zulu and a little bit of code-switching with English but now I noticed that when I am addressing the assembly in English, it goes down well. But I have noticed also that when I speak the English language I have to speak it slowly, choose my words properly, use simple words and also my English is not proper English so that the children can understand. So I have to adapt the English language to suit them. *So you have to use simple sentence constructions?* Yes, and you have to speak slowly so that they get the gist of it. If you speak fast they can't hear it because it is a second language for them. *But even at assembly sometimes you have to conduct the assembly bilingually?* This year I noticed that there is not so much of need for that but sometimes to express a point, some English words do not express certain things that you want to get across and in Zulu you find a nice expression that says more than 10 sentences in English and the children, straightaway it gets to them. It does help, it does help. *And when the children come to the office, when you are having a private interaction with these learners on a one to one, an African learner and yourself in the office or in the office foyer, what is the language of communication largely?* You see when it comes to confidential issues and so on and the children find it difficult to express themselves, just the other day we had a problem where a little child was lost and she didn't know who to go to and she was crying and here I had to switch to Zulu and that straight away comforts the child and the child knows that she could speak to somebody. Its instance like that. And also when they are sick so I have to ask them properly if they had a meal and do they feel better to say no, they didn't have a meal or why they didn't have a meal. So there are times when the language is very important to get across to the children certain things they don't want to say in English. *Would you say that when you switch to the language as well apart from them understanding you easily, it is kind of gaining solidarity with those learners?* Yes that is definitely true, they feel that when a person speaks their language and they identify with you they can converse better with you, I noticed that even with the parents also they

straightaway feel you are on their side. Not only in the school situation that I have noticed that when I call members, my superiors at the offices. *By your superiors you are referring to African speakers?* Yes, at the education department, it is very difficult to get help from them because some of them can be extremely rude if you are English-speaking. So if I quickly switch to Zulu they somehow change their attitude and I can get anything from them, all the help that they can give me. And I treat them with respect because, of course, respect is an important aspect of the language. And I found that over the years I can get a lot from them by conversing in their language rather than in English.

9. Have you taken course/s to improve your ability to communicate with learners at your school who speak a language that is not the medium of instruction at the school? Provide details.

	Yes	No
7. Are educators at your school encouraged to take course/s to improve their ability to teach learners at your school who speak a language that is not a medium of instruction at the school?	1	2

Provide details. (Who encourages them? What incentives are given to them to improve their qualifications in this respect? Who provides the incentives?)

You know one day we had an incident when a child said something very rude to the teacher in isiZulu. I remember that very well. What happened was the teacher asked another child to interpret what the child said, it was so rude. So she complained to me. Subsequently I keep telling the teachers, it is important for you to understand the language. I explained to them that because I understand the language not very well, but some of it, there is no child who would dare say anything rude because I understand it. That is one way of looking at it apart from the fact that they need to be able to converse in it too so that they can get the subject matter across. Of course courses have been offered from time to time at the teachers centres and there are some courses in the afternoons where elementary Zulu is being offered. I encourage them to take that up. Some of them have already taken it up and have done the courses and some of them have not and you can see the difference now in the way they communicate in the classes and their Zulu is better now than what it was. *When I come back next week you can give me some details of those courses and I can perhaps chat to some of the teachers who have taken those courses. What incentives are given to them? There's no incentives from the department, are there? But the incentives are more of a personal nature, helping them with their own class teaching?* Definitely. I think that is important because if you could communicate with the children it makes your life more easy in the class, easier for you to get things across so if you can code-switch, so that's fine. The other aspect is that of course the more lessons you have, you know the language and you can call the child by her proper

name – so if I say Nonhlanhla instead of Nunhlanhla or something like that, the children will get to respect you more because they would be learning the language as you are teaching them and also they respect you because you know their language also. So it is a two-way thing. They would respect you if you can speak their language and call their names properly.

C. Language Policy

	Yes	No
1 Does your school have a language in Education policy?	1	2

You said the same policy that you have showed me the last time? Yes.

2. How was this policy developed i.e. what processes and procedures were engaged in and who was involved in its development?

3. What role, if any, did you and your staff play in the development of the policy?

4. What role did the parents and the SGB play in the development of the policy?

The original one that is on paper? Yes. The last language policy of this school, we sat together to formulate all the policies and the language policy was one of them. So I drafted what was happening at the school, to see that we knew what was happening, the problems, the teaching and what languages were taught. It was English first language, Afrikaans second language. So I took it for granted that, that was the language policy in the school. So over the years, in fact two years back, we found that because of the large number of Zulu children we will have to accommodate them. So our language policy now will have to change and also this year because we need to take transformation into account, it has to change. So we have to make some changes to the old policy. The draft policy was taken to the staff they had a look at it and then made changes to whatever was there in terms of hours and so on, then that language policy was taken to the governing body. For several meetings they sat and checked it and it was approved, so we adopted that. ***That was your original? Yes.***

5. Have there been attempts in the last two years (since the HSRC project) to revise the school language policy?

6. If yes, explain:

- What changes have been made/are being made to the school's language policy.
- What was your contribution to the revision process.

- Whether the parents, the SGB and your staff were involved in the revision process and what was the level of their participation.
- Whether there were any **obstructions** to revising the school's language policy and what were these obstructions.

Well the policy in itself is dynamic. The language policy also we found that it's dynamic in this school because of the circumstances. We took this into account when drawing it. You'll notice that our policy.. *You said two years ago you had about 90% African learners who were first language Zulu speakers and this number has increased to 98%? Is that the reality that you are talking about that causes you to revise?* That is the reality but also we should have had a policy in place previously to accommodate this. In fact the changes are a bit late in coming and I need to give you some idea why it was late in coming, it is because of finance constraints. We couldn't change the policy because we did not have funds to employ a teacher to take charge of the language. That is why, but the policy should have changed when our roll reached up to 85% and 80%, we should have done that. But now rather late than never we are making these kinds of changes. This year we had a look at it and toward the middle of last year we sat together with the management and then I put this to the staff also last year. And this year we said we are going to have to change our policy to adopt it and so we will have as our LOLT English, we will have to because the majority of our learners *So your LOLT will still remain English?* Yes, English. But for the first additional and second additional maybe we can change. Our first additional right through the range it was Afrikaans from Grade 3 right through to Grade 7 but we found that now because of the fact that there are Zulu children that need to learn the language, and that Afrikaans was not that important so we would have to look at first additional being isiZulu and second additional would have to be Afrikaans. But we can't cut across the curriculum straight away. *You would have to phase it in?* Yes. We would have to phase it in. The first phase that we are phasing in right now is in Grade 4. So we are cutting down on Afrikaans time and obviously we would have to look at the policy and we will introduce Zulu as our first additional then our second additional will be some Afrikaans because it is only good and proper that we give the children a wide range of languages. *Because they might have problems when they go to high school?* Yes. But we also noticed that several high schools in the area are offering Afrikaans as a first additional also. So the two languages are offered up to matric level would be English and isiZulu. *So you are saying the neighbouring high schools are offering isiZulu as a first additional. I know Southlands was a pioneer in this field but there are more high*

schools now? The high schools that our children go to they are offering isiZulu. Will you give me the details of those high schools the next time I come?

Alright, you were saying that when you discussed this with the staff, these changes which needed to be made, at the end of last year, what was the response from the staff?

Confidentially, (I need to be honest because this is research) teachers have preferred not to cut down Afrikaans time because they felt that they can't do much in the one hour given to them for Afrikaans. So this looks like now we need to look at the curriculum issue. How much we are going to teach, what are we going to leave out? So we are looking at now Afrikaans as just communication. So if Afrikaans is going, let's say by the end of this year or by the beginning of next year, Afrikaans is going to be your second additional language? Is it already a second additional language for Grade 4 for this year? Yes. Okay, lets take a real situation instead of a hypothetical situation. You got grade 4 Afrikaans as a second additional language, isiZulu as a first additional language. Now does the curriculum document state what weighting in time should there be for the first additional and for the second additional, is there a weighting difference? The curriculum, of course, it states that the language of learning and teaching, the LOLT should be the MT. So that's what it says. So now in our school it means we need to teach in isiZulu. Now we know what the practical issue behind that is. It is not possible. Certain schools there are, but we don't have the manpower and we don't have the ability. In the Zulu school they all teach children in isiZulu, as a first language as well. I think that the RNCS documents states that at least in the foundation phase they should be receiving MT instruction. Even in the foundation phase you are not in a position to do this? Definitely not, because we don't have that kind of manpower. Just this one African teacher who is doing this teaching in Grade 3 and that is part of the foundation phase? Yes. Does she give MT instruction in Grade 3 and is it necessary for her to do it or does she code-switch? You see in Grade 2 they have already had at least one or two years of English tuition so for the children it is easier to just continue with that even if the teacher only teaches in English they can manage. But between you and me. the truth of the matter is the children find it very difficult to understand the language. By the language you mean English as a medium of instruction? Yes. It impacts on their work. I've found some teachers saying to me that a child is very weak and can't read. There was a grade 3 child who can't read but I brought the child in here and I spoke to the child, and the child can tell me the colours and can tell me how to add and I even showed the child a Zulu book, the child could

sound the words, they can recognise the letters so it is a problem. We cannot make too much of an issue of that because my hands are tied. We can't do anything about it. *When you say your hands are tied? You mean you are not getting the human resources?* Yes. I have to let it go, the teachers would have to teach in that manner and until... maybe perhaps the children would manage it. Now we have preschool classes where we are teaching them in English. In the first three months nothing happens and the children don't understand a word that's being taught but by the end of three months they can speak to you, they can hear and they are responding. *But despite that you would prefer to have them taught in their MT in their formative years?* The RNCS document says that for a reason. It is important to have it done in your MT and then you teach in English thereafter. *I have heard about your contribution (to the revision of the language policy) and your staff's position on it. Was there any obstruction? Well there wasn't real obstruction to it from the staff but there was some dissatisfaction about Afrikaans time weighting, but was there any resistance to isiZulu being offered as a first additional language, for any other reasons?* Definitely I don't think so. I don't feel it, I don't see it. Because I think as educators we also need to see to the children's education and we have to go that route. In KZN isiZulu is the majority language and we have to teach it to the children and the children are MT Zulu speakers so we have to accommodate them and for us to kill their language it's a crime. *The parents and SGB? Are they au fait with your intention to revise, have they been formally apprised of the situation here with the Grade 4's for example? Did you ask for their permission to drop Afrikaans to second additional language status and bring up isiZulu to first additional language?* We had talks with the parents in that regard. The parents were generally happy so long as their children can do English I noticed that, that was their main concern that we teach their children English. That is the reason they send their children to this school and not to the schools on that side because they want their children to learn English. Even at parents meetings also, when I speak English, they are quite happy about it, they are very happy. I went to a funeral once also, when I was speaking in English, every sentence they applauded. Then when I switched to isiZulu they were silent. So this is the kind of thing that is happening. Where generally the younger people are not so happy to carry on in their MT. This is the impression I am getting as a person from what I've been seeing. So it's a white man's world and they want the white man's language, that's the impression I'm getting. So they want their children to learn English. So if our teachers go out and teach the English language then that's fine. *As long as they get good quality English instruction?* Yes. I have to put that before the new GB, the new policy now. *Put it*

down on paper? Yes. And then we will ratify it. Now it is experimental. And in education everything is experimental.

7. What are the main characteristics of your school's language policy i.e. Does the policy state what languages are offered as subjects in the school, what language/s may be used as LOLTs, what language/s may be used on the playground and at assembly, what language/s may be used to correspond with parents through notices and at parents meetings?

On the playground? We don't want to impose on our children. But the practices allow for the language of choice to be theirs? Yes. Language used to correspond with parents? My language policy does not include that and that is a shortfall. If it is a very serious matter and if the matter needs to be addressed to the parents, I try to send a translation (isiZulu translation) of the English. Who supports you in doing these translations? I do it myself or I get the new teachers now and they do it much faster than I would and they check if there is any problems and I make sure it is couched in good language. You have to be very careful how you write the language because certain words that you use it can be insulting, you are right. I have to be careful. You are getting a lot of support from your Zulu first language teachers? Yes. I make sure I check with them everything that I send out even if is circulars. Sometime I tell them to write it out and translate what I wrote. And then I check it as well.

10. The principles that underpin the national LIEP are the following ... (state underlying principles briefly for respondent). To what extent does your school's language policy embrace these principles? Explain.

As a primary school and especially our school we make sure that the child learns one language in which she can communicate in, read and write in school and also the majority of the literature is made available. And the other aspect is we are not marginalizing their home languages. We are accommodating that. And over and above that we are going over and above because we are What's over and above? The eastern languages that we have... Are you still maintaining these languages? We try to teach. Although we have cut the times down to accommodate the eastern languages. Is it within the normal school day, because I visited Merryhill and Mrs Somasundaran said to me that she couldn't accommodate the eastern languages within the normal programme because now that she has included isiZulu as second additional and Afrikaans, she has now got those Indian languages taught after school hours. Is it the same situation here? Or are you still doing it within school hours? We have one and half hours during school hours and now we cut down to one third but I have created ways to introduce eastern languages into the curriculum, one is using the Arts and Culture period where we don't teach only language, you are teaching the culture, say if you are teaching say Arabic, you are teaching some

reading, you are teaching how to speak it and you also teaching the Islamic culture. So *that is done in which learning area?* In Arts and Culture. They have sections for that. You are covering both these aspects. So if they are doing Zulu. They are doing Zulu customs and marriages and all those things. *So you don't have a dedicated period for eastern languages?* We do, we have two half an hour periods. So in that time they teach a language and also the cultural aspects. *Okay. So it's extended further in the Arts and Culture periods?* It's correlated into the Arts and Culture period. *So you are saying the same person who is teaching Hindi is teaching AC as well?* When they are teaching Hindi it is part of the AC because they are doing culture. It runs into each other. *When I come back I will ask you again about the planning to bring about this integration. There is something that I must ask you. There is a thinking now that there is no place for eastern languages in our community, in our society? What is your thought about that? People are saying it has no practical value, it has no utility value, what are your thoughts about that?* When you look at utility value, there is somethings that you can buy, somethings you can never buy, when you talk about education, education is not utility based. Education must go beyond utility. And in a primary school, like I say, if the child likes only like soccer. It's not good. In the primary school the child must play all codes of sport. In the high school, the child selects but now because he has played all these sports, he can find a sport that he is good at and concentrate on that. It's the same thing with these languages, you need to give the child a broad background, you are not giving him specialist tuition in the Indian languages, whatever it is. So you need to give them a little bit. A little something to whet his appetite that there are these languages. And we have the resources, so we use it. If we didn't have the resources I wouldn't go use something that we haven't got. But I am working with what I got.

11. Are you satisfied with your school's language policy i.e. Do you think it provides easy access to knowledge for learners? Does it offer a fair choice of languages as subjects? Does it allow for effective communication with parents?

Yes. I am satisfied with our school's language policy. We provide the means and do the best that we can without holding back. *Does it offer a fair choice of languages as subjects?* There are no choices in the primary school because the RNCS policy sets the standards and we follow that. *Does the RNCS stipulate that an indigenous African language from the province be done in this school. For example does the RNCS stipulate that isiZulu has to be offered as an additional language or if not additional, the main language?* Yes, this is cast in the MT issue, it comes from there, there's no compulsion that this must be taught, that must be taught. Because policy, South African policy, so in Gauteng it is viewed differently. *Sotho?* Ja. They say that's MT. *So it needs to be done provincially?* Ja. *Although it's not enshrined in policy as yet but in practice, does your*

language policy allow for effective communication with your parents? I would say it is not the best because parents would prefer to read it in isiZulu because some letters I get from parents are written in isiZulu. *Do you encourage parents to communicate with you in isiZulu and with the school in isiZulu?* They feel comfortable to communicate in isiZulu when they come and visit me. Especially I am talking about the majority of the parents who are the older ones, the grannies and so on because they prefer to speak the MT rather than English but the younger parents, the learners who have parents, mother and fathers and that's a rare thing in this school to find a child having a mother and father. There are children who are orphans staying with their grannies. So, but those parents, two parents and they are younger people, their English is reasonably good. So they can communicate in English. *But you'd like to increase the effectiveness of your communication with parents? You said it is not the best you have. How would you like to improve the effectiveness of that communication?* It is going to be very difficult because these parents also find it very difficult to read the isiZulu language, so that is a problem so verbal communication is good. Now there's also SMS but it's better to use voice mail. But with Educom, it's SMS and it's a free service. We may have to go for it; it will save us a lot of money.

12. Are you and your staff currently experiencing any difficulties in implementing the school's language policy? Explain.

We are having difficulties because it is a drain on our finances because we had to employ a new teacher. My 20th teacher on the PPN should be a Zulu teacher but between you and me and for managing purposes I cannot use the teacher specifically just to teach Zulu because I have a large number of children, less teachers, 20 is the PPN, so if we had 20 classes then I need 20 teachers so I can't keep one teacher in another class and let the teacher teach Zulu in another class. It makes it difficult so if I had a Zulu teacher, that teacher would be able to teach several grades so we need more Zulu teachers perhaps one specialist teacher that comes up in Indian language. can actually come into the schools and can do that specifically. That is what we need. So it's financial constraints again for us but while we are doing it the state is asking for transformation, they want us to teach it but they are not giving you the resources. *I do know that Naledi Pando insisted last year that every school should be offering an indigenous African language whether at additional language status or first language status, particularly in the primary schools. Had the department followed up on that and said look we can offer you an African language teacher over and above the PPN? Have they made any such overtures?* It's a very frustrating thing you know, if the minister says that you must have that in the schools, now where are we going to get the resource to that. If I say you must have tea, I

must provide you with it, so you can sit and enjoy t. Now how can I ask you to have tea if I don't have tea. That's the most irritating thing and we as principals we feel that statement is I get quite aggrieved when I listen to that. Yet they say 600 teachers are given for curriculum transformation posts.

13. Have you been able to overcome these difficulties? If so, how?

Yes. We are doing it and I have been teaching it (isiZulu) at my expense, my time and now also I've got the governing body to come and assist. Last year they assisted me so that I don't spend too much of time in the classroom and giving us a half a day teacher. This year we had a full day teacher so we are moving in that direction but this is costing the governing body money that it doesn't have. *How is your financial position?* Because the children are trying to pay the fees and because our budget is so well designed so our expenses we keep to the minimum, so we are keeping our head above water. *And your norms and standards funding?* Norms and standards funding, because we are decile ten it's very low, compared to schools over there (referring to traditional black schools) they get 100 or somewhat 1000 (Rands). We are getting about R26 000. *Is it true that they have cut your funding down and they have taken some of your money to pay for LTSMs which were supposed to have been given by the state? Did you receive LTSMs for grade 7 this year?* No. It was said that each child would get R250 worth of books. *You haven't seen that? You said that you ordered them last year?* Yes. Yesterday I went for a meeting it was a fantastic meeting, which was addressed by Mrs Ntuli. *Now coming back to the LTSMs. I am here referring to the Maritzburg meeting where principals pitched up last year and we were told that we'll be getting LTSMs and we must send our orders in and the state will pick up the tab for that.* (Respondent laughs) *in your case R250 per learner.* That's what they said I think for all learners in KZN. *But you received nothing to date?* Even the textbooks also we ordered from our old LTSMs now they said one textbook per two learners. Now I've ordered 50 but I only got 25 because 25 I ordered on my old LTSM on the money that was given to us that R28 000 that was given to us. I ordered from there so there was no money. And then nothing else came and they said that we must order again a second order. Yesterday I went to a huge, a road show ... yes here it is (shows interviewer a handout) *This is the one about LTSMs. This meeting you went to in Amanzimtoti, very briefly, very succinctly, what are your thoughts about that meeting?* Basically there were so many principals over there and there was a video presentation. I can never quite understand what the importance of that meeting was to me as a principal of this school and basically that's what it is. *So it didn't have any practical value for you?* I really don't know how it is going to affect me. *And now in terms of the LTSM booklet is it any different*

from the catalogue that you received last year? The catalogues were given some time ago but they have not given us our LTSM allocations for textbooks so we can't order books and I did hear at the meeting the presenter did say by the 9th of June the orders must go to the SEMs but we haven't got due dates about that, we haven't got a circular stating what we must do about that. This road show here didn't fulfil it's results.

D. Language Practices

1. In our prior **interview** (during the HSRC project), you affirmed the value of switching to the learner's MT to clarify meanings of difficult concepts and generally to help learners (who are unable to converse adequately in the school's medium of instruction) to understand what is being taught. Have you been able to encourage your teaching staff to employ code-switching as a multilingual teaching/learning strategy to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners. In this respect, have educators been encouraged to use one or more of the following forms of CS:

- Teacher-led code-switching – where the educator switches to the learner's MT to clarify understanding.
- Pupil-led code-switching – where the learner switches to his mother tongue to seek clarification.
- Pupil-Pupil code-switching – where learners switch to their MT in group and pair work to complete tasks.

Well of course teachers will have to (referring to CS) to survive if you have to get across certain things. Even those who haven't gone for formal training in the second language, they are able to understand basically certain things the students say. They are able to express a few things to the children in whatever form, a word or two and somehow they are able to get that across but basically it is generally quite a difficult thing for the teachers to CS if you don't know some aspect of the language (isiZulu), communication at least. So you would say that yourself and the other three African teachers have been able to do this quite easily, the CS. Ja, that's no problem. If you are able to express yourself in the language you can do it. So the four of you will be able to do that? Yes. Now with the others, what type of CS takes place in the classroom, if at all? Is it bullet number three – pupil-pupil CS? There is pupil-pupil CS because children always do that but there's a new thing that I have learnt and I've seen the children do it sometimes. They use a Zulu word and they add the English suffix. Sometimes it gets quite amusing to hear them speak and they say to the teacher who asks what's happening here in the class. Are you saying that they Zuluise the word, put an English word and Zuluise it, put a prefix in front and...Both ways, like "Sir, this fellow is *shajaing me*. Shaja – ing." Oh! So the suffix is an English suffix attached to a Zulu word? He's fighting with me? Yes, or hitting me. So this is the kind of thing that's creeping up here but I try and tell the children they shouldn't be encouraged to do that because that means we are going to get a new language coming up. There's enough new languages coming up and South African language (referring to SAE) is a brand new language also. You heard the word "conscientising" for example, so that's

a South African word. Yes. It is a South African word associated with political activism. Yes. But coming back to pupil-pupil CS. Much of this might be taking place in your classrooms in group and pair work where learners switch to their MT? Generally the children would want to resort to the language that is easiest for them to communicate in and if there's difficult things, so that is the thing that helps them to learn quite a lot. So I would say that is a very important thing, so they are learning from each other.

2. If educators have been encouraged to use this strategy, what was the reaction of the educators? Are your educators keen to employ one or more forms of CS? Explain.

Do they encourage it (CS)? Are they resistant to that? The teachers won't be resistant to that and they haven't been resistant because they understand that somehow learning must take place, so if it's gonna take place by CS let it carry on. So they had to let it go or else learning would come to a standstill if we don't do that kind of stuff, somehow you gotta get it done. And those teachers who have the ability to CS, are they keen to employ that strategy, I'm talking about your African teachers?

Yes, they do that quite effectively and sometimes I suppose they want to use a language that's easiest for them, their MT. I think most certainly they would want to teach a lot in that (language) and they'd ask the class to be quiet in that language and so on. So we get that happening. And the others, the other Indian teachers, you did say that as much they can't read and write there are some of them that can speak isiZulu at different levels of competence. Are they keen to use that knowledge of isiZulu, no matter how small it is? Do they use it in the classroom? Yes, definitely I have seen them using it especially in the foundation phase, and they do a lot of that. For what purpose do they use it? Is it to clarify concepts or is it to gain the attention of the learners or to discipline learners? To give instruction, to teach and so on.

3. If your educators are employing CS as a ML teaching/learning strategy, explain:

- How successful this strategy is in catering for the linguistic diversity of your learners.
- Whether educators are sustaining the use of this strategy.
- What difficulties educators are facing in sustaining the use of this strategy.

In the Foundation Phase they are carrying on with this kind of stuff but coming round to the intermediate and senior phase, I suppose you have isiZulu teachers are continuing mainly in English – so there there's very little CS and some of those teachers too don't feel the need to CS but in the Foundation Phase, I notice the teachers as a necessity they are doing that. And they are sustaining that? The use of this strategy? That's right. Any difficulties they are facing in sustaining the use of this strategy? Has there been any obstruction, perhaps from parents? No, we don't have that kind of problem. One problem

we had was, one teacher ...the parent had complained that the teacher, that was last year, that the teacher was always teaching in Zulu, the child can't understand her. I had that one complaint. *But generally you've had the support of the parents?* Ja, we've had no problem at all. *Any other difficulties teachers had faced in sustaining this strategy?* They are limited by the knowledge of the language. It gets frustrating. You speak English and your children don't understand it, and you want to try and explain it in some other way and in their language, because teaching is about the use of language so if you haven't got the command of that language it makes it very, very difficult to get your point across, to teach. It gets frustrating.

4. What other multilingual teaching/learning strategies have your educators been encouraged to employ to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners?

Apart from CS. No not that I can call to mind now, but one other thing I can see from what is happening, when teachers have a problem, e.g. when children are not using the toilet properly, so what happens is that we call the caretakers, because we may not have a teacher who can communicate properly. We call the caretaker and the caretaker does the explanation or the instruction and so on to the children because some of them can not understand English so the teacher tell the caretaker please explain in isiZulu to the children that they must use the toilets properly and they mustn't mess it and so on. So she tells them in isiZulu. So that is one strategy, by calling the caretaker and someone who knows the language. *Someone like yourself?* Yes. Myself when I am available. *And the other African first language Zulu teachers, are they called from time to time when they are available?* Yes. Only recently but that's what will happen and I'm sure it is happening and it should be happening. When we have a problem we call someone who can teach the language or speak the language. *You said that your teachers were encouraged to go for workshops to improve the ability to speak isiZulu. Have you perhaps tried to use those African teachers to get some kind of workshop going at school level, at a local level, perhaps one day in the week after hours. Have you thought about that?* That is an important thing also, I also myself have conducted some isiZulu classes at school and gave some handouts. *I will pick up the handouts the next time I come?* Then I did encourage the teachers to come in groups at least once a week, nobody took that offer up. *So you tried to sustain it and nobody took it up?* Nobody took it up. Now because they got to, they know they got to but they are generally I see that there isn't that interest in it. *So there's no interest now because they don't have to teach isiZulu anymore as a subject?* Yes. *But they are conscious of the fact that they may need isiZulu to assist them in their own teaching and learning, Have they not considered continuing this courses not only with you but with the other isiZulu teachers?* I don't know whether you have approached

your isiZulu first language teachers to assist you in continuing this workshop for the Zulu lessons? Do you think they will assist you in this respect if you approach them? They will definitely assist me but there isn't that kind of interest with the teachers to want to learn. I've noticed that. So you are not really being supported here to continue that initiative? Yes. That is right. I haven't got that kind of support that we had. I would expect them to come up now and say look we need assistance, give us that assistance. So that is my job. I mustn't come and give you the assistance if you didn't you need it, you didn't ask for. So that is the kind of problem that I have. I get disappointed. But I also feel that look if you think you know it, you teach it and you suffer the consequences and if you find that there is a block you suffer because this is the way we are going, we are going to get 100% Zulu children in this school. That's how it's gonna be for many years.

4. If other ML strategies are being employed by your educators explain:

- How successful these strategies are in catering for the linguistic diversity of your learners.
- Whether educators are sustaining the use of these strategies.
- What difficulties educators are facing in sustaining the use of these strategies.

Coming back to those other ML strategies, using the caretakers, using yourself, using the Zulu-speaking teachers, how successful are those strategies in catering for the linguistic diversity of your learners? You see that, that's also limited by time constraints and so on. There is always limiting factors. So it is not the best strategy. The best strategy would be for them (referring to the educators) to know the language and for them to be able to communicate. That is the best way to do it. We all had to learn Afrikaans, we had to learn it. So we are all au fait with Afrikaans so there's a new language that is coming up. But I think the problem is that we didn't have the department coming in and saying look there is Zulu language lessons and all teachers must attend. So you think there has to be that strong directive from the department? Yes. Teacher training? Yes. There must be that. All teacher training courses should include...I not sure what teacher training courses comprise of now... It is not compulsory, even now, it is not compulsory for teachers in training, at PRESET level, to have isiZulu as one of their subjects. But I think that is going to change. I know when we trained we had to do English and Afrikaans. Whether you were going to teach English or Afrikaans or not you had to do it because they were looking at the language of teaching and learning. You had to do the two languages. It hasn't changed as yet at preset level but there are talks about making it compulsory for teachers in training to be able to speak isiZulu. I remember Afrikaans was very important aspect at Training College. We had to learn Afrikaans, if we didn't we would fail our teaching course.

So it was important. It is the same thing here, we should now get teachers to learn isiZulu. We must learn isiZulu.

5. What have you and your staff done to make your school a multilingual environment in the last two years?

We are moving towards multilingual. Our language policy shows that and the fact that we are now changing the policy to accommodate and we are even going further and moving in that direction. And the fact that multilingual is many languages, we are still offering Eastern languages. It is quite a valuable thing because the child can learn any language. So if the child can learn four languages in the school, in the primary school, at least basic concepts, it is good. So we are moving in that direction. *Signs and posters and creating that kind of environment, where you would have your signs, posters, notices, directions, on the school premises. Have you tried putting it in different languages?* We didn't. I think that's where we have failed in that, we can do that. *Do you think it will be useful?* I think it will be a very good idea. The children would know now that English is not the only language because we mustn't elevate one language above the other although it is useful. But it is good to show them that their language is just as important although communication in English is important for university and so on but it is a good idea that, showing directions and so on. We put a few charts and so on, like in my foyer you would see some charts in Zulu. *It's commercially generated now so it saves you the bother of printing your own.* We have some downstairs, in isiZulu, especially on waterborn diseases eg. Cholera. *Its bilingual, in isiZulu and English, I've seen it.* Yes. We got some. But we can get some more. It's a good idea.

6. Indicate what access learners have to textbooks (circle all that apply for each Grade you teach)	
Each Learner has own copy, which he / she keeps and can take home	1
Each Learner has a copy which they get at the beginning of a lesson and is collected at the end of it	2
Learners do not have direct access to textbooks but are given photocopies of selected pages from books	3
Learners have no access to textbooks or photocopies of pages of textbooks	4

In what languages are these textbooks? Who selects these textbooks?

All in English. But we have now acquired some Zulu textbooks. *For Zulu teaching?* Yes. *But you don't have bilingual textbooks?* No. We have Afrikaans textbooks for Afrikaans. That is done by the HOD together with the teachers. *So the teachers who are teaching a particular grade ?* Yes.

11. Please indicate what other Learning/Teaching support materials (LTSMs) (magazines, guides, dictionaries, assessment packs, etc.) your school has received in the last 2 years and indicate who has provided them.

Type of learning support material	Provided by	In what language/s

12. Are these LTSMs adequate, particularly in addressing the needs of schools/classrooms with linguistically diverse learners? Explain.

Our LTSMs are never adequate, it's never, ever adequate and it's a far cry from what we used to have in those days. Teachers are struggling because of the large classes. The average class size is 40, one class has got 50, other classes have 48 and 49.

13. Has your staff been encouraged to generate their own materials or adapt existing materials to cater for the linguistic diversity of your learners? Who has led this initiative? What has been the response of the educators? What materials have been generated?

That is what the teachers do. They have to find the equipment, find their own materials from other sources, that is why we have to buy so much paper, duplicating paper, two machines are run at a time, so the teachers use that to generate worksheets and other things to teach. *So when they generate these materials of their own do they cater for linguistic diversity? Are these worksheets, perhaps some of them, bilingual?* None of them are bilingual. It is very difficult to get those kinds of worksheets. These will be in English on a simpler scale with simple words that can suit the children. *Accompanied by illustration?* Yes, the suitable ones, and you notice that in this school here if you compare our school with other schools in Chatsworth and the other areas, you will find that our teachers will have to act on a lower standard because we have to go slower.

14. If your educators have generated their own materials, explain:

- How useful these materials are in addressing the needs of linguistically diverse learners.

They seem to be sufficient for the purposes, not the best but they serve the purpose.

- Whether they are continuing to generate their own materials and if they have abandoned this initiative, why has this happened? **Yes**

15. What support have your educators received from the school in materials development? Explain.

By providing paper, ink, machines and so on for running out all the things.

16. What support would your school require in materials development to cater for the needs of linguistically diverse learners? Explain

We are talking about materials that are more bilingual, multilingual which you said is difficult for the teachers to generate because they don't have the ability to do that. Would you like your school to receive support for your teachers to be able to turn out that kind of material?

Bilingual worksheets really in my opinion I don't see how it's going to really help because it means having to code-switch now. It may confuse the children. Say suppose you are teaching weather and if you give them a bilingual worksheet say perhaps you giving them clouds, I don't know how that's going to work. I don't know its going to cause confusion but if you teach it in one language straight through or if you are teaching the language, like you teaching Afrikaans and you have it in English and Afrikaans perhaps there the bilingual will work but if you are teaching concepts, I am not sure how it will help. *What if these materials, I do know at tertiary level that we will have the text and you will have the annotations at the sides explaining difficult words or concepts that is there in the solid text. Lets assume that in your worksheet there's a solid text with the annotations at the side, i.e. the explanation of the concepts in both the languages just to help understanding. Do you think that will also confuse?* Perhaps that may help but when you teach stars, you should know what a star is, then you say (Zulu switch) a Zulu word for star, then you say it back in English. You teaching the concept star, you should know what star is. *I'm referring to a more difficult concept. It will be such a bother really if they know what a star is and to go back to the isiZulu word but where there is a concept that is new....*Okay, take for example "erosion", yes, I can see your point perhaps it could work. *I don't think there is a word for erosion in Zulu but in the clarification of that concept there might be other words in the Zulu language that may be used to try to clarify that concept, I am just speaking from the top of my head. What I am saying is, do you need support of that nature to generate materials like that?* It may be but it may be very expensive and cost a lot to do it. But it will be simpler to say alright that's a "donga" and then you can illustrate it on the board, use a picture or take the child outside and show him.

17. Indicate the number of hours per week allocated to the languages on the timetable:

Language offered	At what level? e.g. L1, L2, L3	No. of hours per week

What are your perceptions of the weighting?

When it comes to weighing it means you have to put them in watertight compartments but generally it is a good way to teach. *Your English, how many hours do you have according to that document?* Each grade has a different allocation. *Let's talk about the intermediate phase.* 26 and a half hours in total. *That's for the languages only, just for the grade 4s because that's where the change is taking place, isn't it?* Yes, we have here grade 4, five and half hours of English. *And that's L1?* Yes. *And then?* Afrikaans. *Is Afrikaans your second additional language?* Yes. Afrikaans would be second additional language. But we will be giving equal time to Afrikaans and isiZulu. Because the teachers can't teach Afrikaans in half an hour. *But is Afrikaans second additional now?* Well it's almost on equal footing, I originally wanted.. the best would have been to put Afrikaans as second additional. *But when you are putting together your new policy, would you perhaps want to cut Afrikaans down to second additional.* Yes. That is how it is going to be. *But right now they have got equal status, you say?* Well time wise. *How many hours is it?* 1 hour each. *What are your perceptions about this weighting?* You see I had initially recommended that we have 1 and half hour for isiZulu or 1 hour for isiZulu and half an hour for Afrikaans but because English is a second language for the children so we said that we'd give a major part of the time for English so that is why we are have a half...*Besides that it's your medium of instruction as well?* Yes. We can't take any other time from there. So English covers a variety of things in there. *Would you like to have more time for any of your additional languages. IsiZulu or Afrikaans?* I think 1 hour for Zulu would be fine but Afrikaans from my point of view, if it's done on a communication level that will be fine. *You need half an hour then?* Yes. *Half an hour would suffice.* Yes. *And what are your thoughts if that should happen? Moving the extra half an hour to isiZulu?* You would like 1 and half hours for isiZulu and half an hour for Afrikaans? Yes, that is right. That will prepare the children for high school, those who want to do second language. Because 1 hour there is not quite enough so that is the problem that I am having. *Have you made that proposal for the new policy?* That is how the process will go, yes.

18. What language/s are used at school assemblies and parents meetings?

Mostly English, and then I code-switch to explain certain concepts. *Both at the meetings and the assembly?* Yes. *You did say in the past that you used to switch to isiZulu more often in the past.* Yes. But over the years, last year and so on, I found that children are able to understand the language better. And speaking to parents also if I'm addressing them in English they feel important somehow. *So there is an affective dimension as well, the emotional?* Quite right. That is so. In one hand they feel important, the others if I speak in Zulu they also feel nice because they feel the person that's speaking they can identify with. So those two things you think off. For children it is just to highlight certain points. English I have to speak slowly and I choose my words very carefully so that they can understand. *And at the parents meetings you sometimes find it necessary to switch to isiZulu and if you do for what purpose. Is it to clarify the meaning of what you are saying or do you feel that the English expression doesn't quite convey what you want to say and you switch to a Zulu word?* It's a matter of expression because the Zulu language has proverbs for that matter and parents are always very impressed when I use these proverbs so I don't need to explain so much in English. Proverbs like if you are causing problems or you are bringing problems on yourself. Now parents would not understand bringing problems on yourself, but if you say (Zulu switch) that means you're bringing trouble on yourself. It means a lot more than just that. And somehow the parents understand it. Although I speak in English they appreciate that. The fact that I can explain it in a way that they can understand. *With that particular example you wanted to express the severity of the situation?* Yes. It's easier to do that, to use their language. That's only one of the expressions you can use, and also the parents they like to hear their language spoken, so they feel that they are important, they are being respected. *So basically you are negotiating communication in two languages, you are interchanging, you are using the situation to suggest to you when you should be switching and the communication context; all those things play a part.* Yes. *You don't go with an agenda. I'm going to do this whole thing in English and then I am going to translate in isiZulu?* I don't get anyone to translate I naturally switch because if I feel they don't understand it, I switch. But when I am explaining certain things I can see if they understand. *From their body language?* Yes, you can see that. I switch for respect, just to show them look I am not just throwing English at you but I respect your language and I will also address you in that language. *Have you had parents seeking clarification in isiZulu at these meetings?* No.

19. What language/s are used in school correspondences and notices to parents?

Important correspondences are in both English and isiZulu.

20. How successful has your school been to date in implementing multilingual education?

The school is moving forward. I won't say it's startling change but we are moving forward.

21. What other changes in language practices have been made at your school in the last two years to cater for the needs of your (linguistically diverse) learners?

That is what we are discussing in our policy, the changes in weightings and we are moving in the direction of bringing the African languages to a more common level. That will be at the expense of Afrikaans. *And bringing the African teachers as well who weren't here before?* Yes. That's what we do here. We needed to employ them and now if we employ any teacher, that teacher must be fully conversant in isiZulu.

E. Policy Support

1. Who supports your school most in interpreting and implementing language policy and related curriculum documents?		
	Interpretin g	Implementi ng
School Management		
Principals' Forum		
Learning Area Specialist		
District Officials		
Provincial Officials		
Non Governmental Agencies (NGOs)		
Other (<i>Please specify below</i>)		

Our school management team because we sit together with the policy and then well the teachers are also involved in that – we sit together with them and we have these learning area committees but the policy itself the managers sit together with it and when we finish with that we take it to the teachers and then the SGB. We do get some support from the District official in terms of documentation but the interpretation is largely left to us. What we are simply asked at every meeting is transformation, transformation and implementation of isiZulu, we get them in circulars too.

2. Are you satisfied with the support you have received/are receiving in making sense of and implementing language policy and related curriculum documents? Please elaborate.

In fact there is very little support. In fact really we are in the deep end, we are on our own. If we don't interpret the policies and implement them then nothing will happen apart from the fact that they ask us to get on with the policies. But I don't see any follow up where the officials would come and see how we are implementing this policy and what problems do you have, can I assist you, what is the situation or sending staff members, or can you make cell groups where you can discuss this matter, that kind of policy support is not forthcoming.

3. What support does the school management provide to assist educators in managing a classes which have learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?

Here also there is this problem because over the years I found that as the manager of this school, staff members are able to cope with these kind of problems of teaching children. The only problem I think we experienced recently is in the Grade O classes where children coming haven't had anyone teaching them English. Now we are having teachers teaching only in English and it takes them a long time to get through to the children. But we, as management, we cannot leave it entirely to them. Generally it is very little. They also struggle on their own. *Perhaps now with your African teachers here, you've got 4 of them and I have had an occasion to speak with them already and they seem to be eager to assist you in anyway in offering isiZulu lessons to the Indian teachers that is if there are takers for it.* Yes. That is helping now because the year is still young and we are still settling down and these teachers are still settling in their own classes because they have their hands full and so on. But it is now possible to ask them to do buddy teaching, so they can go and assist the other teachers. But by now generally you'll notice that those classes, the Grade R classes have come to grips with the teacher and the language probably, more or less, I am not looking at the ideal situation, but basically if you tell them to make a line, to stand up, be quiet, let's write, colour, they are learning those basic things. It's not the best, but we are getting by with it. *When I spoke to the two African teachers that I interviewed they did say that the other teachers are using them as resources. Eg. When they are reading and they are battling to get through to the learners, they would call them, whoever was nearest to their class to explain to the African child the instruction that was issued. They find themselves doing that from time to time.* That is what is happening and also before they came in when there were really serious problems the caretakers used to be called in to explain to the children. And also in terms of toilet training the caretakers do come in and speak to the children about that. And also you see with our Grade Rs one teacher goes for lessons every Wednesday, so on that day you have a Zulu teacher in that class for that day. So we just started that recently, how that's going to impact on the language problem, I am not too sure. *Is this the Grade R class?* Yes. *Does the Zulu teacher have a formal programme of work for them?* No, she will do the programme set aside for them by their teacher, so certainly she sets work for the children on that day. This teacher here is quite fluent in English also but because the majority of the children about 97% in that class are Zulu speakers, so possibly, I have heard her addressing the children in their language. *It will be interesting to assess how that class is doing now that she goes there once a week, whether it's helping. It will be interesting. I will contact you maybe in a month's time.* Yes. We will have to see how that

works because this is only the second time that that she is coming and she's a competent teacher. Yes, *give it some time and maybe after a month or two you could yourself assess how it's working and I'll phone you and we can talk about that. Now coming back to using the African teachers once they have settled down to offer isiZulu lessons that is if any teachers are interested, you will try that as well and I'll find out about that from you maybe in a month's time.* That's a priority at the end of this term soon as we have finished our testing programme we will have a lax week to discuss that programme if we can towards the end of June. To put in at least a programme of two groups or three groups or four groups. *All right I will contact you in the new term to find out if that has taken off.*

4. Is the school management supportive of any attempts educators have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in their classes? Explain.

No response.

5. Are your educators supportive of any language policy and/or practice change that you and your management team have initiated? Explain.

When I call them up, they do come. They do have their own...their own gradewise, they sit together and formulate policies and so on. But now that will be in all the learning areas except the languages the isiZulu language, for English, Afrikaans they sit together and form their own policies. But when it comes to the actual method of teaching that becomes a problem. I don't think that is being addressed by them. That is not being addressed. Why, is it because of their resistance to change or is it because they don't have the resources for that? The general problem here is sometimes I do find that and also I have heard amongst staff member eg. when I addressed assembly and did tell them the Easter story and when I did tell them the story in isiZulu, I got comments like this is an English school and I should tell the story in English. So this is the kind of stuff that we should be thinking about also. So from there you can gauge the attitude. That attitude is not the right attitude. *Is that kind of attitude a common attitude amongst many members of the staff or is it just a few members of staff, is that attitude changing. Is there still a mindset there?* You see there was a mindset and there was this resistance to change all along but now I think it's hitting them, the fact that they need to change, especially among the older teachers they have been set in their ways and those that were in this school, early years in this school when we had English-speaking learners who really performed now that things have changed, and the teachers have learned and are learning that if they don't change they will die. But generally it is difficult to change the mindset. It is not easy. But we are coping, judging from the success of the children. The teachers are getting across to the children.

6. What support does the Department of Education provide to assist you and your staff in managing a school which has learners whose home language is different from the medium of instruction?

It is very easy to answer that question. We don't have that kind of support and the schools need that. Not only in terms of handling the language but also in handling the type of children that we have coming to this school. All those things are sadly lacking, absolutely sadly lacking. *Did I ask you about your SEM? Who is your SEM in this area?* The SEM is Mr..... he is a Zulu-speaking gentleman. He should have but I don't say that he should be biased because of that but over and above that maybe perhaps somehow he should understand a little more than another race group because another race group wouldn't know what's happening and how we should be responding. Perhaps he has his work cut out. His hands are tied also there are things that he can do, things he can't do. *He doesn't have to necessarily do it himself? Well what submissions has he made?* We have made submissions to him and he has supported that. *What did he support?* He has supported us for a Zulu teacher. They said that they are creating 600 posts and I said it will be a pie in the sky if I get one for my school because we are Decile 10 so it all comes down to that. So there are 600 Zulu posts and I don't know where that is going to. *So apart from that, has he done anything tangible in assisting your school?* What he has done was when we needed a teacher, he made sure that he can identify a teacher who's competent in the language and he sent the teacher. And also when I appointed the Zulu-speaking teachers, substitutes, he gave me his full support and made sure that the teachers were appointed so that they can come in. You know, it's a start. So in that way I think that he has really been doing a lot.

7. Is the Department of Education supportive of any attempts you and your staff have made to initiate and sustain multilingual teaching/learning in your school? Explain.

They are not supportive but they are not discouraging us. You can understand what that means. Whatever attempts we make is not being viewed suspiciously. So it is okay. Nobody has made any comment on what's happening and apart from that we are just carrying on. *I don't know whether it is a regulation or not, but I have been told that a school cannot employ a governing body teacher to teach isiZulu in school? Is there such a regulation?* We need to clarify that perhaps the rule is that we must appoint someone with a SACE registration and the fact that the person must be qualified to teach. But on the one hand they say that but if you employ a qualified teacher I mean that's good, the person has SACE registration. Now you need to pay that person a minimum of three and a half to R4000 a month. Now in this school I can tell them in no uncertain terms where they can put that regulation. What I need is I need a teacher and I'm doing what I can and I'm employing someone who can do the job but who can accept the kind of funds that I have. /

thought that that regulation is counterproductive if you think about what the schools are trying to achieve with minimal support from the dept. but if you do come across that regulation, just give me the circular number and I'll get hold of it. It must be here somewhere but definitely you can't prescribe, you send us a teacher, fine we'll accept that but maybe it's coming from the unions too to protect its members. Or probably it's to force transformation. If you appoint an African teacher to teach isiZulu they would much prefer to have that teacher as a state employee rather than a governing body employee. So they would like schools to accommodate that teacher within their PPN. If I remember correctly I was at a principal's meeting, there it was said that when we appoint teachers we must have a MT speaker to teach the subject. One SEM said yes if you are not a MT speaker you say this word like this it can mean that, that is why you need a MT speaker to teach the language. And yet another Zulu principal stood up and said look I can speak the language properly but I'm not a teacher, how can I teach it. So you have two points of view and it's very interesting that is. I can learn French and I can teach it. I may not be the best teacher in the world but I can teach it. Are they pushing for MT speakers? Is that regulation? No, they are not and anyway we'll openly flout that.

	Yes	No
8. Have you received support from NGOs or Higher Education Institutions (Universities) to address cultural and linguistic diversity among learners?	1	2

9. What was the focus of the support?

Elet.

10. Describe how the agency went about supporting the school.

See HSRC data.

	Yes	No
11. Do you think the support your school received was useful?	1	2

12. Please explain what was useful about the support and how it has influenced the practices at your school.

That was helpful, I can see the teachers are using that kind of support. We are hoping that after this research here, we will be able to channel the requests in the right direction. I can give you some assistance in that regard straight away. I have been to IKHWEZI and

interviewed Wendy Govender who co-ordinates CPDS courses for practising teachers – this is done free of charge at IKHWEZI. They assisted Windy Heights with isiZulu courses for teachers run by Dr Shabangu. Whatever your needs are, if you communicate this to them they will run courses for your teachers. That will be very helpful. Apec also runs courses but not many people are members of that union.

13. Describe any other sources of support your school has received?

We have had support from religious organisations in terms of clothing and things like that. And we also had support from the Civics and the Senior Citizens they have given us donations, cash. The church group has donated two computers. Things like that. Businesses have given us some donations too. Have you received multilingual support from the parents of your learners? Are they forthcoming to assist? Have you approached them? The problem with our parents is that they send their children to this school so that they can be taught and they can learn English. That is what they want. If we have a meeting and if I address them in English they are quite happy about it even if they don't understand what I am saying. Their mindset is that English is important and want their children to get a headstart in English. Because many children, they go to these other schools and they are first language Zulu schools but they come here. But it seems that the position is ambivalent because when I interviewed the two African teachers, one of the issues I raised was the attitudes of the African parents and both the ladies said they had contact with African parents who've come for some reason or another to chat with them and they seemed to be absolutely thrilled that their children are learning isiZulu, they are not losing their MT and they maintain that? I don't know, it seems to be the attitude. Probably they are saying that because they don't want to let themselves down in the eyes of another isiZulu first language speaker. But that is what the teachers shared with me. That can be true, even at the meetings also I tell them we are teaching English but we mustn't forget the isiZulu. So that is why we try to give them some tuition in isiZulu, so they are happy with that. But basically they want their children to learn English. And when their children learn English they are so happy. The preschool parents say "my child can speak English so well" they are proud of that. I don't know why they do, but what if you go to Transvaal? That matter was raised by another principal. That is another set of dynamics, you'll need Afrikaans there and Sotho.

14. What further support would your school need to assist you in managing a school with a linguistically and culturally diverse learner population?

If we can get the infrastructure going, from there we can use that, from there we can branch out and so on.. What happens is that we need smaller classes that will help a lot

because our classes are 40 and above and there are many classes 49 – 50. So if we can get a better infrastructure and staffing ratio, better finances. *What do you mean by better staffing ratio?* You see our current PPN is 20, now 20, they say that it gives us 1:32. *But in reality it doesn't work like that?* I'm a Maths teacher, at least I know some Maths, I can't be that stupid. Now there's 20 of us with the principal. Now I can't take a class now because I am called out all the time. And 870 children divided by 18 if you leave out the DP and you end up with 45 or over 50. Now 1 is to 32? *You want smaller classes, you want more educators employed? And are you thinking in terms of more African teachers as well to teach across the curriculum and not just isiZulu?* What we would like is to get a better percentage of Zulu teachers while keeping the Indian teachers that are here to set the standards because the Zulu teachers, without being too judgemental, they need to come on board. They got some way to go before they can come on par with our teachers. That's my personal opinion and I can get into trouble for that. *That's okay. Other people have expressed that opinion as well. But it is also said that the longer some of these teachers work in schools like this they will come up to that standard or perhaps even supersede that because of the advantage they have in being able to speak two languages.* That's absolutely true. Perhaps I am looking at 40% level one teachers isiZulu, but for management positions and so on it must take some time, they must come from within the school. *You would like people to go through the ranks within the school, so you want in-house people who understand the ethos of the school?* They must move up by stages, if you are in a school like this you will really appreciate the problems of the school if you was a teacher here and go up to HOD and then DP I think that will be the best experience and you will know exactly what's happening here because our schools are not like the isiZulu schools, I am not comparing them in any way but they are different.

F. Views about Multilingual Education

1. What is your prediction for the medium of instruction (MOI) at your school for the next few years?

- c) the MOI will remain the same,
- d) will change.

Explain.

I don't think we will change, the MOI and I think for most schools because of English being such a major language it shouldn't supersede the other languages but be on par with them. *So you are saying English as a medium but the MT being maintained?* The MT being maintained in schools like this that have established themselves with English I think we should keep that language but ... *But you would allow for CS?* Possibly at a stage maybe in the earlier levels but around grade 6 and 7 the children should be able to manage with

English when they've been in this school from grade R, they should be able to manage with English in high school also. *So it is going to be needs based, when the need arises switch to isiZulu to clarify concepts but if the child can manage English?* Yes, that is true. That's right and then also you need to look at the capability of the teacher. The teachers should be able to converse, in KZN, they must have two languages English and isiZulu.

2. What is your prediction for the medium of instruction (MOI) at other schools provincially and nationally for the next few years?

- c) the MOI will remain the same,
- d) will change.

Explain.

I think the Afrikaans school will keep Afrikaans. I think that will be for a long time now. English schools will also keep their English. I think to change from one medium or MT to another language will take another five to ten years. *And the so-called African schools?* Although they are MT isiZulu or isiXhosa, but I think in time to come they are going to move towards English. It will go that way possibly because I've seen in Swaziland, isiSwati is the language there but in the schools the medium of teaching is isiZulu. So if it can happen there it can also happen here.

3. What type of School/medium of instruction would you ideally like to have?

I think that the medium of instruction should be English. And I think in the lower grade we need to wean the children up from only one language and it also a form of integrating because when you look at resources and you look at availability of materials, I think the English language supersedes any other language in this province. Before we had everything done in two languages, English and Afrikaans but now we've got them going from isiZulu first then English and Afrikaans.

4. What opportunities do you see as favouring a shift towards your ideal school?

I suppose you would have to start from going back to the teacher training colleges that is where it should start. You know when we were teacher trainees we had to learn English and we did Latin as our second language but for survival Afrikaans as a second language was taught to us as teacher trainees. So for teacher training, the teacher has to know English but isiZulu must be taken as a language. Teachers should be able to pass competency at a certain level before they get their diploma. You must start there. That is the kind of opportunity they must give us before we go into the schools, not just English but bilingual at least, especially in KZN.

5. What factors do you think will obstruct such a shift?

As you know when in Rome, you have to do as the Romans do. You live in KZN (Zulu switch) KwaZulu means place of the Zulu people. If you don't respect that, then you don't have no respect for the Zulu people. To be part of the huge population of this place you got to know the language, is that not so. So you have to tow the line. *So you think in time these mindsets will break down and they will be fewer and fewer obstructions?* With the new generation I think there wouldn't be any obstructions, I think the new generation is going that way. And even with apartheid, when you talk to the children, even the children in the high school they don't know these things. So to answer your question the new generation will bring about the change. So they just are children and they play together they don't look at their hair, their colour, it is very good I think it augurs very well for the future. So Think it's gonna go well. *Now that you mention it a black teacher at Windy Heights spoke about Indian children who live amongst the blacks who speak Zulu exactly as she does. She said that if she had to close her eyes she wouldn't know if was a black child or an Indian child speaking. I know you only have about 2% Indian children but in time they maybe able to speak isiZulu with the same kind of facility.* That's right. Last year we had one child I never knew she was speaking isiZulu so well and she learnt at school so it's coming.

6. What forms of support would you need to enable such a shift?

That's the same kind of support I was talking about, starting at the Training College. And over and above that at our school we need that kind of teacher. Not one, at least 10 of those teachers. That could assist. *Material resources?* Material resources, of course that should come with the personnel and the finances. We don't have enough literature, reading materials and DVD's which we can use in our lessons, computers and high tech stuff. All these things are still far-fetched, it is still a dream because we are basically struggling to survive.

7. Do you think that teaching and learning through the medium of the learners' mother tongue is a good idea? Please explain

Perhaps in the very early stages in grade R and in grade 1. But over and above that it might not be such a good idea in the MT. *When you say not good you mean completely in the MT. If the MT is not English?* Yes. If it is completely in the MT it is not in the best interest of the child to be taught only in his MT. And also to reach that stage you will need very qualified personnel to teach that stuff. *But if you do have the personnel?* I may be biased in my thinking on this issue but if you have the personnel, let them do it perhaps

from grade R and the grade 1 perhaps. *And the grade 2?* In grade 2 and above they should ... when they go up they won't have anybody else to teach them and if they do have they will find that they cannot carry on. It is not in the best interest of the child to learn only in the MT. *Why?* Because of the restrictions, learning materials... you can also tell me that look in the other schools they are managing and they are doing well. *The literature says that the MT instruction must be there in the primary schools. The entire primary school phase? Well RNCS will tell you, up to the foundation phase but the applied linguistic research will tell you up to least grade 7, but of course the literature is also saying that English should be taught as a subject as a target language to the children at a very high level as well. So while English is being taught, the MT is being learnt at the same time and by the time they exit grade 7 and they are moving into grade 8 in the high school they will be in a position to receive instruction completely in English. Well that is what the literature is saying but one's own experience at school level might be different. I think I can be very biased on that because while I am seeing it I am teaching it also I am looking at it. Perhaps I am not qualified enough to make a comment on that. It's fine, it's your view. This is the thing that I will ask all the change agents about their views and you are entitled to your views. If I say that you know it might not work because I am not qualified enough to see it but I am looking at this school across the border on this side and that's working and it seems to be working with them teaching in the MT so perhaps my thinking is biased. But you do see the value of MT instruction at least somewhere? Definitely, we should be teaching them in their MT from the early grades and we should wean them like the children who drink milk and then we give them a little solids? So you are saying that weaning them into English should start when they exit the foundation phase? Or even before that? Even before that, during the foundation phase period. Perhaps in Grade 2 and in Grade 3 that is the right time, we should introduce the children to be taught in any other language. Then we can see how it is going.*

8. Do you think African languages can be used in their current state to understand and express modern knowledge (Science, Geography etc) if learners and teachers are free to borrow terminology from Eng

The Zulu language is, you are talking MT Zulu, it has just been recently documented and I find that you know when you look at highly specialised terminology always you have to resort to the German, the Dutch, the English so the language (isiZulu) also needs to grow a little bit. So the highly technical stuff and so on is very difficult. I can't think of an example now, you see many of the words have come, borrowed from some other language. You see, table is *tafel* in Afrikaans and they say *itafula* so it came from there because in Zulu they never had a table. *It is that not the nature of language development that borrowings have always taken place and will always take place. For example, many words in Afrikaans*

have been borrowed from English and have simply become Afrikaanised if there is such a word as that. Now to teach physiology, chemistry is very difficult to teach them in isiZulu you got to borrow English words from the standard words, plutonium, golita for gold. So science and technology is going to be a problem initially? Possibly there is a dictionary for these terms but I find it is restrictive also. You talk to the children, the language is restricting them normally with these technical things. So the final word on this is that isiZulu has to be developed further to cope with the new knowledge? That's a bold statement to make but I also think that we need to be technical like the computer and so on so we need development in that area.

9. Do you support the principles underpinning the national LiEP (that I mentioned earlier in the interview)? Please explain.

The two main principles are :

One, the new policy encourages multilingualism in schools and, two, the previously marginalized African languages should be used as LOLTs and also as subjects. What are your thoughts about these principles? Are you supportive of these principles? Basically a lot of research has gone into that and South Africa has come a long way so this is the way we are going one has been neglected in the past so we have to make allowance for that which is good, it's a good move. Still there are too many languages to contend with, 11 languages, it is very, very difficult to contend with. We got to know what are we going to leave, what are we going to teach if you had 30 children in the class, 5 Xhosas, 5 Sothos.... That would cause a problem? I think you do have some Xhosa children? Yes. We do have some. It's not so bad. There are some similarities. There are some similarities? But what I heard from your teacher Miss Kenna, both of the Miss Kennas, they said, and both of them are MT Sotho speakers but they speak isiZulu very well because their mum has been living in KZN and she is Zulu, the father is Sotho, but they said they hardly speak any Sotho with the children even though they have one or two Sotho children. So I said what about those children? They said no, they are fine they can manage isiZulu. What will happen eventually is that in a school like this, you will have English and isiZulu being used widely. Would you go for that kind of thing. Is that more practical? Yes. It will be more practical. And if all the children are faced with the same problem, they can do that they will have to cope. We will all have equal advantage if it's English. I suppose English will be like a Lingua Franca a common language for everyone with isiZulu for those kids who are battling to get the concept. So generally you approve of those principles? Well, whether you approve or not I think should be done out of necessity and practicality, no more than that. If it was ideal to switch to their language to clarify a concept like code-switching, if it works quite well then we will have to teach like that.

10. Do you believe that a good command of English will favour learners in their careers?

Most definitely it would. Most definitely so. Because you are dealing with communities and people out there... *When you say out there you mean overseas?* Even in South Africa, English is the language of business and that kind of stuff. We need it.

11. In addition to English would a command of learners' home language be an advantage for their careers?

In the recent times, in the last few years now, we found that most posts that are advertised, you must have a command of isiZulu, you must be able to communicate in isiZulu. So it's coming forward and many posts that are advertised for the teaching you need the second language. Even in businesses as well, you need a second language. Definitely you would have to know isiZulu. If you know isiZulu and English you stand a better chance of getting a job in a company than a person who can only speak English.

12. Do you believe there are careers/jobs that require both a command of English and an African language? Which ones?

In this province I would say every job because even if it is management, supervisory post, you have many non-English speakers and you should be able to communicate in their language. In this province, it's isiZulu. So you need to know that language whether you are in the motor industry or in the factory supervising the floor, whatever it is.

G. GENERAL

1. What other language policy and/or practice changes have been initiated at your school? By whom? Are the changes being sustained?

2. What has been the most significant language policy and/or practice change that you or others initiated and sustained at your school?

The boldest step we are making now is to make Afrikaans a second additional language and isiZulu the first additional language, that is a very bold step that we are making. But when you talk about transformation the RNCS statement, it is the right way to go and the parents are meeting again this evening so we are going to discuss matters like that and get more clarity on that.

Is there anything not covered in this interview that you think might be useful for me to know?

We have basically covered everything but I would like to summarise that our school is not the ideal situation and we are still in the deep end and were drowning at one stage but now

we are just beginning to keep our heads above water and we are swimming a bit. So we are getting there and to judge from what the children are doing if you go onto the playground now you will find that the children are talking in the own language but if you go into the classroom you hear the English language being banded everywhere, they can answer in it and they can speak to you also, they try and speak in English. .

THANK YOU

Appendix G

Appendix H

Appendix I

