A CASE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN PRACTICE IN THE FOUNDATION PHASE OF SCHOOLING

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of

the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

MARGARET ANN BROOKES

December 2001

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work except where otherwise acknowledged. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Education (English second language) in Rhodes University, Grahamstown. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signed this _____ day of December 2001

Margaret Ann Brookes

ABSTRACT

This interpretative case study takes place in the foundation phase of a previously parallel medium school in the Eastern Cape. Learners from all three major language groups of the province (English, Xhosa and Afrikaans) are enrolled at the school. The study examines the language attitudes of teachers, parents and young learners and records their language practices in the classroom, the wider school environment and at home.

Research carried out through this case study found that all stakeholders perceive English as the language of access to improved education and lifestyle. All young learners displayed a positive attitude to multilingualism and were keen to be able to speak all three provincial languages. The attitudes of their parents and teachers however differed from the learners and each other. The teachers and the English speaking parents were primarily concerned with the maintenance of the standards of English. The Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking parents were committed to their children developing proficient English language skills even if this meant supporting the development of their primary language and culture at home.

Furthermore it was discovered that little attention had been paid to developing a school language policy in accordance with the new Language in Education Policy of July 1997. This policy promotes an additive approach to bilingualism and seeks to ensure that meaningful access to learning is provided for all children.

By suggesting steps that could be taken by this school to develop their own language policy, the study highlights the necessity of recognising and remedying the gaps between policy and practice in the issue of language rights, identity and education in general.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the following persons who assisted me in the submission of this research report.

The principal, teachers, parents and pupils of the school in which the research took place. Without their co-operation and assistance this study would not have been possible.

My supervisor, Sarah Murray of the Department of Education for her guidance, insight and insistence on high standards.

Pam Marshall for her encouragement, advice and support when it was most needed.

David and Barbara Hamilton for reading my work, ‘nit picking’ and the valuable feed back.

Dr Denise Zinn and all the members of the research team from whom I learnt a great deal.

Xoliswa Mtose whose continual nagging finally persuaded me to do my Masters.

Elphina Mayeke without whose support, care and assistance in the running of our home this report would not have been possible.

My husband, Alan, for all his love, encouragement and understanding through many trying and difficult times over two long years.

While writing this dissertation I have kept a predominantly non-academic audience in mind. I have written firstly for my students who are all the future teachers of South Africa. I have also been aware of the many practising teachers who are not English speakers and are struggling to cope with the educational challenges that they face every day. I have also tried to write this document in such a way that foundation phase teachers may find it useful.

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress	LiEP	Language in Education Policy
BICS	Basic interpersonal communicative skills	LoLT	Language of learning and teaching
CALP	Cognitive academic language proficiency	MoI	Medium of Instruction
CUP	Common underlying proficiency	NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
DEIC	Dutch East India Company	NCCRD	National Centre for Curriculum Research and Development
DET	Department of Education and Training	NLP	National Language Project
DoE	Department of Education	OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ECPS	East cape primary school	OBE	Outcomes based education
ELTIC	English language teaching information centre	PAN SALB	PAN South African Language Board
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems	PEI	President's Educational Initiative
ESL	English second language	PR	Participatory research
ESST	Educational Support Services Trust	PRAESA	Project of the Study of an Alternative Education in South Africa
HoD	Head of department	SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
INSET	In-service training	SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
I/P	Intermediate Phase	SGB	School governing body
L1	First or primary language	SLP	School language policy
L2	Second language	SUP	Separate underlying proficiency

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

> Most people take for granted the language into which they are born, the one spoken in their home and by their playmates. They learn it as a matter of course, and it appears to be of no more consequence to them than the air they breathe. Yet without either one they could not grow up to be human beings: lack of air would kill their bodies, but lack of language would kill their minds.
>
> (Haugen 1985 as cited in Wodak and Corson: 1997:xi)

General Introduction

This chapter outlines and explains the social and academic context of the research and describes the broader project of which this study was part. This research is an interpretative case study with young children between the ages of 6 and 9 years. The central aim of the study is to provide a rich description of the language practices and attitudes of parents, teachers and learners in the foundation phase of a former model C school. It is envisaged that the data generated by the case study will assist in identifying the 'gaps' between practice and the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) which will lead to the development of a school language policy (SLP) most suited to the school.

Social and academic context of the study

It is understood that no policy exists in a vacuum and many factors both locally and nationally affect policy-making decisions. Policy development happens from two directions, top down and bottom up. Historically language planning and policy making has always taken place at government level ensuring that policy development was a top down process. The LiEP was introduced to education four years ago and gave each school the responsibility of developing a language policy unique to that school. In line with the democratisation of South Africa policy making shifted from a top down model to a bottom up process. The school

governing body (SGB) which is representative of parents, teachers and in some cases learners thus became responsible for the development of the SLP.

Martin (1996:2) believes "that policy formation can be conceptualised as an evolutionary cyclical process rather than a linear event". She feels that all stakeholders need to be involved so that the gap between the policy formation and its implementation in schools can be narrowed. It is therefore necessary for the opinions and understanding of various stakeholders in the school to be considered in order to facilitate the process. In line with the bottom up approach to transformation this study took place in the foundation phase so as to facilitate the process of transformation from the grass roots level.

Language has always been a sensitive issue in South Africa. Between these pages one has a glimpse of the attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders sharing their views and understanding of language and language practices. Included are six to nine year olds – the future citizens of the country.

The broader project

This case study forms a distinct and separate part of a broader research project. It is in fact a case study within a case study. In the broader research project four teams of women researchers from Rhodes and Fort Hare universities in the Eastern Province are working in four provincial schools. The goals of that project are: to ascertain the current state of language policy in each school; to ascertain the language practices in each school; identify possible conflicts between the perceived needs of the school and the requirements of the LiEP; and to work with the SGB in drawing up a school language policy that meets the requirements of the national policy. The nature of the research project was participatory thus enabling all stakeholders to be part of the policy development process.

Rationale for the study

The LiEP was introduced in July 1997. In spite of it being claimed as one of the most progressive language policies in the world (Landon 1999 cited in Murray 2000a) it has received very little positive response from schools. The implementation of the LiEP has been

fraught with problems that range from issues of an economic and political nature to those of practical and everyday concerns. The rationale for this research is to try and enable stakeholders in the foundation phase to come to a better understanding of the relationship between "policy-as-practice and policy-as-legislation" (Murray 2000a:2).

Research goals

This research effort investigates in a single educational setting the language policy, practices and attitudes towards language issues of learners, teachers and parents at foundation phase level. The following are the research goals:

- to gain understanding of language practices at school and in learners' homes
- to gain understanding of the attitudes towards school language policy of the three stakeholder groups (learners, parents and teachers)
- to make stakeholders aware of each others' attitudes
- to provide through this process a rich description of language practices and attitudes
- finally to feed this information into the development of school language policy

Overview of the research project

This section of the dissertation provides the reader with an overview of the structure of the research report and highlights the main threads that run through it.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework for the study and examines the theory and practice of planning and policy making. The chapter begins by noting the role of power in society and how in South Africa's emerging democracy, language issues and language rights are core issues. Language planning is examined as well as how planning is related to the drawing up of the national language policy. The national policy provides the framework in which the LiEP is couched.

An historical overview of language, language planning and educational language policies in South Africa is provided. The overview offers some idea of how past dominant political ideologies have influenced language policies and language practices. This is followed by a detailed description of the implications and recommendations of the problematic

implementation of the LiEP.

When formulating a language policy it is important to examine and understand the stakeholders' attitudes towards language and language policy. Language attitudes in South Africa are many and varied. Some are entrenched as a result of the country's history of language oppression while others, like the lack of value attached to African languages, are undergoing change in the process of democratisation. The attitude that regards English as a language of power is carefully considered, as are issues like English being a widely spoken international language. In the final sections of chapter two attention is given to the attitudes to language and bilingualism. Dominant and negative attitudes are discussed as are the possibility of changing negative attitudes. This is followed by a discussion of bilingualism and four theoretical models which explain the process of becoming bilingual. For many people in South Africa bilingualism has been part of their lives for many years.
Agnihotri's (1995) assumption that South Africa's multilingual classrooms should simply be a reflection of their multilingual society is based on the understanding that Africans have never been monolingual people. To conclude this section the concept of national additive bilingualism, one of the underlying principles of the LiEP, is examined. The suitability of this principle in the South African context is questioned while at the same time note is made of national language research in order to understand better the language challenges of the 21st century.

Chapter three is concerned with the research methodology and the context of this study. This research is carried out within the interpretative paradigm and the case study was selected as the most suitable method to ascertain the language attitudes and practices involving stakeholders in a single institution. A detailed description is given of the methods of accession. The analysis of data and its limitations are discussed as are issues concerning validity, triangulation and research ethics. Research with children between the ages of 6 and 9 years is unusual and, because of this, special mention is made of working with young children.

The research took place in a former model C Eastern Cape school which has an interesting language history. The majority of the English, Xhosa and Afrikaans-speaking learners come

from homes where they are well provided for. The staff, under the guidance of a dedicated principal, ensure that their pupils have many worthwhile learning opportunities. This context is described in more detail in this chapter which concludes by noting the methodological limitations of the study and how the school participated in the research.

In chapter four the data are analysed and discussed. In the pursuit of clarity and accessibility the data are first presented and analysed followed by a discussion of the various themes that have emerged. This process is repeated concerning the attitudes of all stakeholders and then concerning the practices of the stakeholders within the school environment and at home.

The final chapter, chapter five, begins by looking at the LiEP implementation challenges at the school. A number of 'gaps' between practices and attitudes and the LiEP are discussed and suggestions are made concerning steps that could be taken by the school to draw up their own school language policy. Ideas for further research concerning language and language policy are included.

Limitations of this research

The researcher is aware of a number of limitations in this research and wishes at this point to bring these to the attention of the reader.

This research is 'a case study within a case study' and is part of a broader participatory research project. It is thus expected that some of the identified limitations of this research will be met by the broader project.

The development of the critical consciousness of stakeholders who were involved in the research is a recognised result of participatory research (PR). A limitation concerning this aspect of the research was that the critical consciousness of the learners and the parents was not developed. The researcher did not meet with these two groups of stakeholders after the initial focus group interviews. However a number of workshops and meetings were held with the teachers and the SGB and two foundation phase parents are represented on that body.

It would have been better if the research process had started at the beginning of the school year when more interaction between all groups of stakeholders could have been possible. Because of the lack of subsequent meetings with the parents and the learners it was not possible to equip them with the skills that are part of the PR process.

Another limitation is that stakeholders may have perceived the researcher as 'the expert'. All stakeholders were informed that in PR the researcher is a committed participant and also a learner, but this did not appear to convince them. It might have been better if the research had taken place in a school where this researcher was unknown or if someone else was used to facilitate group sessions[1]. An unknown researcher might have received more direct answers, especially from the teachers. Young learners in the school environment find it difficult to understand that an adult is not a knowledgeable authoritative figure but a committed participant and a co-worker. This aspect of PR is difficult to convey to young children.

The success of PR is based on the co-operation of all stakeholders. The stakeholders in this research did not get an opportunity to co-operate with each other as that stage of the research was not reached.

The teachers and the SGB were the central groups in the research process. Information from the learner and parent focus groups was shared with the teachers and the SGB but no information from the teachers was shared with the parents and the learners.

The next chapter provides the theoretical framework for the dissertation. The key issues of the chapter are the LiEP, the SLP, attitudes to bilingualism and one of the central principles of the LiEP, national additive bilingualism.

[1] For details of the researcher's prior involvement with the school see page 52

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework

Language is the fundamental institution of society. To plan language is to plan society.

(Cooper 1989:182)

50Introduction

Central to this chapter is a description of policy and planning in both the global and national context combined with the understanding that language should not be seen as existing independently from society but as a reflection of the way society itself is organised. The chapter begins by looking at the links between language and power in society. Thereafter follows a review of the history of language planning and policies in South Africa and how powerful people have used language to meet their own political, ideological and economic ends. The next section examines the new LiEP while the final section gives a detailed description of bilingualism and the language attitudes that are prevalent in South Africa at this time.

South Africa is undergoing a period of transition. One of the many areas of change that needs to be addressed is that of language, encompassing language policy and planning, language rights and educational language policy.

General theory and practice of planning and policy-making

Society

In order to be able to understand planning and policy-making in any society it is important to examine how power is maintained or distributed by groups or individuals. As South African society struggles with the transformation process, language policy and language rights have become core issues. Within all societies there are numerous racial, linguistic and political

groups or individuals vying for power at any given time. Obviously all groups do not share equal power which results in constant tensions as groups or individuals within the groups seek dominance**.** Within this unequal power structure there is also constant flux as the nature of the power sought is influenced by external factors.

Language restructuring is part of the social, economic and political agenda of society. Tollefson (1991:10) reminds us that we need to be aware that "Language policy is one mechanism available to the state for maintaining its power and that of groups which control state policy". The discussions and decisions about language made at government level are part of what is known as language planning.

Language planning

Language planning is defined by Fishman (1974:23) as "the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems". Myers-Scotten (1990) describes language planning as a form of social engineering used to create and maintain social elites and strata within societies. Essentially language planning takes place in order to draw up a language policy. The concept of language planning is something that is fairly recent on most national agendas. Language planning can be used to create a hierarchy which enables the maintenance of power of the dominant groups.

Fettes (1997:14) believes that language planning goes on in a generally uncoordinated and haphazard way resulting in planning that is far removed from the desired goal. Desai (1999:43) warns that "African language policies are notorious for merely being statements of intent". She cites the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) language plan of 1986 as an example of this: thirteen years later the policy still remains but a plan. To counteract this vague idealism, Alexander (1992) advocates that language planning should entail a methodical and intentional attempt to alter a language itself or to change the role and function of a language or languages in society.

Alexander (1992:144) further suggests that language be planned from a different perspective and that 'language planning from below' is the most effective form of planning. It is his

understanding that language planning is 'too much government orientated' and centres on the economic needs of the government of the day rather than the language needs of the people. This understanding is shared by Heugh (1995a) who adds that the needs and perspectives of the people are seldom taken into account when planning language. Heugh advocates that in order for language planning and language policies to be successful they must have the support of the people. It is therefore necessary to examine people's attitudes towards different languages.

Besides taking cognisance of the needs and attitudes of the people, Luckett (1993:39) suggests that language planners take note of the potential historical consequences of language planning. Under the apartheid government, language planning was part of a larger plan to 'divide and rule'[2]. Apartheid's separation of the people was based on division into racial groups and often, as a result, language groups. This misuse of power was not isolated to that period; language was used as an instrument of power from the arrival of the first white settlers. Generally the manipulation of language planning has been master-minded and used by all South African governments as a tool to meet their own political ends.

Language planning has a definite value (Herriman & Burnaby 1996) and it is important to review continually language policies at regular intervals. Planning and policies need to be altered continually in order to satisfy the needs of the people by and for whom they have been made. Transparency in language planning needs to be ensured for it to be of positive value.

Chumbow highlights the value of languages and of language planning for the nation and draws parallels between languages and other natural resources.

> The languages of a nation are its natural resources on the same level as its petroleum, minerals and other resources. These languages can therefore be harnessed and developed, if carefully planned, for the overall interest of the nation. However, if care is not undertaken, multilingualism, like its twin sister, multi-ethnicism, can be a source of disunity and strife in the body politic of the nation.
>
> (Chumbow in Alexander 1992:148)

Language Policy

A language policy is the statement made by those in power concerning how they propose to

[2] Examples of planning and policy under this government are detailed later in this document.

solve language problems. Clearly, neither language planning nor language policy can exist in isolation.

In the broadest terms language policy can be categorised as either endoglossic or exoglossic. Endoglossic policy can be defined as a policy that uses one or more indigenous language as its primary medium of communication in order to promote or maintain the indigenous languages while an exoglossic policy uses foreign languages as its primary medium of communication at national level. Luckett (1993:38) notes that the results of exoglossic policy in Africa have been "uniformly dismal" but that this may not be due entirely to the exoglossic policy; the history of language policy has been one of linguistic repression. In colonial Africa artificial borders were created which also impacted negatively on language use. Alexander (1995b:39) suggests that the reason for choosing an exoglossic policy could have been that it was the 'most sensible' and 'cheapest' option. In most African countries it would have been far too costly to replace the linguistic infrastructure that had been inherited from colonials.

Although the vast majority of African countries have opted for exoglossic language policies it is estimated that in Africa at most only 20% of the population are able to use the official language of their respective countries (Heine 1992:28). This suggests that simply liberalising a policy is not the answer. In South Africa, where there are 11 official languages, the results of research commissioned by the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) noted that "Only 22% of people with another [i.e. not English] home language said that they fully grasped what was being conveyed…in official statements and political speeches" (SAPA, 2000).

One of the main purposes of a national language policy is to nominate an official language. The appointment of only one official language may cause status problems and inequalities for the other language groups. According to Kelmann (in Alexander 1989:54) a national identity is more likely to develop from functional relationships within a society than by deliberately trying to promote one by nominating one official language.

Planning, policymaking and policies themselves manifest specific values that are important to people who are in positions of national power. Their position of power allows them to

maintain and advance of their ideologies. Kelmann points out how ideology can direct language policy:

> The deliberate use of language policies for purposes of creating a national identity and fostering sentimental attachment is usually not desirable. Rather, language policies ought to be designed to meet the needs and interests of all segments of the population effectively and equitably thus fostering instrumental attachments out of which sentimental ones can emerge…
>
> (Kelmann cited in Alexander 1989:53)

In the light of this statement and the previous discussion it is necessary to consider the following key characteristics of the South African language policy as it is manifested and entrenched t in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

- There are eleven official languages catering for all the main language groups in the country
- It is the responsibility of the State to promote the use of the indigenous languages of all people.
- At national and provincial government levels at least two official languages must be used.[3]
- All official languages must be treated equally and the national and provincial governments must observe and monitor the use of official languages.
- The PANSALB was established to promote, monitor and create an environment for the use and development of all eleven official and other languages e.g. sign language, language of the San.

Some reasons for the declaration of eleven official languages were to avoid a policy that would be purely assimilative and to ensure redress, equity and the rights of all citizens to their own indigenous languages. However Herriman & Burnaby (1996) observe that language policy is almost inevitably complicated, mostly controversial, and involves many levels of decision making on various issues to arrive at solutions. These observations are also applicable to educational language policies, as these should mirror the ideals of the state.

Educational language policy

Educational language policy always complements and is grounded in the national language policy. Similarly educational language policy making is not possible without the perceptions and values of the economic and political needs of the government being taken into account. However, globally over the past decade, policy-making has changed from a top down practice to having "the connotations of a principled approach or plan in some matter affecting public or individual interest" (Herriman & Burnaby 1996:3). Baker (1993:263) has noted the change

[3] The Eastern Cape, (where the research described in this dissertation took place) elected to have Afrikaans, English and Xhosa as their official provincial languages.

and believes that both linguistic needs and non-language factors now underpin many language education policy-making decisions.

However, in spite of the supposed interrelationship of the needs of the government and the needs of the people, Heugh (1995a:49) observes that in some African countries tension arises because the educational language policy does not "synchronise" with either education or the national language policy. Because of this, teachers especially need to be aware of how educational language policy fits into the national language policy because it is the teachers who in fact implement the national decisions at the grassroots level. Martin (1996:2) suggests that policy development is "an evolutionary process rather than a linear event". She believes that policy development takes place from both grassroots up and top down positions. It is a cyclical process of information and evaluation by all stakeholders. She feels that this evolutionary process bridges the gap between the implementation of the policy and the lives of the learners.

Educational language policy makers never have a free hand. There are always economic, demographic, social and political constraints, which influence and impinge on decision-making. Moreover it needs to be remembered that educational language policies are not rigid and should constantly be reviewed to accommodate the many changes that take place in developing countries and within school communities.

Implementation of an educational language policy

The success of an educational language policy will ultimately depend on whether issues[4] surrounding the policy's implementation have or have not been successfully dealt with (Desai 1999). According to research undertaken in Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania by the International Development Research Center in 1997, a number of factors need to be noted when planning and implementing a language policy at the macro level. Firstly, the policy statement which should be sent to all regional education officers needs to have clear objectives. Rigorous planning and implementation would ensure that the terminology is clear and accessible to all the stakeholders involved in the initial stages of execution. A second suggestion is that policy implementation should be a gradual process. A slower process that includes all stakeholders will ensure that there are no misunderstandings or misconceptions during implementation.

[4] These issues are elaborated later in the chapter

Thirdly, an aggressive marketing campaign will ensure the adoption of the language and the support of all stakeholders for it. An environment conducive to the successful introduction of a new policy is recognised as the fourth factor.

Ashworth (1988:4) suggests that policy needs to deal primarily with how learners can be assisted in learning a language. He suggests that one could think about a three-phase cycle commonly known as the PIE model which involves planning, implementation and evaluation.

On the micro level, textbooks need to be reviewed to ascertain whether the learners will in fact understand the content. The review must extend to quantity needed as often the amount budgeted by government is not sufficient to ensure that all learners have access to the necessary material. Corson (1993:172) has written prolifically about formulating and implementing educational language policy. He records that not much policy-work was done in schools in the U.K.when they first had to develop their own SLPs. He notes that a reason for this was that schools did not "consider themselves very autonomous institutions". In the past they readily accepted curriculum decisions that had been made for them by outside agencies. Schools had yet to understand that a school policy sets guidelines in order to provide a framework to achieve the particular goals that each school sets for itself. Current thinking on the other hand, sees an SLP as encompassing the organisation and management of language within the school, the role of the parents, second language teaching, avoidance of racial discrimination, cultural awareness and attitudes to language, to mention but a few issues.

Corson believes that an SLP should be seen as a statement of action addressing the diverse language needs of a school. School language policies are believed to be an essential and necessary part of the curriculum in any school. Problematic areas within the school have to be identified and the policy should clearly state what approach will be taken to ensure that these areas of concern are dealt with. May (1997:229) states that once these areas within the school have been identified, the policy should set out what the school proposes to do about the identified needs. The staff should be provided with a flexible framework to give direction for teaching and learning.

The records of language policies in South Africa's past are many and varied. In order to be

able to understand and to appreciate the current language situation in the country, it is important to look at the history of language and language policy in South Africa. (A more detailed account of this is included in Appendix 1).

An overview of language policy and language in education policies in South Africa from 1908.

The power struggles between the Dutch and English settlers intensified after the second British occupation of the Cape. In 1908 Hertzog, the Minister of Education, instituted dual medium bilingual policies to cater for Dutch and English speaking pupils. Mother tongue could be used as a medium of instruction up to Standard 4 and thereafter three subjects would be taught in Dutch and three in English. All pupils were to learn both English and Dutch. With the Union of South Africa in 1910, Article 137 of the Constitution recognised both Dutch and English as the official languages of the country (Malherbe 1977:8).

In the 1920's both the government and schools experimented with bilingualism in an attempt to establish equity between the two official languages. Three types of secondary schools resulted from the experimentation: single medium, dual medium and parallel medium schools (Malherbe 1997). According to the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) working paper (Luckett 1992), the bilingual experiment was a failure, one of the reasons being the shortage of bilingual teachers. Another reason was the deficient standards of second language (L2) instruction. However, it is understood that the underlying element of social conflict between English and Afrikaans speakers was the root cause of the problem (Luckett 1992:10).

At this time, schooling for many of the indigenous people of South African, the majority of whom had no formal schooling at all, was undertaken by missionaries. The missionaries realised that for the purpose of effective evangelisation it would be useful for them to be able to communicate in the local language. They played an important role in the development of orthographies in indigenous languages. It became common practice "to teach initial enliteration" in the first language and for English to be taught as a subject thereafter (Luckett 1992:8). Transitional bilingualism was thus the preferred method for missionary education (Alexander 1989).

The effect of the British colonial language policy at the beginning of the 20th century could be summed up by stating that primary schooling in indigenous languages was tolerated and Anglocentric values and culture were transmitted to a small percentage of mission elite (Alexander 1989:30). When Dutch and English received equal language status in 1910, little concern was shown for the language needs of the great majority of the population (Luckett 1992:9). However, it was recommended that African languages be used as Medium of Instruction (MoI) for African children throughout primary school. However this recommendation was not accepted by the 'missionary educated English-speaking African elite' (Luckett 1992:8) and was therefore never successfully implemented. Enliteration in the early years of schooling continued in the learners' home language and English was introduced as a subject in the first year of schooling and as a MoI as soon as possible thereafter (Luckett 1992:8).

The Nationalist government came into power in 1948 and language policies were set up to ensure that all South Africans learnt Afrikaans at some stage of their schooling. This policy intensified the promotion of Afrikaans and where this was not possible English and Afrikaans were promoted on an equal basis.

A new language policy was introduced for Bantu education in 1959 whereby African languages were to be used as MoI until Standard 6. The National Education Policy Act of 1967 declared that the home language of English or Afrikaans speaking children would be the MoI throughout the school child's career. This declaration meant that the government took

what little power was left in the hands of white parents and their schools away from them.

Language policies have met with intense opposition in South African education since their inception. There is no lack of evidence of the divisiveness of previous language policies in South Africa's past. It is therefore understandable that the African National Congress (ANC) acknowledged the diversity of language and culture in South Africa and encouraged the promotion of multilingualism in the new LiEP (Appendix 2).

The Language in Education Policy

Introduction

In terms of the Constitution, recognition is given to all eleven official languages. Moreover all provinces are given the power to determine their own provincial language policies. They also have jurisdiction over policies drawn up by the schools in their province provided these are in accordance with the Constitution / South African Schools Act (Brown 1998:5).

The LiEP involves a three-tier planning and decision making process at national, provincial and local levels. At local level, the language policy for each school in South Africa is the concern of the community represented by the SGB as well as the staff and principal of the school. The authority given to the SGBs is supported by the four official documents that can be likened to four pillars on which the LiEP is built. These are the Constitution - the supreme law of the country, the LiEP (in terms of the National Education Policy Act, Act 27 of 1996), the nine provincial Schools' Acts and Regulations, and the Norms and Standards regarding language policy in education (Brown 1998:4). To provide support for the implementation of the LiEP, Section 3.10 of the Constitution established the PAN-South African Language Board (PANSALB). This board is required among other things to give attention to language development, promote equal use and enjoyment of official languages, promote respect for other languages and to recommend changes in legislation.

The LiEP was formally announced by the Department of Education (DoE) in July 1997. Two policy documents are essential to an understanding of the new policy namely the Norms and Standards document regarding language policy and the South African Schools Act of 1996. The department suggests that these two documents are complementary and need at all times to be read together with the LiEP (Desai 1999:44). The LiEP is seen as "the first contribution to a continuous process" of developing an appropriate policy (Desai 1999:44). It is widely understood that in the interest of progress and development the LiEP is being developed as part of a national language plan (Department of Education 1998:4).

The LiEP is "enshrined" in the Constitution (Herriman & Burnaby 1996:19). Evidence of this is that the policy cannot be separated from the Bill of Rights. Section 31 of the Constitution

(1996) states that “every person shall have the right to use the language of his or her choice”. Section 32 develops this further by stating that every person has the right “to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable”. When interpreting any section of the Constitution that affects language, one needs to do so against a background of a concern for language rights and multiculturalism. The LiEP is firmly rooted in a culture of rights (Herriman & Burnaby 1996:19) but according to Chaskalson, a constitutional lawyer, now chief justice, language rights are “qualified rights” (cited in Brown 1998:5). Qualified rights permit the use of any official language but there are limitations to choice in specific social contexts, which include practicality and expense. In such cases a reasonable alternative may need to be accepted.

Principles of the LiEP

Education is seen as a crucial area of language policy in terms of the furtherance of both language rights and multiculturalism. Constitution Principle XI, states that “The diversity of language and culture shall be acknowledged and protected and conditions for their promotion shall be encouraged” (cited in Ridge 1996:19). Moreover the elevation of the status and advancement of indigenous languages is entrenched in Section 6 (2) of the Constitution.

In the preamble to the LiEP policy document, it is stated that the cultural diversity of the population of South Africa is recognised and regarded as a valuable national asset by the DoE (1997). As such, the promotion, development and respect of all official languages is necessary in the pursuit of multilingualism. “Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being a South African” (Department of Education 1997:35).

Respect for all languages is part of building a non-racial South African nation. An environment in which there is respect for languages other than one’s own, is encouraged. This is seen as a means of facilitating communication across barriers of colour, region and language.

The LiEP is one of ‘national additive bilingualism’ as recommended by the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) (1992). The ‘additive approach’ to bilingualism is one

whereby a second language is acquired without any loss or weakening of the home/first language. Through the principle of additive bilingualism, the policy proposes to uphold languages that will support the general conceptual growth of learners.

The right to choose a language of teaching and learning is the prerogative of the parents on behalf of the learner. This right, however, needs to be exercised within the overall framework to promote multilingualism.

Language policies in South African schools cannot be used to exclude any pupil on the grounds of race or language. Schools that offer English and/or Afrikaans are strongly encouraged to offer the historically disadvantaged languages as well. One such school, the Collegiate Junior School in Port Elizabeth, employed Xhosa speaking teachers and developed a communicative methodology for teaching Xhosa (Pluddemann in Murray, forthcoming: 8).

Finally, important emphases in the policy are on reconciliation, pluralism and the increase of the capacity to make decisions at local level. The new LiEP is seen as a necessary part of the government's ideal of building a non-racial South African nation.

The goals of the LiEP are

- to promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;
- to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive bilingualism as an approach to language education;
- to promote and develop all the official languages;
- to support the teaching and learning of all languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication;
- to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching; and

- to develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.

(Department of Education 1998:4)

Adams (in Desai 1999:43) uses the term "linguistic liberalism" when referring to the LiEP. The new LiEP is deemed to be 'one of the most progressive in the world' (Landon, as cited in Murray 2000a:1).

Implementation of the LiEP

The implementation and monitoring of the LiEP is seen as a 'constitutional obligation' and in 1998 an implementation plan was proposed by the Department of Education (DoE) (Vinjevold 1999:212). The main purpose of the plan was to facilitate the "operationalisation" of the LiEP (Department of Education, 1998:3). The plan suggested the appointment of managers, enlisting the help of PANSALB, establishing national committees to ensure the effective implementation of the policy and the employment of a language commissioner. Suggestions were made that questionnaires be sent to role players and that interviews and observations would take place. A further suggestion was that research would be undertaken with the help of the National Centre for Curriculum Research and Development (NCCRD) into the current language situation in SA schools. A further recommendation was the establishment of "school-wide support groups" to create awareness of the importance of one's own language. Funds would be raised to identify and develop previously marginalised indigenous languages. Furthermore the importance of the development of quality learning materials was noted. A task team would be drawn up to address these needs. Finally the requirement for in-service training (INSET) of teachers was highlighted. A budget figure for the costs relating to language initiatives was set at R 1 813 516 (Department of Education 1998:35).

Researchers of the Presidential Education Initiative (PEI) at the time of the development of the above plan recommended that government support the LiEP "with a definite implementation strategy" (Vinjevold 1999:212). Murray (cited in Vinjevold 1999) felt that what was needed was that the policy be given some "concrete form" and that schools and SGB's should be educated about this. The Project for the Study for an Alternative Education

in South Africa (PRAESA) (1999) suggested that the provincial education departments should seek a way in which to support the implementation of the policy and to empower SGB's.

It is now four years since the LiEP was officially announced. A number of research projects have taken place over this period of time. One of the first of these was done by Brown (1998: 2) in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The results of this research indicated that the LiEP had generally not had much impact in schools and that schools had only made 'ad hoc decisions' about policy.

Research done by the English Language Teachers' Information Centre (ELTIC) (1997) found that there was a divide between the LiEP and what was happening in schools. This divide was related to schools across the board in terms of teaching and learning (Mpofu and Pule 1997: 37). It was felt that the LiEP should describe the strategies that would encourage multilingualism.

Substantial research was done under the auspices of the PEI in 1998. Taylor and Vinjevold (1999) reported that of 24 schools in the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Free State none had altered their policies or practices to 'align' them with the LiEP. A study in the Free State schools done by Smythe and Pyle (1999) showed that schools had voted for a language of learning but there was no evidence that the government requirements in the policy had been met. Murray (1999) found in the schools in which she worked that, in spite of the fact that the profile of the learners had altered dramatically, the language policy had remained unchanged. Setati's (1999) study shows that policies are in place but these have just evolved in an ad hoc way and no account has been taken of the National Language Policy. Vinjevold (1999) reported that few schools were implementing the DoE's LiEP and that schools generally had not developed an LiEP in accordance with the South African Schools Act (Department of Education 1996). The acceptance of English as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) has become standard practice (Vinjevold, 1999:214).

Three years after the implementation of the LiEP the NCCRD (2000: v) undertook a research project to "ascertain the views of…the stakeholders across the system about language in education in relation to the needs of the learners and educators of the LiEP". Their "tentative" findings were that the LiEP was not "effective" in fostering the desired multilingual approach

to education. Also noted was that proficiency in the LoLT of both learners and teachers was lacking and language learning was not supported by sufficient learning support materials. From the findings of the research on the LiEP it is fair to deduce that problems are being experienced with the implementation of the LiEP.

Possible reasons for the problems in implementing the LiEP in schools

The following reasons are suggested in the PEI report as possible reasons for the reticence that schools have shown towards the LiEP. Firstly, most of the teachers, principals and SGB's have little or no understanding of the new LiEP. If they have heard of the policy they do not have the experience, skills or expertise to develop an SLP that would meet the needs and demands of their particular institution. Secondly, for many years, policy implementation has been a top down method: the democratic participation of all stakeholders is a foreign concept to most schools. Thirdly, the authorities have not provided an implementation plan, guidelines for drawing up a policy or directions on how to monitor a new policy. This has led to confusion in schools as they have waited for the necessary documentation to arrive. Fourthly, as cited earlier in this document, the majority of the parents still perceive English as the language of power and advantage. They thus opt for English without fully understanding the benefits of 'mother tongue' education especially in the early years. This is a direct result of the "Bantu" education policy which was seen as an attempt to disempower. Finally the teachers' language competencies are cited as a reason for the non-development of multilingual language policies. Many teachers who pride themselves on being bilingual in English and Afrikaans are unable to communicate effectively in any of the indigenous languages. Many of those who speak African languages have a poor command of English. These factors are a result of the language policies of the apartheid years.

Implications and recommendations

Since the publication of these reports a number of recommendations regarding the implementation of the LiEP have been made. The first set of recommendations came from the PEI (Vinjevold 1999). They suggest two alternatives: firstly, ensuring that sufficient resources are available to promote additive bilingualism or the acceptance of English as a language of instruction at all levels of the schools system; and secondly, promoting the conditions needed

for effective teaching and learning.

The second set came in a "Values in education" report compiled for the DoE by James et al (2000). James et al proposed two essential language values in the area of language education. Firstly, the encouraging of mother tongue education and, secondly, the fostering of multilingualism. It was suggested that these two values could be realised by providing teacher training, in the form of short/INSET courses at universities and technikons, examining all areas of publishing and improving the quality of reading materials. The report also emphasised the need for initiatives to be taken by the wider community to support the LiEP which included a reward for institutions that demonstrated multilingual proficiency (James et al 2000:24).

The third set of recommendations came from the NCCRD (2000:vi) report. They suggested a review of the LiEP and divided their recommendations into two phases. Phase one called for further research into the use of language and language developments in the classroom in order to identify loopholes in the policy. These included the lack of clarity in policy implementation, the acknowledgement of the broader social attitudes towards language as well as the conditions of learning and teaching that prevail in the schools. Phase two deals with the notion that subject advisors and teachers require INSET to improve their language proficiency and teaching styles and that all teachers need support in dealing with multilingual classes. Adults, who include district officials, school managers, teachers and parents, need assistance in understanding, implementing and drawing up new policies at local level.

Desai (1999:46) notes that ultimately the success or failure of the LiEP will be determined by the issues surrounding implementation. She draws attention to a different aspect of the policy, namely what she terms the "choice factor". She feels that too much choice has been given to people who are ill informed about the decisions that they are making on behalf of their children. She believes a public awareness campaign about language and language issues needs to take place. This will have to be supported by a "substantial injection" of both human and material resources. Her concern is that unless the state intervenes in some way, the use of African languages will not extend much further than the first few years of schooling because English is still the preferred language of learning and teaching.

Attitudes to language

Defining attitudes

Attitudes as defined by Baker are

> …inferred, conceptual inventions hopefully aiding the description and explanation of behaviour…. Attitudes do not exist in a vacuum. They are part of an individual's whole psychological functioning.
>
> (Baker 1988:114)

Although it is possible for attitudes to be modified by experience and awareness of given situations, attitudes are usually learned and tend to persist. Attitudes which are specifically directed at language are described in the NCCRD report as "the evaluations people make about a particular dialect and language or languages" (NCCRD 2000:49). The conscious and subconscious language attitudes of the people within a society prescribe the status and importance of languages within a nation. The reverse is perhaps also true.

Attitudes and policy

Policymakers and planners need to understand existing attitudes towards language and take into account national or community interests. A decision must then be made whether the policy will build on these attitudes or whether it will implement the changes needed to modify the attitudes. Because the views and aspirations of all stakeholders are part of the policy making process, stakeholders' attitudes have a strong impact on the language practices of a school (NCCRD 2000:49).

Language attitudes

In a trilingual study on language attitudes of English, Xhosa and Afrikaans speakers in the Eastern Cape, De Klerk and Bosch (1994:9) noted that there was a "… clear and consistently positive attitude towards English for all informants in this study". Of the respondents 83.95% cited English as the preferred language for success. This attitude towards English, as the perceived language of power, success and prosperity, has remained constant. Research by Brown (1998), Makoni (1994), and PRAESA (no date) support the claim that English is still the preferred language in South Africa.

This finding is confirmed by Luckett (1995:74) who notes three dominant attitudes to language in South Africa. Firstly, there is the perception of the power of English. Reports from the PEI indicated that schools still value English as the "language of socio-economic power" (Vinjevold 1999:215). Research by Bot, (1993); Martin, (1996); Vinjevold, (1999) and Desai, (1999) indicate that African language speakers, be they parents, teachers or the learners themselves would prefer to have English as the medium of instruction in their schools. Many learners with little understanding of English are bussed from distant areas to attend English medium schools. Many of those who remain in the townships are 'going straight for English'. Tollefson, as cited in Young (1995) believes that indigenous people living in poverty see English as the language that will help to transform their lives. The English language is seen as symbolic of wealth and success (Baker 1993).

The second dominant attitude, according to Luckett (1995), is that African languages are not of much worth and certainly not suitable for education, government, science and law. Nhlapo, writing forty years before Luckett notes that English had come to have

> …such a big place in African education, that it is quite true that to most African scholars English is education, and education is English, and they find it very hard to believe that a person may know a lot and be very well educated, and yet know no English.
>
> (Nhlapo as cited in Alexander 1989:60)

Many parents believe that to obtain the desired proficiency in the English necessary for education, the sooner one begins one's education in English the better (Luckett 1995:74). According to Stein (cited in Potenza 2001:4), a "large percentage of children are learning to read and write from Grade 1 only in English, a language they don't have sufficient access to". As a result these children "often remain functionally illiterate in both their home language and English" (Potenza 2001:4). The trend of early instruction in English of young learners is highlighted in the NCCRD document on language in the classroom (NCCRD 2000:12) and by PRAESA (no date) who report on "the earlier the better" switch to English policy. One of the main reasons for this is that the parents desire their children to learn the language of "power, prestige and achievement" (Roberts 1997:32).

If most people are seeking proficiency in English there is the danger that African languages will become less sought after. However, Young (1995:64) believes that "all languages are

capable of development into fully-functional modern languages, given the political, social and educational will to see that these languages enjoy their rightful status and role". The history of the development of the Afrikaans language is a good example of this.

The third dominant attitude is that the African languages and English are used in two different domains. Makoni (1994:22) believes that different languages in Africa are used alongside each other to fulfil different roles. It is Luckett's (1995:74) understanding that English is used as a language to separate the well educated from the disadvantaged as a person's status in life is measured by their proficiency in English. African languages are sometimes perceived as languages of the illiterate and ill-informed (Eastman 1992; Frederikse, 1992) and are most often used as an expression of social equality and solidarity, for example in church, on the sports field and at home. Young (1995:63) noted that while students maintained a strong allegiance to their home language they saw their language as just a language of the home. Pather (1994) believes that English is perceived as the language of self-empowerment. This attitude is related to the issue of identity and culture which is dealt with later in this chapter.

Negative attitudes

Note must be made of the negative attitudes towards indigenous languages which are not only prevalent in South Africa but seem fairly widespread in Africa. Triandis (1971) as cited in Okombo (1998:5) writes of the problems around "the complexity and negative attitudes to African languages" that arose at conferences. Desai (1999:43) recalls that a persistent theme that ran through the Tenth World Congress of Comparative Education Societies in Cape Town was the negative attitudes of the speakers of African languages towards their own languages.

Unfortunately negative attitudes to African languages are not only part of adults' experience. Frederikse (1992:64) relates how Shona and Ndebele children in Zimbabwe actually pretended that they do not speak their home language once they have been at school "with white kids". In South Africa, Versfeld (1995:25) notes that African children who moved to former model C schools were "shying away from their own language" and some have a negative attitude towards their own language and sometimes reject their culture. To deny the

existence of one's language is disadvantageous to the learner. Robb (1995:16) cites incidents of young Xhosa speaking learners who do not respond to adults speaking to them in Xhosa and of children who refuse to speak Sotho when they go to Soweto for the weekend. Ada (1995: 237) advises that the maintenance and the development of one's home language "can foster a bilingual student's identity and self-esteem, which tend to correlate to academic success". Versfeld (1995:24) contends that all learners should feel that they have a unique contribution to make to their school and "do not have to reject their identity in order to climb some perceived hierarchy".

Change of attitudes

In order to change one's attitudes, one first needs to identify what they are. Versfeld (1995: 24) recommends that when dealing with language attitudes any negative attitudes are addressed. Robb (1995:16) advises that all stakeholders, but especially teachers, make a conscious effort to examine their attitudes, specifically those that developed during the apartheid years. She suggests that schools spend as much time ensuring that they are ready for their learners as they do ensuring that learners are ready for school.

One way of ensuring that all schools are ready for all their learners is to see that all languages are given equal status within the school and that teachers use positive reinforcement to elevate the status of the school's minority languages. Wong-Fillmore (1991) believes that teachers who overlook and trivialise minority languages raise barriers to learning. By contrast those teachers who use different languages in class send powerful messages concerning the value of all the language groups and in so doing encourage learners to be proud of their language and culture. At the same time they could be encouraging monolinguals to aspire to learn another language.

Research done by de Klerk (1995a: 60) in schools where Xhosa speaking children were in the minority and English or Afrikaans was the MoI showed that once Xhosa, the minority language, was taught or upheld the Xhosa learners' self-confidence and eagerness to participate improved. This supports Cummins' (1986) claims that academic performance will improve once the culture and home language of a child is recognised. It also supports

Krashen's (1982). theory that once the learners' affective filter is lowered more effective learning will take place

de Klerk (1995a) reports that a change of attitude occurred as a result of Xhosa being introduced as a subject. The Xhosa speaking learners who used to isolate themselves at playtime now played with learners from other language groups. The teachers, learners and administrative staff were keen to learn to speak Xhosa because they believed that it would be useful in the New South Africa (de Klerk 1995a:12).

Alexander (1990:198) claims that the success of a multilingual South Africa depends, among other things, on the positive attitudes of all the citizens to one another's languages. Desai (1999:42) believes that it is necessary to change firstly language practices in South Africa so that a change of attitude will follow.

In conclusion, a change of attitude that is worth noting comes from the MarkData survey on behalf of PANSALB (2000). Although the bulk of evidence in the PEI report states that English is the preferred language, this survey finds that 61% of participants believed "that other languages should be assisted to become as important as any dominant language" (PANSALB 2000:8). It is understood that the demand for English is a concern of the African elite and that this reflects an overlap between social class and access to English.

Bilingualism

What is bilingualism?

There is little consensus as to an exact definition of the term bilingualism[5] as it is generally used to refer to a diverse collection of phenomena. A frequently used definition by Bloomfield (1993) as cited in Martin (1996:10) is "to have native like control of two languages". The term "native like control" raises a number of issues concerning forms of bilingualism. Romaine (1995:11) describes one of these forms, a recipient bilingual, as one who does not speak or only speaks a few words of a language and yet understands a great deal. Many young South African learners are recipient bilinguals.

[5] For the purpose of this research bilingualism/multilingualism (used in this research synonymously) is defined as being in the possession of more than one language and literacy skills that satisfy communication needs.

Bialystok (1994: 554) identifies two types of bilinguals, compound and co-ordinate bilinguals. Children who learn two languages simultaneously in early childhood are considered compound bilinguals and easily shift between two languages. They develop two full linguistic systems where their "conceptual structures are tagged and labeled". On the other hand co-ordinate bilinguals have two separate language systems with one language either directly or indirectly attached to the other. Adults learning a second language tend to become co-ordinate bilinguals because the second language is never "fully integrated into the learners existing mental representations" (Bialystok 1994:554).

According to Martin (1996:10) the varying degrees of bilingualism are determined by the proficiency and the pattern of language used by the speaker). Balanced bilinguals have a highly developed proficiency in both the first language (L1) and the second language (L2). These people often switch from one language to another without being aware of doing so.

Bilingual education

Bilingual education is not an unusual phenomenon and exists all over the world in different forms. Both the Bullock (1975) and the Swann (1985) reports give accounts of bilingualism, language, and cultural issues in the UK. It was noted in the Bullock Report (1975:17), a Language for Life, that

> … bilingualism is of great importance to the children and their families, and also to society as a whole. In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world, we should see it as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies, which should nurture it, is the school. Every school with pupils whose original language is not English should adopt a positive attitude to their bilingualism and wherever possible help to maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue.

The Swann Report strongly advocated the idea that linguistic diversity was an asset and resource in schools and called for all minority languages to be equally accepted.

In South Africa many learners become bilingual before the start of formal education. Luckett (1993:47) notes that there are four contexts in which bilingual education can take place: the naturalistic context of the home; everyday life which includes the wider community; the learning context of the classroom; and as a structured subject in a formal learning environment and that, in order to expedite bilingualism, a range of opportunities in all four of

the above contexts needs to be provided.

Luckett (1995:76) writes that strict bilingual education that takes place in the learning context of the classroom “requires that both the dominant and the subordinated languages are used at some stage in the curriculum as media of instruction”. For bilingual education to be effective there needs to be a significant number of learners in the class or school who speak the same alternate languages. This would be problematic in many rural schools in the Eastern Province where societies are largely monolingual. The introduction of bilingual education in former model C schools poses a challenge of a different nature. It would necessitate that all teachers become proficient in the African language of the region so that both the dominant and subordinate languages could be used a LoLT. An alternative solution would be that the staff become more diverse.

Multilingual education in South Africa

As a result of globalisation, international travel and migration most societies in the world today are multicultural and multilingual. South Africa is a country where European, Asian and African cultural traditions have intersected for the past three and a half centuries (Alexander 1989:48). Many South Africans, especially the black population, are multilingual. Many black citizens in urban areas have grown up “in a multi-lingual way ” and the concept of one “mother tongue” is a foreign idea to many (Mpofu & Pule 1997:38).

Consequently multilingualism is present in many South African classrooms and is described by Bloch and Edwards “as the norm” (1998:12). Agnihotri (1995:45) sees multilingual classrooms as a reflection of society and natural in today’s world. Alexander (1990:198) notes that all languages in South Africa have "an equal right to flourish" and South Africans need to understand that no language is inherently superior or inferior to another. The promotion of multilingualism is understood to be one of the ways of bringing all the people of South Africa together as one nation. Young (1995:68) and Laufer (2000:9) argue that it is “essential” that English and Afrikaans South Africans become competent in at least one African language of their choice. Alexander (in Murray, forthcoming:1) believes that multilingualism which “challenges the inseparability of language, culture and identity” will help to forge the new

South African identity.

However, multilingualism in South African schools is mostly seen as a language problem in spite of the fact that South Africans have been encouraged to view it as a resource. Versfeld (1995) believes that it is the teachers who have the problem with language and not the learners. A reason for this is that teachers do not have the training, knowledge or expertise to deal with the language differences that learners bring to the classroom (Vinjevold 1999). Data collected by the Education Management Information System (EMIS) describes the home languages of teachers in the central district[6] in the Eastern Cape as 58.7% Xhosa speaking, 17,5% Afrikaans speaking and 23,8% English speaking.

The role of teachers in South African classrooms is vital as they often introduce the learners to a new language and also to a different culture. However, one must be alert to the challenges that many South African teachers face. Black teachers in rural and township schools "struggle" to teach in a second or third language (Macdonald 1991:19). They feel that if they teach in English it won't be as effective as using their own and the learners' home language. White teachers in former model C schools face a similar challenge. They also do not have the skills or language expertise that are required to support the learners in their classes who speak languages other than English or Afrikaans.

Young (1995:108) suggests that "teachers should not qualify without being rigorously trained and assessed as bilingual or even trilingual". The choice of languages would depend on the demographic context of the tertiary institution. According to Agnihotri (1995) the sooner teachers recognise the potential of multilingual classrooms and the need to develop language tools that will empower learners, the better it will be for all because language is central to education. Multilingual education is concerned with the equity and status of all languages as well as "engendering sociolinguistic tolerance" (Young et al 1995:108).

Cognitive theories of Bilingualism

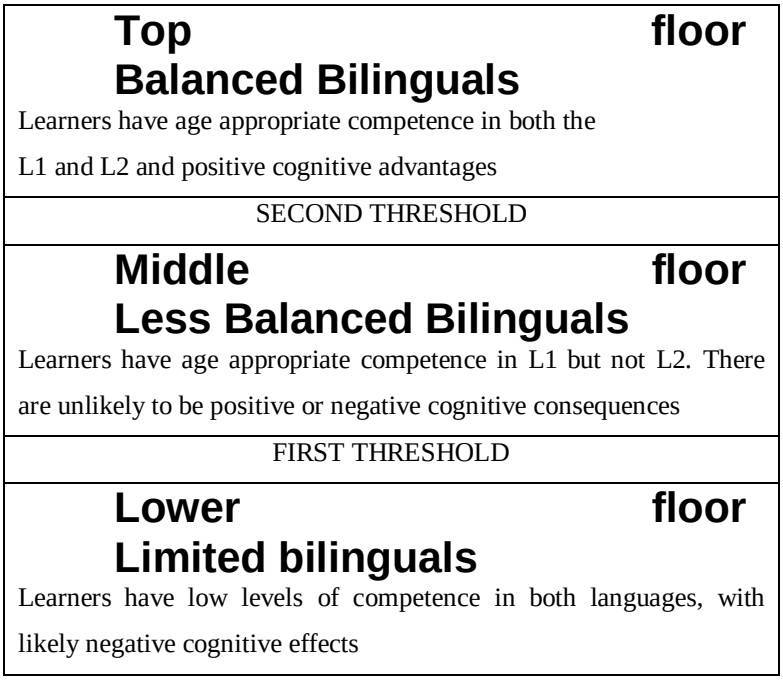
Being bilingual involves social and communicative skills, linguistic skills and skills for cognitive development (Skutnabb-Kangas as cited in Martin 1996:11). Over the years a number of theories have been developed to enhance the understanding of bilingualism.

[6] The school in which this research took place falls under the Central district of the Eastern Cape

Research that was carried out before 1960 held that bilinguals were inferior to monolinguals in terms of linguistic and cognitive development (Baker1988:9). A notable amount of research has taken place since then which suggests that bilinguals have some advantages over monolinguals. However, this research is not irrefutable and needs to be carefully considered.

The theory that dominated monolingual societies prior to 1960 is the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) theory. This theory broadly speaking visualizes two languages working independently within the brain without transfer between them. The theory implies that bilingualism has a negative effect on cognitive skills and academic achievement (Baker 1988:171). The Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) theory is in direct contrast to the SUP theory. It was Cummins' belief (1986) that a common underlying proficiency makes it possible to transfer cognitive skills from one language to another. It is understood that the maintenance of a first language would aid the learner in acquiring a second language. However, if a learner is compelled to function almost exclusively in a L2 in which s/he has limited proficiency and there is little or no support in the L1, progress will be slow and both languages will be disadvantaged (Baker 1988:172). This observation purports to explain why some learners experience positive effects through bilingualism and others negative.

The third theory, namely the Thresholds Theory partially summarises the association between cognition and the degree of bilingualism (Baker 1993:135). Cummins (in Baker) proposes that there may be thresholds of language ability that either facilitate or restrain learning. His theory proposes that a first level of competency must be reached in at least one language in order to avoid the negative effects of bilingualism and a second level of competency must be attained in both languages in order to accumulate the positive benefits of bilingualism and to optimise learning.



Baker (1993:137) notes that this theory helps to explain why some learners who are taught through a second language do not develop sufficient competency in their second language resulting in their inability to benefit from a 'weak' form of bilingual education. Their low level of proficiency in English, for example, limits their ability to cope at school.

Cummins (1986) suggests that one of the reasons why learners have difficulty in school was that classroom language was very different from everyday language. He names the everyday language 'Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills' (BICS) while the language of the school was referred to as 'Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency' (CALP) (cited in Baker 1993:138). The distinction made between BICS and CALP is that BICS can be independently developed while CALP cannot. Effective learning can only take place if both languages were sufficiently developed. This theory resulted in the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis which attempts to explain the interaction between the L1 and the L2 used by bilinguals. The hypothesis suggests that competence in the L2 of the child is dependent of the level of success that has been achieved in the L1. The better the development of the L1 the easier it will be to develop the L2 (Cummins in Baker 1993:138). If the L1 is not sufficiently developed to cope with decontexualised classroom learning then there is a strong possibility that the development of the L2 will be affected negatively and disadvantaged.

Multilingualism to develop cognitive skills.

Agnihotri (1995:3) believes that multilingualism has positive effects on cognitive development as well as on success at school. Macdonald (1991:45), however, warns that although bilingualism in a classroom is not a problem, there may be problems with cognitive learning in a second language. Cummins (1986), Macdonald (1991), Langhan (1993), Heugh et al. (1995), and Versfeld (1995) have all carried out extensive research concerning the best medium of instruction for learners to begin their education. According to Versfeld (1995:24) reading and writing in one's L2 is far easier once L1 competence in the same skills has been achieved. On entering school in South Africa, many African learners have varying degrees of competency in speaking and understanding English and interacting with text. Murray (2000b) feels that the overwhelming majority of these learners have virtually no English language experience at all, 'save for a few words culled from T.V'. There may be marked differences between the informal, interactive situations, namely BICS, and CALP, the academic form of language closely linked to literacy skills. Learners need to be able to think and communicate at a relatively advanced level in the L1 for the skills that are needed for cognition to be transferred to the L2.

Much research has taken place globally to ascertain the cognitive advantages of bilingualism and interesting research on bilingualism has taken place in South Africa. Ianco-Worrall (1972) cited in Romaine (1995:111) found that English/Afrikaans bilingual learners in the foundation phase were able to "analyse language as an abstract system earlier than their monolingual peers". These young bilingual learners between the ages of four and six years responded to word meaning rather than the sound of the words which indicated faster semantic development (de Klerk 1995b:54). The early separation of meaning from sound is cited by Saunders (1988:17) as one of the advantages of bilingualism.

The preliminary results of an extensive language study on 18,000 Afrikaans and English-speaking learners from monolingual and bilingual schools in the Cape in 1943 found that pupils who attended bilingual schools were confident in their second language while the proficiency in their L1 was not affected (Malherbe 1977:56; Romaine 1995:111). As this study only took place in the Cape one can presume that the teachers in those schools, unlike the majority of teachers in South Africa at that time, were bilingual.

Not all research demonstrates positive results for bilingual programmes. Research carried out by Cummins (1976) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1976) as cited in Hoffmann (1991:118) showed negative results. Both researchers noted that if children used different languages at home and at school they often had a poor command of both their L1 and L2 and therefore did not achieve academically. Hoffmann suggests that minority children need educational provision that supports both their social and linguistic circumstances. Hoffman's belief is supported by the Thresholds Theory which hypothesizes that one level of language proficiency must first be attained so that one can optimise learning.

Language, culture and identity

Just as thinking and language are closely related so language and culture are entwined. The difficulty of separating language and culture is noted by Ngugi:

> **Language as communication and culture are …products of each other. Communication creates culture: culture is a means of communication.**
>
> **(Ngugi as quoted in Alexander 1989:55)**

Culture shapes and influences education, while education is a powerful agent of cultural transference or cultural protection. Ramirez (1992 in Edwards 1998:5) argues that the academic success of learners is directly related to the extent that their culture and language are "incorporated into the curriculum". Versfeld (1995:25) reports that African children who moved to former model C schools shied away from their home language and sometimes rejected their culture. Young (1995) believes that the challenge for newly composed model C schools is to include languages and cultures other than English into the learning process thus countering the dominance of English. When the language and culture of the minority group[7] is not incorporated into the curriculum the minority group is assimilated into the majority culture. Learners are thus expected to adapt to the existing culture, language and ethos of the school rather than the school changing to accommodate the learners' cultural backgrounds and language (PRAESA:no date). The danger of this is highlighted in the following extract from the Bullock Report:

> No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart. The curriculum should reflect many elements of that part of his life, which a child lives outside school.
>
> (Bullock report:1975).

One of the findings of the Threshold Project was that cultural beliefs had an influence on the way teachers and learners related to one another in school. These cultural values "filter" through to the school environment and influence the way teaching and learning takes place in the school (Macdonald 1991:5).

Fishman (1991) as cited in Baker (1993:56) believes that there are three distinct links between language and culture. He understands that language and culture are one as a result of their close association over the years. Many aspects of language such as metaphors and idioms best explain culture "at a cognitive and emotive level". His second belief is that language symbolises culture. An example of this is that in South Africa the English language may symbolise either wealth and success or colonial oppression. Fishman's third understanding is that "culture is partly created by language". This is evident in many oral traditions where the culture of a tribe or clan has been verbally passed down from generation to generation. "The taste and flavour of a culture is given through its language" (Baker 1993:56).

Just as there is a relationship between language and culture so is there a relationship between language and identity. Cohen defines identity as "'a repertoire of possible selves…[from which] each of us chooses or assembles a package and gives people to understand that is the sort of person he is'"(in Gaganakis 1992:48). It is accepted that issues of identity are at the "nexus of multicultural education" and these need to be clearly understood in order for multicultural education to become effective practice (Dolby 2000:899). Alexander (1995a) and Baker (2000) understand that many people have multiple identities. Alexander quotes Said:

> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are no more that starting points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind.
>
> (1995a:223)

Educators are encouraged by Ntshangase (2000) to keep in mind the constantly changing identity profile of learners. Winkler (1997:36) believes that teachers should not teach learners to think of themselves as "non-English speakers" as this suggests that these learners have no true language identity and sometimes results in their not having confidence in their learning

---

[7] In this research these are the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners

Gaganakis' research in South African private schools revealed that black pupils' identity emerged as multi-stranded and subject to the local influence while at the same time being both contradictory and flexible (1992:48). For these learners the prestige of speaking English is associated with moving up the social ladder while African languages are perceived as having little social value. These learners defined themselves as 'being black' and as English speaking.

It is Baker's (2000:70) understanding that all people have "different identities in different contexts" and that identity is about "becoming rather than about being". He suggests that the two issues of cultural and language identity are not so much about understanding our roots as about "making sense out of our past, present and future routes".

Ntshangase (2000:41) suggests that the LiEP is a route that will shape the identities of learners and that as learners grow so the policy will shape society as well. He believes that people no longer choose to study languages for sentimental reasons. He recommends that choice of language should be based on the notion of creating the best possible opportunities for children to compete nationally in becoming "active and productive member(s) of the international race of human beings". Another key issue and underlying principle of the policy is national additive bilingualism.

National additive bilingualism

Luckett (1995:75) introduced the word "*National*" to additive bilingualism because the LiEP "is designed to apply to all South African pupils in a unitary South Africa"

Additive bilingualism, a term coined by Cummins, but here defined by Heugh is

> ...a context in which speakers of any language are introduced to a second language (or even languages) in addition to the continued educational use of their primary language as a language of learning. The second language is never intended to replace the primary language in education; rather it is seen as complementary to the primary language throughout.
>
> (Heugh et al., 1995: vii)

Luckett (1995) defines additive bilingualism as maintaining the first language while at the same time gaining competence in the second. For this type of bilingualism to be developed, both or all languages and the cultures of the learners need to be respected and valued. But the unequivocal support for mother tongue / first language instruction has been given by South African researchers and policy makers alike (Vinjevold 1999:216). As discussed in the previous section it is widely accepted that additive bilingualism has a positive effect on the learners' cognitive development as well as their self-esteem.

However, Makoni (1994:22) questions whether concepts like 'additive and subtractive bilingualism', which originated in western societies, can easily be transferred to the African continent. He fears that these concepts do not "capture the complexities of the African multilingual setting" as many African children have grown up in multilingual homes and do not have a primary language.

Many African parents show little understanding of additive bilingualism and want their children to be educated in English. Robb (1995:15) found that parents pleaded with pre-school teachers not to allow their children to speak any Xhosa so that they would have sufficient English language skills to be able to " go to a decent English-medium primary school". The PRAESA report for the PEI (Vinjevold 1999:217) indicates that the increasing use of English as a LoLT in township schools is having a negative affect on teaching and learning in the foundation phase.

Research done by Desai (1999:42) found that Xhosa learners recorded what they understood of a story in Xhosa proficiently but were unable to do the same in English. The latter recording was barely intelligible. The language practices of the Grade 4 learners in the Western Cape in Desai's study were frustrated rather than facilitated when learning took place prematurely in an L2. According to Luckett (1995:75), if learners are unable to explain or to transfer new knowledge into an L2 then they have failed to achieve CALP in either language. Smith (2000), a foundation phase teacher in a Cape Town private school, observed that the Xhosa learners managed to "keep up" with the English speakers in Grades 1 and 2 but in Grades 3 and 4 they began to fall behind in Science and Maths. She believes that "this can only be due to a language problem". According to Smith, in the first two years at school these learners manage well, as work at this level requires BICS. In Grades 3 and 4 critical, lateral and divergent thinking skills are part of CALP and the learners are unable to keep up.

The implication of National Additive Bilingualism in South African schools should mean that young learners are able to acquire an additional language without replacing their first language as the LoLT. For the majority of young learners this additional language is likely to be English while a minority of English and Afrikaans speakers may acquire an African language as a second or third language.

Subtractive bilingualism is in direct contrast to additive bilingualism. Subtractive bilingualism is that state in which a second language is learned at the expense of the first. Luckett (1995:76) notes that some of the results of subtractive bilingualism in South Africa could be avoided if African languages were used and developed in education. The effect would be that for the majority of learners cognitively demanding learning would be able to take place in their L1. Their language would thus be maintained, respected and afforded the same status as the other language/s within the school while they would still develop in terms of additive bilingualism.

One of the ways for developing the L2 while maintaining the L1 is the re-introduction of dual medium schools. Dual medium education involves teaching and learning through the medium of two languages. This can either be achieved by using two languages for teaching on alternate days or the two languages can be used interchangeably for the content subjects and other areas of the curriculum. Research that was carried out in 1938 by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research and in the mid-forties by Reyburn showed that learners who were taught using these methods were bilingually more proficient than learners in unilingual schools (Malherbe 1997:99). Unfortunately the combination of a shortage of bilingual teachers which contributed to the deficient standards of L2 instruction and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism led to the termination of dual medium schooling.

In conclusion, because national additive bilingualism is foremost on the agendas of language planning and policy in South Africa, we are reminded of the words of 'Onze' Jan Hofmeyer written nearly fifty years ago.

> I prefer to see our children of different denominations and different languages educated in one and the same schools. I think that is more in harmony with the bilingual system and I would arrange schools accordingly. …I would like the English boy to learn Dutch from the Dutch boy, and the Dutch boy to learn English from his English comrade in the school and with whom he is going to mix after school. …I feel that every child should be taught at the commencement of his school career in the language of his parents, i.e., his own language, then as soon as possible, you should have mixed classes. And, if the teacher knows Dutch as well as English, he can teach in two languages in the same class, and the children will learn more of the two languages in this way then they would otherwise do.
>
> (Jan Hofmeyer, quoted in Assembly Debates, 1944 col.2892, cited in Malherbe, 1977:7-8)

The question that needs to be asked is whether dual medium schools would facilitate the policy of national additive bilingualism as suggested in the LiEP.

Conclusion

The chapter has reviewed the history and key issues of language planning and policy making in South Africa. It has attempted to describe the challenges that are faced by all stakeholders in education in South Africa today. Relevant language issues and the history of language policy in South Africa are included. The announcement of the new LiEP was acclaimed as progressive and visionary but its implementation has been problematic. These issues are addressed. Attitudes towards languages and towards speakers of the different languages in our country were noted and finally the issue of bilingualism was highlighted as central to the LiEP document. An aspect of bilingualism that is emphasised is that of national additive bilingualism which will only become a reality if learners are able to develop and maintain their first language while at the same time gaining competence in a second. However, research informs us that at present the majority of stakeholders in South Africa are not committed to maintaining their home language (if there is a single home language) but instead wish to gain competence in English, the language of power.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a coherent overview of the research goals and the relationship between language practices and policy. The chapter begins with an explanation of the interpretative paradigm and the participatory research method. Case study, which was used to achieve the aims of the research, is then examined. This is followed by a discussion of the key issues of validity, the use of triangulation and the ethics of research practice. The first half of this chapter concludes with a section relating to research with young children.

The second half of the chapter begins with a description of the school and its unusual language history. The various techniques and methods of data collection that were used to provide an in-depth investigation of the language practices and attitudes of those involved in the Foundation Phase of the school are examined. This is followed by notes on how the researcher went about working with the mass of data that was generated by the case study and a discussion of the methodological limitations of the research. The chapter ends with a record of the school's participation in the study.

Broader project

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation I am a member of a research team already working in this school. I decided to continue with my own research at the same school for a number of reasons. The research team had looked at the language practices and needs of the whole school and I was particularly interested in learners in the foundation phase. I realised that with more 'deep probing' it would be in my and the research team's interest to continue working with a familiar group of teachers and learners. I was thus able to give feedback to the school on both projects.

Research Goals

The purpose of this research is to investigate in a single educational setting the language policy, practices and attitudes towards language of learners, teachers and parents at foundation phase level. In terms of what is referred to in the introduction, the following are the research goals.

The central goal is to gain an understanding of the language practices of a selected group of Foundation Phase learners, both at school and at home. An addition to this central goal was the intention to gain insight into the attitudes of the parents, the teachers and the learners towards these language practices and to examine their understanding of these in a particular context. The final aim was to provide a rich description of these language attitudes and practices in order to facilitate the development of a school language policy. The LiEP allows all schools to develop an SLP that is unique to the requirements of their particular school. It is envisaged that before drawing up an SLP, the learners' language practices will have been examined to ensure that the policy in response to these will meet the language needs of the learners.

Interpretative paradigm

A paradigm as defined by Guba is the "basic set of beliefs that guides action, whether of the everyday… variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined enquiry" (Guba 1990:17). Thus a paradigm provides the broad framework for the method of data collection, the observation and the interpretation of results. As such, the paradigm will impact on the research question as well as the way in which the research is carried out. It is essential that there is a logical fit between the research question and the research methods within a particular paradigm. In the case of this research a case study method was used within the interpretative research paradigm. The broader research project was participatory, and thus this research contained elements of participatory research (PR).

Interpretative research reveals how group and individual understandings and interpretations in the world influence actions and intentions (Winberg 1997:34). The rationale that underscores this paradigm is founded on particular hypotheses about the nature of knowledge, human nature and social reality. The researcher working in the interpretivist paradigm does not believe in a reality that exists 'out there' regardless of people (Bassey 1995). The reason for this is that it is the conviction that reality is a construct of the human mind and as such cannot be separated from people. Different people have different understandings about what is real. Knowledge is understood to be a human construction and there could therefore be many constructions of a single incident. It is therefore understood that because of the value ladenness of facts inquiry cannot be value free (Guba 1990:25).

According to the interpretative paradigm, the interaction between the researcher and the researched shapes the results of the inquiry and because of this interaction objectivity is never possible, though some ethnographers such as Hammersley (1987) believe it is worth striving for. Researchers in the interpretative paradigm try to understand and explain the subjective reasons and meanings that underpin social action.

Bassey (1995:14) describes the purpose of interpretative research as an exploration of 'deep perspectives' of identified events and a search for theoretical insights into these occurrences. Issues pertaining to values form an integral part of interpretative research and because of this, both the participant's experiences and the researcher's understanding need to be taken into account. The results provide possible solutions but not certainties, which in turn may lead to future research.

The method in interpretivist research is the procedure that is used to interpret and gain understanding of one's observations within social interactions. The methodology is the theory of research, which underpins the research method. The methodology of interpretative research is usually described as qualitative. According to Nunan (1992:3) qualitative research can metaphorically be described as "soft" research where all knowledge is relative and comprises elements of subjectivity. In qualitative research the researcher is primarily concerned with human understanding.

A participatory case study

Participatory research

The PR method was selected for the purpose of this project. According to Narayan (1996) the following three essential principles underpin PR: capacity building, drawing on the expertise of the non-expert and the utilization of results.

Reason (1994:1) describes participatory research as "research with people rather than on people". PR tries to involve a melange of stakeholders in the enquiry process. In so doing people are able to engage with the intention of exploring a significant topic in order to understand it better. In this way the expertise of the local community and their local knowledge is shared with the researcher. The researcher continues to be enlightened and informed by interaction with the participants. The success of a PR project is based on co-operation among all stakeholders.

When undertaking PR, Walters (1983), a researcher within the critical paradigm, believes that while the researcher is a committed participant s/he is also a learner. Because of this aspect of PR the gap between the researcher and the researched is minimised. The researcher facilitates the research process while the indigenous and local knowledge is tapped for the development of an appropriate action plan. This process builds the capacity of all the participants, including the researcher as it gives them the power to utilise the new knowledge.

A crucial aspect of PR is the research process. Walters (1983:171) explains that in PR the researcher rejects the distinction between the means and the ends of research, and instead stresses both. A considered strength of PR is that it occurs as an inter-related process in which social investigation, education and action are not separated. The researcher is more interested

in the appropriateness and the impact of the research on the participants than in the 'perfect' study. In this way educational problems are solved co-operatively by those directly involved with the issues. When designing a participatory study "credibility, trustworthiness, relevance and feasibility" are considered the most important criteria (Narayan 1994:24).

Finally PR can be described as a cyclical process combining the procedure of collaborative problem solving and the generation and use of knowledge. The process is dynamic, demand based and change orientated and seeks to raise people's awareness and develop capacity by equipping them with new skills to analyse and solve problems. PR is thus a way of setting up a two way learning process between the researcher and the community. This research was part of the early stages of a cyclical process.

Case study

Case study is more than a technique but is not exactly a method. For this reason I have termed my method a participatory case study and it is in these terms that I will discuss case study and its limitations.

Case studies in education are traditionally qualitative and hypothesis generating. In 1975, Louis Smith, one of the first educational ethnographers, defined a case study as 'study of a bounded system'. He drew attention to a case study as an object rather than a process (Bassey 1999:27). A definition favoured by MacDonald and Walker (cited in Merriam 1988:11) is 'the examination of the instance in action' Kemmis, (cited in Bassey 1999) however, believes that a quality of case study work that needed to be ensured was that case study maintained a necessary vagueness, but which at the same time approved of both the methods and objects of case study). According to Bassey, Kemmis' description of case study is still pertinent today. "Case Study consists of the imagination of the case and the invention of the study" (Bassey 1999: 61). It is Bassey's belief (Bassey 1999:61) that researchers need to go further than "if teachers do x then y may happen" and try to find the reason for what is happening because this may bring further insights which may explain other happenings.

By 1985 there was still confusion about exactly what was entailed in case study:

> While the literature is replete with references to case studies and with examples of case study reports, there seems to be little agreement about what a case study is.
>
> (Lincoln & Guba 1985:360)

Yin, an American researcher, observed that case study is suited to instances where it is difficult to separate "the phenomenon's variables from their context" (cited in Merriam 1988:10). Yin, whose views tend towards a positivist paradigm, is described by Bassey (1999:26) as "the leading exponent in the social sciences of case study". Stake (1995) cited in Bassey (1999:26), writing from the interpretivist paradigm, describes case study as "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within the important circumstances".

A case study could thus pragmatically be described as:

> …an in depth look at an individual, in context, a situation or an intervention, but each case has a number of elements within it, which make up the total picture or a vignette which 'says it all'
>
> (Greig and Taylor 1999:103)

Having noted a broad spectrum of definitions, categories and objectives of case study, it is necessary to take into account the pivotal role played by the researcher. Cohen and Manion (1994:125) understand that a case study researcher, unlike an experimenter or a surveyor, 'typically observes' the makeup and traits of the unit being researched. This unit may be a school, a community, a child or a class. The researcher "probes deeply" as s/he observes in order to analyse intensively the diverse phenomena of the case. Merriam (1988:19) believes that the importance of the researcher cannot be overemphasised as the researcher is the "primary instrument in data collection and analysis". Having a human being as instrument differs considerably from inanimate instruments like questionnaires in that with the research the researcher is responsive to contexts, adapts techniques to suit the case and is responsive to the non-verbal aspects of the research.

Stenhouse (1988:49) believes that case studies should present reports which invite comment which in turn result in further comments being made. Nunan (1992:78) believes that in this way a "multiplicity" of comments could then lead to further interpretations and further research. A fundamental feature of case study is that enough data are collected for the researcher to be able to examine specific aspects of the case and to publicise the interpretations of the observations.

Linked to the issue of sufficient data is that of making assertions. Stake (cited in Bassey 1999:32) alerts researchers to beware of making assertions on a relatively small database

thereby “invoking the privilege and responsibility of interpretation” (Stake as. The claims that are made when interpreting data need to be made in a methodical and thoughtful manner. Stake warns that by drawing too much attention to hasty interpretation of the claims that have been made may be erroneous and suggests that case study work is too hasty in drawing conclusions. He suggests that good case study work is reflective, patient and willing to take cognisance of the findings of other research. If reflectivity and patience are worthy qualities of good case study then it is important to understand when it is appropriate to do a case study.

Robson (1989) suggests that case study is especially useful when a particular aspect or specific behaviour needs to be described during a limited period of time, while Yin (1984) maintains that case study research is chosen when the researcher is interested in answering how and why questions in the study of a contemporary aspect in a real life context. Stake (1995) adds that cases are chosen and studied because they are thought to be instrumentally useful to further understanding of a particular problem, concept or issue. An additional use of case study as noted by Nunan (1992:78) is that the data recorded in this type of research are usually more accessible and as such are able to reach a far wider audience than data collected from conventional research reports. Graue and Walsh (1994:142) remind researchers of the importance that case studies do not take place in a vacuum because they are always part of a larger picture and as such cannot be context free.

Finally it needs to be noted that case study is not limited to one specific pro forma. According to Stenhouse (1988) and Nunan (1992), there are four different styles of case study namely, ethnographic, evaluative, educational and participatory research. The latter three are all closely related to educational action.

Smith’s definition of case study as being ‘a bounded system’, in the case of the current research can be equated with the language policy of the school and its implementation in the foundation phase. The insights gained by the study can then be shared with stakeholders and put to immediate use. The aim of the case study approach is to “uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic to the phenomenon” (Merriam 1988:9). It was decided to use case study because it is an appropriate method for addressing a situation which needs understanding, in order to improve practice.

Limitations of case study

The most cited criticism of case study must be its lack of academic rigour and minimal foundation for scientific generalisations. Parlett and Hamilton (cited in Bassey 1999:34) believe that a 'unit of analysis' in a case study can mean virtually anything and case study writers are often guilty of "re-inventing the wheel".

Yin (cited in Bassey 1999:34) warns that case study is very time consuming and results in a "large amount of unreadable documents" which either need to be included or disregarded. The selection of data has validity implications for the researcher as there is the temptation that data which contradicts what the researcher wishes to prove could be omitted if the aim is to arrive at fixed solutions rather than understand the data.

Adelman et al (cited in Bassey 1999:22) believes that case studies are often regarded "with suspicion and even hostility". However, according to Bassey (1999:xi) educational case studies are a "prime strategy for developing theory which illuminates educational policy and enhances educational practice". This is one of the reasons that case study was chosen for this research project which is concerned with the perceptions and understanding of languages of the various stakeholders in the foundation phase in a primary school.

Because research is a creative activity and every case is unique there is no stipulated format for undertaking a case study. However, having said this, it is important to remember that the success of the study depends on the procedure that is followed by the researcher as the enquiry is made. This will enhance the credibility of the research and endorse the trustworthiness of the findings. Nunan (1992) refers to case study as a "hybrid" because when collecting and analysing data it utilises more that one method. When undertaking a case study the researcher is engaged in three specific activities. S/he tries to elicit what different stakeholders are thinking and doing, tries to analyse and interpret the data collected, and tries to make a coherent report which is long enough to be meaningful and short enough to be readable (Bassey 1999:44).

Key issues in research

In this section I will discuss the key issues of validity and ethics and the need to be mindful of these when doing research. A brief description of triangulation and its use in case study is also included.

Validity

Validity is defined by Mouton (1996:112) as the best approximation of truth while reliability infers consistency or stability of data over a period of time. Reliability and validity are "vital concepts in surveys and experiments" but according to Bassey (1999:74) they are not vital in case study research. This is because the concept of validity can be problematic in case study research for the following reasons. Case study research is chosen because of an interest in a particular singularity and not because it is a typical example that would be meaningful in other contexts where external validity would apply. Furthermore in case study research there are no cause and effect relationships where internal examinations can be made. In case study research people's construction of reality is being observed and for the case study researcher "what seems to be true is more important than what is true" (Merriam 1988:167). The reliability of a case study is also sometimes questioned, because in case study it is not always possible or desirable to repeat the study in order to verify the results.

Lather (cited in Dison 1998:19) suggests a further type of validity, namely catalytic validity, as being appropriate for research. Catalytic validity refers to the degree of change that has taken place in the situation while the research is still in progress. An example of this is referred to in chapter 4. In place of the term validity Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested the use of the term of "data trustworthiness". Triangulation is a method that is used to establish data trustworthiness.

Triangulation

Triangulation (Denzin 1970) is described as the use of more that a single method for collecting data when studying a particular aspect of human behaviour. One of the motives for using multiple methods for data collection is to increase the validity of the observations of the study.

Triangulation is a means whereby the researcher assesses the integrity of the inferences made from collected data. In order to do this the researcher may use interviews, observations and questionnaires to study the same unit and compare the results. In so doing the researcher is able to identify different ways in which phenomena have been seen. This strategy may reveal that the flaws in the one method may be the strengths of another (Merriam 1988:69).

Triangulation is very useful in overcoming the bias that is associated with single observer and single theory studies. It is also believed to be a good strategy to reveal one true picture of what the research has been about (Ackroyd and Hughes 1992:171).

Ethics

In qualitative case study, ethical issues may need to be examined both when collecting data and when analyzing findings. An ethical statement should be drawn up which covers the three main ethical values, which are according to Bassey (1995:15):

- Respect for persons
- Respect for truth
- Respect for democratic values

Respect for persons includes being honest and transparent. Permission must be sought from the group to tape conversations and to quote from the recording and if the researcher is concerned, s/he should allow the institution/individual to read the report before it is published.

Respect for truth ensures that the data that are collected from subjects are not tampered with in order to produce the conclusions that the researcher desires. The researcher needs to keep meticulous records and include examples of these in order to safeguard the research.

In a democratic society, the researcher has the democratic right to investigate and to ask questions, the freedom to express his/her own ideas as well as to criticise the ideas of others and the freedom to publish findings that have resulted from the research. However, these freedoms are "subject to the responsibilities imposed by the ethics for respect for persons and respect for truth" (Bassey 1995:15).

When working with young children, all the ethical principles mentioned above need to be considered within the context of children's rights. Permission to work with young children needs to be sought from the children as well as a significant adult. In the case of this research consent was obtained from the children and from their teachers.

To summarise, participants have a right to know that they have a choice whether or not to participate, and can withdraw from the research process at any time. They also have a right to know what their role in the process entails, what will happen to the results of the research and how these will be published. While trying to remain ethical when engaged in research, the

researcher is sometimes pulled between his/her profession and a commitment to the ethical statement. However respect for the privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants must always be a priority for the researcher.

Young children

Considerations

As the greater proportion of this research involved young children between the ages of 6 and 9 years it is important to consider this aspect of the research. Historically children's research has typically focussed on pre-schoolers and adolescents as these are considered interesting ages in child development (Greig and Taylor 1999). This has resulted in a dearth of literature on research with children between the ages 6 and 9 years. Graue and Walsh (1995:146) describe working with children as a "messy, rewarding and complex exercise" and believe that the younger children present greater challenges for researchers).

Children, irrespective of their age, need to be offered special consideration. Interpretivists have tried to make sense of the social world from the perspective of the child. They have tried to comprehend the experiences of children and how these have impacted on their interaction with others (Greig and Taylor 1999:43).

When working with young children the researcher needs to beware of assumptions. In the past researchers have assumed that young children are unable to contribute in a "reliable" way to discussions about their needs, their future and more importantly their feelings (Greig and Taylor 1999:76). It is only within the last twenty years that children have been appreciated and recognised in research circles and given the rights which they deserve. Resulting from this is the view that research is done "with" children rather than "on" children. However researchers still need to be mindful of the competencies and motivation of the learners and to take this into account when engaging in research.

Graue and Walsh exhort researchers "to seriously take the charge to study children in context" (1994:139). A child does not exist in a vacuum; a child is part of a social system and for this reason the context in which the research takes place is very important. By the same token, the experience that the individual child brings to the research process must be acknowledged.

A further important consideration to bear in mind when working with young children is that children are not miniature adults. When doing research with children it is not satisfactory to

use the techniques that one uses with adults and apply these in a similar manner with children. Factors such as the environment, siblings and parents affect the development and behaviour of children. Researchers need to have a good understanding and knowledge of the theories of learning and cognition, physical growth and development and of children's relationships because these theories in turn are affected by the abovementioned factors (Greig and Taylor 1999).

Special skills and techniques are needed when conducting research with children. Asking inappropriate questions will result in a mundane, ordinary study. Posing carefully selected questions, in contrast should lead to an informed and useful piece of research. When selecting suitable questions the researcher needs to acknowledge the interests of the children and ask questions that will empower them with knowledge and understanding which could have a positive impact on the world in which they live (Greig and Taylor 1999:62).

In interpretative research the relationship between the adult researcher and the child respondent is crucial. Some researchers like Mandell (cited in Fine and Sandstrom 1988) believe that it is important for the researcher to become as childlike as possible in order to be able to identify with the child. However, Graue and Walsh (1994) emphasise the fact that adults cannot be children and that no matter how good the intentions of the researcher are, adults remain outsiders in the child's world.

Part of the child's world is the classroom so the researcher needs a good understanding of classroom language. Research on classroom talk reveals that a considerable amount of teacher talk is spent asking questions (Tann 1991:20). In the mind of the young child, answers to classroom questions are either right or wrong and teachers expect right answers. Children generally seek to deliver the correct answer in order to please the adult. When focus groups take place in the confines of the school, the notion of correct answers is intensified. It is therefore important to stress that there are no correct or incorrect answers in focus group sessions and that all answers are important, interesting and valuable to the researcher. When responding to questions participants need to understand that they are considered experts and co-researchers.

If a good rapport develops between participants and researcher, good questioning techniques will lead to discussion as opposed to an enquiry. The researcher should ensure that the focus group is a conversation and not an interrogation and that time is left for the children to share

their knowledge and understanding of the topic. The researcher should provide just enough questions to be able to probe more deeply. Baturka and Walsh (as cited in Graue and Walsh 1994:147) found that the conversation between the children themselves provided the richest part of the interview. They noted that it was during this time that the children forgot about trying to provide the correct answer.

D'Amato and Baturka (1986) and Walsh (1991) (in Graue and Walsh 1994: 147) found that children were far more relaxed and comfortable when interviewed with a friend or as a group member. Groups are part of the child's world so group interaction is a natural context for the child. A possible reason for this is that at this age young children have limited communicative capabilities. Moreover it is understood that when interacting with friends children keep each other 'on track' and are more truthful than in the one to one interview situation. A further advantage of 'group talk' is that the researcher is able to capitalise on the social interaction which in turn can be used as a context to produce further data for the researcher.

It is Berg's (1998) understanding that young children are ideal respondents in focus groups sessions as they respond to open questions in an honest and natural way sharing their real selves. They seldom respond to questions concerning their emotions and perceptions in the way that suggests that they are trying to answer to the researcher's wants, because young children have not yet developed their public self (Berg 1998).

When a researcher engages with young children, the validity and reliability of the discussion should not be overlooked. It is understood that although reliability is important for specific issues, validity is more important. The reason is that when engaged with young children the accuracy of their responses depends largely on their ability to understand the nature of the question which in turn depends on the validity of the topic for the stage of their development (Greig and Taylor 1999:78).

Finally, there are several practical issues that need to be considered. Firstly, the use of visual support material such as books and pictures as well as suitable artefacts needs some thought. Visual support material is used to motivate learners and generate ideas during discussion. Secondly it is important when interviewing young learners that the researcher is aware of their physical needs. If they begin to become restless it may be necessary to change the activity or to allow them to become engaged in some physical activity. Thirdly, while a child's vivid

imagination is a boon to focus group discussions, researchers need to apply their skill in distinguishing between truth and fantasy and bringing the discussion back on track.

Role of the researcher

- The researcher needs to be reassuring and friendly.
- A friendly relaxed atmosphere needs to be established. The use of familiar material in familiar surroundings can have a positive impact on reducing anxiety within the group.
- The language used by the researcher to communicate with young children needs to be such that that the participants clearly understand the nature of the questions being asked.
- The researcher is advised to focus on the needs of the children rather than the needs of the project.
- The researcher needs to be aware of the memory limitations of the children.
- The researcher should sit and talk with learners and create a sense of rapport.
- The researcher needs to listen to their voices and perceptions.
- An assurance of confidentiality should be part of the session.
- Clear instructions should be given and the purpose of the group explained.

Perception of young children

It is important that the researcher acknowledges that the way children perceive the world is different from the way adults do and that s/he makes the necessary allowances. Time should be taken to gain entry to the child's world and children should be given time to invite the researcher into their worlds.

When working with young children the researcher should understand the perceptions that the young child has of the adult because the relative ages of researcher and child present an immediate divide. Mandell (cited in Fine and Sandstrom 1988:39) noted in her research with young children that trying to "play" the part of the child instead of teacher/adult actually confused the children. The researcher needs to find creative ways in which to bridge this divide.

A bonus when working with young children is that one may gain insight into the perceptions of parents when examining young children's perceptions as the attitudes and perceptions of parents naturally influence the thinking of young learners.

Having highlighted important aspects of young children in research, the second part of this chapter outlines the procedures that were followed in obtaining data and provides the theoretical background to the techniques that were used and a description of the method of data collection in the current research.

Context

The school

The school is located in the central region of the Eastern Province and is a formerly whites-only government school. The majority of pupils are well provided for but there are some learners from poorer homes and a few who live in a nearby squatter camp.

Permission was given by the school to use its name but I have decided for the purpose of this research to refer to the school as the Eastern Cape Primary School (ECPS). I have also used pseudonyms for the participants of the focus groups and any persons or other schools referred to in the data. This decision was made in order to respect the privacy of the schools and the participants involved in the investigation.

In 2000 there were 825 learners at the school of whom 538 spoke English, 202 were Xhosa speakers, and 78 spoke Afrikaans as their home language[8]. 7 learners spoke languages other than the three languages mentioned above (Appendix 3).

ECPS caters for learners from Grade 1 to Grade 7 and there are 4 classes per Grade. There are no Grade 0 classes at the school but a number of pre-schools in the immediate area act as "feeder" schools to ECPS. The majority of the learners in Grade 1 attended a pre-school before beginning formal schooling. In 2000 only a very small percentage of the Grade 1 intake had had no pre-school education.

A capable staff under the guidance of a committed principal is responsible for the learning and teaching at ECPS. Of the 30 full-time members of staff, the majority are English L1 speakers, 5 teachers speak Afrikaans as a L1 and one member of staff is Xhosa speaking. All teachers with the exception of the Xhosa teacher, considered themselves to be English/Afrikaans bilinguals while the Xhosa teacher considers herself to be a Xhosa /

[8] The question of a single home language became more complicated as the research progressed.

English bilingual. Of the English/Afrikaans bilinguals there are 7 staff members who are also competent in Xhosa.

The school is well resourced with attractive grounds and excellent sporting facilities. It has a computer centre and a library /media centre. As is common in most former model C schools, the facilities include an administrative area, a staffroom, a tuckshop and a large hall.

Language history of the school

ECPS has an interesting language history. The school came into existence in 1930 with 30 learners and one teacher with English as the medium of instruction. In 1966 an Afrikaans principal was appointed to the school which then had an enrolment of 91 pupils of whom 3 were Afrikaans speaking. A year later there were 5 Afrikaans pupils who were taught as one class in the foyer of the school by the principal. It had been decided that ECPS should become a parallel medium school with both English and Afrikaans being the MoI for learners in those respective groups. This was in accordance with the Nationalist Party's language policy, which sought to promote Afrikaans as the dominant language (Alexander 1989:21). By 1978, the enrolment had risen to 330 learners with 20% of the learners coming from Afrikaans speaking families. While the National Party was in power, no African learners were permitted to enrol at either English or Afrikaans medium schools, thus there were no Xhosa speaking children at the school.

Numbers grew steadily and in 1989 there were 560 pupils at the school of whom 22% were Afrikaans speakers. With the imminent collapse of apartheid, policies had begun to change to allow schools to make the choice of whether or not to enrol black children. On the basis of the policy changes, the school chose to permit selected students of other races to attend the school. The first Xhosa speaking child was enrolled at the school in 1989. Once all schools were declared open, enrolments at the school escalated and, by 1998, 829 English, Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners had enrolled at ECPS.

Pressure, due to right sizing[9], forced the school to decide on what would be the most economically viable teacher:pupil ratio. The number of learners being taught through the medium of Afrikaans had dropped to 7.5% of the total enrolment. One of the reasons for the

[9] Right sizing is the term used in South African educational discourse to refer to the process of obtaining the appropriate number of teachers on a staff in proportion to the number of learners in the school.

phasing out of the Afrikaans classes was economic but this decision also had demographic implications as there are no Afrikaans speaking schools in the immediate area. The parents of Afrikaans speaking pupils needed to decide whether to relocate their children to schools where Afrikaans was the LoLT or whether they should remain at ECPS and be taught in English. The majority of Afrikaans speaking families decided to remain at the school while about 10 learners moved to other schools. In 2000 the only remaining Afrikaans class was a combined Grade 6 and 7 class of 24 Afrikaans speaking learners. By previous agreement with the parents, this class was phased out at the start of the 2001 school year.

In the year 2000, 65% of learners were English speaking, 25% were Xhosa speakers and only 10% spoke Afrikaans at home. In spite of the change in the pupil population at this former Model C school, the composition of the teaching staff has remained fairly constant with the exception of the first Xhosa speaking teacher being appointed in 1996. She is responsible for all the Xhosa language lessons in the school.

School language policy

Legislature required that all schools draw up an SLP in accordance with the requirements of the LiEP. The principal of this school had heard of the LiEP from departmental officials, departmental circulars and policy documents. The staff, the parents and the SGB discussed the new policy. The principal and the staff together made decisions concerning the school's language policy which states implements English as the LoLT, Afrikaans is taught as a subject as a second language and Xhosa as a third language (Appendix 4). The new school language policy was implemented in 1999. In the final chapter of this dissertation the SLP is evaluated in terms of the requirements of the LiEP

Preamble to data collection

General school observation

As a lecturer in the Education Department at a nearby university, I was familiar with the context in which I undertook the research. Over a number of years I have attended functions at the school, supervised students on school experience and have been invited to the school to do in-service training in the area of language. This interaction made it possible to observe the language practices of the teachers and learners. As a researcher, I was familiar with their daily practices, the ethos and mission statement and the culture of the school.

Introductory meeting

Having obtained permission for the research to take place in the school, an introductory meeting was held with the principal and staff. The participatory nature of the research in the context of the larger team research was explained to the staff as well as the notion that the staff, the SGB, the learners and the community were all perceived as valuable informants for the research. The understanding that participatory research is about capacity building was emphasised. The reception from the staff and the teachers was friendly and accommodating and all agreed to participate in the project. An ethical statement was drawn up for the school, which was signed by the principal and the chairman of the SGB (Appendix 5).

Techniques and method of data collection

Research techniques are the concrete and specific means used by the researcher to collect data. In the current research, data were collected over a period of four months using the techniques of questionnaires, observations and focus groups. While focus groups are probably one of the most popular techniques in PR, I decided that instead of being limited to just one research technique I would use 'multiple methods' as a way of improving the quality of the research.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are an accepted way of collecting data from a large sample of people. In this research both open-ended and closed questions were used. Generally, more accurate answers are elicited through open-ended questions and more useful information is gained but these type of questions are often more difficult to collate (Nunan 1992:143).

The wording of a questionnaire is very important and careful attention was paid to this when constructing the current questionnaires. The researcher needs to guard against revealing his/her own attitudes through leading questions and to be aware of cultural bias when wording questions, especially where there are cultural differences between researcher and respondents.

Limitations of questionnaires

In a questionnaire an emphasis is placed on the written response of the respondent. This may be disadvantageous to sections of the South African population. Added to this there is little or no opportunity for the researcher to probe any responses or to seek clarity on any issues that

are unclear. Probably the most important decision that the researcher needs to make when drawing up a questionnaire is to decide in which language(s) to produce the questionnaire. In the South African context this often means at least three languages.

Questionnaires in this research

In this research, two questionnaires were drawn up, both were in English (Appendices 6 and 7). The first questionnaire was handed to all members of staff while copies of the second were given to each family represented at ECPS. 30 staff questionnaires were returned of which 27 were responses from class teachers and the remainder from subject teachers. 452 of the family questionnaires were returned, a 90% rate of return.

The staff questionnaire was used to ascertain a number of issues. It established the language background of the teachers, the languages of learning and teaching used by both the learners and the teachers in formal and informal situations and what languages were used as classroom resources. In addition, the questionnaire identified the languages that were spoken as a means of communication for different purposes and in different situations. Finally there were questions about how the teachers had adaptated to the language changes that had occurred in their classrooms over the past decade. By contrast, the parent questionnaires were used solely to establish the language practices of the learners' families both at home and socially.

Observation

Observation can be divided into two types, namely, structured observation and participant observation. Participant observation occurs when the researcher actually participates in what is being observed (Greig and Taylor 1999:85). In this research structured observation was used as the researcher worked on her own with predetermined grids and checklists observing and making note of observations over a particular period of time. This method of recording data can be used for observing both the physical environment as well as practices of behaviour (Ackroyd and Hughes 1991).

The researcher needs to be clear about what s/he wants to observe and measure. According to Cohen and Manion

> …the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit – a child,…a class, a school…. The purpose of such observations is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit ….
>
> (Cohen and Manion 1994:106)

Limitations of observation

Observation has limitations. It can be a very time consuming way of collecting data. Added to this is the fact that the grid that is used by the researcher could result in the researcher missing the bigger picture and losing sight of what is happening in the broader context. Account is not taken of what happened before one arrives at the site or possibly what might happen once the observation is complete. Observation is concerned only with the now. The final limitation is that once the data have been collected, the researcher needs to interpret the findings and this could lead to bias or a personal attitude interfering with the observation.

Observation in this research

In this research permission was obtained from the Head of Department (HoD) to observe classes in the Foundation Phase. All staff members in this phase we asked to volunteer to be observed. I asked where possible that I observe a range of grades covering diverse subjects in the curriculum. Structured observation was conducted in seven Foundation Phase classrooms. Each observation lasted 30 minutes and was recorded in note form on an observation schedule (Appendix 8). The purpose of these sessions was to observe language use, the roles played and the interaction between the learners and the teacher. This enabled me to obtain first hand experience of the languages used in the classroom and to ascertain what language and material support was provided for the learners. While in the classroom, field notes were made and the language practices of the learners and the teachers in both formal and informal situations were recorded. While making these observations I was able to note the physical classroom environment and the language support material that was available and used by the teachers. Neither the teachers nor the learners seemed conscious of my presence in the classroom and I noted that the lessons observed were those of the normal schedule following the timetable for that specific day. An summary of the results is included in Appendix 9.

Focus groups

Data collected by means of interpretative research are usually verbal. In this research transcripts from focus group discussions with young children, teachers and parents make up the bulk of data.

A focus group as defined by Kreuger (1994:6) “is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening environment”). “Focus groups allow researchers to access the substantive content of verbally expressed views, opinions, experiences and attitudes” (Berg 1998:101). Focus group interviews are a dynamic approach to research whereby the responses made by members of the groups stimulate and encourage comments from the other members of the group. It is this

dynamism that distinguishes focus group interviews from the more traditional one-to-one interview. Because management and organisation have always been key issues in focus group discussion, it is necessary to examine how one goes about preparing for a focus group.

Preparing for focus groups

Focus group interviews take place in three phases: planning and organisation, conducting the interview, and then analysis of data. The organisation and planning that takes place before the focus group sessions is deemed the most important of the three phases. The time spent on developing questions is very important because quality questions are "the heart of the focus group interview" (Kreuger 1994:53). Quality questions provide a stimulus for the participants and should be carefully worded so as to generate interesting and pertinent discussion.

The focus group procedure consisted of the general format of opening, introductory, transition, key and ending/summary questions (Appendix 10). The same format was used for all the focus groups but naturally there was an element of flexibility when wanting to 'probe' a response in more depth.

Providing the background of the study before beginning to question enabled the participants to gain an understanding of the research topic and so ensured good responses. The clarity of the questions needed to be ensured especially when dealing with young and/or second language respondents.

Groups were constructed in order to facilitate structured participation by all candidates. In this research the help of the HoD was enlisted and the names of learners, parents and teachers who might be interested in participating in focus group sessions were obtained. It was specified that the groups should be diverse and that they should each be representative of Xhosa, English and Afrikaans speaker. Letters of invitation were sent to all foundation phase staff members and to selected parents.

In the letter it was emphasised that this research was participatory and that as such, participants were considered to be co-researchers in the project. An outline of the nature of focus groups was provided and the participants were advised that all sessions would be audio taped. There was a good response of 12 volunteers for the teachers' group and 14 for the parents' focus group. It was thus decided to have two parent focus groups. Learner

participants from different gender, language and racial backgrounds were selected for each of children's focus group interviews.

A total of six focus groups interviews took place. Three focus groups with between 8 and 11 learners per grade were held. Two parent focus groups with 6 and 5 participants, respectively, were held while a large group of 12 teachers attended the teacher focus group session. All sessions, with the exception of the teacher group, which lasted longer, were approximately an hour in length.

It was the intention that all participants should enjoy the discussions and that time should be made available for members to reply to and comment on each other's responses. An important aspect of focus group sessions is that it is not the intent to infer but to understand, not to generalise but to provide insights (Kreuger 1994:87).

The following were the aims of each of the three focus groups.
Focus groups with learners
To gain further understanding

- of their language practices of the home and school
- of their attitudes to languages at home and at school

Focus groups with teachers
To gain further understanding

- of the language practices of the school
- of the attitudes towards the school language policy

Focus groups with parents
To gain understanding

- of their language background and how this has affected language practices in the home
- of their attitudes towards the school's language policy

Participants were told that the central aim of focus group interviews is to get honest answers and that they were not required to reach a consensus and that all points of view and perceptions would be readily accepted. In focus group interviews the researcher should not be seen by the participants to hold a position of power but should rather encourage a variety of responses from the group. The researcher needs at all times to be aware of her/his own facial

and body expressions so as not to discourage the participants from sharing their honest responses.

A number of strategies can be used by the researcher to enable participants "to articulate their constructs about particular aspects of reality" (Martin 1996:36). When working with young learners the importance of providing a variety of situations cannot be over emphasised.

Berg (1998:13) notes that the "idyllic situation" is to have a facilitator and another person to write field notes about group dynamics as well as to assist in identifying voices when transcribing. A research assistant was present at all sessions to record the various behaviours and physical expressions of the participants. She also helped with the tape recording and made notes on matters that would help with the transcriptions. The tape recordings of all six focus group sessions were transcribed. An excerpt from the transcription is included in the dissertation[10] (Appendix 11).

Advantages of focus groups

There are a number of advantages to using focus group interviews that need to be highlighted. Firstly, focus groups permit the researcher to use open-ended questions. More importantly the researcher is able to observe and take note of the attitudes displayed by the participants as they share their perceptions. Focus groups provide opportunities for participants to play a more active role and the researcher a more passive one than in the traditional interview (Rice cited in Kreuger 1994:7).

Because people are social creatures by nature, the second advantage is that focus groups are essentially "socially oriented procedures" where participants interact and are influenced by the perceptions and beliefs of others in a real life way (Kreuger 1994:34). Perceptions and attitudes are developed in focus group discussions in the same way that they are in daily interaction. People sometimes need to hear the viewpoints of others before they are made aware of and are able to verbalise their own attitudes and perceptions.

The third advantage of focus group interviews is that it is a particularly fitting way of ascertaining how the participants perceive a specific experience, idea or event (Kreuger 1994: 8). This is possible through using "the probe" which permits the researcher to request

[10]The transcripts are not included in full because of limitations of space, but the tapes and the transcripts have been safely stored and the latter are available to fellow researchers on request.

additional information as well as to alert participants to the need for more detailed answers. In this way focus groups provide an opportunity to switch "between surface and deep levels" of information gathering and in so doing to gain a fuller understanding of the participants' attitudes to and perceptions of the topic being discussed (Berg 1998:108). Often the participants themselves are not fully aware of their stance on the topic until it is being reflected upon.

Limitations of focus groups

There are, however, several limitations to the use of focus groups of which the researcher needs to be aware. The first of these is that group members influence each other when responding to ideas and comments in the discussion. This is particularly evident when working with young learners. In addition to this Susmann et al (cited in Berg 1998:10) found that the data obtained from focus groups tended to be more "extreme" when compared with the information collected from survey questionnaires.

Another limitation of focus groups is that there is no way of predicting the success or the failure of a focus group. This is because the nature and dynamics of the groups are always different, inconsistent and unpredictable (Kreuger 1994:36). It is thus the task of the researcher to ensure that the discussion is consistent and to try to create an atmosphere that is conducive to obtaining relevant information.

A further limitation is that sometimes the sheer volume of the collected data means that the researcher may find it difficult to analyse (Kreuger 1994:36).

Focus group interviews with young children have limitations particular to them. Young children are often quietly spoken and this is problematic when tape-recording a session and this add to the difficulty of transcribing (Greig and Taylor 1999). The researcher should endeavour to call each child by name so as to facilitate transcription. A further limitation when working with young children is that they tire easily and the researcher may need to deviate from the proposed plan in order to accommodate the physical needs of the learners.

A final aspect of focus groups that needs consideration when working with all age groups is that of the confidentiality of the information gathered from the participants. Ensuring confidentiality by all members of the group is essential if the researcher hopes to elicit the honest answers that s/he requires from the participants.

Working with and analysing data

Case studies tend to generate an inordinate amount of data. The process of collecting and working with data is dynamic and recursive as well as time consuming. As the data were collected so the researcher began to make sense of it and continued with the process of analysis till the end of the project. Data analysis becomes more concentrated once all the data have been collected. It is very important that the researcher is organised and that data are categorised to enable her/him to have easy access to the necessary information from the case study data base. Merriam (1988:131) suggests that when analysing data, the researcher "is holding a conversation with the data, asking questions of it, making comments and so on".

The researcher looked for patterns and irregularities in the material that had been amassed. The large bank of material was considered and the process of interpretation continued. While I sifted through the data, 'units' of information (Merriam 1998:132) began to emerge. These were recorded and categorised in order to structure the data (Appendix 12). Analysing data was thus the procedure of making sense of the data.

The challenge for the researcher was to select that which provided a rich and true description for the purpose of this study. At the same, time the researcher took care when making selections of what data should be omitted or included for analysis. Omissions and inclusions of specific data reflect the personal bias of the researcher and thus blemish the objectivity of the study and skew the findings.

The information that was obtained from the focus groups was then compared with the data from the questionnaires and observation schedule to identify further patterns and irregularities. By using questionnaires, observations and focus groups, multiple methods (triangulation) were used in order to increase the reliability of the data to establish data trustworthiness.

Methodological limitations

Unfortunately, due to factors beyond my control, this study suffered certain shortcomings. The first limitation was that a participatory research project of this nature should preferably be done over a longer period of time. Participatory research and policy development are both very time-consuming and ideally should not be limited by the constraints of meeting

deadlines. There were time constraints both for this dissertation as well as the broader research project.

Collected data on the attitudes of parents, learners and teachers might have been more dependable if time had been available to revisit the stakeholders and for additional focus groups to be held at which opportunity could have been taken to probe certain aspects more deeply.

A richer picture of language practices and attitudes towards languages that are prevalent in the home could have been gained if the parents of the learners who were part of the focus groups could have been interviewed.

There were a number of interesting issues from the family questionnaire relating to the languages of relaxation and religion that could have been researched in more detail.

More time could have been spent on additional classroom observations to obtain a more accurate picture of the nature of classroom talk. A half-hour in each class does not give a full picture of the language practices of the teacher and the learners.

All the data were collected in the school in the first period at the end of the third and the start of the fourth term. This is not a satisfactory time in any school calendar to be "'bothering" teachers with research. Teachers and parents may have been less pressurised and been able to give more time to the project if the research had taken place in the first half of the school year.

In the interest of openness and transparency and the need to verify the data, all focus group sessions were tape-recorded. This had an inhibiting effect on the teachers in particular in spite of the assurance that their anonymity would be respected.

A further limitation is that of the subjectivity of the researcher. This is a problem common to all qualitative research where the researcher is continually aware of the need to remain as objective as possible but realising that objectivity is never reached "in the absolute sense". (Smaling cited in Dison 1998:18)

In the case of the current research, among the adults certain issues concerning the attitudes of different races and language groups to languages and language in education were sensitive

topics and participants had difficulty sharing their honest responses due to the multiracial nature of the group. The children, on the other hand, were not apparently inhibited in their responses by their situatedness.

The shortcomings that have been mentioned above are common to most research of this nature.

Participation with the school

The initial contract was signed by representatives of the school and the researcher on 25 August 2000 (Appendix 5). All focus group discussions, distribution of questionnaires and classroom observations took place between September and October 2000.

At the beginning of 2001 the researcher met with the principal to discuss language issues pertaining to the intake of new learners. It was noted that all learners at ECPS are classified as either English or Afrikaans speakers with the result that the Xhosa speaking learners are enrolled as English speakers (Appendix 13). The EMIS data gives a more accurate picture of the learners' languages (Appendix 4). The school does not keep a linguistic profile of learners and the researcher's suggestion that one should be kept, was considered a good idea.

The researcher paid a number of visits to the school during the first, second and third terms of 2001 and spoke to the staff, the SGB, HoD's and individual teachers. In keeping with the nature of PR, meetings and workshops were held with the SGB and the staff. The information that was shared and the suggestions that arose from the discussions are listed below.

- Language data that had been collected were presented at the meetings and workshops.
- All members of the SGB were given copies of the LiEP and this was discussed in detail.
- The SGB noted that they would begin by doing a needs analysis of the school to clarify their norms and values.
- The Chairman of the SGB indicated that he would contact a primary school in the area that was working on their SLP.
- In the staff workshop the LiEP was discussed.

- All staff were given copies of the findings of the research to which they subsequently responded in writing (Appendix 14[11]).
- The staff drew up a memorandum of how multilingualism could be promoted at GPS (Appendix 15).

On one of the visits the researcher took literature in the form of ESL books and Educational Support Services Trust (ESST) magazines to share with teachers. A guide to developing an SLP was given to the principal and a book on developing bilingualism was left with the HoD.

Conclusion

This chapter began by describing the goals and methodology of the current research. Particular note was paid to research with young children. A description of the context in which the research took place was followed by a discussion on the research techniques and methods that were used. Specific attention was given to the theory and nature of the focus group interviews as they were the main research instrument and gatherer of the greater proportion of data. The chapter concludes with the methodological limitations of the research and a description of the participation of the school.

In the next chapter, the language attitudes and language practices of stakeholders in the foundation phase are discussed and analysed. It is important to realise that one's limited scope in a project like this may have implications for the findings. In spite of this reservation the researcher believes that a number of important issues have been highlighted in this study and that this could have a positive impact on the education of young learners at this important time of transition and change in education in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data analysis and discussion

[11]Two sample pages of the eleven page report are included in the appendix. The staff were invited to respond in writing on the right side of the report. The full report is available for fellow researchers.

A language cannot be learnt in a vacuum…. To try and teach it in a vacuum is to indulge in one of the most sterile exercises possible in the classroom. A language is learned best by using it as an instrument in connection with something – something that is relevant to life.

(Malherbe 1977:123)

Introduction

In this chapter the data are analysed and the results discussed. Included in the discussion are the results of other language research and how these are supported or contradicted by the data from the current research. The first section of this chapter presents the findings followed by a discussion of the language attitudes of all three groups of stakeholders, namely, the parents, learners and teachers. These attitudes have been found to be complex and diverse with much variation between groups and individuals within groups. The second section examines the teachers' and learners' language practices in the classroom, the wider school environment and at home. Particular attention is paid to issues pertaining to bilingualism in the early years of schooling.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the attitudes of Xhosa, Afrikaans and English speaking parents, respectively, to languages and language learning in the foundation phases.

Attitudes to language

Parents' attitudes to language

The main result of this research from both the focus group interviews and the questionnaires was that all parents displayed a positive attitude towards English as the LoLT. One of the reasons given was that proficiency in English would enable their children to pursue an academic career. Afrikaans parents expressed this as:

...we decided to put her (the daughter)into the English stream.…We thought that if she goes to university after school most of the things are in English anyway.[12] (E8)[13]

Education wise we thought it would be better if he goes to an English school. (E8)

However, one interviewee, an Afrikaans speaking mother, claimed that this attitude was not typical of Afrikaans speaking people:

[12] Quotes are presented in italics in order to distinguish between material which has been taken from the focus group transcripts and questionnaires and the normal text.

[13] Each transcript was categorised alphabetically and numerically e.g. A 2. The letter indicates the focus group while the number represents the page number. Categories A,B and C are transcripts from Grades 1, 2 and 3, category D is the transcript from the teachers' focus group and E and F are the two parent focus groups.

> *I think that Afrikaans people are very stubborn...others will change around but Afrikaans people will stick to their Afrikaans. They are conservative and very strict. They are born Afrikaans and will go to Afrikaans schools whereas Xhosa people will want to learn English, because they believe that that is the way we are going and that is why they have a desire, a passion to learn English. I don't think that a lot of Afrikaans people have that passion to want to change.* (E9)

Xhosa speaking parents were unanimous in their belief that their children would benefit more from an English education, as it would equip them for a better life in South Africa.

> *Our kids will learn English, I am also happy that they are learning Afrikaans and Xhosa…..Generally English is better.* (F5)

Xhosa speaking parents seemed unconcerned that enculturation would take place at this 'English school'. They understood that it was their duty as parents to ensure that their language (and culture) were taught at home and noted:

> *I am happy that they are learning English. It is our duty, parents' duty to learn them our language at home. We can learn our kids about our language, tell them about the history, about the grandparents.* (F6)

Both Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents were united in the opinion that it was more beneficial for their children to start learning through the medium of English as early as possible. A number testify to sending their children to English pre-schools to enable them to cope with the academic demands of Grade 1:

> *The thing is that since they were three years old they have been going to "Friendly Fellows" and all these English pre-primary schools and preparing them for ECPS.* (D11)

Xhosa parents did not see a need for their children to become literate in Xhosa and preferred time to be spent acquiring English and Afrikaans literary skills. Xhosa speaking parents expressed their opinion thus:

> *Our kids will learn English, I am also happy that they are learning Afrikaans...* (F5)

> *...my child is Xhosa speaking and for me it is more important to know about the other languages which are English and Afrikaans.* (E6)

In the same way Afrikaans parents felt that if their mother tongue was spoken at home this was sufficient. For them Xhosa was the preferred second language:

> *I wouldn't like my child not to take Afrikaans at primary school because at the moment I have seen deterioration in Afrikaans since she has been at primary school. She can have it as a third language as she will be fine because she hears it at home.* (E11)

Proficiency in English for Afrikaans and Xhosa parents is more important than proficiency in the mother tongue. Both groups of parents felt that it was sufficient for their children to be

'taught' their mother tongue at home. The above Afrikaans parent by choosing Afrikaans as a third language at school is demonstrating a profound commitment to multilingualism.

Whereas Xhosa and Afrikaans parents feel that English and Afrikaans should take precedence over their mother tongue some English speaking parents feel very strongly that more time needed to be allocated to the teaching and learning of Xhosa in the initial stages of school:

> *I just want to mention and you can quote my name here, I think that ECPS is not doing enough for Xhosa (learning). The learners need to have more than forty minutes a week to learn a foreign language... when you are in the heartland of Xhosaland you must speak Xhosa.* (E5).

> *You are right. They are not doing enough teaching in the primary because I have a daughter who is just finishing her second year of high school. What she learnt in primary school was not enough for her to take it as a matric subject in high school. The jump was too great.* (E7).

These sentiments are contrary to those felt by some English-speaking parents who expressed concern about falling standards in English teaching:

> *Bearing in mind you have a great number of black children in all of the schools now…so you are not going to maintain your level of language….(*E7)

Although these parents acknowledged the benefits of multilingualism, they noted that it was crucial that the standard of English teaching at the school was upheld in order to meet international requirements. They believed that falling standards could be attributed to the pursuit of multilingualism by the introduction of a third language at the school. Afrikaans and Xhosa parents were unconcerned about falling standards or the amount of time that is spent on mother tongue learning and teaching. Xhosa speaking parents were quite satisfied with the English teaching at the school and were happy with the amount of time that was allocated to Xhosa. While parents for different reasons were lobbying for extra time for Xhosa and English learning, only the Xhosa parents mentioned that they were pleased that their children were being taught Afrikaans.

Parents in this research were undecided whether Xhosa or Afrikaans should be the second language of the school. English parents differed in their choice of second and third languages. Some were satisfied with the status quo because they felt that there was a greater need for South Africans to speak Afrikaans:

> *I think at the primary level I would still like the Afrikaans to be on a higher level* (E11)

while another said:

> *I would say Xhosa as a second language. Lots of reasons, but one because of numbers. Afrikaans I would consider it a third language for my children.* (E7)

For the past thirty years Afrikaans and English languages had shared equal status at this school but it has since become an 'English school' with barely 10% of the learners speaking Afrikaans as a first language. An attitude towards Afrikaans speakers that was voiced by an English parent was:

> *I felt sorry for the Afrikaans people here because it is being pushed aside completely. I feel that language is what you speak. There should not just be one or two languages; there should be a place for everybody's way of talking, because South Africans are all mixed up.* (E4)

From the above data it is evident that the parents' attitudes to languages are complex and diverse. We now look at the attitudes of the second group of stakeholders namely the learners.

Learners' attitudes to language

Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners expressed a number of emotions when sharing their memories of starting school where the LoLT was English:

> *I felt strange because I did not know that language (*A1*)*

> *I felt strange...because my language used to be Afrikaans, and now it is English.(*B3*)*

> *When I came to ECPS I felt lonely, because I didn't understand the language* (C2)

> *When I started speaking English, I never quite knew what I would have to say. People helped me, and then I used to start feeling much better…I used to tell them [teachers and my family] what I thought, and then they used to help me by telling me the words that were wrong.* (C3)

When asked, 'How did you feel when the children were speaking English?' children answered:

> *Sad… I did not understand, but I was still playing games*.(B2)

> *When I was in Butterworth, my teacher she was English, and she teaches me every morning and it was so easy.* (C2)

Almost all of the above responses indicate, on one hand, a sense of insecurity and, on the other, optimism as the learners recall the start to their schooling and the support that was given them. In spite of initial feelings of anxiety the learners demonstrated that they were proud of the fact that they could consider themselves to be multilingual:

> *I have combined languages altogether. I started learning when I was three. I was born Afrikaans and English but I knew English more than Afrikaans*. (C12)

Some spoke a foreign language:

I speak English, a little bit of Afrikaans, Grenadian and Romanian (C4)

while some African children spoke two African languages and English before starting school and were now learning Afrikaans as a fourth language:

I speak Tswana, English, Xhosa and a little bit of Afrikaans (C4).

In this research the findings were that the English children were particularly keen to learn to speak and to become literate in Xhosa and Afrikaans. English speaking learners are, in terms of multilingualism, the most disadvantaged language group because the Xhosa and Afrikaans learners are already proficient bilinguals. The Afrikaans and Xhosa children readily switch languages to accommodate English speaking children. The monolingual English speaking children were not afforded the opportunities that the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners have had and in all likelihood will leave school unable to speak an African language.

One way of expediting the acquisition of second and third languages is for all learners to begin to engage in conversation in languages other than their own. This, however, could be problematic because the Afrikaans and Xhosa learners want to learn to speak English and are very happy to switch languages to accommodate the English speakers:

Researcher: *What happens if someone comes to join you who does not understand Xhosa?*

I will play with him and speak English. Then my friends will also speak English to him (B5)

We mostly speak English when we are playing because everybody in the school speaks English and not everybody speaks Afrikaans and Xhosa (C11)

An added disadvantage for English speaking learners is that ECPS is an 'English school' with little evidence of additional languages in the wider school environment which would enable them to develop their bilingualism. A more detailed discussion of this aspect of bilingualism follows in the section on language practices.

However, some English speaking children themselves try to make opportunities to practise speaking Xhosa informally at home and at school:

My son who is in Grade 3 now goes to Spar and refuses to pay where there is an English speaking or Afrikaans speaking lady. He wants a Xhosa lady so that he can say Molo, Kunjani and so on. (D7).

My daughter loves playing with the maid and then she practices all she has learnt with her and they run around and tease each other all in Xhosa.
(D7)

> *One of our cleaners named Michael often pops into my classroom because we use it as a storeroom… Every time he pops into my classroom which is about 7 or 8 times a day the children jump up and they say Molo and Kunjani etc. They practice all the things that our Xhosa teacher has taught them. Altogether, loud. Honestly it is sweet to watch.* (D6)

In these conversations Xhosa seems to be associated with people in relatively subordinate positions such as maids, cleaners and cashiers.

While English speaking learners are seeking opportunities to converse in Xhosa, Xhosa speaking learners would rather speak English than Xhosa even at home:

> Bulelwa*: I must speak English. My Mom speaks Xhosa to me, I speak English.*
> Researcher: *Why is that?*
> Bulelwa*: Because I don't like Xhosa.*
> Researcher: *Why?*
> Bulelwa*: I don't like talking. I like English. [My Mom] She likes the way I speak English.* (C13)

Some Afrikaans speaking children also seem to be more comfortable speaking English at home:

> *I always speak English, I don't actually like speaking Afrikaans*…. (B9)

The language experience practices of these learners were complex as different languages were used in different situations for different purposes. The above quotations illustrate that many South African homes are undergoing a 'language shift' making it more and more difficult to speak about a single home language.

In the classroom it was noted that some pupils are sometimes reluctant to speak their 'home language' but for a different reason. A teacher suggested that Afrikaans speakers do not necessarily recognise each other:

> *Last year I had two Afrikaans boys and only in the third term did the one turn to the other and said, "Maar verstaan jy dan?" (Do you actually understand?) They didn't know that they were both Afrikaans. Afrikaans is not spoken but Xhosa is.* (D12)

In this school Xhosa and Afrikaans learners are discouraged by some teachers from using their first language unless it is spoken to provide assistance to another learner.

All learners at this school learn the three languages of the province and because of this it is important to know what their attitudes are to these languages. Xhosa and Afrikaans children were comfortable speaking English and the Afrikaans learners, unlike some of the parents, felt that Afrikaans was still the most important language in South Africa. The Afrikaans learners noted:

> *I think it is Afrikaans [the most important language], because most people speak. When I go to the shops I found most people speaking Afrikaans. I am talking about when I lived in PE.* (C16)

> *I think maybe like Afrikaans. …I think Afrikaans is much better. I was born Afrikaans, Candice and lots of others. I think it is better*. (C17)

The English-speaking learners differed from their parents, believing that Xhosa was the most important language and needed to be spoken and understood by all citizens:

> *Well all languages are acceptable for the whole world, but I think that most Presidents, Mr Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. ... speak Xhosa.* (C16)

> *I think Xhosa because there are more Xhosa people in South Africa. They are trying to make everybody speak Xhosa. I get the feeling that Xhosa is trying to take over South Africa* (C16)

As could be predicted Xhosa speaking learners, like their parents, believe that English is the most important language. However their reasons are slightly different from those of their parents:

> *Because most people in the world know English* (A14)

> *I think English is the most important language because the government speaks English* (A15)

> *English. Because most people speak English even on TV. Even like a nanny who works in a white home that have to speak English to the boss* (C16)

> *Because the first people in the world were Adam and Eve and they used to speak English* (C16)

The English and Xhosa children's responses present a fascinating contrast of attitudes, especially in relation to issues of power: political power, on the one hand, and economic and cultural power, on the other.

In order to understand the attitudes that these young learners had developed towards the speakers of different languages in South Africa, the learners were asked to identify the languages spoken by different people in pictures. They initially identified the languages with the activity in which the children were involved. Learners in the first picture were on their way to school and they were identified as English speakers. When probed for the reason for this identification, they responded:

> *...they are talking English because they understand English (*A2)

An interesting response was that the learners identified all white children as English speaking and not that some may have been Afrikaans speakers. A reason for this could be that the Afrikaans children are in the minority at the school and are not as 'visible' as the Xhosa

speaking learners. In another picture a group of children were identified as Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking. When asked to point out the Afrikaans speakers they responded:

> *He is Afrikaans because that one is coloured.* (A3)

A further tell tale sign for Afrikaans speakers was that

> *They are Afrikaans (because) they have spots on their nose...Most of the Afrikaans children have got freckles* (B4)

From the above responses it could be understood that there is an acceptance, even at an early age, in the minds of these young learners that English is the language most used by all citizens irrespective of their race group. One is, however, aware that certain 'values' in the school and the home may not be consistently multilingual.

All children's attitudes towards English as the LoLT seemed to be positive. Learners shared their parents and teachers' understanding that ECPS was an 'English school' and one of the reasons for their being at ECPS was to learn to speak and to become literate in English.

Learners in the foundation phase also displayed enthusiasm about learning to speak Afrikaans and Xhosa. According to their teachers:

> *I know my class and they just love doing Afrikaans*. (D5)

> *They love it [Xhosa lesson]. They can't wait, in fact if I really want to get my class back on to line I tell them they are going to miss their Xhosa lesson and then they quickly start behaving*. (D6)

Young learners seem keen to learn and speak when L2 learning is experienced in a fun and non-threatening manner but this enthusiasm is not maintained in the intermediate phase (I/P). Negative attitudes towards languages in the I/P are affected by the threat of exams. A teacher noted:

> *I think that as soon as this exam situation comes in it puts a damper on it.* (D21)

A final attitude that was noted concerned the amount of time that was needed to teach second and third languages in the school. Learners, like their parents, had different views on this. An English / Afrikaans bilingual learner noted:

> *I think that the teachers should start teaching more Xhosa*. (C18)

while a Xhosa child said:

> *I think that we should stick to English because that is the most important language and all the teachers speak English.* (C18)

In spite of the learners' diverse attitudes to languages in these early stages of schooling all were keen to become multilingual learners and displayed enthusiasm and interest in learning languages other than their own.

Teachers' attitudes to language

In this research the predominant teachers' attitude towards the languages of the school was that English was the most important LoLT because ECPS had become an 'English school'. The majority of teachers are English speaking; the majority of learners speak English as a first language and the majority of Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking parents chose the school because they wanted their children to be educated in English.

A number of other language attitudes were noted. Firstly, the teachers' attitude towards the Xhosa and Afrikaans learners' mother tongue and cultures needs to be considered. The following three teachers' statements indicate that learners from non-English backgrounds are expected to change:

> *…like them to speak English because we are an English school (Q[14])*
>
> *I accept where each child comes from, but often try and teach pupils how 'we' do things (Q)*
>
> *(Due to) The fact that the school has become mixed …we accommodate them (Q)*

However not all teachers believe that Xhosa and Afrikaans learners should conform to the 'English' ways of the school. One teacher wrote:

> *I am young so I only started teaching once the changes had taken place. I love the diversity* (Q)

Possibly, some teachers who began their careers in multilingual/cultural classes are more understanding and better able to cope with the challenges of multilingual/cultural classes. The majority of the teachers in the school were educated before the dismantling of apartheid and perhaps never envisaged that they would be teaching multilingual classes. Despite the radical changes that have taken place over the past ten years four teachers stated that they had:

> …*made no changes as nothing is different* (Q).

Some teachers were more aware of the changes that had taken place and showed respect for the diversity of the learners:

> *I respect any language group and respect their customs* (Q).

The second attitude which emerged concerned teaching second and third languages. These languages are taught as subjects either by the class teacher or a specialist teacher and must

[14] Q denotes that the information was obtained from the questionnaire

meet the requirements of the curriculum for promotion purposes in preparation for high school and matric. In some cases second and third languages are taught more like foreign languages separated from the school day:

> … *our Xhosa is done in a separate classroom* (D17)

> *My class does not have a specialist Afrikaans teacher* (D18)

Little or no recognition is given to the holistic language development of the learners. A Grade 3 teacher notes:

> *Well if we don't do it (Afrikaans) there will be flack in Grade 4* (D18)

Because of the understanding that classroom language practices need to meet the requirements of the Intermediate phase or matric, many institutional factors conserve present practices and make it difficult to move away from the existing curriculum. This results in many valuable opportunities to integrate languages and develop positive attitudes to the different languages being missed. A parent suggested the following:

> *You don't need a Xhosa teacher to be able to do that. The basic words like isonka, the things that we use daily, the normal teacher can be taught and she can mention ten words to day and tomorrow another ten words and so on the next day. You don't need a special Xhosa teacher to do that. The child will hear it fifty-two weeks in a year and it will become second nature to him. He won't even have to think about it when he thinks of bread.* (C6).

By using this suggested method the learners would be surrounded by languages, an experience that many teachers had during their own education. A teacher recalls:

> *[In school] We only spoke English and my Afrikaans went down. I then went to Stellenbosch, which was totally Afrikaans. For the first three weeks I couldn't understand a word. By mixing with them my Afrikaans improved. I actually think it's the talking, not so much what comes through the class.*

When the teachers recalled their own experiences of second language acquisition they understood that it had helped them if the language being learned was heard in other lessons and outside the classroom:

> *I felt that we didn't hear Afrikaans enough therefore it was difficult to speak.* (D1)

> *I was fortunate…I heard a lot of Afrikaans…I understood the language before I actually had to learn it.* (D1)

> … *not hearing the language very often (is a problem). Our children have got an advantage* (D1)

Being surrounded by bilinguals which includes the teacher and having the opportunity to speak, hear and read different languages at any time is seen as an advantage and an ideal language environment:

> *I went to a farm school…and you were taught in English and Afrikaans…the staff were fully bilingual and it was around you all the time. You could speak Afrikaans to that friend and English to that friend.* (D2)

An important issue is raised by the above quotation. The comment that all teachers were "fully bilingual" brings us to the third attitude, that of the teachers' attitude to multilingualism. If learners are to experience additive bilingualism as proposed in the LiEP document then it is necessary for teachers in this school to be competent in the three main languages of the province. One of the teachers at the school suggested the following:

> *I feel that the teachers need to learn to speak Xhosa especially in the Eastern Cape. Perhaps it is a good idea to develop a learner friendly course with the mostly used Xhosa words and expressions to help the non-Xhosa speaking learners.* (Q)

None of the teachers who do not speak Xhosa had tried to learn the language in the last ten years. The same teacher noted:

> *Older teachers have developed negative attitudes towards some language groups as a result of the apartheid years*. (Q)

In this school 60% of the learners are English speaking, 30% Xhosa speaking and 10% are Afrikaans speaking. Many of the English speaking learners are competent in Afrikaans and/or Xhosa. The learners, like some of their teachers, are growing up in a multilingual environment. However, it seems that Xhosa and Afrikaans are being taught only as subjects for curriculum and examination purposes and not for the interpersonal communication skills that could be gained.

Many of the teachers, in spite of not being able to speak Xhosa, supported the idea that Afrikaans and Xhosa be given equal status as languages in the school:

> *I don't think that we must do it as a second language and a third language. I don't see any thing wrong with having a first language and two second languages* (D19)

Another teacher had this suggestion:

> *We discussed that sometime we should have Xhosa as a second language because there are also English speaking children who are good at Xhosa.* (D11)

There could however be institutional problems such as with timetabling and staff shortages if the above recommendations were to be implemented. Whether the status of the second and third languages will be equalised or not remains to be seen.

The fourth attitude that needs to be noted is reflected in the explicit and implicit language rules in the school. In the focus group session all the teachers said that there were no rules. Most of the learners had said that the only language rule was that they were not permitted to

swear. However, in the questionnaire the teachers responded quite differently to the question of whether there were language rules in class:

> *Yes - English only*
>
> *I like them to speak English because we are an English school*
>
> *Use English where ever possible*
>
> *We encourage them to only speak English*
>
> *Xhosa children are allowed to speak Xhosa if they are explaining to another Xhosa child*
>
> *In the playground we encourage English*
>
> *I am stricter with the weaker ones to speak English. They must learn English. It is easier for them to speak to one another in their own language and discuss it in their home language. I really encourage them to speak English in class. Even if they are trying to make sense of their Maths with a friend or something. I do allow them to speak Xhosa, but not the whole day. They can explain, but then they must revert to English* (D14)
>
> *I allow them to explain to each other in their home language.* (Q)
>
> *We always make sure that there is a buddy buddy system for those who do not understand,* (D14)

From these responses the teachers indicate that they allow Xhosa to be spoken in some situations but that they prefer the learners to speak English. It is the teachers' understanding that the weaker the learner the more desirable it is for the child to speak English in order to get him/her to the required level of language proficiency as soon as possible.

Of the three groups of stakeholders, the teachers were probably the most similar in their language attitudes. The most notable difference in attitudes were between the older and younger teachers.

Discussion of data

When working with a mass of data it is useful to identify emergent themes but it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to deal with all the themes in detail.

Parents' attitudes

An expected outcome of the research was the positive attitude that was displayed by all stakeholders towards an English education. Clearly the overarching theme that emerged from

parents and teachers in all three language groups is that they believe English to be a language of power and that proficiency in English will ensure access to quality education and transformation of their lives (Young 1995). This finding is similar to Martin's (1996:67) who noted that the two most important reasons for the preference of an English education for rural and urban Zulu learners in Kwa-Zulu Natal were employment and further education. Luckett (1995: 74) also noted that parents from three different language groups all acknowledged that proficiency in English plays a significant role in South Africa today. Research done by Bot (1993), Vinjevold (1999) and Desai (1999) all reveal that African language speakers would prefer English as a medium of instruction in schools. Most of these attitudes, for different reasons, support the hegemonic status of English that is prevalent in South Africa at this time. According to Ridge (1996:29) "South Africans thus face the far from unique task of both strengthening the teaching of English and seeking to promote and develop the other national languages" one of which is Afrikaans.

While there are Afrikaans speaking parents in South Africa who believe that it is important for their children to attend Afrikaans schools that uphold their culture, beliefs and identity, the Afrikaans speaking parents in the current research were happy that their children were receiving an English education. This is contrary to the ' gloomy pessimism' p erceived by Hartshorne (1992) in his study in 1990 which indicated that Afrikaans speakers were concerned about the maintenance and future of the Afrikaans language. Afrikaans speaking parents in the current research believed that the maintenance of their first language and culture would take place in the home.

Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents were in agreement on a number of language issues. Both groups were keen for their children to become multilingual and believed in 'the earlier the better' approach to an English education. They both sent their children to pre-schools for this specific purpose. This understanding is similar to that in Robb's research (1995) where Xhosa parents wanted their children to speak English in pre-schools so as to meet the language demands of 'b ig school'.By attending pre-school language learning is facilitated in an informal but still not "natural" learning environment before learners begin formal education.

Both groups of parents, if given the choice, would choose a second language other than their mother tongue for their children to study. This choice supports Ntshangase's (2000) belief that parents are not sentimental when choosing a LoLT but that choices are made to ensure

the best possible opportunities for their children for the future. The Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents showed less concern for their home language and the amount of time that was spent teaching Xhosa and Afrikaans than the English speaking parents did.

Both groups of parents believed that it was their duty as parents to teach their home language and to share cultural beliefs with their children in the home. While some parents indicated that they would do this, others were quite content for their children to be assimilated into the dominant English culture.

In the move towards English by both Afrikaans and Xhosa families De Klerk and Bosch (1994) found that Afrikaans families retained more pride in their language and culture than Xhosa speakers families did (cited in a NCCRD report 2000:22). This is understandable given the different socio-political history of these two language groups.

In spite of the desire of some language groups to 'adopt' the culture and language of others it is Alexander's belief that multilingualism is a way of bringing all South Africans together as one nation (1990:198). While Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners happily switch from their first language to English to accommodate the majority of learners, the English speakers, these language practices disadvantage the English speaking learners because in the end they will be the least multilingual of all.

All stakeholders in this research seemed comfortable with the immersion model of language learning. Teachers encourage learners to learn to speak English as quickly as possible and were proud that their learners 'learn English fast'. All stakeholders were pleased to be associated with the school and were satisfied with the education. The Xhosa and Afrikaans parents were aware and content that their children were being assimilated into an English culture. This is contrary to the findings of De Klerk and Bosch (1994) before the change in government, which revealed that neither the Xhosa speaking learners nor their parents wanted to identify with English culture or values. However in Martin's study (1996:63) there are some African parents and children themselves who do not want to adhere to traditional African cultures. A young Zulu child actually said, "I want to be white". The issue of language and identity is discussed later in this chapter.

The approach that is practised at the school seems to be successful with regards to children's educational progress[15] but is counter to the theory of additive bilingualism, the underlying principle of the LiEP. Language experts argue that initial education should take place in the mother tongue and this is recognised in the ANC language commission document (Laufer 2000:18). However Makoni (1994) and Desai (1999) are not convinced that the additive approach to bilingualism is the best and most appropriate approach for all South African schools.

When analysing why the "straight for English" approach in this setting has met with considerable support one needs to consider a number of factors. With the exception of a few children, all learners have had a number of years at a pre-school acquiring English language skills before they begin formal learning. The majority of the Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking parents are from professional backgrounds and chose to relocate their homes so as to have access to this English school. These parents are able to provide language and learning support in the home. If they are unable to do so, an "after school care" offers language and homework support for these children. Most of the Xhosa and Afrikaans learners at this school live in the area and are part of the predominantly English speaking community and socialise with their classmates after school.

It is, however, not only parents in this particular setting who are keen for their children to be taught in English. Research indicates that nationally, there is increased pressure from African parents for teaching at school to take place through the medium of English from the beginning of Grade 1 (Vinjevold 1999; Potenza 2001). While the move towards "straight for English" seems to be the dominant pattern of many Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents, little concern is given to the maintenance of the home language in the classroom. Research of UNESCO 1958 favours mother tongue education in the early years and one of the main reasons given is that it ensures sound conceptual development (Macdonald 1991). Parents are either unaware of the cognitive benefits of early learning in the child' s first language or are quite satisfied with their children's results when they learn through a second language. It seems that foremost in the parents' minds is that their children must write an exam at the end of their schooling and, because this exam is written in either English or Afrikaans, it 'makes sense' for their children to start learning through either medium from the start of school.

[15] There was no evidence that Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners fell behind English speaking learners academically.

This expression supports Young's (1995:64) belief that there is a danger that African languages being less sought after as learners become literate in languages other than their own. Parents in the current study perceived the need to become literate in English as being far more important than being literate in their home language.

The final parents' attitude that needs mention is their attitude towards Afrikaans as a second language. In the current research parents noted that Afrikaans no longer had the status at the school that it had had in the past. Findings from the trilingual survey done by De Klerk and Bosch (1994:9) indicate that overall there is a more positive attitude towards Xhosa than there is towards Afrikaans. In the current research some felt that Afrikaans and Xhosa should be given equal standing but those interviewed were divided on this issue.

Learners' attitudes

Compared with the parents, learners have different perceptions of the status of the three languages. All the Xhosa learners recognised the value of being fluent and literate in English. The majority of English learners believed that Xhosa was the most important language in South Africa. It appears that the practical needs of being able to communicate effectively in South Africa today have been detected by the English speaking learners many of whom express the desire to become proficient Xhosa speakers. While valuing their own language Afrikaans learners expressed solidarity with the other two groups in their understanding that fluency in all three languages was necessary.

This understanding is supported by Martin's (1996) findings that young learners are willing to learn different languages and show immense pride in the fact that they are fluent in two languages and are eager to learn a third.

None of these learners expressed a sense of helplessness or negativity towards the LoLT in these early years of schooling. All of them were optimistic and keen to embrace multilingualism. Research done by Makoni (1994) and Winkler (1997) shows that many South African children grow up "in a multi-lingual way" and that it is not possible to identify a single language as a mother tongue. Martin (1996:63) found in her study that young children "recognised the inequity in the distribution of South Africans who will need to become bilingual". She believed that the majority of learners were optimistic about their bilingualism and that this needed to be heeded and harnessed as a resource for implementing the multilingual language policy in education (Martin 1996).

This optimism was manifested in the opportunities to speak Afrikaans and Xhosa that learners found outside the classroom. In the current and in Martin's study many learners perceived that it was their own responsibility to become bilingual (1996:65). All learners in the current study were enthusiastic about the benefits of bilingualism and the importance of their being able to speak and read the three provincial languages. Versfeld notes that if all learners are encouraged to value and become proficient in all three languages then one would not have children "shying away from their own language" (1995:25).

All young learners should be encouraged to use their home language when necessary in the classroom as recognition of one's language and culture improves one's academic performance (Cummins 1986). The LiEP supports the additive approach to bilingualism where the proficiency in a first language contributes to the development of the second and third language. In this study the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners were permitted to use their home language if and when the need arose. Teachers noted that Xhosa speaking learners spoke their primary language more than the Afrikaans speakers did.

It is understood that the language environment and ethos of the school can have a profound influence on the learners' perceptions of themselves and others. Baker (1993:263) believes that language attitudes are related to the attitudes towards the speakers of the language. The emerging bilinguals in the current study perceived that most people spoke English and did not display any negative attitudes towards people from language groups dissimilar to their own. In the research school all the academic and secretarial staff, with the exception of one teacher, are English speaking and all the cleaning staff, gardeners and groundsmen are Xhosa speaking. One wonders whether this might have an influence on the learners' perception of themselves and others.

Findings in the current study are that many South African homes are undergoing a 'language shift' making it increasingly difficult to speak about a single home language. Learners indicated that parents expected them to speak English at home and that different languages were used in different situations for different purposes. This supports Makoni's (1994:22) belief that different languages are used alongside each other to fulfil different roles and that this may impact on the learners' sense of identity as English is perceived as a public, academic language and Xhosa as a private, domestic means of communication. The language

experiences of the learners are complex as they endeavour to meet the expectations of parents, peers and their teachers.

In conclusion, the following disparity was noted between learners from different language groups. A Xhosa speaking learner said that he wanted more English teaching, while an A/E[16] bilingual said that she wanted to be taught more Xhosa. Similar needs were expressed by the Xhosa and the A/E bilingual parents that were interviewed. The Xhosa learners and their parents were adamant that one of the reasons for their choice of ECPS was that they wanted to be proficient English speakers. The A/E bilinguals understand that there is a need to be conversant and literate in an African language and they felt that it was the school's responsibility to provide instruction and opportunities for this learning to take place.

Teachers' attitudes

Teachers' attitudes to the different languages that are spoken in the classroom as well as their attitude to the language development of each learner are central to learners maintaining a positive attitude towards multilingualism. When a teacher shows respect for and an interest in the languages that are spoken in the classroom, learners realise that all languages are equally important (Wong-Fillmore 1991). It is therefore important for teachers to examine their attitudes to languages and their attitudes to the language groups with whom they interact (Robb 1995:16).

The majority of the teachers for various reasons considered English to be the most important language at the school. This supports the PEI report which indicated that English was still the language of socio-economic power (Vinjevold 1999). Luckett (1992) believes that this attitude contributes to subtractive bilingualism. She notes that this occurs when the social conditions for learning devalue the learners' primary language and culture. In some instances Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking learners are expected to conform to the norms and values of the school and are perceived as fortunate to be part of the 'English school'. This is similar to Vally's research (cited in Garson 1999:29) which shows that teachers have adopted the assimilationist approach whereby "children must fall into line and do things the way they have always been done". However, in the current research it was the teachers' understanding that the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners expected to be assimilated into the 'English school' and that their parents were quite happy for this to take place.

[16] A/E is the abbreviation used for an Afrikaans / English bilingual.

The attitudes of the teachers towards the languages that were taught at the school were reflected in their belief that it was their responsibility to ensure that the learners became proficient in English as quickly as possible so that learners would acquire the language skills necessary for learning to take place through the medium of English. However, in the "straight for English" style of teaching the importance of the use and maintenance of the learners' first language is neglected, as is the need to draw on the first language as a resource for learning in the classroom (Versveld 1997:24). The "straight for English" style could be problematic for those who support the Thresholds Theory whereby the learner needs to reach at least one level of language competence in order to avoid the negative effects of bilingualism. Baker (1988:177) however warns of the difficulties in defining language competence at each level of the theory and cautions the oversimplification of a complex set of variables.

A number of teachers indicated that they had made no changes to their teaching styles or teaching materials since their classes became multilingual. This would suggest that they are denying the changes that are taking place in the classroom. Some teachers believed that it was better not to see the racial differences between their learners and that all learners should be perceived to be the same. Robb (1995:16) suggests that it is important that teachers in former model C schools examine their attitudes towards learners to ensure that they are ready for their pupils instead of only ensuring that young learners are ready for school.

The ethos of an English only classroom implies the rejection of other languages and this would include the learners "most intense existential experience" (Phillipson cited in Auerbach:1993). Prohibiting learners from using their first language may hinder second language acquisition because "it mirrors disempowering relations" (Auerbach 1993:16). Some teachers only allow Xhosa speaking learners to use their home language if they are assisting another learner. Except in these special circumstances many classrooms are English only.

A reason for the English only classroom that emerges from both the teachers' and the parents' response could be their positive attitude towards 'immersion' or 'natural' language learning. Many teachers and parents testified in the focus group interviews that they had learnt second and third languages in this informal way and believed that this was the best way to acquire additional languages. In this school these approaches to learning language seem only to be applied to learning English. A possible reason for this is that only a few teachers are able to speak Xhosa and as yet have not recognised the need to develop language tools that will

empower English and Afrikaans speakers to experience immersion in Xhosa (Agnihotri 1995). For learning in this informal manner to be successful in all three languages it would be important for all teachers to be multilingual and to share a positive attitude to learning languages in this 'natural' way.

Many teachers in the school had a positive attitude to the idea of Xhosa and Afrikaans both being taught as second languages at the school. This is a good example of Langhan's suggestion that a contextual approach to policy formation be considered (cited in Murray, forthcoming:5). It is Langhan's understanding that "different policies are likely to work in different contexts" and that the complexities of our South African situation be acknowledged and the circumstances surrounding the choice of LoLT be carefully considered and analysed.

When considering the complexities of the context, careful note should be taken of the language practices in the school as well as the physical conditions that are provided for effective learning and teaching to take place. These issues are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Language practices in the classroom, the school and the home

This section deals with language practices and language issues in the classroom, the wider school environment (which includes assemblies, the library, the playground and the computer room) and the home. The formal and informal language practices of the teacher and the learners are examined followed by an evaluation of the use of language support strategies. Attention is given to the effect that seating, language support material and wall and table displays have on language practices. Data from focus group interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations were triangulated. The last part of this section relates to language practices in the home and how these either support or adversely affect learning at school.

Language interaction between teacher and learner

All the lessons that were observed were taught exclusively through the medium of English with the exception of the Afrikaans and Xhosa language lessons which are taught in the target language. One trilingual subject lesson was observed where the learners and the teacher were engaged in using and learning all three languages. Two teachers indicated that they regularly used the learners' home language to support learning while some teachers indicated that they used other languages besides English '*now and then'* to explain a concept or for simple instructions such as *open your book or sit down (Q).*

Because almost all the Xhosa and Afrikaans learners had attended pre-schools before commencing school they spoke and understood English. There are, however, some learners who had not had this opportunity and in these cases the teacher noted:

> *We do get the odd one, but in this situation they learn very fast. They hear English all of the time.* (D8)

> *We had two little boys and when we said, "What is your name?" and they said, "Yes, Yes". It must have been a nightmare for them and we told their parents that they were not going to pass. And they are going to pass at the end of the year. They speak as fluently as can be and I didn't do anything. They were (thrown) in the deep end.* (D8)

This style of teaching supports the prevalent perception in many South African schools that to gain proficiency in English, 'the sooner the better and as much as possible'. This style appears to work in this context but no reference is given to the maintenance or the development of the home language while developing the second language, rather it is "straight for English". Some learners have presumably attained the first level of language development as suggested in the Thresholds theory as necessary to avoid the negative effects of bilingualism (Cummins 1997). Such learners seem to "cope" in the grades because they have usually developed some language skills while at pre-school. A teacher notes:

> *English is fine because all the pupils in my class understand English* (Q)

A language practice that is widely used by many bilingual teachers in bilingual classrooms is that of codeswitching. (Bot 1993; Adendorff 1992). However, the research school the practice was not widely used. A teacher indicated that codeswitching:

> *…only took place in the beginning of the year with children who were being taught in their second language* (Q).

Only two examples of codeswitching occurred during observations. A teacher codeswitched into English in an Afrikaans language lesson to explain something that the learners had not grasped while another teacher who is fluent in Xhosa supported learners in a Maths lesson by explaining a concept in Xhosa.

Worth noting is that in a subsequent teachers' feedback workshop on the research findings the teachers indicated that although instructions through the mother tongue and codeswitching were not widely practiced, a number of teachers used other strategies to assist bilingual learners. A teacher shared:

> *I have fortunately been able to speak Xhosa and when a child is struggling with something, I explain it in his language humorously. If a child is still struggling I will get another Xhosa child who knows it to explain it to him.* (D14)

The word 'humorously' is presumably used to avoid the learner's embarrassment of being spoken to in his/her mother tongue. This incident supports Versfeld's (1995:24) belief that many African language speakers at former Model C schools shy away from their home language and tend to prefer not to acknowledge their mother tongue. Learners were asked whether it was acceptable classroom practice to speak to each other in their mother tongue. An Afrikaans learner shared the following:

> *We run outside sometimes if we want to speak, and the words stick in my mind and sometimes I speak to myself in Afrikaans.* (C12)

Afrikaans learners believe that they are not allowed to speak Afrikaans in the classroom. A possible reason could be that when the school was parallel medium the Afrikaans learners were not permitted to "tell secrets" in Afrikaans. The following statement by a teacher supports the perception that learners believe that they are allowed to speak Afrikaans in the classroom:

> *I haven't heard any children speak Afrikaans to each other although I do have Afrikaans speakers in my class.* (D12)

But:

> *They (the Xhosa children) turn to their language very quickly*

It is thus evident that Xhosa speaking learners are comfortable chatting to each other informally in their home language while Afrikaans speaking learners are less not. A reason for this could be that the Afrikaans speaking learners are a small minority and a less easily identifiable group than black African children.

The data collected and the classroom observations indicate that learners speak only English when addressing their teachers in the classroom. In the focus groups the learners shared that they are aware of which languages each teacher understands but only speak to their teachers in English. Learners may feel inhibited in speaking to their teachers in their home language in class but shared that *at church and at breaktime they spoke Afrikaans to (the Afrikaans speaking) teachers* (A4).

A paired jigsaw puzzle activity was chosen to try and elicit information about the relationship between thought and language when at school. Several of the learners selected partners from their own language group:

> *I chose Lunga because she can speak Xhosa with me and English.* (C10)

> *I chose Marie because…she is good at Afrikaans, although she speaks English, she is still good at Afrikaans.* (C10)

When asked what language they spoke when doing the puzzle they responded:

Anna was not talking (Afrikaans) because she was afraid that you would say that she must talk English (C12)

From this response one can surmise that English is the language that learners believe they are expected to speak at all times in the school. Another child said:

I tried to speak English but I couldn't. We spoke Xhosa (C12)

The intention of this exercise was to note what language(s) learners spoke when performing the task. A pair recorded:

We actually decided when we got the puzzle that we would talk Afrikaans.

Researcher: Was Afrikaans going on in your brain?

Yes it was. Afrikaans was splashing at me. (C13)

This response is a good example of a bilingual learner who has developed metalinguistic awareness and as such is able to talk about language. Her description of the prevalence of Afrikaans in her mind gives the impression that she was unable to curtail its flow! Another child responded that:

Sometimes I get mixed up and speak English and Afrikaans mixed up in my head together.

This response indicates that this learner is possibly a compound bilingual and slips easily between two languages (Bialystok, 1994). The teachers were asked what languages the learners' spoke to each other when explaining concepts. The majority responded that *mainly English and sometimes Xhosa* was spoken, one indicated that they speak *whatever they prefer* while another stated that learners spoke their *home language* when conceptualising. Research suggests that when the curriculum is challenging and intellectually stimulating learners who use their home language generally do better but in this research many learners are bilingual before they begin formal schooling. The reason given is that grasping new concepts is made easier and more meaningful when conceptualising in one's home language (PRAESA: no date).

Twelve teachers recorded that the learners spoke *only English* for group work, discussion and report back. Three exceptions noted that English was always spoken for report back but thatsometimes learners discussed issues in their home language. While no evidence of such choices was observed during class visits a teacher recorded:

> *…I hear very little Xhosa in my class. The only time when I do hear it is five minutes before the messages come up when they fetch their sandwiches. There is often a little group and maybe they will say something. I think they are very proficient. I think that their level of language over the years has really improved so much.* (D15).

This teacher is intimating that the learners in her class are proficient in English and even when it is acceptable to speak one's home language they tend to speak English. There was consensus amongst the staff that *their level of language had improved over the years*. This could be attributed to a number of factors of which language support strategies to facilitate the development of English language skills may have been one. Another could be that the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners' complete immersion in English at pre-school, at formal school and at after-care has aided their language development. The teachers noted that in spite of relaxing the "English only at all times" rule and allowing the learners more freedom to speak in their first language the *level of language had improved over the years.* Another possibility could be that the learners are far more integrated after school and play together in the afternoons and, according to the Xhosa parents, speak a lot of English out of school. Perhaps one should no longer speak of these learners as Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking learners but rather as bilingual learners (Winkler 1997) because English has become an important part of their home language repertoire.

Language support strategies

All the learners testified that their friends and teachers helped them when they did not understand the language and needed support:

> *We ask the Xhosa children to help us.* (A1)
>
> *I ask someone who knows the language or I ask the teacher*. (B10)
>
> *If we get stuck on words a Xhosa child will help us*. (B10)

An Afrikaans learner remembered experiencing similar problems when she started school:

> *When I came to this school I was also Afrikaans, and I went English. Before I came to school, I used to speak Afrikaans more than English. When I started speaking English, I never quite knew what I would have to say…. I used to tell the teachers what I thought and then they used to help me by telling me the words that were wrong*. (C3)

A strategy for support that seems well in place in the Foundation Phase is that of the 'buddy-buddy system'. The teachers indicated that the *brighter and more advanced learners helped those who were struggling or did not understand*. One teacher noted:

> *I speak a bit (of Xhosa) but I can't translate all the time but we always make sure there is a buddy-buddy system. This is in place throughout the foundation phase.* (D14)

Another strategy that is effective is the use of a variety of visual materials. In all classes that were observed, the teachers used books, pictures and flashcards to provide visual support for the learners. Added to this the use of all the senses as well as drama, role-play and media such

as TV and audio material were utilised to facilitate understanding. Teachers also made use of the age-old method of moving from the concrete to the abstract. However at times there could have been more language support for the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners.

A further strategy used by the schools is that parents who are not able to provide English language support at home are encouraged to enrol their children at the *after-care*[17] *where they 'play' using the LoLT:*

> *There was one little girl Lunga who was not coping in the beginning then we found out that her home was not very well supported. She now goes to 'Cuddly Cubs' where the 'Mummy' there does the homework, and boy oh boy does she do it.* (D9).

This demonstrates that parents will go to great expense to ensure a successful education for their children.

A learning strategy that is widely used by Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners at this school is that of codeswitching. These learners readily switch to English to accommodate English speaking learners during their social activities. In so doing the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners make opportunities to practise their English and thus become more proficient bilinguals. A teacher notes:

> *If they speak to each other they will speak Xhosa also if they are eating their lunch or playing a game and a white child comes to play with them they will speak English. The black children will speak in English to the white children. (D12)*

Teachers *…find that Afrikaans children are very willing to switch to English, before an English child will switch to Afrikaans.* This is possibly due to the fact that the Afrikaans children, who are in the minority in an English speaking school learn English a lot more quickly and more effectively than the English and Xhosa speakers learn to speak Afrikaans. By switching to their additional language these learners are also facilitating language learning.

When questioned why they switched languages this was a response:

> *Because they don't understand what I am saying and they won't like say something back to me.* (C10)

This response contrasts with the reasons given by parents for the codeswitching. One of these was that learners show respect for each other by changing language. Other reasons from two Xhosa parents were:

[17] At after-care learners are not only immersed in English but also given academic support in the form of homework supervision.

> *As Xhosa speakers we are very much concerned about relationships because as soon as we meet together like as we are now we develop a relationship. We will make a change so that everybody will be comfortable to do whatever they do… It is a cultural thing.*(E3)

> *Xhosa children when playing will switch to English to accommodate the English speaker. It is a way of inviting her in. … So that they can play*. (F4)

Martin (1996: 53) suggests that this shows "a degree of communicative sensitivity" not common in young learners but nevertheless practiced by them at times. A parent of an E/A bilingual child suggested that language switching depended on the language ability and confidence of the speaker:

> *My daughter changes from English to Afrikaans like second nature at the age of nine and that is because she is confident. In Xhosa she won't*. (E5)

This could also be attributed to the fact that all learners are in an English environment and understand that English is the accepted language of the school.

All language practices have an effect on the language development of young learners but the seating arrangements, support materials and displays in the classroom need particular consideration.

Seating arrangements

There was either a mixture of grouped and clustered seating in mixed ability and gender groups or the more traditional seating with "old fashioned" desks in rows. In some of the lessons the learners, although seated in groups, worked individually or as a class on the mat. A teacher, whose class works in groups, noted:

> *An advantage is that learners learn from each other and 'pick-up' pieces which they remember from peers.*

Another teacher said that she uses:

> …*random grouping with strong and weak learners together so they can help each other*.

A similar reason cited for mixed grouping was that the:

> …*brighter learners can assist the weaker learner and learn to be considerate.*

None of these teachers cites language as a reason for grouping. However one teacher noted that she seats the learners in her class in diverse language groups to ensure better discipline and control, in other words so that the learners would find it difficult to speak to each other in a language other than English:

> *It acts as a deterrent to learners who want to converse with each other in their mother tongue.* (Q)

This has had the desired effect on Mandisa who reports:

> *I sit next to Marie and she speaks Afrikaans, so I can't speak to her, I only speak with Pinky. She is black and me and her speak in Xhosa.* (C11).

Language support material

It was noted in the questionnaire responses and observed in the lessons that most of the teachers use only English support materials. The teachers who did use Afrikaans texts used them specifically for supporting Afrikaans lessons. One teacher noted that the reason that there were no Xhosa support materials in her classroom was that the Xhosa teacher had her own resources for the Xhosa lessons. This implied that the Xhosa and Afrikaans support materials were directly related to the subject being taught and not to the holistic development of bilingual children.

All classes with the exception of the three Grade 3 classes had only English books in their book corner. The Grade 3's had both English and Afrikaans books. The reason for this was that the learners were taught to read in a second language only in Grade 3. However one teacher had obtained Afrikaans books for the Independent Reading Programme box. The teacher noted that:

> ***The learners leapt up and grabbed the books… we need to expose them to maybe some Xhosa books.***

Of the teachers who kept magazines for the learners, only two teachers noted that they also kept Afrikaans material and one Grade 3 teacher kept a selection of magazines including the Huisgenoot (Afrikaans) and Bona (Xhosa). A concerned teacher expressed her fears:

> *That is my big worry about Xhosa children, in that Afrikaans children in the English class will learn to read and to write Afrikaans, but my Xhosa children will get to an age (where they are unable to read and write in their first language). I am just worried that they are not picking up the skill of reading and writing as proficiently as they would if they were at a Xhosa school.* (D10)

Classroom displays, nature / interest corner and work stations

In the classes that were observed only English texts were displayed in the Grade 1 classes while there were some Afrikaans "gediggies" and "klanke" on the walls in the Grade 2 and 3 classes. The majority of teachers felt strongly that it would be too muddling for the learners to be exposed to trilingual texts especially in Grade 1. Lack of

wall space was also cited as a reason for monolingual language texts. According to Bloch (1997:9), when all classroom materials are in English this sends a clear message to the learners and their parents that English is the language that counts. Wong-Fillmore (1991) recommends that all languages spoken by the learners are visible, as a sign of recognition and respect for their language and culture. The purpose of the materials on the walls in these classes was to support the learning of an additional language. There was no evidence of materials that would provide opportunities for incidental learning.

All the classrooms had interest / nature tables but only English labels and English books were displayed. Some classes displayed newspaper cuttings with an English text. The materials tied in with the class programme organiser[18].

Language practices & language issues in the wider school environment

A significant amount of learning and the formulation of attitudes takes place beyond the confines of the school desk. When considering the impact that a school has on personal language practices, it is essential to include the wider school environment.

Assemblies

When the research school was parallel medium assemblies were conducted in English and Afrikaans. Since the has school became 'English' medium, only English is spoken in assemblies. The only evidence of other languages being used in assembly is that the school song has recently been rewritten and now contains verses in each of the three school languages. In a participatory workshop the teachers identified assemblies as an area where multilingual language practices would be included in future (Appendix 15).

Playground

Data indicate that learners have more freedom to express themselves in their preferred language in the playground than they do in the classroom. However, from the following extract, it is clear that this was not always the case:

> *Remember right in the beginning [when the school first opened up] when Xhosa children started coming to our school we said to improve the language we must encourage and basically demand them to speak English. I have noticed over the years that this has completely changed… I used to walk around [the playground] saying " No Xhosa, No Xhosa No Xhosa". Now nobody says this anymore… the Xhosa speaking children are wanting to speak English so much more now. There is no need anymore to*

[18] A programme organiser is an OBE term that is used for a theme or topic.

force them to speak English. Before there was a need. In the beginning when they were allowed in they came from all levels…(now) they are coming through the system. (D15)

Over the years these "rules" have been relaxed and learners are free to speak whatever language they please when they are at play. English is not only perceived as the language of power but also as the language of friendship where fun and games play a significant role in the learners' development. In the following extracts Xhosa and Afrikaans learners explain the importance of their speaking English, the language of the majority, in the playground:

I will get more friends if I speak English (research assistant's notes)

We normally play games and then when we play games we don' t say OK we won' t play with her because she doesn' t speak my language. We just speak English together(C11)

*Oh I usually speak English because they usually speak English (*C11)

We mostly speak English when we are playing because everybody in the school speaks English and not everybody speaks Afrikaans or Xhosa. (C11)

There are however occasions when learners are not keen to switch languages and sometimes language is used as a tactic for secrecy. An English speaking child noted:

Some of the children speak Afrikaans if they don' t want anyone to know what they are saying. (B4)

To which Afrikaans speaking learners responded:

We are not allowed to speak Afrikaans outside, because children don' t know what they are saying. They may be talking about you. You are not allowed to tell secrets in Afrikaans. (B10).

Xhosa speaking children on the other hand were not accused of 'telling secrets' in Xhosa as they seemed only too happy to switch languages to accommodate their non-Xhosa speaking peers. While the majority of learners seem quite happy to enjoy their break speaking whatever language suited the group one learner in Grade 2 said:

In this school Xhosa people are not allowed to speak Xhosa.

Teachers, when informed about this response, were indignant and stated that this was not true. Instead they said that they had observed that while younger Xhosa learners speak their mother tongue in the playground older learners prefer to speak English:

The younger ones speak Xhosa to each other but the older one's speak English to each other. It's more around Grade 5 going into grade 6 (that the change occurs). (D13)

Twelve years have passed since this school first opened its doors to learners from different language backgrounds. The strict playground rules no longer seem to be in place and learners generally are free to speak whatever language they prefer. The language of preference seems to be English.

Library

In addition to the assortment of reading material in all Foundation Phase classrooms, the school has a well-resourced library. There are about 75% English books, 20% Afrikaans books and only 5% Xhosa books in the library. Learners expressed different opinions about which books were available for whom:

> *There are only English books in the library…a little bit of Afrikaans* (C9)
>
> *There are quite a lot (of Xhosa books), but they are in a different section* (C9)
>
> *The Xhosa books, the drama and the dinosaur books and everything are for the bigger kids, not really for us*.(C9)

It seems that learners are restricted in their choice of books. A teacher recalls:

> *I am not sure if they are allowed to take out any Afrikaans library books, because I was there with my class in the library and one of my children happened to take out an Afrikaans book. She was then told (by the librarian) that don't you think that it is better for you to rather read an English book than to take out an Afrikaans book* (D11).

This quote is a good example of the implicit language policy in the school. The librarian is encouraging English literacy rather than language development.

An Afrikaans speaking learner in Grade 2 noted that:

> *We have Afrikaans books at home, but I can't read them. I am used to reading English* (B3)

while a Grade 3 Afrikaans speaking learner said:

> *I've got a lot of like mixture of books at home. I've got a big bookshelf, with mostly Afrikaans books, and I've read them all…it helps me to read Afrikaans more and understand the language* (C9)

The difference in the responses between the Grade 2 and Grade 3 learners is worth noting. The older learners were pleased to be reading Afrikaans texts from a selection of books in their class library. However the Grade 1's and 2's are still at the emergent reading level and as yet are not fluent readers. An additional factor could be that their teachers only read to them in English in Grade 1 and Grade 2. Very few expressed any desire to read texts besides English ones.

In the focus groups sessions the Xhosa speaking learners chose English books in preference to Xhosa books. Only one Grade 3 Xhosa learner was able to read a Xhosa text. Of the Xhosa learners none indicated that they had Xhosa books or any Xhosa reading material at home.

Computers

The school has a well-equipped computer centre and Grade 1's were observed working at their computers. There are sufficient computers for all learners to be occupied if some work in pairs. The learners were paired according to language groups. The little discussion that took place while the learners were at their computers was in English. The teacher noted that she was not aware of learners speaking any language besides English during computer lessons. The teacher spoke only English and the computer programme was also English.

However, during a subsequent visit to the school after a participatory workshop, the computer teacher showed me some work done by the Grade 6 learners. The learners had used a graphics programme to make trilingual signs. She recalled how the learners had had fun while assisting each other and interacting in three languages. The lesson had been a great success and is a good example of catalytic validity referred to in chapter three.

At home

Of the families at ECPS who answered the questionnaire, 291 families were English speaking, 112 families spoke Xhosa as their first language, 35 families were Afrikaans speakers and 7 families indicated that they spoke languages other than these three.

Many learners at the school grew up in English/Afrikaans bilingual homes and have memories of the languages that were spoken in the home and by whom:

> *My Mom and Dad speak Afrikaans. Mostly my Mommy. I speak English. I started speaking English when I was three.* (C2)

> Another learner answered, in response to the question: When you came to school what language did you speak?:

> *I spoke Afrikaans but now I speak English".* (A4).

According to this child everyone now speaks English at home:

> *They speak English at home … Daddy speaks English to me.*

A learner from an Afrikaans home noted:

> *I speak mostly English and sometimes Afrikaans. With my sister I speak Afrikaans. She is four years old. When I was four I only spoke Afrikaans but I learned to speak English when I went to pre-school.* (A4)

This learner has had an early switch to another language, *I speak mostly English and sometimes Afrikaans*. He is in his first year at this English school, aged six.

Lungisa, also a six year old but a Xhosa speaker, said that at home:

> *sometimes they speak one (language) in the day and the other (language) at night . I speak Xhosa to Dad and always English to Mom* (A5).

In the home, according to the data from the questionnaire, Xhosa speaking mothers speak more English to their children than do fathers. Lungisa recorded that when doing his homework and sitting at table he spoke English. Xhosa and English are spoken to his cousins, brother and sisters

Many of the Xhosa speaking children speak English as well as Xhosa at home. One can therefore either refer to a single home language or learners with two home languages that are used inter-changeably. Mandla, a Xhosa speaking boy, sometimes speaks English in his home when Xhosa friends come to play. On being questioned why he spoke Xhosa to some and English to others he replied:

> *Because that is what they want to do* (A5)

An Afrikaans speaking teacher who has children at the school noted that:

> *Before they (her children) never had Xhosa speaking friends... But now they pop in at home. They all mix, whether it be the playground or at home they are all friends speaking English*. (D14).

A Xhosa parent shared the following anecdote about her cousin's party:

> *I have got a cousin (Xhosa child) in Grade 5. At her parties she invites everyone and they just speak English. In the meantime there are other children from the Transkei and they also speak English. The white children don't have a problem. That is a wonderful atmosphere* (D14).

It should be noted that the cousin in Grade 5 is older than the children in the current research but this extract has been included to show that once again English is the preferred language. The child celebrating the party is a Xhosa speaking child and one presumes that her friends from the Transkei are also Xhosa speaking and yet this "wonderful atmosphere" prevailed with every one speaking English.

A final incident was shared by another Xhosa parent and indicates that perhaps social class is rapidly becoming an important factor in relation to language practices:

> *I told you that we are the only Xhosa speaking people in our street. They come to school and maybe in a class of thirty there are only four Xhosa speaking children. Mainly they are speaking English and mainly their teacher is also communicating with them in English. When they get back home our neighbours are English and when they are playing outside with their friends that are speaking English because then when they come back home and we are speaking Xhosa they tend to speak to us in English*. (F4).

The Xhosa teacher shared her understanding that the majority of Xhosa learners at this school in fact spoke English at home. Research results indicated that the younger learners speak their mother tongue and English but as they get older and more confident they speak more English at home to family and friends.

It was found that parents were very keen to provide English language support for their children:

Learner: *…but sometimes my mother used to teach me hard words of English before I went to school.* (B2)

Teacher: *...the little boy struggled to speak English and he is fine now but the support was amazing... she (the mother) writes the Afrikaans so that he can relate to his own language. I also see the phonics sheets she translates them for him and he is coping very well*. (D10)

This is an excellent example of additive bilingualism being used in the home. The mother of this child is ensuring that he develops understanding in his first language and then transfers this new knowledge to the second language. Unfortunately not all mothers have the time, expertise or will to provide this type of support.

Finally, the impact of television in the home should be noted. Selective television watching can have positive effects on second language acquisition and as most learners enjoy television it is useful to ascertain whether their viewing impacts positively on their language practices or not. A parent relates that television has had no impact on her children becoming more proficient in Afrikaans:

> *...at our house we never speak Afrikaans so my children never hear it other than at school. They don't have Afrikaans friends. They won't watch it on TV because they don't understand it.* (D4)

A teacher elaborates on the negative attitude to Afrikaans television. She believes that learners pick up negative attitudes from their parents which makes the teacher's task a far more difficult one:

> *...the whole attitude at home is TV comes on, there is Afrikaans, switch off the TV. That sort of attitude gets carried on into the classroom so no matter how hard the teacher tries to instruct the language correctly there is a block coming from the home*. (D5)

Most learners have TV sets at home. Afrikaans learners chose programmes according to appeal rather than language and while programmes on 'Satellite dish' rated highly, Afrikaans programmes were not favoured:

> *I don't have any Afrikaans television programmes that works on satellite television dish.* (A10)

The above quote is a good example of how the power of English is being enhanced due to globalisation. The Grade 3's watched a mixture of programmes in all languages and there was evidence that television was linked with learning and not solely for pleasure:

> *My brother watches Afrikaans, because he has to learn Afrikaans, and I always want to watch English.*

Attitudes to language as well as language practices and language support in the home have a major influence on young learners in their initial year at "big school".

Discussion of data

'In naturalistic case study research theorising emerges. Emergent theory can best be described as the explanation given to the issues that have been dealt with and that give meaning to the research question (Gillham 2000:96). The theory is emergent in that it is not tried and tested and is therefore part knowledge only. One cannot theorise in the absence of evidence but in case study research the purpose is rather to explain the findings. As with the language attitudes mentioned earlier in the chapter, a number of themes concerning the language practices in this school emerged but because of the mass of data only selected topics are discussed.

Social class

Many Xhosa speaking learners in this school are part of the predominantly English speaking community and some are 'the only Xhosa speaking people in the street'. The parents of these learners are professional men and women who live in the suburbs surrounding the school and are proud to be associated with this 'English school'. They are represented on the SGB and, although little change has taken place in the school to accommodate learners from diverse language backgrounds, the parents seem more than satisfied with the status quo. Garson (1999) suggests that parents such as these are prepared to pay dearly for education in ex

Model C schools as they want their children to be taught by white teachers. Christie (in Garson 1999:32) believes that "while race is still a primary concern in schools, class will increasingly dictate … parental choices". These middle class parents are keen to support their children's education and have high aspirations for their future.

Luckett (1995) predicted that 'additive multilingualism' would not work without the support of the black African middle class. The black middle class parents who participated in the focus group sessions were keen for their children to learn through the medium of English in the initial stages of schooling than through their home language. For many South Africans English is regarded as a prestige language and it is widely accepted as the lingua franca. Data in the current research show that many Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners speak English at home as well. From the questionnaires it was found that: 97% of Xhosa speaking learners spoke English when doing their homework and that the majority of Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking families recorded that they spoke English as well as their mother tongue in the home. These results are similar to Winkler's (1997) survey in which English emerged as the dominant language in 83% of the participants' homes.

Need to become multilingual

Stakeholders believed that it was in the interests of the learners to become multilingual. All English and Afrikaans parents were keen for their children to learn to speak Xhosa and some teachers (as noted earlier) suggested that Xhosa and Afrikaans should both be taught as second languages. Xhosa parents believed that it was in their children's interest to learn to speak and become literate in English from the start of school. Learners also expressed a desire to become multilingual and multiliterate and even found situations out of the classroom in which to practice other languages.

While all class teachers are Afrikaans/English bilinguals and are thus able to support the Afrikaans speaking learners, only three teachers are able to offer assistance to the Xhosa speaking learners. Ramirez as cited in Laufer (2000:53) noted that the L2 learners who would advance the quickest would be those who had had the most opportunities to develop their home language. In this context some of the learners who are not monolingual English speakers come from bilingual backgrounds and cannot glibly be classified L2 learners. However the findings of the research in this school show that there are insufficient opportunities provided for mother tongue instruction to enable learners to develop their home

language. When deciding on initial instruction for L2 learners the context in which language learning takes place needs to be carefully considered.

The Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents indicated that they favoured English as the LoLT and it is understood that these stakeholders are satisfied with the status quo. The Afrikaans speaking parents noted that they provided mother tongue language support at home while some Xhosa speaking parents stated that the family sometimes spoke English at home because they were keen for their children to improve their English language skills outside of the classroom.

Some learners indicated that they had an established first language when they started school but 'then I went English'. A reason for this remark could be that the learner might have identified with the language of the school. Learners like these have become proficient and academically literate in a language that is not their home language. Some of their parents had enrolled them at ECPS for the specific purpose of acquiring English skills and it seems that the learners are achieving the desired results.

ECPS could provide the ideal opportunity for learners to become multilingual by utilising the human resources that they have at the school. Generally, the stakeholders in this research do not make sufficient use of this aspect of the language environment. Second and third languages are taught like foreign languages instead of providing opportunities for interaction to take place in a natural way so as to enhance language development.

Only two of the three A/E/X bilingual teachers indicated that they used languages other than English when chatting informally to learners or parents. There are a number of learners who speak Afrikaans as a first language and all teachers speak Afrikaans so it could be expected that Afrikaans would be spoken informally at breaktime and before and after school. However this is not the case. A reason for this could be that since ECPS became an 'English school' only English is spoken at the school. If teachers were as fluent in Xhosa as they are in Afrikaans then the implementation of a multilingual school as proposed by Heugh (1995b:85) could become a reality. However, this would necessitate a change of the stakeholders' mindset from an 'English school' to becoming a 'living school'. Versfeld (1995:27) refers to a living school as one that does not merely assimilate its stakeholders into its culture, language and traditions but rather encourages all languages, cultures and traditions in both the formal and informal curricula.

In the current research some learners were identified as emerging bilinguals who easily switched from one language to another. According to Martin (1996:14) this mixing of languages is part of the natural development of languages as the two systems "overlap" while they are establishing themselves. This belief is supported by the Cummins' CUP theory of language learning. Baker (1988:172) reminds us that underlying language learning is a single integrated origin of thought and that all cognitive activity is connected and organised by the source of thought.

The issue of cognitive activity in relation to language learning is a very important one that has been an area of much research and subsequent debate. Note was made of the languages that learners spoke when doing jigsaw puzzles. Most learners chose partners with whom they had language in common. A reason for this could be that they found it easier to problem solve using their mother tongue. Other reasons could be that it was the 'natural' thing to do to speak in one's home language and this would be related to their sense of identity. However those who chose to speak English while assembling the puzzle made use of an opportunity to facilitate the development of their second language. Extensive research carried out by Cummins (1986), Macdonald (1991), Ramirez et al (1991), Langhan (1993), Heugh (1995a), and Versfeld (1995) concerning the best medium of instruction for young learners suggests that competency in one's first language is advantageous when learning a second. It is believed that it is better to develop higher-order learning skills of one's first language and then transfer these to a second or maybe a third language. However the age at which the second language is learned is an important factor to consider.

Another theme that emerges from the data is that of codeswitching. According to Baker (1993) many studies on teaching show that codeswitching is an effective method that supports the bilingual learner's learning and enhances the teacher's teaching. The purpose of codeswitching is to facilitate communication and understanding between speakers (Eastman 1992) and it is an important and accepted classroom practice for bilingual learners. When teachers codeswitch the learners understand that teachers are also bilingual and are able to "move in and out of language in a seamless way" (Martin 1996:14). The findings in the current school was that codeswitching was not an accepted practice among those teachers who are multilingual and was used more frequently at the beginning of the year if learners had no knowledge of English. It seems that once a teacher felt that learners had developed

sufficient BICS, s/he decided it was not necessary to codeswitch and all teaching then took place in English.

It seems that there are different 'language rules' for Xhosa and Afrikaans learners. Xhosa learners are free to speak Xhosa to assist other learners and occasionally to socialise while Afrikaans learners belief that they may not speak Afrikaans and certainly not "tell each other secrets" in Afrikaans. The 'telling of secrets', however, may be an euphemism for 'gossiping about people'. While no Afrikaans learners complained about the double standards a possible explanation for this could be that there are very few Afrikaans speakers in the school and that this perception has resulted from the shift from a parallel medium to an English school.

The seating arrangements are an important factor to consider when working with learners from multilingual backgrounds. Different reasons such as boy/girl pairs or according to academic ability were given for choices of seating but no teacher mentioned the benefits of specific seating for learners' language development. We are reminded in the NCCRD report that group work is only seen as an "enabling environment" if learners are given opportunities to construct their own knowledge and negotiate meaning, and the substance of the group work activity is meaningful enough for worthwhile interaction or dialogue (NCCRD 2000:81). Learners learn a great deal through formal and informal social interaction in their mother tongue (Robb 1995). Language is therefore an important consideration when grouping learners and common language as well as mixed ability and gender should all be a considered.

ECPS has not drawn up an SLP but by the findings of the research suggest that there is a tacit SLP. In concluding the discussion of data the following are identified elements of the tacit school language policy.

Tacit SLP

- ECPS is an English school and those who enrol should conform to the norms and values of the English heritage. English is seen as the language of power and school language decisions are governed by the requirements of the high school and tertiary education.
- All learners must become fluent English speakers as soon as possible to enable all learning to take place through the LoLT of the school.
- Second and third languages are taught like foreign languages as subjects. There is little evidence of multilingual education and language development in the curriculum.

- Only English is spoken in assemblies whereas previously both English and Afrikaans assemblies were held. In May 2000, the new ECPS school song, which includes verses in all three languages of the school, was sung for the first time.
- English and Afrikaans are used for staff and parents' meetings as well as informally in the staffroom.
- Only English is used at sports and other extra murals while learners use all three languages in the playground.
- There are no explicit language rules in this school. All learners speak English, as do all teachers and the principal. In the playground and when there is a need in the classroom, learners are free to speak the language of their choice.
- Control and discipline in the classroom are more important than language needs.
- Younger teachers are more open to change and the application of the principles of multilingual education than the more mature teachers. There is a perception that because the school is English there is little need for teachers to become multilingual.
- Before beginning Grade 1 all learners and their parents meet with the principal. During this meeting the competence of the learners' English is established. The majority of L2 learners accepted in the school have a good understanding of English because they have attended a pre-school in the area.

  In spite of the many changes that have taken place at ECPS it was observed that teachers still teach their classes as if they were monolingual. It was said that: 'Teachers at this school are colour blind and all learners are treated the same'.

Conclusion

In this chapter the research results have been interpreted and discussed in the light of their relevance to the development of a school language policy that meets the needs of Foundation Phase learners. Attention was paid to the practices and attitudes of all three stakeholders. However, one needs to be reminded that this school, a former Model C school, forms a very small percentage of the many primary schools in the Eastern Cape and in South Africa.

The school in which this research took place has done little to ensure that the teaching corps reflects the racial mix of the student body. Only one Xhosa speaking teacher has been employed with the specific purpose to teach Xhosa language lessons. The Xhosa speaking parents are quite happy with the status quo and want English speaking teachers to teach their

children. This was cited as one of the reasons why they had decided to send their children to the school.

One of the goals of the current research project was to feed information back to the stakeholders for the development of a school language policy. Because this is an ongoing, time consuming and lengthy process, the end result will not be recorded in this dissertation. However, because of the participatory nature of the research, the feedback of information that has already taken place was recorded in chapter three.

All data are examined in the light of drawing up an SLP that will meet the needs of all stakeholders at the school. The impression gained from the school is that there is a lack of support for the implementation of the policy. This school sees itself as an independent school and is sceptical about national and provincial educational and policy-making decisions. Many hasty decisions have been made at national level and the school would rather wait and see what decisions other schools have made concerning the LiEP. Because of this it has not been easy to motivate many of the stakeholders to become involved in the policy making process.

In the final chapter the challenges of LiEP implementation are addressed together with the 'gaps' between practices and attitudes and the LiEP. Recommendations are made concerning the steps that could be taken while working towards a School Language Policy as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions

Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them.
(Vygotsky, in Gillham 2000 97)

Introduction

This study set out to gain an understanding of the language practices and attitudes of various stakeholders in the Foundation Phase in order to use this information in the development of a School Language Policy. To begin the chapter the implementation challenges of the LiEP in the school are discussed. Thereafter identified 'gaps' between the stakeholders' practices and

attitudes to language and the principles of LiEP are highlighted and discussed. This is followed by suggestions on how to draw up a SLP that meets the requirements of the LiEP. The chapter closes with ideas for future research.

LiEP implementation challenges

On a national level the implementation of the LiEP has been problematic and reasons range from poorly equipped and dysfunctional schools with unqualified teachers to learners from disadvantaged homes. The school in which the current research took place is fully functional with well-qualified teachers, an abundance of resource materials, superior facilities and learners from supportive homes. The staff would consider themselves to be progressive and visionary teachers. However, besides naming English as the LOLT, Afrikaans as the second language and Xhosa as a third language, very little progress has been made in drawing up an SLP. The following are possible reasons for this slow progress.

In the year 2000 the teachers main concern was Outcomes Based Education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005. The LiEP is a document of which they know little and one of the reasons given was that they 'had too much on their plates' to think about a language policy. All energy and commitment seemed to have been spent on m eeting the requirements of OBE.

The school has received no guidance from the Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Education and no support or information has been given by way of staff training or workshops. There is clearly a lack of the understanding of the new LiEP. This has led to a lack of awareness of a number of important issues contained in the LiEP document. Examples of these are the promotion of multilingualism, respect for all languages and cultures and the recognition of the fluid relationship between language and culture. Additive bilingualism was a term of which none of the staff members at ECPS had heard .

In the previous chapter, a number of the stakeholders' language practices and attitudes were identified. Some of these will be considered in relation to the 'gap' between these attitudes and practices and the principles of the LiEP.

Identif ied 'gaps' between practices and attitudes and the LiEP

Th e first ‘gap’ that is identified concerns the principle of additive bilingualism and ‘choice of language’. The Xhosa and Afrikaans parents on behalf of their children exercised their parental right and chose ECPS because the LoLT is English. To further support this language choice many parents enrolled their children at English pre-schools and some at the English after-care. Several parents had relocated to the suburbs surrounding the school in order to be part of the predominantly English speaking community ensuring further language support.

Learning exclusively through the medium of English when it is one’s second language is contrary to the principle of additive bilingualism which suggests that learners are introduced to a L2 “in addition to the continued educational use of their primary language as a language of l earning” (Heugh et al 1995:vii). Research informs us that competency in one’s L1 is advantageous when learning a L2. However, many parents go to great lengths to provide the necessary support to enable their children to be educated in a second language. Makoni (1994) warns that one must be careful not to glibly categorise learners as either L1 or L2 speakers. He questions the adequacy of Western concepts such as additive bilingualism and notes that they are often not suited to the African setting where many learners are bilingual before the start of formal schooling.

In addition, when considering the principle of additive bilingualism in South Africa one is reminded that for this principle to be successful all teachers will need to be proficient in at least one African language. In the current research only four teachers felt that they would be confident to support learning in Xhosa. Most of the parents and the learners themselves were satisfied with the status quo and want their children to be taught in English by English speaking teachers.

The optimistic perception that young learners have of being bilingual and their desire to become biliterate must be acknowledged. Every effort needs to be made to support them in achieving this goal. As noted, many parents go to great lengths to provide the necessary support for their children to be educated in English, their second language.

The second ‘gap’ concerns the elevation of status and advancement of indigenous[19] languages. Although in this context Afrikaans and Xhosa are taught as second and third languages, teachers expressed concern that Xhosa and Afrikaans learners were not becoming literate in their primary language. Parents, however, in their quest for their children’s

proficiency in English, showed little concern that the indigenous languages (here Xhosa) were not being elevated and advanced in the school setting. One is reminded of Collegiate Junior school (referred to in Chapter 2) where groups of enthusiastic teachers began a programme to teach Xhosa to all learners. However, it was not supported by parents and has now largely collapsed because of lack of parental support. Parents in the current research believe that it is their responsibility to ensure that the primary language is maintained and promoted in the home. Ntshangase (2000:41) points out that if we want parents to understand the value of African languages[20] we need to ensure that they understand how these indigenous languages "can make them more functional and productive individuals".

The LiEP suggests that the LOLT should support the general conceptual growth of the learners and this is considered as the third 'gap'. Research informs us that in initial stages of schooling education should be in the first language. However it is the belief of all stakeholders in the current research that learners should "go straight for English" and "the earlier the better". In the school this approach seems to be working well because of the support structures that are provided by the parents and the school. Learners are happy and well adjusted and stakeholders are satisfied with the results. Ntshangase (2000:41) believes that people no longer make language choices because of sentimental reasons. Language choices are made "to shape productive adult(s)" in order to become productive and active internationally.

The fourth identified 'gap' concerns the principles of identity and respect for all languages as part of building a non racial South African nation. One of the ways of respecting the three home languages of the majority of learners is by acknowledging their existence in the school setting. Research informs us that the ethos of an English only classroom implies rejection of other languages which includes the learners "most intense existential experience" (Phillipson cited in Auerbach, 1993). In the research school there is little evidence of other languages being acknowledged beyond formal language lessons. This is because it is the teachers' understanding that Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking parents have chosen ECPS because they want an English education for their children. The parents are satisfied with the results; the learners all seem to be happy and well adjusted while the teachers have made few modifications to their teaching styles and resources. A high school higher-grade English teacher who teaches past learners from this school noted, "by the time they get to me you

[19] & [19] African and indigenous languages in this context include Afrikaans

can't tell the difference between the first and second language speakers. They [the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners] are doing very well". One is, however, aware that this quote concerns academic development and not social development.

Strongly linked to aspects of social development is the issue of language and identity. Many of these young learners have multiple identities which supports Baker's belief that all people have different identities in different contexts (2000:7). It is possible that these emerging bilinguals have not yet developed a clear language identity because many indicated that they 'went English' at the start of formal schooling. While in the school environment, these children seem keen to be identified as English speaking pupils. However it is important that opportunities be created to use all three languages in order to affirm their personal identities.

The fifth 'gap' concerns the assimilation of the Xhosa and Afrikaans learners into the dominant culture of the school. Luckett's (1992:46) concern is that the social conditions of learning may "devalue" the learners' culture which would result in a negative impact on their cognitive and social development. Although cognitive development does not seem to be affected in this setting, the social aspect may be affected. The LiEP document suggests that there should be no contradiction between respecting sectional and communal cultures and the forging of a multicultural society which shares common cultural beliefs, traits and practices. In this school there is very little evidence of respect in the form of recognition being shown to the Xhosa and Afrikaans culture/language. Xhosa and Afrikaans are taught as second and third languages and limited to the confines of the subject lessons. However stakeholders seemed unconcerned that their children were being assimilated into the values and culture of this English school because they are more interested in the rewards of an English education.

The final 'gap' identified was that there is little or no support to enable the grassroots development of the SLP. One of the provincial and national requirements when drawing up a SLP is that all stakeholders are involved. In the past parents, teachers and learners did not participate in the development of an SLP and to many it is still an unfamiliar and daunting task.

One could say that this school has adopted in part the second alternative suggested to government in the PEI report: "Accepting the growing use of English as a language of instruction at all levels of the schools system and promoting the conditions requisite for effective teaching and learning" (Vinjevold 1999:224). While it is understood that that this

practice is unacceptable in terms of the LiEP, from the perspective of access, this school has been successful.

In concluding this section it is worth noting that Luckett (1995) believes that the success of the LiEP would depend largely on the support of the black middle class. The black parents in the current research, who are predominantly middle class, seem more concerned about effective teaching and learning through the medium of English than the principles of the LiEP mentioned above.

Working towards a school language policy

From the above discussion one realises that when developing an SLP numerous factors need to be considered. Langhan (1996) suggests that one adopts a contextual approach when choosing the LoLT and that one analyses the critical conditions which will ensure success for a particular school.

When developing an SLP, it is often assumed that the identified problems will be solved and that all the envisaged goals will be met. However it should be remembered that policies only create the necessary conditions for the change to take place. The SLP sets the boundaries in which the change can take place and may suggest the mechanisms that will bring about the change but it is essentially the co-operation between all stakeholders that finally determines the success or failure of the policy. Policy development is not a linear process but rather a cyclical procedure. Decisions that are made may be reversed and changes made at any time during its development.

Steps to take

- Ensure that there is representation of all stakeholders in the policy making process Alexander (1992) refers to this way of policy making as “planning from below”.
- The stakeholders need to understand from the outset that policy formation is a very lengthy process and that it should be under constant review.
- Stakeholders should have a common understanding of the norms and values of the school which are often tacit and need to be made explicit. Stakeholders should examine their personal bias and any underlying bias that may be part of the tacit SLP.
- Stakeholders should be familiar with the Constitution and any pertinent Departmental documents as well as an understanding of the terminology used in the documents.
- It is important that the school has an accurate linguistic profile of all learners and staff.

- Factors to consider are the linguistic strengths of teachers and learners, opportunities for language learning that are provided by both the formal and informal school environment and, very importantly, the socio-economic conditions of the school.
- It is important to remember the central aim of the LiEP is to facilitate learning. All decisions regarding language choice should be made in this light.

Suggestions for further research

Because this research was a small scale, qualitative participatory case study, the knowledge and understanding that has resulted is relevant to the local context and cannot be used to make general claims. However, arising from this research areas for further research have been identified.

Most importantly is the need for more in depth studies on the implementation of SLPs across a broad range of primary schools in South Africa. This information could be used to benefit schools, training institutions and departments of education. Following this are suggested areas of research that could be useful to future language planners and policy makers.

- An investigation into the implementation of SLPs in a wide variety of primary schools e.g. urban, rural, inner city and township schools that are linked to other studies. In these schools the constraints and implementational challenges as well as the success and failures of the policy could be researched.

- Many young Xhosa learners attend pre-schools in order to be able to speak and understand English before they begin 'big' school. Research into the language practices and strategies that are used by the learners and teachers at pre-school would make a worthwhile study.

- Many young Xhosa speaking learners in the current research attend after-care at the end of the formal school day. Research into the support and language development of the learners who attend after-care would be a valuable study.

- With the opening up of all schools to all races, a study of how multilingual and multicultural classrooms have affected the identity of young learners would be helpful in understanding what provision should be available in the classroom.

- An investigation of both preset and inset teacher training with regards to language issues.

- Research by Macdonald (1991), although undertaken in a very different context, suggests that the use of both languages facilitates the gradual transition to English which is seen as not additive. Further research into the gradual transition to English in different contexts is recommended.

Concluding remarks

This dissertation has examined the language practices and attitudes of a selected group of learners, parents and teachers in the Foundation Phase of schooling. It has also considered their attitudes towards the SLP. A description of language practices and attitudes was provided and this information was used to make suggestions in developing an SLP.

When developing an SLP, stakeholders need to understand that the LiEP is more than a framework around which to develop their school policy. It is a document that moulds the identities of all people and shapes the lives of young learners as they grow to become the future citizens of the country. There is a need for all people to be able to communicate effectively and for this reason it is important that learners understand and see the value of being able to speak and being literate in languages other than English.

One of the goals of language policies in schools should be to empower all learners to participate fully in society. If English remains the favoured medium of instruction it should be taught in such a way that it does not undermine African languages but rather promotes their value for both the learners and the nation. An SLP should be formulated within the framework of educational transformation in order to meet the needs of learners at a micro level and the reconstruction of society at the macro level.

One needs to bear in mind that the success of the LiEP depends to a large extent on the improvement of the National Education system. Until such time that teachers feel confident that wise decisions are being made both at national and provincial levels, little attention will be given to many of the official documents.

The findings of the research support the findings of other research that the implementation of the LiEP and the drawing up of an SLP is fraught with problems. Teachers, parents and to a lesser extent learners are unsure of what is expected of them. Teachers are unsure and have had no guidance on how to deal with multilingual classes. Most stakeholders believe that English is the most valuable LoLT.

The challenge for the former Model C school when formulating an SLP will be to harness the enthusiasm and motivation of these young emerging bilinguals to become multilingual. An added challenge will be to ensure a classroom and the wider school environment that provides learning opportunities for two diverse groups of learners. Firstly, the Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking learners should be able to acquire the desired English language skills to facilitate learning while at the same time develop their home language. Secondly, an environment for the English speaking learners needs to be provided that will enable them to become multilingual and not remain disadvantaged monolinguals. The school and the teachers need to find creative ways in which the human resources in this multilingual school are recognised and used to facilitate the development of all emerging bilinguals.

The findings of the study may be useful to school language policy makers and more especially to this school as they endeavour to hone their school policy to meet the needs of all stakeholders.

Appendix 1

THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE POLICY AND EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

White education: 1652 – 1948

During this period of history, language policy initiatives were always the responsibility of the white authorities and developed as a result of "overall economic, political and cultural strategies that were adopted by the colonial imperialist powers" (Alexander 1989:12). As the history of language policy in South Africa from the time of the early Dutch settlers to that of the Afrikaans Nationalist Government is reviewed, there is no lack of evidence that language has been used as a tool of oppression and exploitation as political powers sought hegemony.

In the earliest years of European settlement at the Cape, the indigenous people were expected to learn to speak Dutch but the officials made no effort to learn to speak the Khoi and San indigenous languages. However no official restraints were placed on the languages spoken by the indigenous people. Alexander (1989:12) records that there was never any "serious attempt" by the colonists to learn the local languages, which to them sounded like "the clucking of turkeys". At the time of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) there was no formal language policy but officials announced that Dutch should be the language of the church. A point worth noting is that the underlying reason of the drive for Dutch to be the official language of the Cape was that there was intense rivalry between the Portuguese and Dutch and the DEIC was determined to prevent Portuguese from becoming the official language. It was also decided that, for the slaves and the children of the slaves who attended the earliest schools in the Cape, Dutch would be the medium of instruction (MoI). Interestingly, these schools "were subjected to numerous and prolonged boycotts" (Alexander 1989:14). Alexander points out that resistance to linguistic chauvinism is in fact rooted in the earliest history of education in South Africa. However, in spite of school boycotts, "For slaves…a knowledge of Dutch became an essential pre-requisite for emancipation" (Luckett 1992:7).

By the end of the 17th century most of the inhabitants of the Cape Colony spoke as a lingua franca an early form of what was to become Afrikaans (Alexander 1989:15). By 1770 Dutch had become the 'dominant language' of the Cape settler society. "Afrikaans-Hollands" had developed as a result of the need to trade and communicate between "the white and brown" in South Africa (Alexander 1989:12). It should be noted that the 'new language', Afrikaans-Hollands came about as a result of the assimilation of all the different language groups to Dutch (Crawhall as cited in Luckett 1992:8).

The Second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806 saw struggles for supremacy between the English and Dutch languages. Steps were taken periodically to compel the public use of English (Alexander 1989:16). The British authorities understood the importance of the power of language and in 1822 Somerset declared that English would be the official language of the Cape Colony and as such would be used in the administration and in the provision of education. The first institutions to feel the pressure of this policy were the schools. The declaration met with opposition and an independent network of schools was established with Dutch as the MoI. Another result of Somerset's declaration was that English became the language of public discourse among whites while Dutch or Afrikaans was spoken in private homes and in church.

Meanwhile, in both the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, Dutch was still the only medium of instruction. No education was provided for Africans in these provinces (Luckett 1992:8). English only became the language of power once the British had taken over the Cape from the Dutch and had later won the Anglo-Boer war. The Dutch, however, voiced opposition to an English only policy, and policies were regularly relaxed or reversed throughout the century. There were many proclamations and commissions about language during that time. The English, like the Dutch before them, did everything in their power to ensure that their language would be the official language of South Africa.

Milner's language policy of 1903 followed a number of other policies that were formulated. His policy proclaimed English as the MoI for all white educational institutions in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The rationale behind this was to anglicise the 'conquered colonies' (Malherbe 1925:315). English was later to become the MoI in all schools and it was hoped that in this way the Afrikaner would be de-nationalised. Dutch was permitted to be used for only three hours a week and only in Bible history and Religious instruction classes. The Dutch-speaking people resisted this policy because they felt that their language was being deliberately neglected (Malherbe 1925:321). Milner's policy however failed and this was attributed to a number of factors, one of the most pertinent being that the teachers, who had previously taught Dutch, did not have sufficient command of the language to teach successfully in English. Another policy was then formulated where pupils were taught in their mother tongue until Standard 3 and then English became the MoI from Standard 4. Religious Instruction and Bible Education were again taught in the mother tongue.

The Afrikaner's dissatisfaction with Milner's new language policy led to the establishment of private schools for Afrikaans-speaking children. These schools were later called Christelike-Nationale Onderwys schools where the philosophy of Christian National Education was developed (Luckett 1992:9). These independent schools continued to exist until they came under the control of the government at the time of Smuts (Roberts 1997:32). In 1908 Hertzog, Smuts' Minister of Education, instituted dual medium bilingual policies to cater for Dutch and English. Mother tongue could be used as a medium of instruction up to Standard 4 and then three

subjects would be taught in Dutch and three in English. All pupils were to learn both English and Dutch. With the Union of South Africa in 1910, Article 137 of the Constitution recognised both Dutch and English as official languages of the country (Malherbe 1977:8).

In the 1920's both the government and schools experimented with bilingualism in an attempt to establish equity in the two official languages. Three types of secondary schools resulted from the experimentation: single medium, dual medium and parallel medium schools (Malherbe 1997). The bilingual experiment was a failure and one of the reasons that were cited was the shortage of bilingual teachers to teach in dual medium schools. Another reason was the deficient standards of L2 instruction. However Luckett (1992:10) believes the underlying element of social conflict between English and Afrikaans speakers was the root cause of the problem.

Afrikaans as a national language was only finally recognised as an official language of the union of South Africa in 1925. In the 1930's the political goals of the Afrikaner began to be realised as the church, the Broederbond, the Nationalist Party and the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultur Vereniginge were used to further their cause. In 1943 a general strike of teachers was held to protest against dual medium schools and demanding separate schools for English and Afrikaans pupils A proposed policy that encouraged separate development was formulated and this policy like all the regulations during apartheid, had the blessing of the church.

> God has willed that there shall be separate nations each with its own language, and mother-tongue education is accordingly the will of God. The parent should have no choice in the case.
>
> (Dr E Greyling cited in Malherbe, 1977:101)

Black education: 1652 - 1948

Throughout this period of history little or no reference is made to the education of the indigenous people of South Africa. Kallaway (1984:3) observes that a picture of indifference and neglect is revealed in history texts regarding black education. The

education of blacks was left almost entirely in the hands of the missionaries and churches.

Many missionaries settled in the Eastern Cape after the arrival of the British and German settlers. Much criticism is leveled at the missionaries for a number of reasons. It is felt that "the missionaries reared a tiny English knowing black middle class" and a working class that was trained to be "a docile and efficient labour force which would accept European religious and political authority and social superiority" (Alexander 1989:17). Moreover, Hartshorne (1987) claimed that the sole purpose of the mission schools was to 'christianise' and 'civilise' indigenous people. So began the 'colonizing of the mind' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1993) which was to become one of the most effective tools of colonial policy. The missionaries soon realised that for the purpose of effective evangelisation for the indigenous people it would be useful to be able to communicate in the local language. This was the start of the important role played by the missionaries in the development of orthographies in indigenous languages. It became common practice "to teach initial enliteration" in the first language and for English to be taught as a subject thereafter (Luckett 1992:8).

After the formation of a Department of Education in the Cape Colony in 1839, mission schools came under their jurisdiction and as such received state grants. Mission schools were open to all races but only a "minute fraction" of the indigenous population were interested in
attending school (Molteno 1984:49). In very difficult circumstances some of these schools continued to provide high quality education to children of all races. The mixing of races proved to be very successful but this practice was eventually legally prohibited and white parents were forced to remove their children (Cape Argus, 18 February 1909 cited in Laufer 2000).

By the beginning of the 20th century a "practical curriculum" based on the successful American model was introduced to Africans in state-aided schools. C.T. Loram, the inspector for native education in Natal at that time was responsible for bringing this idea from America. It was recommended that African languages be used as MoI throughout the primary school. However this recommendation was not accepted by the 'missionary educated English-speaking African elite' (Luckett 1992:8) and was

therefore never successfully implemented. Enliteration in the early years of schooling continued in the learners' home language and English was introduced as a subject in the first year of schooling and as a MoI as soon as possible thereafter (Luckett 1992:8). Transitional bilingualism was thus the preferred method for missionary education (Alexander 1989). The British colonial language policy at this time could be summed up by stating that it tolerated primary schooling in indigenous languages and promoted Anglocentric values and culture to a small percentage of mission elite (Alexander 1989:30). When Dutch and English received equal language status in 1910, little concern was shown for the language needs of the great majority of the population (Luckett 1992:9).

In 1922 black schooling came under the control of the Department of Native affairs and it became compulsory for the appropriate indigenous languages to be studied by black children. The MoI was in the L1 until the end of Standard 2, after which all subjects were taught in one of the official languages. The Afrikaner Nationalists like the British before them used language as a tool of power. The implications for African education that resulted from the rise in Afrikaner Nationalism began to be felt from 1938. In the Transvaal the official language of the area (in most cases this was Afrikaans) became a compulsory subject at black schools from the first year of school. The other official language was taught from Standard 3. Afrikaans became a compulsory subject in all African schools and training colleges (Luckett 1992:11). With this declaration the position of English began to be eroded in both white and black schools. Policy-making was in the hands of the people in power and as such was an entirely top down process. None of the people affected by the new language policies had any say in policy formation. However, people like Isaac Mdoda did manage to have his voice heard and exhorted Africans to become educated.

> Every African in his sphere must have himself educated to the highest degree, so as to be able to deal with the prejudiced competitor on the spot. Therefore, it is the duty of the African to develop a high state of intelligence superior to his adversary's, and use that education for the means of extricating himself from the hole in which he is placed.
>
> (Isaac A Mdoda (1943) as cited in Molteno 1984)

Education under the Nationalists: 1948 - 1977

1948 saw the National Party take control of government and further top-down language planning became their responsibility. A vision of a segregated society based on separate development of all races was introduced to preserve the hegemony of the Afrikaans speaking whites. Monolingual schools had replaced all white bilingual schools by 1957 (Boshoff as cited in Luckett 1992:11). This was a result of legislation that separated South Africans into groups on the basis of their 'mother tongue'. Language policies were set up to ensure that all South Africans learnt Afrikaans at some stage of their schooling.

The Nationalist government rightly understood that schooling and language had an important part to play in their ideal of separate development. Verwoerd, the Minister of Education, in the following quote noted the problems that were caused by oppression of the Afrikaner by the English during the first half of the century.

> If there has ever been a reason for unrest in this country it is the failure to grant people their language right…Nothing is more calculated to violate one's self esteem than the suppression of one's language rights…Language is the essence of the nation.
>
> (Verwoerd cited in Gough 1991:13)

It is ironic that someone who so well understood the implications of the suppression of one's language rights perpetuated the situation. The only difference was that he altered the role of language oppression of the Dutch speakers by the English, to oppression of the African by the Afrikaner.

The Nationalist government continued to intensify the language policy of the British colonial rule but with the substitution of Afrikaans for English as the dominant language. Where this was not possible English and Afrikaans were promoted on an equal basis in all areas of everyday life (Alexander 1989:21). Once the Afrikaner had secured his language within white citizenry he turned his attention to the black-white divide. Many of the mission schools were either closed by the government or controlled by the Afrikaner Nationalist administration. Inferior education was a means by which the apartheid government domesticated the blacks. This is seen in

Verwoerd's infamous statement that "there is no place for the Bantu in the European community above certain forms of manual labour" (Verwoerd quoted in Harrison 1981).

"Bantu Education", as it became to be known, began as a result of the Eiselin Commission of 1949. The commission recommended that there be separate education systems for the different race groups and that Bantu education should cost less and should be of a lower standard than that of Whites. The functional value of black schools was for the development and transmission of "black cultural heritage" and to provide "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Christie & Collins 1984:160). In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed and a central department controlled African education. The mother-tongue principle imposed on schools promoted ethnic division and in so-doing ensured more political power for the Nationalist government. Black schools were linguistically zoned according to the language policy of the Bantu Education Act. Missionary schools were given three options: to become self-funded, to be taken over by the state or to close down. By 1979 all remaining mission schools were under state control thus bringing all black schools under the control of the state (Luckett 1992:14).

A new language policy was introduced in 1959 whereby African languages were to be used as a MoI until Standard 6. Pupils were permitted to write the Standard 6 public exam in a vernacular language rather than in English. It needs to be noted that in 1962 in response to a questionnaire in the newly formed homeland of the Transkei, fewer that 18% of respondents wanted mother-tongue MoI after Standard 2. As a result of this, one of the first legislative acts of the new Transkei was to legalise English as the MoI from Standard 3 (Hartshorne 1992:199).

In South Africa, a new language policy for Black schools had been drawn up whereby, after Standard 6, half the subjects would be taught in English while the other half were to taught in Afrikaans. This became known as the infamous 50/50 policy. The language planners insisted on this dual medium policy because they feared that English would remain the dominant language (Luckett 1992:14). The policy was very unpopular and impractical and it is estimated that it was only implemented in 26% of

African secondary schools. This policy was seen by Africans as discriminatory and a further denial of their access to English.

The National Education Policy Act of 1967 declared that the home language of English or Afrikaans speaking children would be the MoI throughout the school child's career. This declaration took what little power was left in the hands of the white parents and their schools away from them. In black primary schools the different indigenous languages were set as the obligatory MoI at primary level. The first official language of the area was introduced as a subject in the first year and the second official language as a subject six months later. In the fifth year of schooling all tuition with the exception of Religious Education was to take place in either English or Afrikaans depending on the locality of the school.

Year after year many political organisations and teacher associations attempted to get the minister to reconsider the 50/50 language policy. The minister adopted a hard-line stance and only minor alterations and syllabus changes were made until 1974. At that time a new secretary of Bantu Education insisted that the 50/50 policy be implemented in all black secondary schools and this decision led finally to the Soweto uprising in 1976 (Luckett 1992:14). The day after the Soweto uprising the uncompromising deputy minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht said the following in parliament

> In the white area of South Africa where the government provides the buildings, subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to decide what the language dispensation should be.
>
> (Hartshorne 1992:203)

From the above statement it is clear that the rights of the majority of the people were something that was not considered. This infamous policy was later abandoned and parents and schools were subsequently permitted to decide on the MoI for their children from Standard 5 upwards. By 1978, 96% of pupils nationally were being taught through the medium of English (Hartshorne 1992:203).

The De Lange Commission of 1981 recommended a less rigid stance to language policy for the African with one of the recommendations being a gradual transition to

either English or Afrikaans. The Department of Education and training (DET) did not adopt this recommendation. The gradual transition to English was again proposed by the Threshold project in1991when their report highlighted the difficulties of the abrupt transition to English in Standard 3 (Macdonald 1991).

In South Africa, many people of European descent still regard the African languages as inferior to their own. Today these beliefs are regarded as a combination of racism and ignorance (Corson 1997:78). There is no lack of evidence of the divisiveness of previous language policies in South Africa's past. It is therefore understandable that the African National Congress (ANC) incorporated the sense of unity rather than diversity in the new LiEP (Appendix 2).

Appendix 2

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY

14 July 1997

The language in education policy documents which follow have been the subject of discussions and debate with a wide range of education stakeholders and role-players. They have also been the subject of formal public comment following their publication on 9 May 1997 (Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 17997).

Two policies are announced herewith, namely the LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY IN TERM OF SECTION 3(4)(m) OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1996 (ACT 27 OF 1996), and the NORMS AND STANDARDS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY PUBLISHED IN TERMS OF SECTION 6(1) OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL ACT, 1996. While these two policies have different objectives, they complement each other and should at all times be read together rather than separately.

Section 4.4 of the Language in Education Policy relates to the current situation. The new curriculum, which will be implemented from 1998, onwards, will necessitate new measures which will be announced in due course.

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY IN TERMS OF SECTION 3(4)(m) OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1996 (ACT 27 OR 1996)

PREAMBLE

This Language-in-Education Policy Document should be seen as part of a continuous process by which policy for language in education is being developed as part of a national language plan encompassing all sectors of society, including the deaf community. As such, it operates within the following paradigm:

1. **In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognizes that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and respect for all languages used in the country, including South African sign language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution.**
2. **The inherited language-in-education policy in South Africa has been fraught with tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. A number of these discriminatory policies have affected either the access of the learners to the education system or their success within it.**
3. **The new language in education policy is conceived of as an integral and necessary aspect of the new government's strategy of building a non-racial nation in South Africa. It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged.**
4. **This approach is in line with the fact that both societal and individual multilingualism are the global norm today, especially on the African continent. As such, it assumes that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in our society. That is to say, being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African. It is constructed also to counter any particularistic ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding.**
5. **A wide spectrum of opinions exists as to the locally viable approaches towards multilingual education, ranging from arguments in favour of the cognitive benefits and cost-effectiveness of teaching through one medium (home language) and learning additional language(s) as subjects to those drawing on comparative international experience demonstrating that, under appropriate conditions, most learners benefit cognitively and emotionally from the type of structured bilingual education found in dual-medium (also known as two-way immersion) programmes. Whichever route is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). Hence, the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy. With regard to the delivery system, policy will progressively be guided by the results of comparative research, both locally and internationally.**
6. **The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual. This right has, however, to be exercised within the**

overall framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism.

This paradigm also presupposes a more fluid relationship between languages and culture than is generally understood in the Eurocentric model which we have inherited in South Africa. It accepts *a priori* that there is no contradiction in a multiracial society between a core of common cultural traits, beliefs, practices, etc., and particular sectional or communal cultures. Indeed, the relationship between the two can and should be mutually reinforcing and, if properly managed, should give rise to and sustain genuine respect for the variability of the communities that constitute our emerging nation.

AIMS

The main aims of the Ministry of Education's policy for language in education are :

1. **to promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;**
2. **to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;**
3. **to promote and develop all the official languages;**
4. **to support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication;**
5. **to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching;**
6. **to develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.**

POLICY : LANGUAGES AS SUBJECTS

All learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2.

THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

The parent exercises the minor learner's language rights on behalf of the minor learner. Learners who come of age, are hereafter referred to as the learner, which concept will include also the parent in the case of minor learners.

The learner must choose the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school.

Where a school uses the language of learning and teaching chosen by the learner, and where there is a place available in the relevant grade, the school must admit the learner.

Where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language, and

section 5.3.2 must apply. The provincial education department must make copies of the request available to all schools in the relevant school district.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE SCHOOL

Subject to any law dealing with language in education and the Constitutional rights of learners, in determining the language policy of the school, the governing body must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects, and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes, or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education department. (This does not apply to learners who are seriously challenged with regard to language development, intellectual development, as determined by the provincial department of education.)

Where there are less than 40 requests in Grades 1 to 6, or less than 35 requests in Grades 7 to 12 for instruction in a language in a given grade not already offered by a school in a particular school district, the head of the provincial department of education will determine how the needs of those learners will be met, taking into account:

1. **the duty of the state and the right of the learners in terms of the Constitution, including**
2. **the need to achieve equity**
3. **the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices,**
4. **practicability, and**
5. **the advice of the governing bodies and principals of the public schools concerned.**

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

The provincial education department must keep a register of requests by learners for teaching in a language medium which cannot be accommodated by schools.

In the case of a new school. The governing body of the school in consultation with the relevant provincial authority determines the language policy of the new school in accordance with the regulations promulgated in terms of section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996.

It is reasonably practicable to provide education in a particular language of learning and teaching if at least 40 in Grades 1 to 6 or 35 in Grades 7 to 12 are learners in a particular grade request it in a particular school.

The provincial department must explore ways and means of sharing scarce human resources. It must also explore ways and means of providing alternative language maintenance programmes in schools and or school districts which cannot be provided with and or offer additional languages of teaching in the home language(s) of learners.

FURTHER STEPS

Any interested learner, or governing body that is dissatisfied with any decision by the head of the provincial department of education, may appeal to the MEC within a period of 60 days.

Any interested learner, or governing body that is dissatisfied with any decision by the MEC, may approach the Pan South African Language Board to give advice on the constitutionality and/or legality of the decision taken, or may dispute the MEC's decision by referring the matter to the Arbitration Foundation of South Africa.

A dispute referred to the Arbitration Foundation of South Africa must be finally resolved in accordance with the Rules of the Arbitration Foundation of Southern Africa by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the Foundation.

.

Appendix 3

EMIS NUMBER	2	0	0	2	1	1				

2.5 Learners according to home language: MALE AND FEMALE

	Afrikaans	English	IsiNdebele	SiSwali	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	SeSotho	SePedi	SeTswana	TshVenda	XiTsonga	Other	Total
Pre-prim.													
GrR(Gr 0)													
Gr 1	6	79			40								125
Gr 2	13	90			27								130
Gr 3	12	91			27	1							131
Gr 4	13	71		1	31								116
Gr 5	10	74			33	3						1	121
Gr 6	12	69			21							1	103
Gr 7	12	64			23								99
Gr 8													
Gr 9													
Gr 10													
Gr11													
Gr 12													
Special													
Post Matric													
Total	78	538		1	202	4						2	825

Preprimary = classes below Grade R
Special = full time classes for children with special learning needs (include full-time
Remedial and bridging classes)
Post Matric = any other classes offered after matric

- **THE TOTAL FROM THIS TABLE SHOULD EQUAL THE TOTAL ENROLMENT**

Appendix 4

SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT

Dear Principal

In the past the language policy for our schools was dictated by the government. Our new government gives the School Governing body (SBG) the right to choose a suitable language policy for their school community. This is something new.

We are part of a research team to help schools understand and develop their own school policies. The members of our team are from Fort Hare and Rhodes University. We have the approval of the Eastern Cape Department of Education.

We would like you to help us by completing this questionnaire. It should take you about ten minutes. The questionnaire is presented in three languages. You can answer in Xhosa, English or Afrikaans, whichever you prefer.

QUESTIONS

1a) A new language in education policy, which empowers SGB's to decide on a school's

language(s) of learning was introduced in 1997. Have you ever heard about this new policy?

☒ **Yes** ☐ **No**

1b) If you already know about the policy, where did you hear or read about it?

Tick the boxes that apply. You can tick more than one box.

- ☐ **the media (TV, radio, newspapers etc.)**
- ☐ **workshops**
- ☒ **from departmental officials**
- ☒ **departmental circulars**
- ☐ **information leaflets**
- ☒ **policy documents**
- ☐ **formal courses (e.g. FDE, HDE, BEd etc.)**

☐ **from your teachers union meetings**

☐ **other - *please specify*_____**

2a) Has the new language policy been discussed at your school?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

2b) If you answered yes, who was the policy discussed by?

Tick the boxes that apply to you. You can tick more than one box.

☒ **staff**

☐ **learners**

☒ **parents**

☒ **the SGB**

☐ **teachers union**

3a) Has your school decided on a new language policy yet?

☒ **YES** ☐ **NO**

If you answered yes, please also answer b, c and d.

b) When did your school decide on a language policy? ***1999***

c) How did your school make these decisions?

☒ **the principal decided**

☒ **the staff voted** } **together**

☐ **the staff and learners voted**

☐ **the SGB voted**

☐ **parents decided in a meeting**

☐ **other - *please specify*_____**

d) Please describe your policy or if it is written, attach a copy.

Due to the drop in the number of Afrikaans-speaking pupils enrolling at E.C.P.S. we shall be

using English as our medium of tuition and English will be taught on first language level;

<u>Afrikaans is taught as a second language and Xhosa as a third language</u>.

4) What Language(s) or combination of languages are used in the following situations in your

school. Please write down the language or languages (e.g. English only; Xhosa mixed with

English; English mixed with Xhosa; Afrikaans mixed with English; English mixed with

Afrikaans etc.

Assembly	**English**
Staff meetings	**English and Afrikaans**
Informally in the staff room	**English and Afrikaans**
Parent's meetings	**English and Afrikaans**
Sports	***English***
In the playground (between learners)	**English/Afrikaans/Xhosa**
In the playground (between teachers and learners)	***English/Afrikaans/Xhosa***
Extramural activities e.g. Choir	***English***
Other – please specify	

5a) What languages are taught as subjects in your school?

Grade	*English*	*Afrikaans*	*Xhosa*	
Pre-primary				
Grade 1	***x***	***x***	***x***	
Grade 2	***x***	***x***	***x***	
Grade 3	***x***	***x***	***x***	
Grade 4	***x***	***x***	***x***	
Grade 5	***x***	***x***	***x***	
Grade 6	***x***	***x***	***x***	

Grade 7	***x***	***x***	***x***	

5b) What languages are used for learning and teaching at your school?

Grades	
Pre-primary	
Grade 1	**English**
Grade 2	***English***
Grade 3	***English***
Grade 4	***English***
Grade 5	***English***
Grade 6	***English / Afrikaans***
Grade 7	***English / Afrikaans***

6) What other questions or comments do you have on the new language policy?

If each selects own second or third languages, what happens to pupils who move to provinces

that do not have Xhosa (for example) as their second otr third language?

Thank you very much for answering this questionnaire. Please also indicate the name of your

school and your district.

School _____ **District** ***East London***

Please return this form as soon as possible by:

- **posting it in the stamped and addressed envelope supplied to you**
- **dropping it off at the district office**
- **faxing it to Sarah Murray at (046) 6223038**
- **or giving it back to the person who gave it to you**

SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT
Rhodes and Fort Hare Universities, in collaboration with Schools

ETHICAL STATEMENT/CONTRACT

We wish to confirm our shared understanding and agreement with regard to our research project on schools' language policy. Our research entails working with the school community – staff, learners and parents – to:

- **establish the current language practices in your school**
- **share information of legislative requirements and policy options with regard to schools' language policy**
- **develop, in collaboration with the School Governing Body, a language policy**
- **share expertise of team members and stakeholders in the school in order to make this research possible**
- **document and evaluate the research process and outcomes**

We will write a research report for the NRF, which funded the project. We undertake to provide your school community with a copy of the report for your verification and for your own record. In carrying out the research we promise to acknowledge the help of those who participate, and also to respect their confidentiality. You may withdraw from the project at any point should you feel that we are not honoring the terms of this agreement.

Signatures of the team members :

CONTRACT

We,_____(principal of _____)

and _____ (chair of the School Governing Body of

_____) agree to participate and to allow any other interested person in the school community to participate in this research project on schools' language policy. We agree that the researchers may observe school activities, conduct interviews and surveys with the teachers, learners and parents.

Signatures :

Principal:_____
Date:_____

Signatures :

Principal:_____
Date:_____

Chair of the School Governing Body: _____Date: _____

Appendix 6

1

SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT

GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE IN THE SCHOOL AND HOME

- To be completed by TEACHERS : Sections A to G
- To be completed by PARENTS & LEARNERS: Section H

[Please make sufficient copies of this section, which is printed separately on the last page, to be sent home to parents for completion.]

Thank you so much for participating in this project

TEACHER definition Code : ***R. 7011***

(Please choose your own - you may use a number, initials, pseudonym etc. This is in case we need to get back to you for any clarifications)

Class teacher for Grade Level: ***Grade 1***

SECTION A: Teacher's profile

1. Which classes do you teach? Please state grade level and learning areas.

Grade 1. All learning areas.

2. What languages do your students speak? [If you are not sure, could you do a quick survey?]

Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.

3. What language(s) do you use as a medium of instruction (MOI)/language of learning and teaching (LOLT), and for which classes?

English

4. What is your home/ first language? ***Afrikaans***
5. What other languages do you know/ speak?

English

6. Are you in any way involved in learning any other languages? If so, please explain?

No

SECTION B: Resources and Classroom Environment

1. What language(s) are reflected in the materials that you use to support your every day lessons? Please elaborate briefly.

English

2. What language(s) are reflected in the charts and teaching materials that are used for displays in your classroom?

English

3. If you keep magazines in your classroom, what variety is represented and what languages do they use? [Can you give examples of these?]

N/A

4. If you have a book corner, what languages are evident in the books?

English

5. If you have a school library, what languages are represented in the books there? [Can you give some sense of the proportions for different languages?] *English, Afrikaans*

6. Have your textbooks changed over the past few years? If so, can you explain what some of the considerations have been in making the changes?

N/A for Grade 1

7. Are there any differences in language in textbooks you now use? How so?

N/A

8. If you use work cards, have you altered these in any way to meet learners' needs? If so, can you explain why and how?

Yes. The needs of the children (e.g. reading level) were considered.

9. Has language been a consideration in any way? If so, please explain.

No

10. Please briefly describe your seating arrangement in your classroom, and the reasons you have chosen this arrangement?

Groups of 5-6 learners for group work.

SECTION C: Teacher to learner Language

1. How do you experience teaching in the learning and teaching (medium of instruction) in you school?

No problem

2. In formal classroom teaching, do you use any other languages that you know, other than the LOLT/MOI, to help learners understand difficult concepts? Please explain.

Not as a rule. Sometimes to explain a concept

3. In the informal situation, before or after school, do you use language(s) other than the LOLT/MOI? Please explain.

No

4. In which language(s) are teaching/ learning instructions given in your classroom?

English

1

5. Do you ever find it necessary to code-switch (switch to another language) in your lessons? If so, when does this occur, and why?

Only in the beginning of the year with children being taught in their second language

6. Are there any rules concerning the learners' use of language(s) in your classroom? If so, please explain.

Yes. English only.

7. Is there any language support for learners who are not proficient in the LOLT/MOI. Please explain.

Speech lessons

8. What techniques and strategies do you use to ensure that learners understand what you are teaching?

Use of all senses.

Step-by-step learning

9. It is a fact that racial and linguistic backgrounds of learners in many schools have changed. How has this affected you as a teacher?

Yes. Complicates planning of lesson because we accommodate them

5

SECTION D: Learner to Learner Language

1. What language(s) do the learners use during a lesson when answering or asking each other questions? ***English***

(a) During groupwork for (i) discussion ***English***

(ii) report back ***English***

2. What language(s) are used when learners are explaining a concept to each other? ***English***

3. What language(s) do learners use at break time in the playground?

English, Afrikaans, Xhosa

4. Are there restrictions as to what language is spoken in the playground? Please Explain.

No

5. What language(s) do the learners use during sporting or cultural activities? (Please indicate language and kind of activity, e.g. rugby, netball, choir etc.)

Mostly English. Sometimes they revert to their mother tongue

6. What language(s) do learners use during assembly if they have to make any announcements?

English

SECTION E: Learner to Teacher Language

134

1. **What language(s) are used when a learner is answering or asking a teacher during a lesson?**

English

6

2. **What language(s) are used by learners when they ask a teacher for clarification while doing a task?**

English

3. **What language(s) do the learners use to communicate with the teacher during sporting or cultural activities. [Please state type of activity.]**

English

SECTION F: Learners to Other Adults [secretaries, cleaning staff. tuckshop helpers etc.]

1. **What language(s) are used by the learners when buying at the tuckshop?**

English

2. **What language(s) do they use when paying fees or making requests to the secretary?** ***English***
3. **What languages do the learners use when communicating with the groundsmen or cleaning staff?**

English / Xhosa

SECTION G: Teacher to Parent/ Parent to Teacher

1. **What language(s) are used during parent-teacher interviews?**

English

2. **What language(s) are used in letters, circulars and responses that are sent to parents?**

English

7

3. **What language(s) are used when parents and teachers communicate over the telephone?**

English

4. Are there any areas of language teaching that you feel the researchers need to consider?

Appendix 7

SECTION H: Home language practices (to be completed by the parents)

1. What is the home language? *Xhosa*

2. What other languages are spoken in the home? *English*

3. What languages do you use to help your child/ren with homework?

English & Xhosa

4. What languages are used for social activities?

ACTIVITY	LANGUAGE
Church/Prayer	***Xhosa & English***
Traditional events : e.g.	

Weddings **Funerals** **Initiation ceremonies** **other?**	***Xhosa*** ***Xhosa*** ***Xhosa***
Relaxation times (e.g. playing games)	***Xhosa & English***
Mealtimes	***Xhosa***
Sporting activities	***Xhosa & English***
Any other	

5. What language(s) are preferred when

(a) watching TV ***English***

(b) listening to the radio ***Xhosa***

(c) reading: newspapers ***English***
135

magazines ***English***

books ***English***

SECTION A: CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Please tape 30 minutes of one of your lessons. After the lesson, listen to the tape. Place an X (Xhosa), an E (English), or an A (Afrikaans) for each 'utterance'. Place it opposite the description which fits the utterance. If the utterance is longer than 2 or 3 sentences, place a circle round the X, the A or the E.

THE TEACHER: Language relating to the lesson	TOTALS	X	A	E
Input (Giving new knowledge)				" " " " "
Reads aloud				
Explains concept				"

Writes on board				"
Gives instructions				""
Drills learners				
Encourages learners to participate				""
Facilitates discussion				
Answers learners' questions				""
Accepts learners' answers				""
Repeats learners' answers				
Builds on learners' answers				""
Rejects learners' answers (with criticism)				
Rejects learners' answers (no criticism)				
Corrects learners' answers (with criticism)				
Corrects learners' answers (no criticism)				"'
Praises learners				""
Interrupts learners				
THE TEACHER: Informal language (not related to the lesson)				
Greetings				'
Classroom management				"
Exclamations				
Jokes				"
Tells personal information/ stories				
Reprimands or criticizes learner				""

THE LEARNERS: Language relating to the lesson	TOTALS	X	A	E
Reads				'
Writes				'''''
Makes a presentation to the class				
Makes a spontaneous comment				
Responds to repetitive drills				
Attracts teacher's attention				'''''
Asks a question				'''''' ''''
Responds to teacher's question				'''
Discusses with teacher				''''
Disagrees with teacher				
Repeats what the teacher said				
Group discussion				
Peer discussion				'''''''
THE LEARNERS: Informal language (not related to the lesson)				
Greetings				'
Remarks to other learners/ teacher				'
Attracts teacher's attention				'''
Curries favour with teacher				'''''
Chats with other learners		''	'	'''''
Changes topic away from lesson				'

Appendix 9

SUMMARY OF OBSERVATION AT ECPS

On Wednesday 20 September I visited 7 classes of the foundation phase at ECPS. The co-ordinator had arranged a variety of lessons and all three grades. I spent half an hour in each class. An example of the observation schedule had been left with the principal on a previous visit.

- **All lessons, with the exception of the Xhosa lesson and the two Afrikaans lessons, were in English. A great deal of English was spoken during the Afrikaans lessons.**
- **Both the formal language relating to the lesson and the informal language of all lessons was predominantly in English.**
- **The only exception was a Grade 2 teacher working with a Maths group on the floor. She speaks Xhosa fluently and I heard her code switching as a form of encouragement on a few occasions.**
- **I did not observe any other group work lessons so I was unable to ascertain whether Xhosa was spoken amongst the learners.**
- **In most cases although learners were seated in groups they worked individually and only occasionally passed the odd remark in English.**
- **The only evidence of Afrikaans charts or posters were in the Grade 3 class in the form of klanke charts and a poem. I saw no Xhosa language support material in the learners designated classrooms. However, in the designated classroom for Xhosa teaching, the walls had a variety of freezes, charts and posters and other language support material.**
- **I observed a trilingual lesson in Grade 3. The Xhosa learners were teaching the class teacher and the other learners, Xhosa words. They were having fun and learning in this natural environment.**
- **The highlight of the day was the Xhosa lesson. A Xhosa L1 teacher takes a class at a time and the whole lesson is taught through the medium of Xhosa. They sang Happy Birthday and asked permission to leave the room in Xhosa.**
- **The learners are seated in diverse language groups with at least one L1 Xhosa speaking learner as the leader.**

Appendix 10

Transition questions
(Picture of child playing with a pet)
QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUPS FOR LANGUAGE PROJECT
Foundation Phase Learners:

Opening questions
Round robin factual questions to 'identify' participants and their preferred language.

Introductory questions
Who of you speak another language?
With whom do you speak in another language?
Tell me how you learnt that language?
Are you proud to speak another language?
What language does the pet understand?
Explain English dogs and Xhosa dogs.

Read from a selection of books in different languages. Hold up a series of 'feeling cards' and ask the learners to indicate how they felt/responded emotionally to the different languages.

Hand out the books of various languages and get children to 'read' the unfamiliar text. Once again with the cards, how do you feel if you do not understand the text?

If you wanted to understand the text, what could you do to make sense of the text?

Key questions
If there are lessons or books that you do not understand in school what do you do?
How do you feel when you do not understand?

(Children will divide themselves into groups and do a jig saw puzzle)
Why did you choose the partners that you did?
What language did you speak when you did the puzzle?

Tell ne about the language that is used at home?
When watching TV at home what programmes do you watch?

I understand that many of you prefer to read books in English. Why do you choose English books in preference to Xhosa and Afrikaans books?

If you could choose what language you would like to learn at school what would you choose?
Why would you choose those languages?
What are the most important languages in South Africa? Why?

Ending questions Summary questions
Appendix 11

DAMIAN: In pre-school.
MARGIE: Did you go to an English pre-school?
DAMIAN: Yes. They only spoke English at that pre-school?
MARGIE: Were you happy at that pre-school?
DAMIAN: Yes.
MARGIE; From the beginning?
DAMIAN: Yes
MARGIE: You weren't feeling sad, why does nobody speak Afrikaans at this pre-school?
DAMIAN: No.
MARGIE: Sally tell me, a little bit about your language?
SALLY: I couldn't speak English. My Dad's Afrikaans, his Mum's Afrikaans and his Father's Afrikaans. My Mum is English, and her Mum and Dad are Afrikaans. It is only me and my Mom that speak English, the rest of my family speak Afrikaans.
MARGIE: So when you came to Gonubie, you were quite happy, you could speak English and you weren't feeling strange?
SALLY: Yes.
CANDICE: When I came to school I was also Afrikaans, and I went English. Before I came to school, I used to speak Afrikaans more than English When 1 started speaking English, I never quite knew what I would have to say. People helped me, and then I used to start feeling much better.
MARGIE: Who were the people that helped you?
CANDICE: Teachers and my family.
MARGIE: When the teachers helped you, you didn't feel nervous, ooh I can't say everything, because the teachers are going to he cross with me, or my teachers are going to laugh at me.
CAN DICE: No, I used to tell them what I thought, and then they used to help me by telling me the words that were wrong.
MARGIE: That is the only way that we can learn. When I was speaking Xhosa, and the children said, ooh those words are all mixed up, it doesn't matter, because that's the only way you learn, is by speaking.
CHRISTINE: My Mom is Afrikaans, and I was sort of born English and Afrikaans. My real Dad is English, and my Step dad is Afrikaans. My Granny and Grandpa are Afrikaans. I have combined languages altogether. I started learning when I was three. I was born Afrikaans and English, but I knew English more than Afrikaans. My Mum and Dad then got divorced, and she got married again, and my Step Dad is Afrikaans, and his Mum and Dad are German.
MARGIE: Does anyone speak German at home?
CHRISTINE: Not really, but he knows German.
MARGIE: most of the children said "I was born Fnglish. or I was born Afrikaans," I am going to ask all of you what do you think you were born? Damian what were you born?
DAMIAN: English.
MARGIE: Alright, but did you speak Afrikaans at home?
DAMIAN: No, only English at home.
MARGIE: Renata what were you born darling?
RENATA: Afrikaans.
ZIKHONA: Xhosa
MARAKATINKA: Romanian.
MARGIE: Marakatinka was born Romanian, I'm coming back to her.

CRESANTIA: English.
MARGIE: You were born English, but you speak good Afrikaans, and you speak Xhosa as well?
CRESANTIA: Yes.
MARGIE: OK I'm coming back to you.
CINTA: Born Afrikaans.

Appendix 12

DATA CATEGORIZATION

A	5-6	Feelings / Attitudes
B	7	Sayings (splashing)
C	8	Language support in school
D	9	Age I standard of acquiring a L2
E	10	Pre school
F	12	Language support at home and language spoken in the home
Fi	14	After care
G	15	Multilingualism
Gi	17	Memories of growing up mono/bilingual
Gii	19	Dual medium schools
H	20	Literature preferences
J	22	Perception of books and learning a language
Ji	24	Perceptions of language learning
K	25	Choice of friends/ working partners in class
L	26	Choice of friends in the playground
M	27	Language in class
Mi	29	Language rules on the classroom
N	30	Language in the playground
0	32	Prohibited language
P	33	Seating arrangements
Q	34	Language of the mind
R	35	Rejection of LI
S	36	The most importance language in South Africa
T	**38**	**Perceptions of languages spoken by different races**

Appendix 13

ENROLMENT AS FROM 1978

YEAR	AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	TOTAL
1966	3	88	91
1978	66	264	330
1979	64	301	365
1980	68	298	366
1981	69	321	390
1982	85	361	436
1983	82	373	455
1984	93	386	479
1985	93	406	499
1986	94	426	520
1987	113	427	540
1988	119	436	555
1989	125	435	560
1990	118	411	529
1991	116	383	499
1992	129	421	550
1993	150	436	586
1994	173	514	687
1995	183	567	750
1996	149	635	784
1997	102	705	807
1998	62	767	829
1999	37	778	815

2000	**18**	**805**	**823**
2001	**---**	**817**	**817**

Appendix 14

SUMMARY OF LANGUAGE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Some Language statistics

The questionnaire that was filled in by parents and teachers yielded the following findings:

1. Learner Home Language patterns:
   452 families returned the questionnaires indicating the following home language **emphases:**

   - ENGLISH **– 291 mainly (169 monolingual emphasis, 93 E/A bilingual, 29 E/Other bilingual)**

     Of the bilinguals in this group, English was the dominant language used for homework, social activities, traditional events, relaxation, sport, for media consumption – ranged from 5-20% who used languages other than English for the above activities.

   - **XHOSA** – 112 home language (would the emphasis here be bilingual or **multi-lingual?)**

     English is the dominant other language used in the home in this group.
     While approximately 3/3 used English for homework and reading, about ½ record that Xhosa is used for traditional events and mealtimes.

   - AFRIKAANS **- 35**

     English is dominant other language, but mostly Afrikaans used for mealtimes, church and traditional events. Other activities even spread of bilingual language use.

   - **BILINGUAL** E/A – 7

   - Other home language **– 7{2 Zulu; 2 Portuguese; 1 Setswana; 1 Romanian; 1 Greek.**

     English is other language, and most use English for most other activities including homework (4/7 – interesting that 3 use home language to help with homework), media, church (4/7)

{PIE CHART OF THIS TO SHOW PERCENTAGES/PROPORTIONS}

2. Teacher language statistics:

   Total number of teachers : 31

   Home language
   - **25 English home language**
   - **5 Afrikaans home language**
   - **1 Xhosa home language**

   Bilingual/Multilingual:

- **22 E/A bilingual**
- **1 E/X bilingual**
- **7 E/A/X multilingual**
- **1 E/A/German multilingual**

Appendix 15

RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE POLICY FOR ECPS

WEDNESDAY 25 APRIL 2001

After Margie Brookes had reported back on her findings at ECPS, a 'brainstorm' came up with the following ways in which the teachers could promote multi-lingualism in our school.

GREAT IDEAS

1. Magazines and 'fun' books in all 3 languages be made available in the classrooms for children to use.
2. Children could bring their own books (irrespective of language) to share.
3. Notices in foyer and in classrooms to be written in 3 languages (English, Afrikaans and Xhosa). This will increase self-esteem of minority groups.
4. Use 'Cultural Evening' as a fund-raising function. Have traditional Portuguese, Greek, Xhosa, Afrikaans, etc foods on sale, as well as story-telling, dances or other cultural activities. Invite parents/families to contribute.
5. Afrikaans & Xhosa paragraphs in the school newsletter that goes to parents.
6. Introduce a Xhosa and Afrikaans assembly.
7. Sing Afrikaans & Xhosa hymns and other songs, as well as English.
8. Seating arrangements in the classroom should vary to include same-language groups as well as multi-language groups.
9. Xhosa-speaking parents need to support their own children culturally, so they know that their traditions are still important.
10. Teachers need to encourage all children to maintain their own cultures.
11. CLS programme could introduce Xhosa cultural activities/stories.
12. Xhosa-speakers need to be extended in the Xhosa lessons.
13. Encourage children to take out Afrikaans & Xhosa library books.

References

Ackroyd, S. & Hughes, J.(1992). Data collection in context. (2nd ed.). London: Longman.

Ada, A.F. (1995). Creative education for bilingual teachers. In Garcia, O. & Baker, C. (Eds.). Policy and practice in bilingual education (pp. 237 – 244). Multilingual Matters: Clevedon.

Adendorff, R. (1992). Code-switching among Zulu-speaking teachers and their pupils: its functions and implications for teacher education. In J. Boughey (Ed.). Visions and Realities: Proceedings of the 11th Annual SAALA Conference (pp. 23 – 42). University of Cape Town.

Agnihotri, R.K. (1995). Multilingualism is a classroom resource. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A.,& Puddlemann, P. (Eds.). Multilingual education for South Africa (pp. 3 -7). Isando: Heinemann.

Alexander, N. (1989). Language policy and national unity in South Africa / Azania. Cape Town: Buchu books.

Alexander, N. (1990). Education and the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. Braamfontein: Skotaville publishers.

Alexander, N. (1992). Language planning from below. In R.K. Herbert (Ed.). Language and Society in Africa (pp.143 -150). Braamfontein: Witwatersrand University Press.

Alexander, N. (1995a). Core culture and core curriculum in South Africa. In Jackson, S. & Solis, J. (Eds.). Beyond comfort zones in multiculturalism: confronting the politics of privilege. Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

Alexander, N. (1995b). Multiculturalism for empowerment. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.). Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.37-41). Isando: Heinemann.

Ashworth, E. (1988). Language policy in the primary school: Content and management. Kent: Croom Helm.

Auerbach, E.R. (1993). Re-examining English Only in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly*. 29 (1), 9-32.

Bialystok, E. (1994). Representation and ways of knowing: Three issues in second language acquisition. In: Ellis, N.C. (Ed.). Implicit and explicit learning of languages (pp.549-570). London: Academic Press.

Baker, C. (1988). Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (1993). Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2000). A parents' and teachers' guide to bilingualism (2nd ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bassey, M. (1995). Creating education through research. Newark: Kirklington Moor Press.

Bassey, M. (1999). Case study research in educational settings. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Berg, B. (1998). Qualitive researh methods for the social sciences. (3rd ed.). Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon.

Bloch, C. (1997). Literacy in the early years: Teaching and learning in multilingual early childhood classrooms. PRAESA Occasional papers 1. Cape Town: Project for the study of an alternative Education in South Africa.

Bloch, C. and Edwards, V. (1998). Young children's literacy in multilingual classrooms: comparing developments in South Africa and the United Kingdom. *SARE with ERP*. (4),11-23.

Bot, M. (1993). Language use in schools: a survey of teachers' opinions. *Edusource Data News*, (3), 1-9.

Brown, D. (1998). Educational Policy and the choice of language in linguistically complex South African schools. Durban: Educational Policy Unit (Natal).

Bullock Report (1975). A language for life. Department of Education and Science. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Christie, P. & Collins, C. (1984). Bantu education: An apartheid ideology and labour production. In Kallaway, P. (Ed.). Apartheid and Education (5th ed.)(pp.160-183). Braamfontein Press: Ravan Press.

Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (1994). Research Methods in Education (4th ed.). London: Routledge.

Cooper, R.L. (1989). Language planning and social change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corson, D. (1993). Language, minority education and gender. Linking social justice and power. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Corson, D. (1997). Language policies for indigenous people. In Wodak, R. & Corson, D. (Eds.). Encyclopaedia of Language Education. Volume 1. Language policy and political issues in education. (pp.77 - 88). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic publishers.

Cummins, J. (1986). Bilingualism in education: Aspects of theory reaserach and practice. London: Longman.

de Klerk, G. (1995a). Slaves to English. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.). Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.8-14). Isando: Heinemann.

de Klerk, G. (1995b). Bilingualism, the devil and the big wide world. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.). Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.53-62). Isando: Heinemann.

De Klerk, V. & Bosch, B. (1994). Language attitudes in the Eastern Cape; a trilingual survey. *South African Tydskrif Tallk,* 12,(2).

Denzin, N.K. (1970). The research act of sociology: a theoretical introduction to sociological mwthods. London: Butterworths.

Department of Education (1996). The South African schools act, Act 84 of 1996. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Education (1997). Language-in-Education Policy. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Education (1998). Language-in-Education Implementation Plan. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Desai, Z. (1999). Enabling policies, disabling practices. *Per Linguam,* 15(1), 42-53.

Dison, A. (1998). Crossing boundaries: Facilitating conceptual development in relation to culture in an EAP course. Unpublished MA (ESL) thesis, Rhodes University: Grahamstown.

Dolby, N. (2000). Changing selves: Multicultural education and the challenge of new identities. *Teachers College Record,* 102(5), 898-912.

Eastman, C.M. (1992). Sociolinguistics in Africa: Language planning. In Herbert, R.K. (Ed.). Language and Society in Africa (pp. 95-115). Braamfontein: Witwatersrand University Press.

Edwards, V.(1998). The power of Babel Teaching and learning in multilingual classrooms. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham books.

ELTIC (1997). Report on ELTIC's pilot project Puo Dikolong: Capacity building for language policy management in schools. ELTIC and Gauteng Department of Education.

Fettes, M. (1997). Language planning and education. In Wodak, R. & Corson, D.(Eds.). Encyclopaedia of Language Education. Volume 1. Language policy and political issues in education (pp.13-22). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic publishers.

Fine, G.A. & Sandstrom, K.L. (1988). Knowing children: Participant observation with minors. Qualitative research methods. Beverly Hills: SAGE.

Fishman, J. (1974). Advances in language planning. Hague: Mouton.

Frederikse, J. (1992). All schools for all children. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Gaganakis, M. (1992). Language and ethnic group relation in non-racial schools. *The English Academy Review,* 9, 46 –55.

Garson P. (1999). Combating racism is the central challenge in integrating schools. In Hofmeyer, J. and Perold, H. (Eds.) Education Africa forum (pp. 28 – 33). Pinegowrie: Education Africa.

Gillham, B. (2000). Case study research methods. London: Continuum.

Gough, D. (1991). Medium of Instruction in South Africa: An historical overview. Working paper to NEPI.

Graue M.E. & Walsh, D.J. (1994). Children in context: Interpreting the here and now of children's lives. In Hatch, J.A. (Ed.) Qualitative research in early childhood settings (pp. 137 – 154). Westport: Praeger publishers.

Greig, A. & Taylor, J. (1999). Doing research with children. London: SAGE.

Guba, E.G. (1990). The paradigm dialogue. Newbury Park, California: SAGE.

Hammersley, M. (1987). 'Ethnography and the cumulative development of theory'. *British Educational Research Journal.* 13(3), 167 –171.

Harrison, D. (1981). The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective. Johannesburg: Macmillan.

Hartshorne, K. (1987). Language Policy in African Education in South Africa, 1919 –1985. UCT. SAALA.

Hartshorne, K. (1992). Crisis and challenge. Cape Town: Oxford University Press

Heine, B. (1992). Language policies in Africa. In Herbert, R.K. (Ed.). Language and Society in Africa (pp.23-36). Braamfontein: Witwatersrand University Press.

Herriman, M. & Burnaby, B. (Eds.) (1996). Language policies in English dominant countries. Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A., & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) (1995). Multilingual education for South Africa Isando: Heinemann.

Heugh, K. (1995a). From unequal education to the real thing. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A., & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.42-52). Isando: Heinemann.

Heugh, K. (1995b). Towards implementing multilingual education in South Africa. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A., & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.91-99). Isando: Heinemann.

Hoffmann, C. (1991). An introduction to bilingualism. London: Longman.

James, W., Auerbach, F., Desai, Z., Giliomee, H., Jordan, P., Krog, A., Kulayi, T., Lehoko, K., Leibowitz, B. & Tlakula, P. (2000). Values, education and democracy. Report of the working group on values in education. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Kallaway, P. (1984) Apartheid and Education (5th ed.). Braamfontein Press: Ravan Press.

Krashen. S. (1982). Principles and practice in second language acquisition. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kreuger, R.A. (1994). Focus groups: a practical guide for applied research (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Langhan, D.P. (1993). The textbook as a source of difficulty in teaching and learning. Pretoria: HSRC.

Langhan, D.P. (1996). The roles of language learning across the curriculum. *ELTIC Reporter*, 20(2), 13-16.

Laufer, M. (2000). The multilingual challenge. Cape Town : Via Afrika.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). Naturalistic Inquiry. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Luckett, K (1992). 'National Additive Bilingualism' Report form the medium of instruction sub-group to the language policy research group. Working Paper: National education policy investigation (NEPI).

Luckett, K. (1993). "National Additive Bilingualism": towards a formulation of language plan for South African schools. *South African Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 2(1), 38-60.

Luckett, K. (1995). National additive bilingualism: towards formulating a language plan for South African education. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A., & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education in South Africa (pp. 73-78). Isando: Heinemann.

Macdonald, C. (1991). Eager to talk and learn and think. Pinelands: Maskew Millar Longman.

Makoni, S. B. (1994). Mother tongue education: A literature review. *ELTIC Reporter*, 19(1), 20-29.

Malherbe, E.G. (1925). Education in South Africa (Vol.1). Cape Town: Juta.

Malherbe, E.G. (1977). Education in South Africa (Vol.2). Cape Town: Juta.

Martin, D. (1996). 'Zulu is the talk lovely' Investigating perceptions of being bilingual in Zulu /English speaking children in South Africa. Durban: Educational Policy Unit.

May, S.A. (1997). School language policies. In Wodak, R. & Corson, D.(Eds.) Encyclopaedia of Language Education. Volume 1. Language policy and political issues in education. (pp.229-240). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic publishers.

Merriam, S.B. (1988). Case Study research in education. A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers.

Molteno, F. (1984). The evolution of educational policy. In Kallaway, P (Ed.) Apartheid and Education (5th ed.)(pp. 45-107). Braamfontein Press: Ravan Press.

Mouton, J. (1996). Understanding social research. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

Mpofu, A. & Pule, D.B. (1997). Negotiation with social reality in the classroom: the issue of eleven official languages. *ELTIC Reporter,* 20(2), 37-41.

Murray, S. (1999). In Getting learning right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research project. Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.

Murray, S. (2000a) Research Proposal: Field of research: Education (School Language Policy) Unpublished material.

Murray, S. (2000b). M.Ed.(ESL) lecture notes, Education Department, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Murray, S. (forthcoming). Language issues in South African education: An overview. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.). Language in South Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotten, C. (1990). Elite closure as boundary maintenance: The case of Africa. In Weinstein, B. (Ed.). Language planning and political development. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Narayan, D. (1996). Towards participatory research. World Bank technical paper number 307. Washington: The World Bank.

NCCRD: National Centre for Curriculum Research and Development (2000). Language in the classroom: Towards a framework for intervention. Pretoria.

NEPI (1992). *Language: Report of the NEPI research group.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press/NEPI.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1993). Imperialism of language: English, a language for the world? In Moving the centre: The struggle for cultural freedoms. London: James Currey / Heinemann.

Ntshangase, N. (2000). Keynote address. National Colloquium: Language in the classroom. Department of Education : Pretoria.

Nunan, D. (1992). Research methods in language learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Okombo, D.O. (1998). Towards a strategy for changing attitudes to indigenous African languages. *SARE with ERP*.(4), 5-11.

PANSALB (2000). Language use and language interaction in South Africa. A sociolinguistic survey. Research conducted by MarkData (Pty) Ltd. on behalf of the Pan South African Language Board.

Pather, E. (1994). Language attitudes and multilingualism: classroom-based action research. *ELTIC Reporter,* 18 1 & 2: 32 – 38.

Potenza, E. (2001, 17 July). The silencing of our children. *Sunday Times supplement, Read Right,* p.4.

PRAESA (no date). The Power of Babel: Support for teachers in multilingual classrooms. Supplement in The Teacher.

PRAESA (1999). Problems and possibilities in multilingual classrooms in the Western Cape. PEI Report. Johannesburg. JET.

Ramirez , J., Yuen, S., Ramey, D. and Pasta, D. (1991). Final report: Longitudinal study of structural English Immersion strategy. Early exit and late exit transitional programmes for language minority children. Can Mateo, California: Aguirre International.

Reason, P. (1994). Participation into human inquiry. London: Sage.

Ridge, S.G.M. (1996). Language policy in a democratic South Africa. In Herriman, M & Burnaby, B. (Eds.). Language policies in English dominant countries (pp.15-30). Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

Robb, H. (1995). Multilingual pre-schooling. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education for South Africa (pp. 8-15). Isando: Heinemann.

Roberts, J. (1997). *A study of the development of institutional language policies in two Gauteng primary schools*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Robson, C. (1989). Real world research – a resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers. Oxford: Blackwell.

Romaine, S. (1995). Bilingualism (2nd ed.) Oxford: Blackwell.

SAPA. (2000, 8 September). Majority find English difficult to understand. *The Star*.

Saunders, G. 1998). Bilingual children form birth to teens. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Setati (1999). In Getting learning right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research project. Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.

Smith, L. (2000, January). Foundation phase teacher, Western Cape. Personal communication

Smythe & Pyle. (1999). In Getting learning right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research project.Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.

Stake, R.E. (1995). The art of case study research. London: Sage.

Stenhouse, L. (1988). Case study methods. In Keeves, J.P. (Ed.). Educational research, methodology and measurement: An international handbook (pp 49-54). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Swan (1985). Swan Report. Department of Education and Science. London: Her Majestey's Stationery Office.

Tann, S. (1991). Developing Language in the Primary Classroom. London: Cassell.

Taylor, N. & Vinjevold, P. (1999). Getting learning right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research project. Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.

Tollefson, J.W. (1991). Planning and language planning inequity. U.K. Longman group.

Versfeld, R. (1995). Language is lekker: a language activity classroom. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education for South Africa (pp.23-27). Isando: Heinemann.

Vinjevold, P. (1999). Getting learning right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research project. Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.

Walsh, C. E. (1991). Literacy as praxis: culture, language abd pedagogy. Norwood, N.J.: Abex.

Walters,S. (1983). Participatory research: Theory and practice. *Perspectives in Education* 7(3), 170-175.

Winberg, C. (1997). How to research and evaluate. Cape Town: Juta.

Winkler, G. (1997). Myth of the mother tongue: Evidence from Maryvale College, Johannesburg. *SAJALS* 5(1), 29-41.

Wodak, R. & Corson, D.(1997). Encyclopaedia of Language Education. Volume 1. Language policy and political issues in education. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic publishers.

Wong-Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 6, 323-346.

Yin, R.K. (1984). Case Study research: Design and methods. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Young, D. (1995). The role and status of the first language in education in a multilingual society. In Heugh, K., Siegruhn, A. & Pluddemann, P. (Eds.) Multilingual education for South Africa. (pp.63-71). Isando: Heinemann.

Young, D., Schlebusch, A., Jahpta, V., Goeminne, C., Edwards, V., Hoadley, U. & Wright, S. (1995). Many voices, one tongue? Research Report, University of Cape Town.