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SOCIOLINGUISTIC DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES FACING AFRICAN LEARNERS IN MULTIRACIAL SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF THEIR LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the sociolinguistic dynamics and challenges facing African learners in some multiracial schools in KwaZulu-Natal in terms of their linguistic and cultural identities. It seeks to investigate the impact of schooling in multiracial schools on the identities of young Zulu speakers living in Sundumbili Township in Northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Three formerly HOD schools in Stanger were identified as research sites, and 100 Grade 11 learners selected as respondents. Data was collected by a multi-method approach, through a written questionnaire, and through interviews with a sub-group of the respondents. Data analysis involved both qualitative and quantitative processes.

The findings indicate that the learners investigated have responded to the challenges posed by their schooling in a multiracial environment by developing into bilingual speakers who are aware of the need to select their language according to the communicative needs of their context. They seem well able to shift from school to the township and vice versa. However it is clear that some are no longer fully proficient in isiZulu. At the same time, these learners still identify themselves as *amaZulu,* primarily on the basis of participating in Zulu cultural activities. The role of language in constituting Zulu identity appears to be receding: many respondents feel that speaking isiZulu is no longer essential to being *amaZulu.* These attitudes raise some concerns about the long-term maintenance of isiZulu.

The thesis concludes with some recommendations aimed at enhancing the continued use of isiZulu. The Department of Education must ensure that all schools promote an additive form of bilingualism which will enable a child to develop in his/her mother tongue while getting exposure to an additional language. Furthermore economic value must be given to these African languages to enable learners to find meaning in studying and using them. Multiracial schools should celebrate diversity in both linguistic and cultural terms, and parents should come to accept the important roles that they need to play in this regard.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my own original work and it has not been submitted in any form to any other institution.

Signature: .....

I am satisfied that this dissertation is now ready for submission.

Supervisor: Professor E. de Kadt.....E de Kadt.....

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the decade since 1994, an increasing number of learners from isiZulu-speaking contexts in KwaZulu-Natal have been attending former White and Indian schools, now called multiracial schools, and are being educated primarily through the medium of English. However, in most multiracial schools the language policies have not changed to accommodate the fact that a new racial group with a different primary language has been admitted to the school. For instance, a recent HSRC report (2001) noted that changes in the medium of instruction have occurred mainly in the former Afrikaans medium schools, where dual or parallel medium of instruction has been introduced simply to accommodate those who are not comfortable with Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. English medium schools, on the other hand, have mainly continued to offer a single medium of instruction, as was the case before 1994 (see HSRC Report 2001:35).

The three former Indian High Schools I will be studying here are no exception to this. This is however, contrary to the stipulations of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996 clause 6(1)), which states that all 11 languages are equal and official. It is again contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996 clause 29(2)), which states that every South African child has the right to receive basic education through the language of his or her choice, where this is feasible. The continued invisibility of African languages in the school policies of some multiracial schools defeats the former Education Minister Bengu's commitment to multilingual language education through a policy of additive bilingualism (see Bengu 1997:1).

Hence this study will investigate the challenges faced by the African learners in these multiracial schools, in terms of their linguistic and cultural identities. Language, of course, plays a substantial role in identity construction, and all the more so in South Africa, given our history of the second half of the 20th century.

As Tabouret-Keller (1997:315) has pointed out, one cannot separate the language(s) spoken by a person and his or her identity as a speaker of that language. Language in this regard plays two main roles: it functions, firstly, as a means of identifying oneself, and secondly, as an external behavior that allows identification of a person as a member or non-member of a particular language group, by the group concerned. The invisibility of African learners' L1 in the multiracial schools' curriculum is of concern here. It raises interesting questions as to what is actually happening to these learners' linguistic and cultural identities in this educative context.

My interest in this topic emerges from my position as a member of Sundumbili township community in Mandeni, near Stanger, Northern KwaZulu-Natal. Many of the young people in this community attend the four multiracial schools in Stanger. I regard these learners as challenged in terms of their linguistic and cultural identities. Not only do they spend much time in an English-dominated environment, in addition they are deprived of crucial linguistic and cultural input in the classroom, as isiZulu is not taught as a subject in these schools. Furthermore there is an increasing tendency by some members of the community to treat them as outsiders in the township. I have often wondered what impact this has, both on their command of isiZulu and on their understanding of Zulu culture.

I would like to investigate the effects of their English dominant education in terms of the linguistic and cultural challenges it poses in our currently rapidly changing socio-political context. In my own experience, many of these learners are no longer fluent in isiZulu. Are they at the same time losing access to Zulu culture, as mediated by traditional Zulu cultural terms? What is their attitude towards being *umZulu* and towards what it means to be *umZulu*? Do they still experience themselves as *amaZulu* and if so in what terms? It is questions such as these that this thesis will seek to explore.

1.2 Context: Language-in-education policies

The following overview of the shifting language policies and practices of the past century will serve as a framework for understanding the current situation and current language-in-education policies. In considering language policies and practices, I specifically focus on the issue of medium of instruction, and the effect this may have had in devaluing the various mother tongues of Black people, and particularly of isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal.

The 1795–1948 period in South Africa was marked by English-Dutch, and later by English-Afrikaans bilingualism that was primarily informed by the British policy of Anglicisation (see Kamwangamalu 2000:52). The language-in-education policy for African schools during this period declared English the medium of instruction, from the initial stages of schooling throughout the school system (see Hartshorne 1995:307). At the same time, according to Hartshorne (1995:308), in Natal province the teaching of isiZulu as a subject was prescribed for all native learners from 1885. Until the late 1930s there was no real challenge to the position of English in African education, but there were increasing demands for the recognition of the mother tongue as medium of instruction during the early years of schooling.

By 1935, in all provinces of South Africa, the learner's vernacular language was made a compulsory subject of study throughout the primary school (see Hartshorne 1995:308). At secondary level all learners studied a vernacular language, but this was optional and was not even a pre-requisite for success in secondary school. The learner's mother tongue was to be used for the first 6 years of schooling and thereafter an official language (which at that time happened to be English) was to be used as teaching medium. The main lines of this policy remained in place until 1995. The policy of Anglicization required learners to have a good knowledge of English to gain access to a wide range of resources in the colony. This, on its own, devalued isiZulu, both as the language of daily use, and of learning and teaching.

In 1948 the Nationalist government came into power and introduced changes to the existing language policy and practices.

The 1948-1994 period was marked by Afrikaans-English bilingualism (see Kamwangamalu 2000:52). The government of the day introduced the highly discriminatory education policy known as the Bantu Education, by means of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

The linguistic goals of this Act were to promote Afrikaans and reduce the influence of English in Black schools by ensuring the equal use of both Afrikaans and English as languages of teaching and learning, and also to extend mother tongue education from grade four to eight (see Kamwangamalu 2000:52; 1997:237).

The Bantu Education Act meant that African learners were to receive their education through three languages, namely English, Afrikaans and their mother tongue. The Act had the consequence of completely tarnishing the image of both Afrikaans and of African languages among African learners. Afrikaans was seen as the language of oppression. The Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976 marked the end of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in Black schools. In most township schools it remained a subject for a number of years, but was increasingly removed from the school curriculum. However the three former Indian high schools I worked with have English as the medium of instruction and Afrikaans offered as a subject. African learners' attitudes towards Afrikaans seem to have remained largely unchanged until today.

Reagan (1987 in Reagan & Osborn 2001:117; see also Kamwangamalu 1997:238) notes that mother tongue education was seen as one of the pillars of apartheid, given that it clearly functioned to create and perpetuate both racial and ethnolinguistic divisions in South African society. The result for many African learners was that their first languages were perceived as inferior.

Kamwangamalu (1997:238) further notes that when early education was offered in the mother tongue, this was perceived as a lure to self-destruction, as the apartheid government used it to prevent access to higher learning. In this way, African learners' attitudes towards both Afrikaans and their mother tongue paved the way for English

only instruction. This further boosted the status of English inside and outside the education fraternity (see Kamwangamalu 2000:52).

When apartheid ended in 1994, the longstanding struggle between English and Afrikaans shifted to the struggle to promote the status of African languages.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996 clause 6(1)) extended official status to nine indigenous African languages, namely sePedi, seTswana, seSotho, tshiVenda, xiTsonga, siSwati, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. This policy of multilingualism implies the equal status of all 11 languages in all spheres of life. In terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996 clause 29(2)), every person has the right to basic education in the language of his or her choice, where this is reasonably practicable. The South African Schools' Act (Act 84 of 1996 chapter 2 section 6) has entrusted school governing bodies with the responsibility of developing their school's language policy, and requires them to state how this will promote the policy of multilingualism (see Bengu 1997:2).

Bengu (1997:1), the then Minister of Education, announced that his department intended to support a multilingual language policy with additive bilingualism. Kamwangamalu (2000:51) argues that despite this multilingual policy, in practice English is more equal than others, followed by Afrikaans, and at the bottom the African languages. He refers to this as a three-tier triglossic system, and for him this undermines the key objective of the new language policy, which is to redress the imbalances of the past by promoting the use of previously marginalized languages, even in higher domains (see Kamangamwalu 2003:233).

Kamwangamalu (2000:54) argues that not much has been heard of Africans demanding mother tongue education (but see also Heugh 2000). Since 1994, the country has witnessed the widespread movement of Black children from the rural and township schools to former Model C schools, currently termed multiracial schools (Murray 2002:436; Kamwangamalu 2003:237). Murray (2002:436) has reported that some of these schools did not adjust their language policies to accommodate the new population group admitted into the schools. The three schools I have studied are no exception to this, as they have English as medium of instruction, Afrikaans as a

subject, but no role whatsoever for the mother tongue of many of their learners (isiZulu).

In rural and township schools, English is the nominal medium of instruction, but there is an element of flexibility through code switching both inside and outside the class, and often isiZulu is taught as a subject. In multiracial schools the teaching staff is predominantly English-speaking and the student body is multiracial, hence the chances for speaking isiZulu are very slim if they exist at all.

It is against this background that this thesis seeks to explore the sociolinguistic dynamics and challenges facing African learners in multiracial schools in terms of their linguistic and cultural identities.

1.3 Broad problems to be investigated

This study of the impact of English dominant education on young Zulu-speakers must take cognizance of their socio-cultural context. Urban townships are currently in a state of considerable flux, with substantial social and cultural changes impacting on what have long been understood as traditional behaviors and values (see Dlamini: 2001). I will detail some of these changes below, particularly those that impact on language use.

A first significant change is from the extended to the nuclear family. In pre-industrial times, the extended family used to stay together as the family, but in these days the trend is that once a person gets married, he has to find his own place. Given that the elders of the community are the bank of both linguistic and cultural knowledge, children born in these circumstances are often deprived of the opportunity to learn from the elders. They are left with but one option: to acquire this knowledge at school. However, the schools under investigation do not promote the African learners' L1 and the associated culture.

Changes to the religious belief systems are as old as the arrival of the first White missionaries in this country, who introduced Western religion. This religion tended to undermine or to replace the African religion. The African religion had placed more emphasis upon the respect of ancestors, and on a deeply-entrenched respect system:

children should not call parents and elders by names, should not look at elders straight in the eyes, should not stand when talking to parents and elders, and should avoid certain subjects and terminology in the presence of elders, such as that relating to love and sex.

There is no doubt that the isiZulu language, too, is not static but is undergoing constant change. The many varieties of isiZulu spoken today, especially in townships, are very different to those spoken 100 years ago.

This is due primarily to the impact of contact with people from different language groups, such the frequent borrowings from English into isiZulu and the widespread use of code-switching. These differences are particularly obvious, as one moves away from rural areas to township or urban areas. At the same time, even in rural areas some changes have occurred, since most people now work in urban areas and come back home for holidays, bringing a changed variety of isiZulu with them.

The new understanding of children's and women's rights has also impacted strongly on traditional *hlonipha* customs. These rights have the common underlying principle that women and children, too, should be seen and heard, that they should be treated with the respect and the equality they deserve, both linguistically and otherwise. This is contrary to traditional *hlonipha* customs that placed much emphasis on men, especially fathers, at the expense of both women and children. These emerging rights have given women a greater freedom of expression: they are beginning to use terms that used to be culturally avoided by females, especially wives. Many former *hlonipha* customs are now viewed as discriminating against women. These changes, in turn, impact on the socialization of children.

To sum up: there have been changes in family structure, in religious belief systems, and in the type of isiZulu spoken, as well as new understandings of children's and women's rights, which impact on traditional customs. Given the diminished role of elders in many township families, classroom transmission of isiZulu language and culture is assuming increasing importance for the maintenance of Zulu cultural traditions.

Under these conditions of flux, the education of township children in multiracial schools offers the opportunity for a most interesting case study.

Hitherto this phenomenon has most often been investigated in terms of potential language shift (see de Klerk 2000; de Klerk 2002) but a concomitant impact on cultural understanding and values would also appear likely, and also needs to be investigated.

Township learners in multiracial schools find themselves in a very different learning environment, not only as regards the dominant language but also in terms of the ethnicity of the teachers and the teacher-learner relationships that can be constructed. Furthermore, in the schools investigated, isiZulu is not offered as a subject. Not only is there no classroom support for isiZulu language and culture, in addition the invisibility of isiZulu in the school curriculum and in actual classroom teaching implies a possible constant devaluation of learners' L1 and home culture.

The effects of this changed learning context may be initially visible in terms of language attrition, potentially leading to language shift and loss, but they are also likely to involve a reshaping of culturally underpinned values and attitudes, which in turn will impact on the ways in which these learners see themselves and on the identities they construct. Hence the thesis seeks to extend the investigation beyond the immediate issue of language shift, to focus on an investigation of potential underlying shifts in learners' self-perceptions, which in turn may contribute, on a deeper level, to explanations of language shift.

The importance of mother tongue maintenance should be understood against the close link that exists between one's language, culture and identity. In short, if their L1 is at stake, their identity as Zulu speaking people maybe at stake too.

1.4 Context of study and schools investigated

Learners who participated in this study were drawn from Sundumbili Township in Mandeni. This township is in Northern KwaZulu-Natal and is approximately 110

kilometers from Durban. The brief information that follows is taken from the 2001 South African Census (see Census, 2001).

1.4.1 **Population groups and languages spoken in the township**

Most township residents are Black African (122 594), with 3125 members of the Indian/Asian population group, 2337 Whites and 613 Coloured residents. The vast majority are Zulu-speaking, but there are substantial minorities who, in the Census, reported themselves as speakers of English, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, siSwati, sePedi and Sesotho (see Census, 2001).

1.4.2 **Participating schools**

The three participating schools are situated at the town of Stanger, also in Northern KwaZulu-Natal and approximately 30 kilometers from the township. The demographics of the schools are as follows.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LEARNERS PER SCHOOL

School A	660
School B.	1005
School C.	936

TOTAL NUMBER OF EDUCATORS PER SCHOOL

School A.	20
School B.	32
School C.	27

DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER TONGUE OF LEARNERS PER SCHOOL

	Afrikaans	English	IsiZulu	IsiXhosa	SeSotho	SeTswana
School A		104	549	05	01	01
School B	01	726	278	0	0	0
School C	0	547	389	0	0	0

It will be noted that School A has a preponderance of isiZulu-speaking learners (in addition to tiny minorities of speakers of other languages), whereas in Schools B and C, English-speakers are dominant.

Given that these three multiracial schools were formerly under the House of Delegates, all English-speaking learners are still of Indian descent.

DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER TONGUE OF EDUCATORS PER SCHOOL

	English	IsiZulu
School A	16	04
School B	32	0
School C	25	02

Clearly, only a minority of teachers (and none in School B) are Zulu-speaking, and this will doubtless impact on the extent to which isiZulu can be used in the classroom situation. It should again be noted that all English-speaking teachers are of Indian descent.

1.5 Outline of study

Following on this brief outline of the topic for my study in this chapter, Chapter two will present a literature review, focusing on the following issues: theorizing culture, theorizing identity and lastly the relationship between language, culture and identity. In Chapter three, I discuss the methods used to collect and analyse my data. Chapter four will present and analyse my data. Chapter five will draw out the implications of the analysis, together with my findings. In Chapter six I present my conclusions, and make some recommendations for educative practice, and for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this literature review I will consider ways in which my key concepts culture and identity have been theorized and also look at the relationship between language, culture and identity, with special focus on South African studies.

2.2 Theorising culture

The concept of culture has been very extensively defined and theorized. In the following I will simply identify and discuss a number of issues that are of interest in the context of this thesis.

Hicks & Gwynne (1994:7) define culture 'as everything that people collectively do, think, make and say'. The word 'collective' implies that not everything that an individual thinks, does, says or makes can be considered a part of that person's culture: culture, rather, is collectively shared by the members of a group, rather than being created by an individual. Cultures thus consist of all the customs, ideas, languages and artifacts that human beings share with one another and learn from one another, and collectively pass on to the next generation.

LeVine (1984:20) defines culture 'as an inherited system of ideas that structures the subjective experience of individuals'. People cannot escape culture, as anyone wishing to get along successfully with the members of his or her society has no option but to take cultural norms and expectations into account in his or her interactions with other members of this society. This is particularly pertinent to learners who are attending schools in a very different cultural context.

Even if one does not accept one or more aspects of a society's culture, one will need to behave more or less as others behave, in order to be accepted by members of the

society (see Hicks & Gwynne 1994: 47). The social group in which one is raised will condition one to view the world from its perspective. One's actions will depend on how well one has internalized the attitudes, values, ideas, customs and beliefs one has been taught by one's social group. This not only involves the languages people speak, but also the ways in which people think, what they say, hear, taste, touch and even smell.

Hicks & Gwynne (1994:47) viewed culture as 'essential for social life. It is essential for peoples' very existence as members of a group; it becomes a mechanism for solving the problems of human existence.' We can view a given culture as a complex set of problem-solving strategies for satisfying people's needs within a particular social environment which itself exists within a given natural environment (see Hicks & Gwynne 1994:47).

Culture is also integrated, meaning that the various aspects of any culture are closely inter-related. Sir Edward Burnet Taylor (1873 in Hicks & Gwynne 1994:47) defined culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. The use of the word 'whole' reinforces the idea of thorough integration of the different aspects of any culture (see Hicks & Gwynne 1994:47).

Essential for the understanding of township culture is the realization that all cultures are constantly in flux (see Foley 1997:381). Malan (1990 in Malan & Walker 1995:261), too, defined culture as 'a dynamic system of knowledge and values which is located in those processes of experience, interpretation and creativity by means of which individuals and their social groups give meaning to life and through which they express themselves both tangibly and in relationships'. Culture is indeed dynamic, as it constantly changes rather than remaining static. Change in one aspect of a culture may produce great change across the entire culture. Various things can cause changes in cultures, be it a response to internal and external factors, or an influence exerted on it by another culture.

The rapidly changing cultural understandings of urban Black people in this country provide a clear example of culture as constantly undergoing change.

The process by which major changes occur within a culture in response to the influences of another culture is termed acculturation. One of the most dramatic instances of acculturation occurred when Western cultures began spreading their influences to all corners of the world around 1500. This spread has been both beneficial and destructive to the other cultures they came into contact with (see Hicks & Gwynne 1994:47).

Hicks & Gwynne (1994:49) raise another important point in saying that culture is 'not genetic, but has to be socially transmitted and learnt'. Enculturation is the process by which an individual absorbs the details of his or her particular culture, starting from the moment of birth. Adler (1998:230) strengthened this idea by defining culture as 'the mass of life patterns that human beings in a given society learn from their elders and pass on to the younger generation'. In the Zulu traditional system there were well-defined structures that had the basic function of teaching the young ones what is socially acceptable and what is not. These ranged from parents, brothers and sisters in the family, to the *'amaqhikiza'* (older and unmarried sisters not necessarily from one's family). Some traditional celebrations were also used to transmit cultural knowledge, with special roles played by grandparents in this regard.

I would also like to briefly explore the concept of cultural identity, from the two different but related perspectives distinguished by Adler (1998). Firstly it can be used as a reference to the collective self-awareness that a given group embodies and reflects. It is defined and determined by its majority group. As Adler (1998:229) points out, this will involve both 'the natural and social characteristics that describe a set of traits that members of a given society share with one another above and beyond their individual differences. Such traits almost always include value systems, customs, attitudes towards life, death, birth, family, children, nature and many more. It also includes the definition of appropriate and inappropriate behavior'.

Adler's second perspective on cultural identity refers to the identity of the individual in relation to his or her culture. It is the symbol of one's essential experiences of oneself, in that it incorporates the worldview, value systems, attitudes and beliefs of a group with which such elements are shared (see Adler 1998:230). Cultural identity is one aspect of identity, to which we will now turn.

2.3 Theorizing identity

The concept of identity, too, has been theorized in a wide variety of ways, with at times a lack of clarity between what we may term individual, social and cultural identity. Thornborrow, for instance, focuses on individual identity in the following definition: identity can be understood as 'our sense of self and includes both the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions which construct our sense of who we are and the feelings which are brought to different positions within a particular culture' (Thornborrow 1999:136). The concept of identity answers the question of who the person is.

Turning to definitions of social identity, Wieberg (1996:1) defined identity 'as what makes one belong to various kinds of communities'. This includes different indicators of social identity and group membership such as dressing, hairstyle, taste in music, and linguistic choices.

Earlier understandings of social identity tended to see this as something pre-existing, into which individuals then fitted themselves. This essentialist conception of identity suggests that there is one clear and authentic set of characteristics which all members of a particular group share and which does not alter across time. This view sees identity as fixed and unchanging.

This line of thought can be clearly traced in South Africa's long tradition of ethnic conceptualizations of identity, one of the outcomes of the apartheid period. I personally do not agree with this understanding of social identities as pre-existing, since new encounters in life call for a person to have to adjust and review his or her identity in the face of new influences.

Of course there are some elements in one's life that cannot change at any point in time, such as those involving one's biological identity.
The fact that I am a girl and am short cannot change, the fact that I am a Black African woman cannot change (see Woodward 1997:11). But especially in a society which is undergoing social transformation, much can and will change.

Hence as Ivanic (1998) stresses, identity is not something pre-existing for any person. Instead it is better understood as socially constructed on an ongoing basis, as a result of what she calls 'affiliation to beliefs and possibilities available to people in their different social contexts' (Ivanic 1998:12). As one is exposed to new influences, so one's identity may need to be redefined. Such a non-essentialist definition of identity can, for instance, focus attention on how the definition of what it means to be *umZulu* has changed across the centuries (see Woodward 1997:11).

To sum up, identity, whether it is on an individual or social level, currently tends to be conceptualized as something which we are constantly building and negotiating throughout the days of our lives, through our interactions with other people. This is so because identity is a dynamic and not a fixed phenomenon, it is endlessly constructed, negotiated and redefined, responding to new demands that one encounters in everyday life (see Tabouret-Keller 1997, Kroskrity 2001, Rudwick 2004, De Kadt 2003).

Furthermore identity is not simply a matter of what I think I am, but also of how others see me (see Tabouret-Keller 1997:315). One constantly builds and negotiates one's identity through interactions with other people. Societal expectations are transmitted or made known to individuals, during interactions, generally implicitly; upon receiving such information one may, equally implicitly, modify one's behavior or understandings in the light of what is socially expected and accepted.

It becomes clear that one's social identity is not something one can always determine and control on one's own, instead it depends to a considerable extent on how people around you perceive you. Is it, for instance, possible for a Xhosa-speaker who has lived in KwaZulu-Natal for many years, to begin to see him/her as u*mZulu*? Who will decide this matter? It is, then, really impossible to think of identity as a purely individual matter. Your perception of yourself as an individual can only be in relation to others.

Thornborrow (1999:136) mentions a further issue: he points out that one's identity is multifaceted, meaning that people will switch into different roles at different times and in different situations. Changing contexts may require a shift into different and sometimes conflicting identities for those involved.

For example, one can be a family boy, a school boy, a soccer boy, a friend, a church choir boy, many more roles. These different roles each call for a different identity, if one is to fit and be accepted in a particular context.

This issue is crucial for my study. The expectations of one's family may be different from those of one's friends or from those in one's educative or work context. It is here that we can expect to see shifts in identity that are sometimes conflicting. Are the learners in this study able, and willing, to shift their identities appropriately as they move between school and home? Does this require a substantial shift in identity, and if so, in what ways? Are there contradictions, which have to be negotiated? These are issues I will be exploring in this study.

2.4 Language, culture and identity

In order to understand the importance of language use in education, the link between language, culture and identity needs to be established. Policies during the apartheid period put more emphasis on strong boundaries between languages and people, which resulted in singular essentialist identities rooted in an intimate bonding of race, language and culture (see Murray 2002:434). Language was used by the apartheid government to divide the Black South Africans into various ethnic groups, a division that resulted in the creation of ethnic homelands, KwaZulu being one of them (see Makoni 1996:261).

The apartheid government had a very static view of the relationship between language, culture and identity. In the post-apartheid era this inseparability of language, culture and identity has been challenged. The perceived strong boundaries started to crumble as South Africans were encouraged to go for the concept of 'South African', as the only descriptor that is not discriminative (see Murray 2002:434).

Our use of language is one very important way of establishing our identity and of shaping other people's views of who we are. Communities usually use language as a means of identifying their members and also of establishing their boundaries.

In this way, language becomes a powerful means of exercising social control. Identifying yourself as belonging to a particular group or community often implies adopting the linguistic conventions of that group.

It is not the responsibility of an individual to control how these conventions are defined and maintained; rather it is done by the community (see Thornborrow 1999: 136). People use language to accomplish and display shifts in identity as they move from one role to another; as I have noted earlier, identity is multifaceted. Being able to show that you can use linguistic terms and discourse appropriately, according to the norms associated with a particular group, helps to establish your membership of it, both to other members of that group and to those outside it (see Thornborrow 1999:143). Tabouret-Keller (1997:315) has coined the phrase "acts of identity", for the ongoing use of language to construct identity.

Richardson (2001:38) has argued that when speaking about language we are also speaking about culture. The point is stressed by Fishman (1999:445), in saying that in many areas of life, language is culture. I agree with this, because language is a means of articulating the values, beliefs, traditions and past achievements of the community. Peoples and Bailey (1998:35) emphasized this interrelatedness between language and culture by saying that culture would be impossible without language, as it is the resource generally used to communicate or transmit cultural knowledge. Bates and Plog (1990:17), too, have pointed out that language is the primary medium through which culture is passed from one generation to the next, and that culture is also created out of language (see Bates & Plog 1990:19).

The process of socialization called enculturation prepares one to fully function as a member of a given society. This means to be able to speak its language appropriately and to use its symbols in an acceptable way. In this way, a child born into Zulu society, for instance, begins to learn behavior, language and skills appropriate to Zulu culture right from birth.

2.5 Language and identity in South African contexts

Language has long been a focal point for identity in South Africa. However, conceptualizations of the relationship between language and identity have changed radically during the past decades.

Dlamini (2001:198) has pointed out that the apartheid government's philosophy was based on the belief that 'racial, linguistic and cultural differences should be made the fundamental organizing principle in society'. As a result language became a crucial factor in ascribing ethnic identities to the indigenous people of this country (see Webb 1996). The South African nation was divided along ethnolinguistic lines, and people were confined to artificially created homelands. In these homelands people were grouped ethnically on the basis of their language, and as a result their language was expected to reflect their ethnic identity (see Makoni 1996:263).

This was the case in spite of the controversial way in which these indigenous languages and homelands were created. It was in this sense that being *umZulu* was equated with speaking isiZulu. Ethnic identity was foregrounded over social and personal identities.

Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2000:99), too, argued that in the South African context, during the apartheid era, language and ethnicity were very closely interrelated. Various ethnic groups had their distinct languages associated with their identity, and the specific language was seen as transmitting the group's cultural norms and values. They cite the view of Jenkins (in Barkhuizen and de Klerk 2000:99) that ethnic groups subsequently tended to internalize labels had been imposed on them.

The apartheid understanding of the relationship between language and (ethnic) identity was underpinned by an essentialist and hence static conceptualization of identity. Fore instance, Herbert (1992 in Makoni 1996:261) noted that the apartheid government had a 'relatively static view of the relationship between language and ethnicity'. In this sense, language was seen as 'a strictly bonded phenomenon and ethnic groups were considered culturally homogenous.'

Makoni (1996:261), by contrast, views identity as not fixed but variable, which implies that it is endlessly constructed and negotiated in the face of new challenges. He warns against conceptualizing language and ethnicity as firmly fixed, because this fails to recognize the extent to which identities can be variously manipulated in different interactional events (see Makoni 1996:271).

In the post-apartheid period, according to Makoni (1996), pan ethnic identities are emerging. These are forms of identification and association that cut across ethnic, social and class lines (see Erickson and Schultz 1993, in Makoni 1996:263). Pan ethnic identities reflect the differences that exist between and among people, rather than trying to ignore and suppress them. They are concerned with combining both local and international identities (see Makoni 1996:263). Pan ethnic identities acknowledge diversity, while imposing a super ordinate identity over this.

This, in turn, might lead to changing perceptions of language, and, indeed, to the emergence and popularization of new languages. South Africa has a good example in Tsotsitaal, which is increasingly said to be the language of common ownership (see Makoni 1996:271). It can be viewed as an attempt at establishing a new urban pan African identity, across ethnic and cultural differences, especially by the young people of this country. The use of Tsotsitaal signals the emergence of changed ethnicities, which accept and accommodate differences both within and between groups. This is contrary to the apartheid government's myth of linguistic and cultural homogeneity (see Makoni 1996:271).

Turning now specifically to the understanding of Zulu identity/ identities, Dlamini (2001:195) has examined the development of Zulu identity and the various types of identification generally used to define Zulus. She conceptualised ethnic identities as not static but as continuously changing in the face of political and other influential factors (see Dlamini 2001:198). According to Dlamini, Zulu identity in KwaZulu-Natal is based on four criteria of identification, namely: birthplace, descent, language and history. To these she added the practices of *hlonipha* and *ukukhonza* (literally to worship). Perceptions of Zulu identity can vary in terms of the weight given to each of these criteria.

Dlamini also develops a historical perspective on 'Zulu identity'. Over the past 50 years, various institutions have defined Zulu identity. The first definition is the one given by the apartheid government. It refers to Black people who inhabited the region of KwaZulu and whose first language is isiZulu. Inkatha added to this definition: *amaZulu* also had to show allegiance to the KwaZulu state. Contrary to this was the African National Congress's definition that was based on the vision of a non-racial, non-ethnic and democratic South Africa. The ANC viewed politicized ethnic nationalism (as proposed by Inkatha) as dangerous and a threat to the imagined non-racial South Africa. In terms of her historical perspective, Dlamini (2001:205-206) also notes that Zulu cultural practices that had previously been shared and understood such as the *hlonipha* custom are now being challenged and thereby given new meanings.

The language issue has been highly controversial in KwaZulu-Natal, as linguistic practices have played a crucial role in the social and political organization of the province and also in the strategies and restructuring of the post-apartheid country (see Dlamini 2001:201). The use of isiZulu in some situations has been equated with Inkatha politics and as a result, those speaking it have been labeled Inkatha members. This is because Inkatha has claimed the ownership of Zulu symbolic resources, which included the language, thereby making it difficult for other organizations to use these resources in pursuing their political agendas. People of this province then became divided in terms of their variety of Zulu: those who spoke isiZulu with a deep, rural accent tended to be labeled as Inkatha members, while those who spoke isiZulu with a slang dialect like Tsotsitaal or 'Johannesburg isiZulu' were labeled African National Congress members (see Dlamini 2001:202).

Dlamini (2001:202) also noted that isiZulu has long been associated with illiteracy and ignorance, which can be said to be historic, in the sense that African languages were devalued during the past two governments. They were not given any key role in economic, educational and government sectors, in that English was made the language of schooling and was also seen as an indicator of knowledge.

In the light of this background, Dlamini argues, the politics of language and identity must be understood as based on the different and often contradictory positioning or valuing of these two languages. IsiZulu was positioned as a ' local language' representing ethnic Inkatha politics but also indicating ignorance and illiteracy. English on the other hand was positioned as colonial, neutral and a language of politics and education. People of this province then had to redefine their lives through their language use in the light of the background sketched above (see Dlamini 2001:203).

The people Dlamini (2001:204) investigated were not ready to give up their ethnic identities irrespective of their political affiliation, and were still very proud of their Zulu heritage. Her work confirms that people still want to maintain their Zulu cultural and ethnic identity, and that language and other cultural materials are used not to escape but to affirm the label Zulu.

However, changes in the relationship between language and ethnic identity are not only a function of changing perceptions of isiZulu: increasing English-isiZulu bilingualism is also an important factor. One related study is Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2000), which explored the ethnolinguistic consequences of change within the South African National Defense Force 6SAI army camp in Grahamstown. Seeing that the army has now become racially and ethnically integrated, this study sought to investigate the consequences of this interethnolinguistic context for the speakers of African languages (see Barkhuizen & de Klerk 2000:95).

What is of interest is that, while army personnel have accepted that English is the language of official communication in the army, this does not appear to have impacted negatively on personnel's perceptions of their own ethnolinguistic identities. (see Barkhuizen & de Klerk 2000:112) This is because no principle has forced the personnel to abandon their languages: they have their lives outside the army, and even in the camp, for informal interactions they are at liberty to use their ethnic languages (see Barkhuizen & de Klerk 2000:112). It does appear possible to use English very frequently, but nevertheless to retain a strong sense of oneself as *umZulu, umXhosa* etc. However, de Klerk and Barkhuizen have focused on mature adults; does this also hold for younger learners?

2.6 Language and identity issues in education

Let us now turn, selectively, to studies which have focused on language and identity issues in education.

The growing trend towards English-medium education in multicultural schools has been frequently commented on. For instance Schuring et al (1997 in de Klerk 2002:3) report that an increasing number of the speakers of indigenous languages view English as the language of prestige and something to be aspired to. This is in line with motivations for sending children to multiracial schools, as articulated by parents. The parents de Klerk investigated claimed to be motivated by the socio-economic benefits of English, as they have seen the dividends that come from an investment in English (see de Klerk 2000:105).

De Klerk (2002:2) argues for the need for a curriculum and a language-in-education policy that will make provision for early literacy and language development in the mother tongue while ensuring that every child has equal access to English. This, she argues, will help in ensuring the survival and growth of the first languages of the Black people in South Africa.

De Klerk has published several studies on the ethno-linguistics effects of English-medium schooling in the Grahamstown area (see de Klerk 2000; 2002). She has explored the motivations of parents seeking English medium education for their children. These include the higher status associated with English, benefits of being proficient in English and also the quality education offered by these schools (see de Klerk 2002:3).

The parents de Klerk worked with reported signs of rapid shift to English. A minority of parents voiced clear fears about the loss of Xhosa language and culture with their children attending multiracial schools, but generally, parents seem to have ambivalent feelings towards this issue (see de Klerk 2002:5). De Klerk reports that 81% of her respondents agreed that it was important to support and maintain the mother tongue. These were the very same parents who had made the conscious choice to send their children to these multiracial schools. Clearly, these parents wish their children to remain loyal to their first language.

These parents are aware of the special link between language and Xhosa tradition and culture, and some openly say they do not wish to see their children being 'a disgrace in their nation', by failing to relate to their culture (see de Klerk 2000:18). However parents are very much aware of the restricted societal functions of their mother tongue, and in the interviews frequently mentioned that Xhosa retains only a symbolic or ritualized function and has limited use in South Africa (see de Klerk 2002:11).

Most parents de Klerk studied have become resigned to cultural and linguistic assimilation for their children; despite the loss that will be experienced by these learners (see de Klerk 2002:10). De Klerk (2002:11) concludes that while parents in her study are deeply ambivalent about this issue, many of them are nevertheless actively and knowingly promoting shift from Xhosa to English for their children. These parents want their children to be assimilated into a single unified national culture which will probably be Western in nature. This will be informed by the ethnicity of the teaching staff as well as of co-learners. The decision by these parents will lead to assimilation and loss of diversity (see de Klerk 2002:11).

Comparable research on learners in KwaZulu-Natal has been limited, but a recent study by Mathey is highly relevant to my project. Mathey (2004:1) explored discursive practices of the home and school that impact on the instruction of the identities of a group of three African female learners in a multiracial school - a former Coloured school. She was interested in exploring their attempts to redefine themselves in this new multiracial, multicultural and multilingual context, which she described in terms of physical, social and linguistic diaspora (see Mathey 2004:2). What her study revealed is, as she terms it, identities that are multifaceted, dynamic and characterized as sites of continuous struggle.

Mathey (2004:2) has noted that these learners are exposed to English as the medium of instruction, as a 'first language' subject, in a context where the teaching staff were almost all Coloured.

She reports that the effects of linguistic diaspora are having painful consequences for these learners, who often feel ostracized by their community, to the extent that they have even been given negative labels such as 'coconuts' and 'oreos'. One interviewee admitted that her sense of self, her social identity, had been transformed into what

would be more acceptable to white mother tongue speakers of English (see Mathey 2004:8). The tendency of some children attending multiracial schools to pretend to forget isiZulu is explained by one of the interviewees, in that these learners state that they want to become Coloured (see Mathey 2004:8).

It is interesting to note that the interviewees had diverse feelings towards what it means to be Zulu. One interviewee expressed the will to participate in cultural activities because they define her as *umZulu.* On the other hand another interviewee rejected practices of culture especially when they coincide with her Christian beliefs and her sense of modesty, but nevertheless still saw herself as *umZulu* (see Mathey 2004: 4-5).

My study seeks to contribute to this growing body of research into the consequences of the current trend to 'multiracial' schooling. While de Klerk's studies provide valuable information for the Grahamstown context, she has not yet explored the perceptions of learners themselves. Mathey, on the other hand, has produced a fascinating and detailed study of three Zulu-speakers in a formerly Coloured school. My own study will present a less detailed study of a larger group of Zulu-speaking learners in three KwaZulu-Natal schools characterized by Indian ethnicity.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods of data collection and analysis used for this project. A multi-method approach was used in this research project in order to reduce any possible limitations associated with the use of a single method of data collection. This approach used both quantitative and qualitative methods: primarily, written questionnaires and interviews. The research sites were three former Indian High schools in Stanger area, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, which is approximately 35 kilometres from Sundumbili Township where my respondents reside.

In selecting the research sites I took advantage of being an educator in the area that falls under ILembe District in which these schools are found. I used my knowledge as an educator to phone the former Model C schools to make appointments to see the principals. The first four schools that responded positively were then selected as research sites. However, I subsequently eliminated the fourth school, as it differed from the others in that it had learners of all races, whereas the other three had only Black and Indian learners. Given the limited size of this research project, I felt it would be wiser to limit the demographics involved. The three schools were chosen because they presented a coherent opportunity to study Zulu speakers within an environment dominated by Indian ethnicity.

In these schools I first talked to clerks who set up appointments with the principals. In my first meeting with the principals I brought along a written request, together with the letter from the Head of the Linguistics Department in the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a copy of my questionnaire. I discussed the matter with the principals, who then discussed it with the governing body and the staff. I was telephonically notified that my request was accepted, and dates were suggested for me to come and administer the questionnaires.

In my discussion with the principals I also discussed the criteria for selecting the respondents, indicating that I would need 18 girls and 17 boys in site A, the same number in site B and 15 girls and 15 boys in site C. Teachers helped me to select the respondents and also to make their classrooms available for this purpose.

I thought that 100 grade 11 learners would be a reasonable number for my study, in view of the time available and the fact that this was a 50% Master's thesis. These 100 grade 11 learners participated in the first stage of data collection; they were all of Zulu ethnicity and from Sundumbili township. Grade 11 learners were chosen because they are mature enough to be able to address my questions but were not yet tied up with Matriculation examinations.

Subsequently semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 learners from the three multiracial schools. Teachers assisted me in selecting the 20 learners who were to participate in these interviews; again I needed ten girls and ten boys. I requested teachers to select learners who are very vocal in class, so as to ensure that I got as much information as possible. I know from my own experience as an educator that there are those learners who never keep quiet in class and who like arguments. These are the type of learners who would be likely to supply me with sufficient information, since they are not shy to express their feelings, ideas and opinions. Choosing very vocal learners for focus groups may well have contributed to some bias in my findings, as vocal respondents may well tend to express largely dominant opinions, whereas minority opinions might not be so freely offered, and hence lead to perceptions of those learners being 'shy or quiet'. Their inclusion in focus groups might have added another dimension to the focus group data collected. I also thought that 20 would be a reasonable number for this purpose, considering the scope of the thesis. In research site A, I selected four girls and four boys, in site B three girls and three boys and similarly in site C.

3.2 Methods of data collection

As indicated above, a multi-method approach was used in this research project, involving both written questions and interviews. I sought answers to the following research questions:

(1) To what extent do the participating learners still use isiZulu?
(2) What is the attitude of these learners towards isiZulu?
(3) What is their attitude towards Zulu traditional culture?
(4) What do these learners see as their linguistic and cultural identity?
(5) Is gender a significant variable in these attitudes?
(6) What are the implications of these attitudes for the maintenance of isiZulu?

3.2.1 Written questionnaire

The first, and main method of data collection, was by means of a written questionnaire that was administered in English, and was completed by a total of 100 learners in grade 11. The choice of English as the language used for the questionnaires was motivated by the fact that in the participating schools it is the dominant language, as the language of the classroom. I felt it appropriate to use the language they are most familiar with in the school context, given that they might not be so familiar with specific terminology in isiZulu, as this latter language had not formed part of their formal education. On the other hand I am equally aware that this may, again, have introduced bias into the responses: this might possibly have implied (incorrectly) that I considered English to be superior to isiZulu, which might in turn have influenced responses. It would perhaps have been interesting to offer them a choice of language for questionnaires and this would have given me the chance to note their level of commitment to isiZulu.

I chose a written questionnaire for this initial stage because this would allow me to gather information efficiently from a large number of respondents (see Milroy and Gordon 2003:52). However, I remained aware of the limitations of questionnaires, in that pupils may misunderstand questions, avoid giving answers or (un) intentionally misrepresent information.

The questionnaires first collected background data from pupils such as their age, gender, residential addresses and full names. I was interested in pupils' names, in order to ask further questions relating to the names typically used by different people around them and the names they prefer. Requesting learners to give their names, while essential to my project, might of course have limited respondents' openness somewhat, especially since I am known to some of them as we reside in the same area. This possible limitation must also be borne in mind in considering the validity of the responses. The questionnaire also investigated pupils' claimed language use patterns in different situations with regard to both English and isiZulu, as well as their attitudes towards both languages. Both closed and open-ended questions were used.

Closed questions were helpful in allowing me to quantify results, while open-ended questions allowed the respondents an opportunity to formulate their own responses and raise additional issues (see Romaine 1995:302). A pilot test was conducted in July 2004 to determine the final version of the questionnaire. For this I sought ten grade 11 learners from Sundumbili Township who attended other multiracial schools. Pilot testing was essential for my project, since in questionnaires a lot depends on the actual wording of questions, and this must be tested on a sample of respondents that is similar to the target sample that the questionnaire is designed for (see Dornyei 2003:63). Pilot testing helps highlight questions that might be difficult for the respondents to understand, and ambiguous questions as well as those that need to be eliminated as they might yield irrelevant information. Using the feedback from the pilot study, I made necessary changes and fine-tuned the final version of the questionnaire (see Dornyei 2003:64). I added questions 28 & 29, and also added an introductory sentence for question 33 and finally paraphrased question 37. (A copy of the final questionnaire appears in Appendix A)

I requested the selected learners through their educators to bring pens. I met the learners in the classroom made available for this purpose. I started by establishing rapport, giving a brief introduction regarding the purpose of the task and also about myself. I gave the learners a chance to ask questions.
I then distributed the questionnaires with the help of an educator, and asked them to fill them in individually, as per instructions. I remained as an invigilator, until all learners had finished.

3.2.2 **Interviews**

The second stage of data collection involved tape-recorded interviews with pairs of learners. In these interviews I aimed at eliciting and confirming facts, attitudes and opinions that had been suggested by my analysis of the questionnaires or from my initial observations and reading. The interview format allowed me to explore specific issues in some depth. By keeping the questions uniform, I was able to compare the responses across learners. At the same time it is of course quite possible that learners did not feel able to speak freely and openly with me, an adult whom they do not know well. Nevertheless, I decided to conduct the interviews myself as they required a

skilled interviewer who was fully familiar with the research topic and who could introduce follow-up questions if appropriate.

The interviews were semi-structured and based on the question and answer method. According to McDonough & McDonough (1997:182-184), this type of interview allows the researcher to have a structured framework and at the same time to have flexibility within this; it also gives the freedom to ask follow-up questions. The researcher remains in control of the direction of the interview, as he or she is the most knowledgeable on the topic of the research, but can at the same be flexible. Questions were asked in English, but interviewees were free to use whatever language they felt comfortable with; most used code-switching in their responses.

Each interview lasted about 60-70 minutes. Since I am in full time employment and my interviewees were learners, we were all otherwise committed during weekdays; as a result my interviews were staged on weekends i.e. Saturdays and Sundays from 14h00-17h00. Weekends proved difficult, as learners at times did not honor our appointments, which then forced me to reschedule these interviews. There seemed to be little serious commitment to the project, as the interviews were done over the weekends and outside the school hours.

Since my interviews were tape-recorded, I then transcribed them with the help of a colleague, who checked my transcriptions and my translations of any code-switched responses. (A copy of the questions for the interviews appears in Appendix B).

3.3 Methods of data analysis

Data analysis involved both qualitative and quantitative processes, such as counting to answer questions about frequency, and drawing on interview transcripts to derive nuanced descriptions that would help answer my qualitatively oriented research questions (see Johnstone 2000).

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1 Presentation of questionnaire data

In the following I present, in tabular form, the data obtained from the questionnaire. I summarise responses to open-ended questions, and highlight findings of special significance.

The first three demographic questions confirmed that the bulk of respondents were aged between 16-18 years, that half were male and half female, and that all were from Sundumbili Township.

4.1.1 : Learners' names

The following four questions focused on learners' names.

Question 4
Full names (Not surname)

	Females	Males	Total
English only	01	02	03
IsiZulu only	17	23	40
Both	32	25	57

More than half of my respondents have both isiZulu and English names; most others have an *i*siZulu name only; very few only have an English name. More males than females have isiZulu names only; more females than males have both English and isiZulu names.

Question 5
Which name do your friends mostly use?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	06	18	24
IsiZulu only	41	30	71
Both	03	02	05

Learners report that their friends mostly use their isiZulu names. In addition 50% of them claimed that their friends use their isiZulu nicknames, mostly shortened versions of their isiZulu names.

Question 6
Which do your educators mostly use?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	24	21	45
IsiZulu only	25	28	53
Both	01	0	01
Nil	0	01	01

There is an almost balanced use of isiZulu and English names by their educators. Presumably these are names provided by their parents or by the learners themselves on their being enrolled at the school.

Question 7
Which name do you prefer?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	06	13	19
IsiZulu only	39	35	74
Both	04	02	06
Nil	0	0	0

74% of my respondents preferred their isiZulu names; at the same time, a not insignificant 19% opted for their English names.

To sum up questions 4-7, almost all learners have an isiZulu name; most learners prefer these isiZulu names, and their friends do generally use these; there is an almost equal use of English and isiZulu names by educators in these schools.

4.1.2 : Language usage patterns and attitudes

The following questions explored language usage patterns and attitudes, both in the community and at school.

Question 8
What is the first language you spoke as a child?

	Females	Males	Total
English	0	0	0
IsiZulu	49	47	96
Both	0	01	01
Nil	01	02	03

This result simply confirms that respondents were born from isiZulu speaking families; however fluent they may be in English, this is not (yet) a primary language in their families.

Question 9
Which language(s) do you use with school friends?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	06	10	16
IsiZulu only	11	14	25
Both E & Z	27	18	45
Isitsotsi	02	05	07
IsiZulu/English/isiTsotsi	04	02	06
Nil	0	01	01

The use of both languages English and isiZulu, is predominant in their conversations with their friends at school, but especially so with female respondents.

Question 10
Which language(s) do you use with friends in the township?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	04	10	14
IsiZulu only	31	14	45
Both E & Z	13	18	31
isiTsotsi/IsiZulu/English	02	02	04
IsiTsotsi	0	05	05
Nil	0	01	01

Interestingly, while male respondents report the same language usage with township friends as with school friends, female respondents report a far higher use of isiZulu.

Question 11
Which language(s) do you use with your mom?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	0	04	04
IsiZulu only	40	39	79
Both E & Z	09	05	17
IsiTsotsi	0	02	02
Nil	1	0	01

Question 12
Which language(s) do you use with your dad?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	02	03	05
IsiZulu only	35	38	73
Both E & Z	10	06	16
IsiTsotsi	0	02	02

Questions 11 and 12 probe language use with female and male parents respectively. As to be expected, the majority uses isiZulu, though some use of English is reported. This presumably reflects not least the still low levels of education among many Black parents in our community. Though some parents are educated, the home language continues to be isiZulu, which may also be influenced by whether they still live with their extended families. At the same time, some parents might be creating opportunities for using English at home, on the assumption that practice makes perfect.

Question 13
Which language do you use with your sisters and brothers?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	07	03	10
IsiZulu only	26	30	56
Both E & Z	14	10	24
IsiTsotsi	01	0	01
IsiZulu/English/isiTsotsi	02	05	07

More than half of my respondents claimed the use of isiZulu. 34 claimed the use of at least some English, possibly because their siblings might also be attending a multiracial school. In addition, these responses suggest that, at home, girls tend to use more English. This contrast with the results from question ten, which had indicated that, in the community, girls use more isiZulu

Question 14
Which language do you use with teachers?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	43	42	85
IsiZulu only	0	02	02
Both E & Z	07	06	13

This comes as no surprise because the teaching staff consists predominantly of English speakers of Indian ethnicity. At the same time, that 13% use both English and isiZulu suggests that some teachers may speak some isiZulu.

Question 15
Which language do you use most?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	11	05	16
IsiZulu only	37	43	80
Both E & Z	01	0	01
Nil	01	02	03

Of interest here is the suggestion that somewhat more female respondents use English more frequently.

Question 16
Which language do you most like to speak?

	Females	Males	Total
English only	29	25	54
IsiZulu only	19	20	39
Both E & Z	02	01	03
IsiTsotsi	0	02	02
Sesotho	0	01	01
Italian	0	01	01

Responses polarized into either 'English only' or '*isi*Zul*u* only', though 'both English and isiZulu' could have been selected. Somewhat more respondents selected English, giving in the main instrumental or pragmatic reasons. In the following, I focus on the most frequently given motivations:

a) English is the school's medium of instruction.

"Use it at school as I spend so many hours at school and all my text books are in English as it is the English medium school and I am used to it"

b) Interestingly, several respondents speak of English as "easy to understand", and a few find it easier to express themselves in English.

"It's easy to understand"
"Better way of expressing myself"

c) English is a language of wide communication, both in South Africa and worldwide.

"International language makes communication with everyone in the world"
"One language most people in South Africa are able to speak"

d) Surprisingly, only two learners mentioned benefits in terms of job opportunities.

"To get a good job as interviews are mostly in English."

e) One learner referred to the higher status associated with English.

"If you cannot speak English, people treat you like nothing."

IsiZulu, on the other hand, is selected for two main groups of reasons.

(a) Firstly, it is a home and / traditional language which clearly associates with a sense of identity as *umZulu.*

"My mother tongue. I am used to it all the time"
"Language I knew all my life, so it reminds me of who I am, where I come from"

(b) Secondly, learners mention more pragmatic considerations, eg. that it is the language spoken in the township.

"I grew up with people speaking the language, at home we mostly use it"
"Most people in rural areas are uneducated so they speak the language"

Question 18
What language(s) would you like to learn at school, why?

	Females	Males	Total
English	16	27	43
IsiZulu	21	24	45
Afrikaans	06	11	17
Sesotho	10	07	17
Xhosa	06	04	10
Tamil	07	0	07
French	02	04	06
Chinese	0	04	04
Spanish	03	0	03

Other languages mentioned were seTswana, Hindi. Shangaan, Portuguese, isiNdebele, Greek, Latin, Cuba (sic) and isiTsotsi.

Clearly, there is a mismatch between the schools' language policies and the wishes of my respondents, with many more wishing to learn isiZulu than Afrikaans. A wide range of other South African languages, Indian languages and languages of Europe were also mentioned. Although they are not currently studying isiZulu,

45 of them express their willingness to do so, an even greater number than those interested in English. To my surprise, 17 respondents chose Afrikaans, perhaps because they currently study it at school. SeSotho and isiXhosa were among the most frequently mentioned local languages perhaps because they are commonly used in South African media, especially television, and also in the entertainment industry (music and films).

Question 19
Which language or languages would you like to be taught in and why?

	Females	Males	Total
English	30	30	60
IsiZulu	09	13	22
Afrikaans	06	08	14
SeSotho	03	0	03
French	0	03	03
Xhosa	02	02	04

The reasons given for these choices articulate clearly with those summarized earlier. A core issue appears to be learners' level of proficiency in English versus isiZulu as language of Learning and Teaching. Many respondents are used to learning in English and claim proficiency in it as language of Learning and Teaching.

Other respondents point to their current higher proficiency in isiZulu, or to their desire to become more proficient in isiZulu.

Question 24
Which type of school would your children go to? Why?

	Females	Males	Total
Multiracial	45	45	90
IsiZulu-speaking	04	04	08
Nil response	01	01	02

The majority of my respondents would like to send their own children to a multiracial school, because they have seen the benefits of such schooling. Such benefits include quality education (7), acquiring high proficiency in English (19) or languages other than isiZulu (14), a safe teaching and learning environment and the opportunity to mix with other races to achieve better understanding of their cultures (20). Only eight respondents indicated that they would send their children to a Zulu-medium school.

One respondent voiced strong dissatisfaction at not having isiZulu and would not like his own children to experience the same problems of not having the opportunity of learning in their mother tongue.

"I don't want them to be like me. I want them to know *i*siZulu and English"

Question 20
You don't have isiZulu as part of your curriculum /studies. How do you feel about that? Explain.

	Females	Males	Total
Bad	27	22	49
Good	21	19	40
Nil	02	09	11

This question gave learners the opportunity to voice an affiliation to isiZulu. Again, responses polarized with somewhat more respondents (49) indicating they feel bad about this.

a) Many responses related to isiZulu being their first language and the means to transmit their culture.

"It's part of my culture, my traditional language and it's part of me."
"To know where one come from, to know where you are going"
"It's like something is missing"

b) Learners expressed their concern that *i*siZulu was being marginalized and that others were not willing to learn it.

"Shows that my language is not important"
"Feeling that my language is not taken seriously, I have the right to learn it"
"It's like Africans are marginalized as isiZulu is left out in all languages spoken in school"
"Majority doesn't like isiZulu"
"It's like other races don't want to learn our language"
"As we learn English, they must also learn isiZulu"

c) Clearly not studying isiZulu at school was leading to perceptions of decreased proficiency in the language.

"I cannot read, write and speak my own language"
"Can't read and write isiZulu"
"It's disappointing not to know how to read and write in my language"

Forty respondents however, did not share these concerns and were satisfied with English as medium of instruction.

a) They had chosen an English-medium school.

"I chose to come to English-medium school where there is no isiZulu"
"I made a conscious choice to come to Indian school"

b) They are satisfied as long as they can speak isiZulu; indeed, because they already speak isiZulu, there is no need to learn it.

"Don't see it important as long as I know how to speak the language"
"Doesn't really affect me as I know how to communicate in it"
"I am satisfied as long as I can speak the language"
"I already know it, there is no need to learn it"

c) IsiZulu is no longer important for their future.

"No job requires good knowledge of isiZulu and now I have to learn other languages"
"Don't need isiZulu that much"
"It won't help me in my future plans"

d) Finally isiZulu is considered a difficult language and subject.

"IsiZulu is too hard there are too many rules in isiZulu"
"IsiZulu words are difficult especially the speaking part"

4.1.3 : Learners' proficiency in isiZulu

The next series of questions explored learners' proficiency in isiZulu

Question 21
How would you rate your ability to use isiZulu?

Reading	Females	Males	Total
Poor	12	06	18
Satisfactory	14	15	29
Good	18	25	43
Excellent	06	04	10
Writing	Females	Males	Total
Poor	12	07	19
Satisfactory	13	15	28
Good	15	20	35
Excellent	10	07	17
Listening	Females	Males	Total
Poor	01	0	01
Satisfactory	04	03	07
Good	23	19	42
Excellent	22	27	49
Speaking	Females	Males	Total
Poor	01	0	01
Satisfactory	05	02	07

Good	23	21	44
Excellent	21	26	47

Clearly, the responses to this question can only have the status of self-reporting on own proficiency. As to be expected, the responses suggest a substantial difference between listening/speaking, on the one hand, and reading/writing on the other, given that these latter skills cannot easily be acquired informally.

Question 22
Are you reading any isiZulu book at present? If yes provide the title.

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	15	22	37
No	33	27	60
Nil response	02	01	03

Most reading materials mentioned are literature books; a very few course books are also mentioned for isiZulu up to Matric. Given the lack of formal support for isiZulu in the school curriculum, it is perhaps surprising that as many as 37 respondents report that they are currently reading an isiZulu book.

Question 23
Do you find it easy to follow the story line? If not why is that?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	18	26	44
No	20	18	38
Nil response	12	06	18

Not even half of my respondents claim to be able to follow the storyline, which is not unexpected. The reasons given again point to a lack of proficiency in reading and writing isiZulu:

"Some words are difficult"
"They use strong language"
"Get confused and easily forget"

The following questions sought to build up a profile of literacy patterns in the respondents' homes, including which language(s) were involved.

Question 25
How often do you listen or watch isiZulu news on radio or television?

	Females	Males	Total
Never	03	02	05
Seldom	12	13	25
Often	15	12	27
Everyday	16	20	36
Nil response	04	03	07

Question 26
Which newspaper(s) does your family read?

	Females	Males	Total
Isolezwe	26	20	46
Ilanga	24	18	42
UmAfrika	01	0	01
Sunday Times	13	10	23
Daily news	15	5	20
Sowetan	11	5	17
Stanger Weekly	07	6	12
Sunday Tribune	03	05	06
Sunday Sun	03	03	03

IsiZulu medium newspapers were mentioned 89 times, whereas English medium newspapers were mentioned 90 times. Clearly respondents have little control over newspapers, since parents and older brothers and sisters buy them. At the same time, this does point to a substantial role of English language print media in this Zulu-speaking community

Question 28
Which magazine(s) does your family read, and in which language?

	Females	Males	Total
Drum	32	28	60: English 55, Zulu 5
Bona	27	29	56 English 50, Zulu 6
Scamto	43	47	90
True-Love	48	20	68
You	21	08	29
Together	40	31	72
Fair-Lady	10	0	10
Nil response	06	05	10

Even where these magazines are available in both English and isiZulu (Drum and Bona), respondents clearly preferred the English edition. This is confirmed by question 30.

Question 30
If available in more than one language, i.e. isiZulu and English, like Drum and Bona, which one would you prefer? Why?

	Females	Males	Total
English	25	17	42
IsiZulu	15	09	24
Both E & Z	01	01	02
Sesotho	01	02	03
Afrikaans	0	01	01
Nil response	08	20	28

Many respondents, especially boys, did not answer this question. 42 out of the 72 responses preferred magazines that come in English. The reasons given relate clearly to perceptions of proficiency in the language selected.

"Easy to read and finish reading faster"
"I am used to English daily"
"I am not good in reading isiZulu"

Question 27
How often do you read these newspapers?

	Females	Males	Total
Never	02	03	05
Seldom	07	10	17
Often	26	20	46
Everyday	13	14	27
Nil responsive	02	03	05

Question 29
How often do you read these magazines?

	Females	Males	Total
Never	02	03	05
Seldom	07	10	17
Often	24	20	44
Everyday	15	14	29
Nil response	02	03	05

If these responses can be trusted, they suggest a surprisingly high involvement with literacy in the home.

4.1.4 : Attitudes towards being *umZulu*

The final sequence of questions focused on respondents' attitudes towards being *umZulu,* and the role of language and cultural activities in this.

Question 31
Do you consider isiZulu as your home language?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	46	43	89
No	01	03	04
Nil response	03	04	07

Question 32
If you were a KZN-Minister of Education and Culture which language(s) would you suggest be given official status in this province and why?

	Females	Males	Total
English	33	38	71
IsiZulu	34	32	66
Afrikaans	13	08	21
African languages	10	04	14
European languages	2	02	04

While English is mentioned most frequently, it is closely followed by isiZulu. Pragmatic reasons dominate with regard to English; for isiZulu, there is a strong sense of the significance of this language in KwaZulu-Natal, of ownership and of pride in the language. It is surprising that the respondents mentioned Afrikaans 21 times. The need to know more than one language is highlighted in these responses.

Question 33
What in your opinion, does it involve to be *umZulu?*

The following gives an indication of the range and number of responses:

- Participating in Zulu cultural activities (30); Doing cultural things (17)
- Slaughtering cows and goats (20); Doing functions (*umsebenzi*)/ rites (10)
- Believe in your culture; respect your culture (19)
- Worshipping the ancestors (10); Respecting your shades (5)
- Speaking your language, isiZulu (29)
- Knowing where your roots and where you come from (22)
- Dress in traditional clothes (8); Not changing your hair to imitate others.

Question 34
Do you think it is necessary for you to speak isiZulu to be *umZulu*?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	31	23	54
No	18	23	41
Nil response	01	04	05

Clearly, many more female respondents see a need to speak *isiZulu*; only half the male respondents consider it important.

Question 35
Have you ever attended any Zulu cultural activity such as *umkhehlo, umemulo* etc. If so, which ones?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	43	33	76
No	07	14	21
Nil response	0	03	03

Most respondents have attended various cultural activities, but again more female respondents claimed to attend these activities. The following activities, generally relating to marriage and coming-of-age, were mentioned:

- *Izibizo* (35), *ingqibamasondo* (24), *udwendwe* (13), *umgonqo* and *umvalelo.*
- *Umkhehlo* (20), *umemulo* (15)

Question 36
Does your family regularly participate in any Zulu cultural activity (ies)?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	23	25	48
No	26	21	47
Nil response	01	04	05

Half of my respondents indicated that their families regularly participate in cultural activities. This implies that the respondents are also participating, since these are family matters where every member of the family has to take part.

Question 37
Do you participate in any cultural activity(ies)? How do you feel about this?

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	27	24	51
No	20	20	40
Nil response	03	06	09

(a) Many of the reasons given indicated a strong sense of involvement and commitment.

"I feel at home when I am doing the Zulu traditional culture"
"Feel great as it makes me proud of being *umZulu* and I am proud of my cultural activities"

"Feel proud of myself because I have not forgotten about my culture as Zulu *(umZulu)"*
"I feel great to know about my culture and it teaches me a lot about being *umZulu"*

(b) Others find it interesting.

"Interesting because it is my culture to follow my religion"
"I think it is interesting thing to do and I would like to teach my children in the coming years".

(c) Two responses indicate some ambivalence.

"I like some of them but I do not understand or see the reasons of doing them"
"Feel great but some people think it a joke when you are doing it".

There were a considerable number of negative responses:

"Feel angry because I do not know anything about cultural activity (s)"
"Feel bad that I do not know my cultural things."
"Feel like an outcast, offside about not being part of any cultural activity"

Question 38
Do you consider these cultural celebrations as still relevant in our time? Explain.

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	36	30	66
No	12	13	25
Nil response	02	07	09

While clearly a substantial majority still finds these cultural activities of relevance, most did not explain further; several mentioned that they learn from their culture, including their history. Some respondents made it clear that in this multiracial nation they see no point in adhering to their culture as it loses its value in the multicultural context. Possibly these learners want to discard their old identity as *amaZulu,* in order to embrace a more accommodative identity, that of being a South African.

Reasons given include the move of some Black people into urban surburbs (20), high unemployment (17), modernization (14); and the negative responses of some members of the community.

"Other children will laugh at you when doing cultural things *(ukufaka isiphandla)*; wearing goat's skin around the wrist"

Question 39
Do you consider it important for you to participate? Explain

	Females	Males	Total
Yes	41	36	77
No	05	08	13
Nil response	04	06	10

Again most respondents made it clear that they find their participation in cultural activities very important in establishing their sense of identity. Learners are aware that these activities are informative as they impart new cultural knowledge to them, the kind of knowledge they would not get elsewhere. Participating also displays a sense of respect for one's parents, and of pride in one's culture; others do it simply because their peers participate.

" To learn new things about my culture"
"I must have full knowledge and understanding of these things because they are my roots"
" Show respect to my parents and family"

"Children of my age do it in my surrounding."
"If I call myself *umZulu* I have to do whatever is done to show that I am a proud African who is *umZulu"*

The small group who no longer finds participating important motivates this through lack of parental belief, lack of information, conversion to Christianity, or that this is for traditional people.

"My family doesn't believe in cultural things"
"I think it's for people like *mabhincas* (traditional people)"
"I am a Christian so my religion does not allow me to participate in cultural activities and besides my religion or my belief; I do not participate in cultural activities"
"Know nothing about it"

This concluded the questionnaires, and I now turn to the interviews data.

4.2 Presentation of interview data

As mentioned above, the interviews were used to probe further issues which emerged from the questionnaires. Five topics were dealt with; these are discussed in turn Interviewees have been labeled as M(ale) and F(emale) and assigned numbers, to identify them.

4.2.1: Respondents' names

Questions one and two focused on the Zulu names of learners, and tried to ascertain the role these might be playing in maintaining an identity as *umZulu* in an English-speaking school context.

Questions posed:

Why do you think this (your name) is important to you?

How do you feel if your educator pronounces your (*isiZulu)* name wrongly, why?

The giving and using of names is one of the most important and obvious linguistic means of establishing people's identity (see Thornborrow 1999:138). At the same time, the naming practices of communities are continuously changing through the new cultural experiences that they undergo (see Nsimbi 1950, Susman 1994 in Ngubane 2000:28). In spite of the increasing role of English, the questionnaire findings revealed that learners' isiZulu names are mostly used by friends and are generally preferred by the learners themselves. This first set of interview questions focused on why learners find their isiZulu names important. The following issues were identified:

The first issue is that of the role of parents in name giving. In the Zulu community, name giving is basically the responsibility of parents; in some rare cases the extended family also takes part. Six interviewees, four of whom are females, indicated that even though they might not know why their names are of significance, the fact that they were given to them by their parents at birth make them important to them. In my experience this reasoning is very common among Zulu people: they value their names, especially those given by their parents. See the following responses:

F2: "I feel comfortable by that name. It was the name that was given to me by my parents and everybody calls me that name."

F6: "I would not like to change my name because I like it and it is important to me though I don't know why but I think my parents should know since they are ones who gave me that name."

M4: "They were given to me at birth by my parents so they are important to me as they are the only ones used for me."

These interviewees do not focus on whether their names are meaningful or not; what is important is that they were given by their parents, and therefore they become accepted and special. This would seem to locate these interviewees strongly within their *Zulu*-speaking family and community.

A second group of respondents focused on the meaning of their isiZulu names. In contrast to English names, most isiZulu personal names are societally and culturally meaningful, as they tend to relate to certain incidents in the family or the community at large (see Ngubane 2000:2), or to conflict or death in the family. A name relating to a particular incident becomes a reminder in the family that this incident once took place. It means something for the family and for the person given the name. The meaning can be negative or positive, but how it is used depends on individual, the family and the community. In addition, names may reflect physical or psychological characteristics of the person on whom they are bestowed (see Ngubane 2000:43).

F9: "I love my name as it relates to my being the last born at home"

F10: "It's sort of who I am, like Nothando means someone who loves people I also love people so I'm following my name"

Interestingly, the association of a name with meaning is extended to his English name by one of the respondents.

M7: "It shows character like I'm a Christian so the name Timothy has lot of meaning for Christians. It gives me sense of humanity."

This is the case where a child was given a Christian name taken from the Bible and this name is meaningful and important to both parents and a child as they are Christians. Other responses clearly pointed to a close link between name and sense of personal identity. Some interviewees indicated that their names make them feel unique, distinct or separate from other people.

Some even went to the extent of saying it symbolizes that they are. This is just like saying my name is me or my name is what I am.

M1: "Good name shows good identity. If you have a good name you need to respond to it."

In my opinion, a 'good name' is one that signifies something positive, or has a positive meaning. A person with a good name has to identify with it by not doing the opposite of what it means. Let us take the example of *Sibonelesihle*, which means 'a good example'. In this case one is expected to be exemplary to others. By so doing he or she will be responding positively to his or her name.

F10: "It's sort of who I am. I follow my name as it means someone who likes people I also like people."

M3: "If someone starts to recognize something about you he or she wants to call you by your name everywhere you go...."

This interviewee has made it clear that in most cases once a person has an interest in someone he or she will start wanting to call him or her by name. For identity purposes, according to the interviewee, it is important for someone to be recognized, noticed or known by name everywhere you go. The only way people can identify you is through the use of your name.

The respondents also suggested a fourth issue: that isiZulu names serve as Zulu identity markers. It is to be expected that if a person has an *isiZul*u name, he or she must be *umZulu*; having an isiZulu name will be equated with being *umZul*u. For identity purposes it is advantageous to have an isiZulu name because it tells people who one is and where one comes from. It therefore serves as a Zulu identity marker. This point is stated clearly in the following quotes:

M5: "It is important to me as my dad told me that he is *umZulu* so he saw it good for him to make sure that he gives his children at least one isiZulu name so that we cannot forget who we are even if we get educated in future."

F7: " It's important as people come to understand who I am and where I come from since I don't have an English name and everybody knows me by that name."

Fifthly, two interviewees, one male and one female, expressed a very strong emotional attachment towards their *i*siZulu names.

F9: "I love my name as it relates to my being the last born at home"

M6: "That's the name I was given from birth so I just love it"

A less strong, but also clearly positive attachment was expressed as follows:

F2: "I feel comfortable by that name. It was the name that was given to me and everybody calls me by that name."

F3: " I strongly believe that my parents had a reason for giving me these names. I feel good about them as they separate me from other people"

These positive feelings related explicitly to isiZulu names. At the same time it was interesting to note that one respondent also extended feelings of pride to his English name:

M2: "I need to be proud of both my names".

It would appear that this respondent experiences both names as relating to his identity. From the previous discussion it is clear that learners relate much more strongly to their isiZulu names and that these names are significant in terms of their identities as *amaZulu*. If these names are so important to learners, how do they feel if educators pronounce their isiZulu names wrongly? As there was an interesting gender difference in responses, I will deal with male and female interviewees separately.

The majority of male interviewees, nine out of ten interviewed, do not feel bad when educators mispronounce their names. The following reasons were given.

Mispronouncing a name does not necessarily mean changing the meaning of the name as such; these educators might be coming across the name for the first time. Some sounds happen to be very difficult for non-Zulu people to pronounce, such as the clicks designated by the letters x, c, q.

M8: "I don't think it changes my name as it will be written the same"

This highlights the fact that to these respondents writing a name correctly is more important than pronouncing it perfectly. Although learners' names do have meanings, these meanings are generally not distorted when people fail to pronounce them correctly. Two males indicated that it is important for them to keep correcting

whoever mispronounces their name, in the hope that they will finally get it right. They think doing so is more important than making it a big issue.

M3: "I won't take it serious I'll keep correcting them until they get it right"

M4: "I won't feel bad because my teachers are Indians, so I'll understand looking at their nationality."

Such respondents seem to expect that as they go to a non-Zulu school, educators are likely to fail to pronounce their names correctly. This is shown by one response from a male interviewee:

M10: "I sometimes struggle with their Indian names, so I don't have a problem"

One important factor in the reaction of learners to a mispronounced name is the reaction of other learners. If it happens that the teacher mispronounces and others laugh, the learner concerned will start feeling badly, but if other learners keep quiet and consider it a mistake, there is no problem.
In my opinion, if others laugh, something negative happens to a learner's self-esteem, so that he/she looks at himself or herself negatively.

M7: "If my Indian friends do that I just feel happy, I feel that sense of admiration as isiZulu is not their mother tongue."

This learner feels very positive when educators mispronounce his name; for him it shows that they are interested in learning and knowing his name. Though they do not get it right, he is quite satisfied with their efforts.

On the other hand, half of my female interviewees indicated that they feel bad when their name is mispronounced. Those females who responded positively gave similar reasons to the male interviewees; including recognizing and accommodating the fact their educators are of a different race.

F2: "I don't really take it personally. I understand where they come from. I can try and correct them, tell them how it is pronounced. I understand, I don't have a problem"

F7: "I just become calm and understand looking at where they come from."

F2 and F7 used a phrase in common: "I understand where they come from." F2 mentioned trying to correct them, as did the males. Though learners did not spell it out, the implication is that they feel something is not right when their names are mispronounced, which is why they will take the trouble of teaching others how to pronounce them correctly.

Two female interviewees state that they are not bothered by the mispronunciation of their names: both F5 and F10 state: "I don't have a problem with that"

F5: "I had a case where an educator mispronounced my name but I didn't have a problem because he or she could not pronounce it properly".

F10: "It doesn't bother me because it's an honest mistake he or she may not really know how the name is actually pronounced as they are from other races. I should not hold it against him or her."

This might suggest that these learners do not have much emotional attachment to their names.

As mentioned above, half of the female respondents feel bad when their name is mispronounced. Of these, three indicated this was simply because other learners tend to laugh at them.

F1: "I feel bad because people end up laughing at you."

F8: "Sometimes it's frustrating as other children tend to laugh at you. It hurts if it happens at the end of the year."

F9: "I feel bad as it ends up your nickname and other children laugh at you."

The two other female interviewees reacted very negatively to mispronunciation, indicating that this is to be considered an insult. F7 reacted particularly strongly. She speaks of feeling 'disgraced' and 'not known', and that mispronunciation changes the meaning of her name.

F7: "I feel insulted because... that he or she pronounces my name wrongly, disgraces me because I feel... how I can I put this? I feel not known you see, it's important for him or her to go and find out and practice until he or she knows it perfectly. It does change the meaning of my name."

F3: "I feel bad as this definitely changes the meaning of my name, it's like one insults me?

This negative response was echoed by one of the male interviewees. M1 can also feel insulted, especially if he has to assume that this was deliberate.

M1: "I sometimes feel bad as it sometimes done purposely just to insult someone."

They speak of feeling insulted and undermined which, signals a strong emotional attachment to their isiZulu names.

4.2.2 : Gender and use of isiZulu

Two sets of questions sought to probe questionnaire findings that suggested that the choice of code might be gendered.

Questions posed (set 1):
"More females use isiZulu with their friends in the township than males."
3.1 From your observation do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.
3.2 What do you think are reasons for this difference?

The questionnaire findings suggested that more females use isiZulu with their friends in the township than males. Interviewees had to indicate whether they agree or disagree with this finding and also to state what they perceive to be the reasons for this.

The majority of my interviewees 17 out of 20 disagreed with the questionnaire finding, that more females than males used isiZulu with their friends in the township. On the contrary: in the interviews there was a general consensus that girls speak or

like to speak English most of the time, whereas boys tend to speak isiZulu and isiTsotsi.

F8: "I disagree, most girls are not used to speaking *i*siZulu whereas most guys are used to *isiTsotsi* when they are at home. I don't think a person can speak isiTsotsi using English so they *use* isiZulu, their *isiTsotsi* is mostly dominated by *i*siZulu. Most girls going to multiracial schools are into speaking English."

One respondent suggested that girls like to speak English most of the time simply because this makes their conversations more interesting.

F7: "I totally disagree with it. I think it's us females who use more English than males especially in my neighbourhood and which means more males speak isiZulu. I think girl talks are more spicy and juicy when English used".

Some comments indicated that girls tend to imitate what television personalities do and say, which again would suggest they use English. Most television programmes are in English, but there are a few programmes where code switching is used. Young people often find role models in the media industry or entertainment sector, and they then tend to follow their behaviour, including their language use.

M3: "Not really I would say I disagree with that, not all females use isiZulu these are the days they watch television the more they watch television the more the mentality of those people in the media who talk English everywhere they are in. The moment Africans talk English with friends, the next morning they will start talking English to one another about what they saw on television. Most guys do not care about soaps like females. They do not waste time by watching television; I usually hang out with guys in my neighborhood. I see guys speaking isiZulu and also girls I see no difference in gender."

A few interviewees said the finding is not true, simply because there is an equal use of isiZulu by both sexes: it is the only language that they feel comfortable with when they are in the township, as it tends to cater for everyone around them. The following quotes illustrate this point:

F5: "I disagree both boys and girls use isiZulu equally"

M7: "I disagree both boys and girls do this depending on friends we hang out with at that particular time"

This would then logically also apply to their use of English

F10: "There are some boys who also speak English like girls I think it is 50/50."

On the other hand, there are occasions when girls will deliberately choose to speak isiZulu.

F1: "We use isiZulu to avoid negative labeling as trying to show off."

In a community that is predominantly isiZulu speaking, girls have to use the language of the community in order to fit in and not to be given all sorts of negative names. This will depend on the group of people that one mixes with. If one has friends who do not go to a multiracial school, there is no point in using English with them, as one will be seen as trying to show that one is better than they are. It is as if one is undermining others or being rude.

Questions posed (set 2)
"Females use more isiZulu with their friends in the township and less *i*siZulu with their friends at school."
4.1 From you observation do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain
4.2 What do you think are reasons for this difference?
4.3 Do you think the same occurs with males? Explain.

The questionnaire finding also suggested that females use more isiZul*u* with their friends in the township and less isiZulu with their friends at school. Interviewees had to agree or disagree with the statement and also give what they think are reasons for this difference. They were also asked to indicate whether the same holds for boys.

The majority of my interviewees 16(20) agreed with the questionnaire finding, that females use more isiZulu with their friends in the township and less *i*siZulu with their friends at school. A multiracial school environment will promote the use of a common language that will join people together. In this case learners find themselves having to communicate in English, so as to accommodate the presence of other racial groups. In addition, these learners are aware of the benefits of practicing English, as it is said to develop one's language skills.

At the same time, these learners reside in a community that is still predominantly Black, and in which speaking isiZulu is a norm, if one is to be positively recognized as a member of the community. As mentioned above, because some friends and relatives do not go to multiracial schools, their understanding of English is limited, which will make communication in English difficult. Respondents feel that it is appropriate to use the language spoken locally in order to fit in as members of the community. These learners recognize the different socio-economic status of the various members of the community and that some have received more formal education than others.

Learners I interviewed made it clear that there is no point in using English in contexts where the majority speaks isiZulu.

M7: "When one speaks English at home I feel the sense of rudeness. This is so because my surrounding is dominated by Black people. Therefore we are forced to stick to our language. At school we come from different tribes or races with different types of languages and the only language that can be able to link a person is English".

The following comment by F5 sums up a number of issues, and raises the important issue of proficiency in isiZulu. As she indicates, some learners have low proficiency in isiZulu due to the fact that they do not study it at school and spend most of the time speaking English.

F5: " I disagree with the statement why because girls speak or express themselves better in English than isiZulu, speaking isiZulu is becoming less spoken among friends from my point of view it's very difficult to express myself in isiZulu because I have grown to explain myself better in English 'cause that is how we do it at school. While in my neighborhood I have to act or say what I want to say in isiZulu which sometimes I feel as if nobody heard me, or they are not listening. At school I cannot let me say we cannot share any information among my fellow classmates in isiZulu 'cause they would not understand a word I say."

4.2.3: Educators' use of isiZulu

Questions posed:
5.1 Do your educators ever use *i*siZulu at school or in class with you?
5.2 How do you find the level of isiZulu spoken by your educators?
5.3 How do you feel when educators speak that level of isiZulu?
5.4 Do your educators ever use isiFanakalo with you? How do you feel when it is used?

The questionnaire findings suggested that a small number of learners claimed to use isiZulu with their educators. This question seeks to verify whether educators do use *i*siZulu and isiFanakalo, considers how learners respond to the use of both languages and finally assesses the isiZulu spoken by their educators.

More than half of the interviewees indicated that their educators (who are predominantly of Indian ethnicity) do not speak isiZulu. Nine interviewees (four males and five females) did report some use of isiZulu, and several respondents also mentioned the use of isiFanakalo in class. How fluent are teachers in isiZulu?
There were many reflections on the limited nature of the isiZulu spoken, which at times is confined to the use of single words.

F9: "As I have said, they just use one word it's not easy to tell but one can say it's not actually good that's why they don't use it in full sentences."

There is agreement that this is not true isiZulu, as spoken by the *Zulu* community: however, there is generally acceptance and understanding of their linguistic limitations, as learners of a further language:

F2: "Others know isiZulu, other teachers try to learn my language, I learn from them they also learn from me. They don't speak isiZulu properly, I understand because they are learning."

F5: "Yes, theirs is not the same like one we speak in our community theirs is funny because they don't pronounce some of the words right"

Most learners feel very positive about attempts made by their teachers to speak isiZulu. To them this shows interest in learning African languages, which implies

having a positive attitude towards the languages spoken by Africans or Black people of this country or province.

F4: "Some Indian teachers do speak isiZulu, their level is not that good but I feel happy just because they are trying to speak isiZulu."

F7: "Yes, but only single words like 'keep quiet'. I feel proud because it's like it shows that she is interested and would like to know more about us as Black students."

F4: "Some Indians teachers do speak isiZulu, their level is not that good but I feel happy just because they are trying to speak isiZulu "

M7: "I admire that person as he or she is willing to learn our language".

M6: "I feel proud because my educator even went to varsity to study isiZulu"

These attempts by Indian teachers appear to have a positive impact on the way African learners view their own mother tongue, in spite of the absence of isiZulu from the formal school curriculum.

Questions about the use of isiFanakalo by their teachers, yielded similar results. (Possibly some learners failed differentiate between attempts to speak isiZulu and speak isiFanakalo, or did not differentiate in their reply.) Of the nine interviewees who said their teachers do use isiFanakalo, seven indicated that they feel positive about its use. The main reason for this positive response to the use of isiFanakalo appears to be pragmatic: teachers use it to facilitate teaching /learning or to enhance learners' understanding in classroom interaction.

MI: "Some educators use isiFanakalo to facilitate learners' understanding"

M3: "Yes I don't feel bad because they just see that someone doesn't follow then they further explain in isiFanakalo"

F4: "Yes they do use isiFanakalo. I just feel like laughing at them but it's ok not bad"

However, two other interviewees (a male and a female) were very vocal when it came to the use of isiFanakalo by their educators. They indicated that they find this undermining, and that it suggests that they do not understand proper English. They feel it is even better to use *either* isiZulu or English straight. (These two interviewees overlooked the fact that these educators might be helping some learners who might not otherwise understand the lesson.)

F7: "I don't agree with isiFanakalo because I don't speak broken English it's either you try to learn isiZulu or you just use English"

M5: "Educators use isiFanakalo if learners do not understand English I feel bad as if they undermine me, it seems as if I don't understand English. African educators must be employed to cater for those learners who are not yet proficient in English."

One further interviewee experienced the use of broken isiZulu or isiFanakalo as a deliberate attempt to mock learners. This suggests that, in spite of the lack of support for isiZulu at school, learners still have a very strong affiliation to the language.

M5: "No, they use it to have fun, mock or being silly with us. They try but cannot speak it properly, they fail totally they use isiFanakalo not when they teach but only when they are fooling around with us. It is ok when they use isiFanakalo only with the purpose of learning my language not to mock my language."

4.2.4 : IsiZulu as medium of instruction

Questions posed:
"Many pupils say they use isiZulu most of the time, however 60% indicated they would like to be taught in English and only 22% said they would like to be taught in isiZulu."
6.1 What does this tell you about the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu among the respondents?
6.2 Would you like to be taught in isiZulu?
6.3 How do you feel about the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu among the respondents?

The questionnaire findings reveal that 60% of respondents would like to be taught in English, with only 22% saying they would like to be taught in isiZulu. Interview

question number six explores the issue of medium of instruction further. Firstly, would interviewees like to be taught in isiZulu, and why(not)? Secondly, what do this suggest about the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu for interviewees? Thirdly, what do interviewees feel about the present importance, relevance and status of isiZulu?

The first part of this question confirmed the questionnaire findings. A substantial majority of my interviewees (15 out of 20) indicated that they would not like to be taught in isiZulu, but that they rather prefer English. The following issues were identified when looking at reasons for preferring English.

Firstly, this preference reflects some learners' lack of proficiency in isiZulu. IsiZulu is spoken of as a difficult subject or language when compared to English, which is said to be easy and understandable. Some of these learners had started their pre-primary and primary education in multiracial schools, and as a result they are very used to learning through English. F5 went, as far as to say that she does not understand isiZulu.

M1:	"... It's easier to learn in English... it is the language I started from grade 1 as I started in a multiracial school. I prefer English, as it is easy and understandable."
M5	"I prefer English a it is the easiest and most understandable language."
F6:	"No, because I don't understand it. Why English? I get to understand it better and since I can express myself more in English and being taught by it, I can respond to it fluently than isiZulu."
F7	"Right now isiZulu is more difficult than English. I am used to it and starting isiZulu now is gonna be difficult for me."
M3:	"...I prefer to be taught in English and Afrikaans, isiZulu is one hell of the hard subject, not that I don't like it I'm just saying."

A second reason for choosing English over *i*siZulu is that English is an international language that makes communication across the globe possible. The interviewees expressed the need to communicate nationally as well as internationally. They are at

the same time aware of the limitations of their own mother tongue (isiZulu) in this regard. Interviewees mention the possibility of going overseas or even meeting tourists with whom they will have to communicate, using English as a lingua franca.

M1: "... it's easier to learn English as it is an international language and it is easier, English is used to all over the world...."

F1: "I prefer English because my post matric life will need proficiency in English, university and Technikon's instructions are offered in English even when I go overseas you will find people using English most of the time."

F3: "No, because I think English is the common language everywhere so I have to learn it."

F9: "No, as I complete my matric I'll go to different places for job opportunities where there will be the possibility of meeting people from different language groups who might not understand my isiZulu at all English will have to be the language to use in such instances. I see isiZulu as won't take me anywhere."

The third reason for choosing English is that it guarantees rewarding opportunities. The interviewees are aware that nowadays in KwaZulu Natal, in South Africa more generally, and internationally, many jobs require proficiency in English: interviews are mostly conducted in English, and most work places are now multiracial, so a common language is required to link people.

M8: "There is no job without English... This is my first language it will be good to be proud of our language in order for tourists to learn our language."

F1: "I prefer English because my post matric life will need proficiency in English, University and Technikon's instructions are offered in English even when I go overseas you will find people using English most of the time."

F3: "No, as I complete my matric I'll go to different places for job opportunities where there will be possibilities of meeting people from different groups who might not understand isiZulu

at all. English will have to be the language to use in such instances. I see isiZulu as won't take me anywhere"

However, there were some dissenting opinions, as regards the medium of instruction. Four interviewees indicated they would like to be taught in isiZulu. Their main reason for this choice is the need to gain proficiency in isiZulu, to help them communicate locally with their friends and relatives. This proficiency will also be useful when meeting with tourists who might be interested in knowing the ways of living of local people

M2: "I prefer both languages (isiZulu and English elevision programmes have an impact this makes us lack in mother tongue. You find that learners like imitate media presenters..."

This proficiency in isiZulu is seen as giving one pride in one's language and culture, the same proficiency will also help them fit in as members of the community. As I mentioned earlier, there is a tendency by some members of the community to treat them as outsiders. To avoid this one has to gain proficiency in isiZulu, to be able to relate with community members.

M4: "Yes, because I want to fully know and understand my language, right now there are things I don't know in isiZulu. My parents wanted me to better learn English and it was not my personal choice to go to a multiracial school."

The second part of this question probed interviewees' sense of the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu. All the respondents agree that isiZulu is no longer relevant and useful in their lives. This is so because few jobs require proficiency in isiZulu. These interviewees see isiZulu as dropping in use and importance among the young people at multiracial schools. The very same interviewees are also aware that their own children are likely not to speak or know isiZulu, which means that isiZulu as a mother tongue is declining and is likely (in their eyes) to disappear if the current situation continues.

M1: 'IsiZulu is starting to drop'

F1: 'IsiZulu will end up dead as even at home some families speak English. IsiZulu is going down our children will end up not

knowing our language. No interviews are conducted in isiZulu so I think English be the medium of teaching and learning.'

M1: "By 2085, we shall have no isiZulu, if you don't know your Culture or language how will your children know all this. Youth of today are the future leaders most of us don't know our language. If we don't know our culture, our isiZulu is dropping. Give me one job that requires proficiency in isiZulu..."

The interviewees seem to be aware of the esteem previously enjoyed by isiZulu among the KwaZulu Natal people that has now been lost or replaced by English. Because isiZulu has little economic value for them, they lose interest in learning and knowing it. One gets encouraged to learn a language if it is in use or has some economic benefits. What is the point of learning isiZulu if it is not going to guarantee job opportunities. One interviewee even went to the extent of saying that they have lost trust in their mother tongue because it does not put food on the table.

F4: "It simply says we do not have trust in our mother tongue since knowing it cannot put food on our table"

Another interviewee stated that as a result they have lost the normality of loving their own language. This interviewee indicated that it is a normal thing to love your language, it is worth noting if someone no longer loves it. The fact that isiZulu has lost its prior status has impacted badly on how young people relate to it.

M7: "When we move to multiracial schools we tend to lose the normality of loving our language. They even lose pride that I can speak well. I think a person must admire and be proud of his or her language. Right now we have abandoned our language."

F3: "The use of English is declining /decreasing (*siyancipha*) and English is increasing. It is clear that isiZulu has no value, you will definitely go nowhere with isiZulu. With isiZulu you won't communicate with umVenda, umSotho but with English you can."

F4: "It simply says we don't have trust in mother tongue even though I will not lose my culture and my language."

F10: "At school when said don't speak isiZulu people want to speak isiZulu, when it is said speak English people want to speak isiZulu. But when there are older people like at home when we are suppose to speak isiZulu we then speak English. It's like we want to speak the opposite all the time, some love *i*siZulu but some find it boring or even complicated or something"

Learners may find isiZulu complicated, because they never learnt it at school; it may be boring, because most of the time during the school hours they use English and they end up getting used to it. The picture that one gets is that learners tend to forget that interviewees clearly have a feel that *i*siZulu's status has dropped, which has led to a negative reaction especially from African learners who go to multiracial schools, which in turn makes it less likely that isiZulu will continue among today's youth and those to come.

The interviewees are much aware of the fact that the uses of isiZulu are confined to the home environment only, and this increases the chances of language loss.

In response to the third question of this section, the majority of my interviewees indicated that they feel bad about the current lack of status, relevance and importance of *i*siZulu among today's youth, and especially among those going to multiracial schools. This does suggest that, even though the majority does not want to be taught in isiZulu, they are still emotionally attached to the language. They are not happy to see their own language losing value like this. The interviewees are also aware of the fact that this diminishes their language and poses a threat to the continuity of the language.

M4: "I feel bad because what is happening looks down upon our language."

F4: "It simply says we don't have trust in our mother tongue, even though I will not lose my culture and my language."

F8: "We no longer care about isiZulu because we are now always speaking English and this bothers older people. It's like we are forgetting our culture you know. It's not right you have to know your language first because it is part of you culture"

4.2.5 : Perceptions of being *umZulu*

Questions posed:
"More female respondents think it is important to speak isiZulu to be *umZulu* than male respondents."
7.1 From your observation do you agree or disagree with this statement?
7.2 What do you think are the reasons for this difference?
7.3 What does it involve to be u*mZulu?*
7.4 In your own opinion is it possible to be *umZulu* and to be Westernised at the same time?

This set of questions looks at what it involves to be u*mZulu* and whether isiZulu should be regarded as the prerequisite for being *umZulu.* Interviewees were also invited to indicate whether it is possible or not to be *umZulu* and Westernised at the same time.

A clear majority of interviewees (14 in all) mentioned knowing and following one's culture, customs and tradition as the most important criterion that qualifies one to be *umZulu.* An additional six interviewees mentioned respecting the ancestors which forms part of Zulu culture, including slaughtering cows and goats in honor of one's ancestors. Two interviewees indicated that for one to be u*mZul*u one has to know the expected or accepted behaviors associated with Zulu people, which is also part of culture. Another interviewee mentioned sticking to one's roots; one has to know one's background, and the various Zulu things used and performed in the past and present. This extends to partaking in Zulu cultural celebrations, which become a good arena for acquiring further knowledge of Zulu customs. The following quotes illustrate these understandings:

M2: It's not that important as long as you know the acceptable behavior (u*kuhlonipha*), you need to like and eat African food especially during certain days like heritage day.

M1: "Have you ever seen a teenager wearing *ibheshu* saying I am proud of my culture? What it means to be *umZulu*,it means your identity, respecting ancestors (*amadlozi*) though I don't believe in them."

M3: "To be *umZulu* has to be inside you not the language you speak, for you to be *umZulu* you have to do what

other Zulus do before you. Do what generations before you did; nowadays we speak modern isiZulu not the one spoken in olden days" which was very strict. You need to stick to your roots, do *amasiko* (culture) be proud of who you are, be down to earth, wear cow skins, carry spears when it's heritage day. You need to show you are *umZulu* by respecting what your ancestors have been doing.

F3: "Whether you do your culture will tell whether you are still u*mZulu* or not, whether you still slaughter cows, goats in honor of your ancestors will also tell if you are still umZulu or not. Your background will also indicate your belonging, the influence you get might dictate how you are going to be but still being u*mZulu*."

M5: "Not losing your culture, language, knowing Zulu things such as *isithebe, inhloko, ibheshu, isidwaba, ubuhlalu* etc."

Interviewees also addressed the issue of whether one needs to know isiZulu to be *umZulu*. While nine interviewees regard proficiency in isiZulu as a prerequisite for being u*mZulu*, it is also interesting to note that 4 interviewees indicated that being *umZulu* has to be inside one, and not the language that one speaks. Another interviewee even went to the extent of saying she does not think it involves knowing isiZulu.

In short one can say that my interviewees were divided on the issue of language, which is surely the case because they are not very proficient in isiZulu
Selected responses are listed here, firstly those which indicated that it is essential to speak isiZulu

M5: "I disagree, most definitely, being *umZulu* starts with speaking isiZulu, being *umZulu* goes with the responsibility of speaking *i*siZulu and there is no difference in terms of the gender. Not losing your culture, language, knowing Zulu things such as *isithebe, inhloko*,etc."

F4: "Know how to speak isiZulu, know your cultural things and participating in cultural celebrations like *umemulo."*

F5: "Be proud of your language, be proud of your culture and the way you are."

F10 and M4 on the other hand, do not see proficiency in isiZulu as essential:

F10: "I don't really think it involves knowing isiZulu, it's all about knowing where you come from and where you are going, like the Zulu culture many interpret it in various ways. One has to look at how it is viewed and understood at that particular time"

M4: "To be umZulu you need to speak isiZulu and this shows where you come from but you can still be umZulu without speaking the language. Your background also shows whether you are umZulu or not."

Finally, the majority of my interviewees consider that it is possible to be both umZulu and to be Westernized at the same time. They indicated that umZulu versus Westernization is not a simple dichotomy, people combine elements of both. For instance this may explain why interviewees felt bad about the current status of isiZulu , even though they do not want to be taught through it. They still identify themselves as amaZulu as they still believe in doing Zulu cultural things, but at the same time the benefits associated with English are immeasurable when compared to those of knowing isiZulu.

IsiZulu seems to be relevant only as the vehicle for cultural heritage; and even here it is no longer considered essential even here it is no longer considered essential.

M3: "It's possible to *be umZulu* in your appearance and be westernized inside, look at Africans living in suburbs, this television thing has taken all mentality of an African being. Western culture seems to clash with our own culture if it was not for television we would still be the same old *amaZulu,* western things that came took out all that was us and what made us *amaZulu"*

F3: "Yes, it's possible you can still be westernized as long as you continue with your culture, I'm westernized the way I'm dressed, we know in olden days could not wear a pant being a female but look at me I'm just wearing it."

M5: "One way of catching up to other people is to be westernized and know the language that joins up everybody (English) but don't forget where you come from. You need to go back ekatsi (neighborhood) and be proud *umZulu.* You can be westernized as it joins up people, it is surprising that we run away from our language, while some white people are seriously learning our language, from school to university level. It is foolish of us to run away from what is ours into other people's things."

F6: "It's possible, looking at me, it's easy you can know where you come from but now you have to express yourself in English so that everybody can understand you in terms of where you come from and yes it is possible to be both. I can understand where I come from but still do Western things, I can go to rock or live band and still be...*umZulu"*

This concludes the presentation of data from the interviews.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In chapter 5 I return to the research questions posed at the outset, and develop answers to these on the basis of my findings. In the following discussion, I bring together both the questionnaire and interview data.

In discussing the findings, we should, however, remain aware of possible bias introduced by various aspects of the data collection procedures used, as discussed in Chapter 3. These included the use of English in the questionnaires; the requirement that learners supply their names; and the selection of very vocal learners only for the subsequent interviews.

5.1 Use of isiZulu

To what extent do learners under investigation still use isiZulu?

The learners investigated present themselves as bilinguals who are fully aware of the need to be able to speak two languages, as appropriate to the context. They shift or adjust their language use as they move from school to the township and vice versa. In the township and home domain they generally use isiZulu, whereas at school they mainly use English, or perhaps code-switch. However, it is clear that some are no longer fully proficient in isiZulu.

I will consider their claimed language use in the various domains of their daily lives. Firstly, I will discuss how they use language at school. As to be expected, the majority (85) reported that they use English with their teachers. This is because the teaching staff is predominantly English speaking and of Indian ethnicity, and because these are English-medium schools. At the same time, some use of both English and isiZulu is reported which suggests that some teachers speak some isiZulu. It is clear that English dominates the instructional time, comprising most of the time spent at school. From all this it is obvious that classroom interactions are unlikely to promote or support the use of isiZulu.

Outside of instructional time, be it in the playground or in class in the absence of the teacher, most learners appear to use English and isiZulu in combination. Respondents also reported a considerable use of isiZulu only in this domain. The motivations offered for the use of English are as follows:
The need to accommodate those of another race (Indian) who are both classmates and friends, the need to practice the language to achieve higher proficiency, and also the desire to present an educated identity through the use of English. Their use of isiZulu is motivated by the fact that basically these learners are from isiZulu speaking families, and they still wish to identify with their families and community.

The home presents a second major domain of language use. I will first discuss which language(s) are selected in interactions with parents. The majority reported the use of isiZulu with some small use of English. This presumably reflects the still low levels of education among the Black parents in my community, as most are still largely monolingual in isiZulu.

Even where parents are educated, the home language continues to be isiZulu, which may be due to the fact that many still live with extended families. For these learners, using the language understood by adults forms part of the 'hlonipha' custom. Some parents are also aware of their responsibility of teaching their children isiZulu, since they do not learn it at school.

At the same time, some use of English in some families was reported, and one reason for this, from my own observation, could be that Outcomes Based Education requires parents to take part in the education of their children. This on its own might present both parents and their children with opportunities to use English, because in these English-medium schools, schoolwork is in English. Parents are also aware of the need to create opportunities for their children to practise the language in order to achieve higher proficiency in it.

Turning to language use with brothers and sisters, more than half of my respondents (56) claimed the use of isiZulu, whereas 34 claimed the use of at least some English, possibly because their siblings might also be attending a multiracial school. This confirms that isiZulu is still largely used as the primary language in the home domain.

While there is evidence of the presence of the English in some homes, it is largely used together with isiZulu, possibly to maintain a dual identity, that of being *umZulu* and of being an educated and modernized person.

A further domain is township socializing with friends. Many respondents (45) claimed the use of isiZulu, 31 claimed the use of both languages and some reported the sole use of English. Again isiZulu remains the main language of communication among friends in the township, with English appearing here and there. Interviewees made it clear that the language chosen depends on the friends one is interacting with at specific times: there is no point in using English when some have difficulty understanding the language. In short these learners appear flexible and pragmatic, in that they consider other participants in their choice of medium of communication.

It is clear from the statistics that even though these learners are in multiracial schools where the medium of instruction is English, they predominantly use isiZulu in their homes with parents and siblings and in township with their friends. No matter how fluent these learners are in English, it is clear that it is not yet a primary language intheir homes and in the township. The majority of my respondents (80) claimed to use isiZulu most of the time, despite the fact that they do not have it as part of the school curriculum. Though they use English for almost seven hours a day, they still appear to identify primarily with isiZulu. They are not yet willing to present themselves as English-speakers.

Yet even if these respondents claimed to use isiZulu most of the time, the fact that it is neither a medium of instruction nor a school subject, has a clear impact on their proficiency in isiZulu. This is clearly seen in the responses where learners self-reported their own proficiency in isiZul*u*. They admitted a substantial difference between skills in listening / speaking on the one hand, and reading / writing on the other.

The majority of the respondents (91) self-reported that they have good or excellent listening and speaking skills. These skills are sharpened in actual use, and can be easily acquired informally. On the other hand, 47 respondents acknowledge that they have only poor to satisfactory reading and writing skills. It is clear that not studying

isiZulu at school impacts severely on the acquisition of these skills, as they cannot easily be acquired informally.

On the basis of these usage patterns, the use of isiZulu by the respondents seems to be largely restricted to speaking and listening. It is quite obvious that if these learners are to have pride in their language, they need to start by mastering all four language skills. It is not enough that they can speak and listen to someone speaking isiZulu, the other two skills are equally important.

To what extent are language-oriented support systems available at learners' homes, and how might these help to build the different language skills? Most respondents reported that they generally listen to and watch isiZulu news on either television or radio. These activities are likely to contribute positively towards improving their listening / speaking skills.

Many respondents (60) indicated they are not currently reading an isiZulu book. This comes as no surprise, in view of their low proficiency in reading and writing isiZulu. Not reading isiZulu books deprives them of opportunities to learn new things concerning Zulu culture, as mediated by Zulu cultural terms. Nevertheless a substantial number of respondents (37) did report that they were currently reading a Zulu book. Some of them, as expected, have problems in following the story line; and this appears to be a matter of inadequately developed literacy in isiZulu, which they describe as a strong language with difficult words, with the result that they tend to forget whatever they have read.

When it comes to print media there is an almost balanced availability of newspapers in both isiZulu and English in the homes of respondents. Respondents have equal access to both languages, and it then depends upon them how they use the resources available to them. At the same time, it is noticeable that English language magazines play a substantial role in this Zulu speaking community, even where Zulu editions are available. Respondents are largely exposed to English editions. English medium magazines are preferred because respondents are most proficient in reading English: they find these magazines easy to read and to understand.

There is still frequent use of isiZulu, but for limited purposes only. While some avenues of support in the home are available, for instance through television, radio, magazines and newspapers, these do not seem to have much impact and are not exploited to their full extent. A core function of isiZulu is in cultural rituals; it is perhaps due to the nature of my questionnaire that the above discussion does not reflect this.

5.2 Attitudes towards isiZulu

What is the attitude of these learners towards isiZulu?

Respondents appear willing and even eager to use isiZulu in township and home contexts: there were no suggestions in the data that respondents felt at all coerced into using isiZulu. This suggests a positive attitude towards the use of isiZulu, based here on pragmatic considerations.

These suggestions of a positive attitude towards isiZulu are reinforced by the fact that almost half expressed a desire to study isiZulu at school. Reasons given for this include the fact that isiZulu is their mother tongue, and they would like to know how to read and write it. They also voiced the need to take pride in their first language: it is as if they are aware that the language that one speaks, and one's identity as a speaker of that language, are inseparable. Respondents further feel that Indian learners should also learn isiZulu, which suggests a positive image of African languages among the respondents.

Numerous respondents (49) indicated they feel bad about not having isiZulu as part of their curriculum. They made it clear that they feel something is missing. They are aware that all 11 languages are equal and official, so not learning theirs is viewed as devaluing it. It clearly worries some of the respondents that isiZulu might end up disappearing, if the young people do not study it at school, which is likely to lead them not speaking it at all.

Yet these positive attitudes towards isiZulu clearly have their limitations. Respondents seemed to have very little interest in being taught in isiZulu, as only 22 expressed such willingness. A core factor in this regard appears to be their level of proficiency in English and isiZulu respectively, as languages of learning and teaching. Many respondents indicated that by grade 11 they are used to learning in English and hence are more proficient in it as a medium of instruction. In addition, there is clearly higher status associated with English. In the minds of my respondents, higher proficiency in English guarantees one a good job and the ability to communicate worldwide. The benefits of speaking English are clearly seen to outweigh those of knowing isiZulu. Those few who do wish to be taught in isiZulu appear to base this on emotional and pragmatic reasons; in addition they need to be able to communicate with people in the township.

This less positive attitude reappears in attitudes towards the education of their own children, where the vast majority (90) indicates they will send their own children to a multiracial school. This appears to be based on a desire to gain higher proficiency in English, and on the need for the 'quality education' typically offered by these schools (in comparison to less well resourced township schools).

We can conclude that respondents have deeply ambivalent feelings towards isiZulu. On the one hand, these young people are fully aware of its very limited official and economic status in this country, and they appear to feel powerless to change this. On the other hand, they are clearly still emotionally linked to their mother tongue, as is shown for example through their concern about the future of isiZulu: if right now some have difficulty reading / writing isiZulu, what will happen to their own children? Nevertheless, the majority appears resigned to this loss; there are few hints of determination to maintain isiZulu against the odds.

5.3 Attitudes towards Zulu traditional culture

What is their attitude towards Zulu traditional culture?

One of my initial concerns was that learners who did not study isiZulu as a subject would lack an understanding of Zulu traditional culture.
However, Zulu traditional culture, as presently practiced in Sundumbili Township, still appears to play a significant role in the lives of many respondents.

The majority of my respondents (76) claimed to have attended various cultural activities relating mostly to weddings and coming- of- age. Half of the respondents claimed active participation in these cultural activities, and almost half of my respondents (48) reported that their families, too, regularly participate in Zulu traditional activity. On the other hand, this does imply that the other half does not participate. Respondents' families appear to be divided on this issue.

It was a matter of surprise to me that even when exposed to other cultures, many respondents still feel very positive about their own culture. This might also be informed by respondents who may still live with their extended families, where there are elders who still represent cultural traditions. In addition, they reside in a township where considerable number still do cultural activities. The majority of my respondents still find it important to participate in cultural activities, despite the fact that their families may be educated and some converted to Christianity. These respondents still identify with Zulu culture.

Their attendance and participation help them gain some cultural knowledge that might cover the deprivation of not learning isiZulu at school. They are fortunate in the sense that they have opportunities to learn things that are culturally specific during their families' cultural activities, and this is where they are likely to develop the love of their culture. Depending on their families, they get an opportunity to question and seek clarity on their culture, which in turn helps them develop a better understanding of their culture and history and a sense of ownership. The 66 respondents who still find these activities relevant in their time indicate the level of involvement and commitment.

Yet there is a substantial minority who appear to have shed this commitment. 21 respondents indicated that they had never attended a cultural activity, 47 reported that their families do not regularly participate in cultural activities, and 25 said cultural celebrations are no longer relevant in their time. Respondents who showed these less positive attitudes towards Zulu culture indicated that in this new multicultural country, their culture is also losing its value.

Possibly these respondents want to discard their old identity of *amaZulu* in order to embrace a more accommodative identity, that of being a South African. It is in such cases that we find young South Africans creating their own modernized culture, which includes what they consider important and still relevant in their lives and times.

Reasons for this lack of interest include that their parents have converted to Christianity, that they lack the traditional knowledge necessary to understand and appreciate these cultural activities, and finally that they see this as belonging to traditional people. It appears that parents have a very important role both in cultivating the love of one's culture and also in leading by example when it comes to matters relating to culture. This is increasingly necessitated by the fact that these schools do not expose these learners to cultural activities that will impart cultural knowledge and instill its love.

This is becoming more than ever challenging, in view of the diminishing role played by elders in imparting cultural knowledge in young children. The future of the Zulu culture lies with our young people, irrespective of whether they go to multiracial or isiZulu dominant schools. Some other mechanisms need to be designed to close the gap that is slowly widening among the young people of our society, especially those who go to multiracial schools.

5.4 Perceived linguistic and cultural identities

What do these learners see as their linguistic and cultural identity?

The respondents still see themselves as *amaZulu,* i.e. they still draw on an ethnically and linguistically defined category as their primary identity. However, they now project a changing and more complex *umZulu* identity, which at times appears more traditional and at times more westernised. At the same time, responses from this

group of learners are no longer homogeneous: different understandings of what makes one be *umZulu* are beginning to emerge.

Let us at this point refer back to the article by Dlamini (2001) who identified in all six main components of *umZulu* identity: birthplace, descent, language, history, *hlonipha* and *ukukhonza*.
(These two latter terms can be drawn together as representing Zulu culture.) Dlamini notes that perceptions of Zulu identity can vary in terms of the weight given to each of these criteria. To what extent do my respondents draw on these criteria?

Responses focused in the main on Zulu culture, and on the isiZulu language; birthplace, descent and history were only infrequently mentioned. My respondents most frequently mentioned Zulu culture as the criterion that qualifies one to be *umZulu.* Similarly, Zulu cultural practices still appear to be widespread in the township- although a substantial minority no longer participates. The majority of my respondents still believe in following the Zulu traditional practices of their families or community despite their exposure to a multiracial and multicultural educational environment, to Christianity and other possible influences.

It is significant that language was no longer the most frequently mentioned criterion; clearly there has been a significant shift from the ethnic definitions prescribed and shaped by the apartheid government. Among this group of respondents, the criterion of language appears to be losing some of its dominance. Although for many people in Sundumbili township isiZulu is still the linguistic identity associated with being *umZulu,* it is noteworthy that several respondents felt that one could still be *umZulu* even if one were no longer able to speak isiZulu. This clearly ties in with their growing lack of proficiency in isiZulu, of which many of these respondents are aware; as they clearly still see themselves as *amaZulu,* they must consequently assign language a lesser importance in this ethnic identity.

At the same time, these respondents clearly still consider isiZulu their primary language. Although they are bilinguals and switch constantly between languages, they still identify with isiZulu as their language. Their choice for isiZulu is driven by both pragmatic and emotional considerations: isiZulu is required for communication within

the predominantly Zulu-speaking township, and isiZulu is seen as a vehicle for their cultural heritage.

Yet they are aware of the increasing role English plays in their lives, and of the need to be fluent in English, in order to be economically successful.
Their use of English appears driven by primarily pragmatic considerations; they by no means wish to express allegiance to the 'white people's culture'. Through English they hope to obtain a better job; and English is able to grant them higher status, as educated people. Yet at the same time, the inappropriate use of English in their community brings with it the danger of being rejected as 'proud'. It is therefore essential to use English only in appropriate contexts and at appropriate times, and within the context of their community and own families to maintain the *hlonipha* of using the language that everyone can understand.

Most of these respondents claim to subscribe to what they term a modernized *umZulu* identity, which brings together *umZulu* and Westernisation. These do not form a simply dichotomy, an either/or; rather respondents see themselves as combining elements of both, and so constructing a modernized identity as *amaZulu.* Westernised elements include proficiency in English, but also westernised forms of clothing (wearing jeans, for instance) and westernized behaviors. Yet, again, westernized components must be used with caution: it is essential to draw on them in appropriate ways, and at appropriate times; and this may often be primarily outside of the township community. Just as respondents are aware when it is appropriate to speak isiZulu, or to speak English, or to combine the two, so too are they able to present themselves as more traditionally *umZulu* (for instance, when participating in cultural events), or as more westernized, adjusting this as to the specific context.

Given their commitment to being *amaZulu,* it is not surprising those respondents do not claim the linguistic identity of being 'English-speaking', even though some of them may be more proficient in English. For them, English is simply a tool. At the same time, there are one or two hints in the data that some respondents may be slowly beginning to extend their emotional affiliation to the Zulu language, to their second main language as well. Recall that M2 assigned meaning to his English name as well as to his Zulu name, that he felt he should be proud of both his Zulu and English

names. Does this suggest that attitudes towards English may well change over the next decade, with English becoming claimed as a component of *amaZulu* identities?

To sum up: this group of learners from multiracial schools clearly challenges the static view of ethnolinguistic identity perpetuated by apartheid state. These respondents still perceive their linguistic and cultural identities in ethnic terms, but the content of these identities is becoming increasingly multifaceted, with different components more salient at different times and for different respondents. To be a 'modernised' Zulu speaker, one also needs to be able to speak some English, though one may only choose to speak English selectively. Similarly, participating in Zulu cultural events does not generally preclude being a Christian, wearing modern clothing or reading English-language magazines. From my observation, it seems as if my respondents are ready to discard their old singular identity as amaZulu which was closely linked to proficiency in isiZulu, to embrace a more accommodative one of being South African.

5.5 Gender Dimensions

Is gender a significant variable in these attitudes?

Respondents live in a township that is still predominantly Black or Zulu. Some of the families still lead the traditional patriarchal family lifestyle, while others have been influenced by factors such as Western education, religion, Christianity etc. The reality is that most families are undergoing some changes in the face of new challenges; and these include changing gender relationships. However mothers still retain the traditional responsibility of bringing up their children. Their main duty is to impart knowledge about what is socially accepted and what is not, including appropriate language usage. As there is a growing number of working mothers, this function may be taken over by another female who looks after the children in the absence of the biological mother.

Traditional Zulu society was patriarchal, with women generally playing a very subservient role. *Hlonipha* practices were one means by which this subservience was maintained. *Hlonipha* customs were expected to be observed predominantly by women, especially for lengthy periods after marriage. The linguistic part of this

custom centers around the avoidance of certain words, especially those relating to the elders of the wife's new family.

Herbert (1990 in Finlayson 1995:283) saw this custom as giving women lower and inferior status in their families and in the community, and positioned this in the context of traditional rural life. From an early age, males were exposed to harsh conditions out in the fields, herding cattle, while females were kept home under the guidance of their mothers. These different gender roles made females appear weak, tender, inferior and subservient to males, whose exposure to harsh conditions at an early stage made them appear a stronger sex. It is against this background that women were expected to use *hlonipha* forms to be more polite.

Finlayson has noted that though this custom used to be widespread among Nguni people, it is now on the decline. In townships it is no longer taken seriously and some have abandoned it. Given that *hlonipha* customs were regarded as 'a mark of dominance of females by males' Finlayson (1995:280) in the family, it comes as no surprise that they are being challenged. Increasingly, families are now led by females; women are also in key positions in business, sport, politics etc. These positions of power demand that they also use the language of power, which in our South African context is English. The new understanding of women's rights, gender equity, affirmative action etc is granting women equal treatment to men especially in the corporate world. Women of the 21st century are constantly creating new gender identities, totally different from those of women who observed the *hlonipha* customs in the past.

In this changing context, it is of interest to explore any gender issues in our data. It is noteworthy that my female respondents generally claimed to use more English than males, with the exception of one context: where they converse with friends in the township.

English-isiZulu bilingualism as gendered has been explored in several papers of late, with varying findings (Appalraju & de Kadt 2002; de Kadt 2002; de Kadt 2004). A recent paper by de Kadt (2004) has explored gender aspects of language use on a university campus and has sought possible reasons for what is there generally accepted as a female preference for English. One possibility is that women are using

English as a language of respect. My respondents, too, may on occasion be using English to show respect, as it is still expected that women be lady-like in their speech and behavior.

It is clear that there are things they will not be able to say in their own language, maybe because it will be shameful to hear these being said by females, like matters relating to sex, boyfriends etc. My female respondents still seem very much aware of what is socially acceptable and what is not.

De Kadt (2004:520) has argued that isiZulu and English, have different gender expectations embedded in them. It is possible that, by choosing to speak English much of the time, my female respondents, too, may be seeking to resist the male domination associated with Zulu culture and embedded in the isiZulu language.

My data does not suggest that female respondents constantly use more English than isiZulu; rather, their code selection varies considerably. In spite of the above-mentioned tendency to use English in certain contexts, in others more females report using isiZulu than males. For instance, more females (31) claimed to be using *i*siZulu with their township friends than males (14). We can perhaps conclude that the female respondents show greater flexibility in their language use, in that they are more able to select their language according to the context. Quite possibly these friends come from different families and have had a different exposure to languages, as informed by their family background and schooling. These female respondents may well feel the need to identify with their isiZulu speaking friends in the community, and in this context abandon their use of English. Perhaps, too, they are more aware of the possible dangers of appearing 'proud' in their local community.

De Kadt (2004:533) has also pointed out that the use of English by females does not necessarily mean that they have abandoned their own language. The fact that male respondents constantly reported a greater use of isiZulu, both with friends at school and at home, may suggest that males place greater store on maintaining the same linguistic identity in the township and at school, whereas females are more flexible in this regard.

Though female respondents claimed to be frequently using English, the data shows that they still find speaking isiZulu more central to Zuluness, than do males. At first sight this appears contradictory. But perhaps this reflects the changing position of women in this community: on the one hand they will need to find a job, which presupposes fluency in English, on the other they are still responsible for child-rearing, and for the transmission of cultural values and knowledge, where the Zulu language continues to play a core role

Finally, more female (43) respondents than male respondents (33) claimed to have attended cultural activities, which suggest more cultural exposure for females than males. This might be explained, in that a number of cultural activities such as *umgonqo* and *umemulo* call for active female participation, whereas males come only as spectators. Another possible reason is that in our townships we still have problems with regard to recreational facilities for women. There are numerous playing fields to cater for male sporting activities, especially soccer, leaving females with time to attend cultural activities for recreation, as they have few other possibilities.

While these gender differences in this emerging isiZulu / English bilingualism are suggestive, rather than definitive findings, they do signal a topic which will be worth exploring in future research.

5.6 Maintenance of isiZulu

What are the implications of these attitudes for the maintenance of isiZulu?

For the maintenance of any language, positive attitudes towards that language are necessary. At the moment, when respondents weigh the two languages, English appears as very important and useful in their present and future life, while isiZulu is simply restricted to home and township uses. This state of affairs devalues isiZulu in the minds of the respondents, and hence they develop what I refer to as, at best, ambivalent feelings towards isiZulu. This is likely to develop into doubts, mistrust and negative attitudes towards their language, which they see as not helping to better their lives.

My respondents already report a decreasing proficiency in isiZulu. The question remains as to what will be the case with their own children, whom they also intend to send to multiracial schools. As de Klerk's research (2000, 2002) has shown, this will surely lead to language shift. For these respondents to regain complete trust in their mother tongue, the linguistic status quo in the province has to change.

This should begin in the schools. Some multiracial schools already offer isiZulu as a subject but generally as a third language, which is useless for mother tongue speakers. It is essential that all schools introduce isiZulu as a first language. But the importance of speaking isiZulu will only become a reality for everyone when the inferior status that isiZulu has inherited from both the colonial and apartheid governments is addressed. IsiZulu should be made equal to English in this province. Let isiZulu be given important functions, and in the economic and industrial sector let isiZulu be made one of the requirements for employment.

The current ambivalent attitudes of my respondents do not augur well for language maintenance. However, the changes I have outlined will once again allow trust in isiZulu to emerge, which is a precondition for language maintenance.

5.7 The school context of Indian ethnicity: possible effects on respondents

In my literature review I noted that there had been few, if any, studies on Zulu speaking learners in multiracial schools shaped by Indian ethnicity, and that this had influenced my choice of my three research sites. Two factors from this particular ethnic context may well have some impact on the perceptions of my respondents.

Language shift from a variety of Indian languages to English has already occurred in the many Indian communities in KwaZulu-Natal (see Prabakharan 1998). The vast majority of learners of Indian ethnicity have grown up as English-speakers in homes where, at best, a few grandparents and possibly religious leaders still speak Hindi, Tamil or Gujarati. Does this function as something of a warning for my respondents, in that this might be where Zulu communities will be in one or two generations? At the same time, there are signs of a reawakening interest among young people of Indian ethnicity in these vernacular languages. One instance of this is a recent report

in UmAfrica (2004 November 19-25): that although the majority of South Africa Indians speak English, they have developed programmes for conserving their Indian languages such as Urdu,Tamil, Telegu, Gujarati etc. These are also language of little economic value and low status in South Africa: yet they are receiving support.

A second factor is the maintenance of culture among children from Indian families, in spite of the loss of the vernacular languages. Indian learners are still clearly maintaining an Indian identity, as indicated by dress, food, cultural symbols (such as the wool around their wrists, and flags hoisted in their homes) and days of religious celebration. Quite possibly this is contributing to shaping my respondents' thinking, in that Indian languages have been shown to be not essential to the maintenance of Indian culture and identities. Similarly, my respondents have somewhat ambivalent feelings towards their language, but still identify strongly with their culture.

There were, however, no suggestions of any desire to abandon their Zulu ethnicity and to 'become Indian', as noted by Mathey (2004) in her study of Zulu-speakers in a Coloured school.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The learners investigated here have responded to the challenges posed by their education in a multiracial school by developing into bilingual speakers who are aware of the need to select their language according to the communicative needs of their context. The availability of both languages gives them the possibility of developing and projecting a more complex Zulu identity, with being more traditionally *umZulu* associated with isiZulu, and Westernised or modernized identity components associated with English. These learners still identify themselves as *amaZulu,* primarily on the basis of participating in Zulu cultural activities, while for many respondents the isiZulu language is coming to play a less core role in this regard. I was surprised by the very positive attitudes towards Zulu traditional culture, which they are clearly maintaining, despite their constant exposure to other cultures. (These positive attitudes emerged, in spite of any bias introduced by the use of English in the questionnaire.)

At the same time, education in an English dominant context has undoubtedly had a negative impact on learners' proficiency in isiZulu – especially so, as isiZulu is not supported in the curriculum, or in the school more generally. This is doubtlessly exacerbated by the low economic value and low prestige of isiZulu, all of which leads to a less positive attitude towards their mother tongue, or else to ambivalent feelings about it. While their linguistic identities are clearly still shaped by isiZulu – they speak of themselves as Zulu-speakers – this ambivalence does not fill me with confidence, as to the future maintenance of isiZulu.

Let us turn to the implications of my research findings for education in KwaZulu-Natal. The Department of Education has to ensure that all schools promote an additive form of bilingualism which will enable a child to develop in his or her mother tongue while getting exposure to an additional language, in most cases English.

Multiracial schools must begin to offer isiZulu as a first language. The present practice in some such schools is to offer isiZulu as a third language; this is a waste of time and further tarnishes the image of these languages. At the same time, economic value must be given to these languages, to enable learners to find meaning in studying and using them.

Multiracial schools will need to employ African teachers, since it will be meaningless for non-African teachers to teach these languages. This can help normalize the teaching staff in these schools, since they should also reflect the racial composition of the student body. This new approach is essential to ensure that these children do not become alienated from the local context, by failing to fully participate in their own language and sometimes using English in cases where isiZulu would be expected.

Multiracial schools will have to celebrate diversity in cultural terms as well. The school assembly, where still held, should reflect this diversity, the cultural holidays observed should also reflect it, and cultural events organized at school should also promote and celebrate diversity. This will be relevant and meaningful once African educators become part of the teaching staff.

Not only the government is responsible, parents also have a role to play in this regard. African parents must begin to serve fully on School Governing Bodies, since these are responsible for the formulation of school policies of various sorts. Parents should encourage the use of isiZulu at home, and the types of use that will promote all four language skills. They can do this together with other parents. If they are not in a position to impart this knowledge to their children, they might consider hiring a private tutor. Through the parents of these learners, the community should form clubs that will aim at helping young people maintain their mother tongue, and offer support for Zulu cultural knowledge.

I close with some suggestions for further research, which have emerged from this thesis. As noted earlier, my study sought to allow the learners themselves to be heard. Comparable studies could focus on the self-perceptions, and identities, of African learners who no longer live in townships that are still predominantly Black. This would enable an interesting comparison, since the subjects of this study are still exposed to much isiZulu and the associated culture in the township.

Another related topic is how the community perceives these learners, and how community responses are implicated in the ways learners come to understand themselves, as located between two worlds.

In addition, my study was restricted to African learners in three former Indian High Schools. Further studies could explore African learners and their identity perceptions in multiracial schools where different ethnicities, or combinations of ethnicities, are dominant.

Finally, a major limitation of my study has been its use of self-reported data (based on English-medium questionnaires), in addition to my few initial observations. It is also important that studies drawing on actual observations be undertaken; and teachers located within multiracial schools (for instance) would be ideally positioned for this.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

Please tick what is appropriate

1. Age group 13-15 16-18 19-21 +22

2. Gender F M

3. Residential Address
.....
.....
.....

4. Full names (NOT surname).....
5. Which name do your friends mostly use?.....
6. Which do your educators mostly use? .....
7. Which one do you prefer? .....

8. What is the language you spoke as a child?.....

Which language do you use with: you can tick more than one:

9. School friends	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi
10 Friends-neighbourhood	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi
11. Parent (Mom)	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi
12. Parent (dad)	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi
13. Sisters & brothers	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi
14. Teachers	English	isiZulu	isiTsotsi

15. Which language do you use most?
.....
16.Which language do you most like to speak, why?
.....
.....
17. What language(s) do you learn at school?
.....
.....
18. What language(s) would you like to learn at school, why?
.....
.....
.....
19. Which language(s) would you like to be taught in, why?
.....
.....
.....

20. As you don't have isiZulu as part of your curriculum studies how do you feel about that?

.....
.....
.....
.....

21. How would you rate your ability to use isiZulu?

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent
Reading				
Writing				
Speaking				
Listening				

22. Are you reading any isiZulu book at present? If yes provide its title.

.....

23. Do you find it easy to follow the story line? If no, why is that?

.....
.....

24. Which type of school would your children go to? Why?

Multiracial	IsiZulu speaking only

.....
.....
.....
.....

25. How often do you listen or watch isiZulu news on radio or TV?

Never	Seldom	Often	Everyday

26. Which newspaper(s) does your family read?

.....
.....

27. How often do you read these newspapers?

Never	Seldom	Often	Everyday

28. Which magazine(s) does your family read and in which language?

.....
.....
.....

29. How often do you read these magazines?

Never	Seldom	Often	Everyday

30. If available in more than one language (i.e. isiZulu, English) like Drum& Bona which one would you prefer, why?

.....
.....
.....

31. Do you consider isiZulu as your home language?.....

32. If you were a KZN-Minister of Education & Culture which language(s) would you suggest be given official status in this province and why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Now I would like you to think about *umZulu*

33. What in your opinion, does it involve to be *umZulu*?

.....
.....
.....

34. Do you think it is necessary for you to speak isiZulu to be *umZulu*? .....

35. Have you ever attended any Zulu cultural activity such as *umkhehlo, umemulo* etc?..... If so, which one(s)?

.....
.....

36. Does your family regularly participate in any Zulu cultural activity (ies).

.....

37. Do you participate in any cultural activity/activities, how do you feel about this?

.....
.....

38.Do you consider these cultural celebrations as still relevant in our times? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

39. Do you consider it important for you to participate? Explain.

.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT
NGIYABONGA

APPENDIX B
ISSUES AND QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

1(1) Please give me your full names as they appear in your identity book or birth certificate.
(2) Do you prefer people to use your isiZulu or English name?
(3) Which people might use which name? (friends, parents, educators etc.).
(4) Why do you think this is important to you?

2. How do you feel if your educator pronounces your name wrongly? (isiZulu one) Why?

3. "More females use isiZulu with their friends in the township than males."
   (1) From your observation do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.
   (2) What do you think are reasons for this?

4. "Females use more isiZulu with their friends in the township and less isiZulu with their school friends at school."
   (1) From your observation do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.
   (2) What do you think are reasons for this difference?
   (3) Do you think the same occurs with males? Explain.

5 (1) Do your educators ever use isiZulu at school or in class with you?
   (2) How do you find the level of isiZulu spoken by your educators?
   (3) How do you feel when educators speak that level of isiZulu?
   (4) Do your educators ever use isiFanakalo with you? How do you feel when it is used?

6. "Many pupils say they use isiZulu most of the time, however 60% indicated they would like to be taught in English and only 22% said they would like to be taught in isiZulu."

   (1) What does this tell you about the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu among the respondents?
   (2) Would you like to be taught in isiZulu? Why?
   (3) How do you feel about the importance, relevance and status of isiZulu among the respondents?

7. "More female respondents think it is important to speak isiZulu to be *umZulu* than male respondents."

   (1) From your observation do you agree or disagree with this statement?
   (2) What do you think are the reasons for this difference?
   (3) What does it involve to be *umZulu*?
   (4) In your own opinion is it possible to be *umZulu* and to be westernized at the same time?