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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN SOUTH AFRICAN HIGH SCHOOLS: SURVEYS FROM BOKSBURG AND DEVON

by

Nothandō Tshuma

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MAGISTER TECHNOLOGIAE

Department of Applied Languages

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

TSHWANE UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

Supervisor: Prof. C. C. Mann

Co-supervisors: Dr. T. Ditsele

Dr. M. H. Segabutla

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DECLARATION

"I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted for the degree MTech: Language Practice, at Tshwane University of Technology, is my own original work, and has not previously been submitted to any other institution of higher education. I further declare that all sources cited or quoted are indicated and acknowledged by means of a comprehensive bibliography."

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N. Tshuma

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother, Mrs. Ellen Tshuma, who has always encouraged me to further my studies.

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I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the following for their contribution:

- My God, for allowing me to live and see my dream become a reality.

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Abstract

This study sought to unravel the contradiction that exists between usages, attitudes held toward Black South African languages (BSALs) development, and personal advancement. Many learners choose English over their BSALs, reflecting a widely-held belief that a good pass in a BSAL is not likely to help young people in the job market. English is considered by many to be the language of opportunity and advancement. The study's main objective was to establish attitudes held by learners, teachers, and School Governing Body (SGB) members toward the use of BSALs in high schools. The study also aimed to investigate perceptions of the possible effects of multilingualism in the classroom, given current language and language-in-education policies, in terms of actual practices. Data were collected from learners, teachers, and SGB members of two high schools in Gauteng Province: one in Boksburg (suburban), and the other in Devon (township), for comparative purposes, using questionnaires (learners and SGB members), teacher interviews, and participant-observation (N = 100). The findings reveal that BSALs play a secondary role in the classroom, as they are only used to support learners with weak competence in English, e.g., for explaining subject content. There is still resistance to their use as media of instruction (MoIs) in the classroom, as the benefits of using them are not yet fully understood, or appreciated. While most of the respondents held their BSALs in high esteem, and associate them with pride and belonging, they did not see their value in their futures for furthering their studies, or in the job market – domains in which English appears to be easily dominant.

CONTENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BSAL	Black South African Language
CHE	Commission for Higher Education
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
MoI	Medium of Instruction
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
SGB	School Governing Body

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

The Constitution of South Africa recognises all the eleven official languages. In addition to the South African Constitution, and the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), many other policies have been developed to ensure the survival and development of the Black South African languages (BSALs). Although research has shown that Black South African languages could be used, just like any other language, in formal education (Bamgbose, 1991: 111), doubts still persist that they are as good for formal education. Yet, a universal principle of language development is that language develops in use, and can be used for any purpose (Kaschula, 1999: 64).

As a language teacher at a township school, I have realised that most of my learners do not take BSALs seriously; yet, they are more serious, when it comes to learning English. I am also a mother and member of the school governing body of a school. I have listened to parents, as they fight to have their children taught by a first language English speaker, rather than have an English L2 speaker, like their children, do it. I have also picked up similar attitudes amongst my colleagues, who send their children to suburban schools, while they teach in township schools. It is as if the schools they teach in are not good enough for their children, and their colleagues are not competent enough to teach their children 'proper English'.

1.2 Research Questions

While this study draws on methods from several research fields, and report findings from questionnaires, interviews, and observations, it is characterised by an overarching attempt to gain an understanding of the various factors which influence language use in South Africa's multilingual education system. To address this objective, this study was motivated by several research questions (RQs). These questions, and the reasoning behind them, are the following:

RQ1: What are learners' attitudes toward the various languages used in South Africa?

This question sought to provide a comprehensive overview of learners' attitudes toward the various languages employed in the South African educational system.

RQ2: Is learners' language behaviour inside the classroom affected by their perceived competence in the official medium of instruction?

The majority of learners sampled for the purposes of this study acquired the official medium of instruction, which is English, as a second language. The analysis also investigates whether their language behaviour is affected by their (perceived) language competence in the medium of instruction.

RQ3: To what extent do learners and teachers adhere to South Africa's medium of instruction policies?

In an attempt to gain an understanding of the degree to which current language policies are adhered to in daily classroom interactions, this study sought to qualitatively establish the degree to which learners and teachers communicate in the official language of learning and teaching. This was also meant to reveal to what extent Black South African languages feature in the classroom.

RQ4: What functions are fulfilled by code-switching in South African high schools, and does code-switching aid in the learning process?

This attempts to reveal to what extent code-switching functions as a teaching strategy, and how it affects the degree of participation during classroom interactions. This also investigates whether the imposition of English as medium of instruction (MoI) has an impact on learners' learning.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

-The aim of this research was to investigate learners', teachers', and school governing body members' attitudes toward language use in high schools, with especial regard to the medium of instruction (MoI)..

- It also aimed to investigate the model of multilingualism which would be appropriate for implementation at these high schools.

-The other objective was to gather data from these key players in the educational system for educational improvement.

1.4 Definition of concepts

Language

It is the primary means of human communication. It is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information. It also indicates both personal and social characteristics of the speaker (Baker 1992).

Attitudes

Attitudes can be defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavour" (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 1). It is also "a mental disposition towards something", and it acts as a bridge between opinion and behaviour (Baker, 1992: 54). Due to their speaker-internal nature, attitudes are not directly observable, but need to be inferred from observable responses. A researcher can obtain such observable responses by exposing subjects to a set of stimuli, such as direct questions, aiming to elicit their reactions to particular attitude objects.

The 3 Components of Attitude

Many social psychologists agree that attitudes comprise cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 10). The cognitive component refers to beliefs about the nature of the object, and its relations to other objects. A connection or relation of this kind can, for example, be reflected in a person's belief that learning the English language will help them to get a better job in South Africa. A person holding this belief has established a connection between the acquisition of English (object A), on the one hand, and finding better employment (object B), on the other hand.

An evaluative response of the affective type consists of feelings and emotions, such as a person's feeling of enthusiasm for poetry written in their mother tongue, or a rendition of praises of one's clan's praise names (Garrett, *et al*., 2003: 3). The affective component of an attitude can also be manifested in the form of "sympathetic nervous system activity" that people experience when they are confronted with certain attitude objects (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 11). While beliefs are typically free from affective content, they lead to, or may be based on, affective reactions.

The third component of attitudes is behavioural in nature, and can also be referred to as the *conative* component. This component has been described as both leading to overt action,

and reflecting people's behavioural intentions (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 12). A behavioural response, in this instance, does not necessarily result in actual behaviour, but could simply represent a person's desire to act. For example, a positive attitude toward the ruling party of the country could involve the intention to donate money to the party's election campaign. Actual behaviour, on the other hand, would consist of physically donating money to the election campaign.

Language Attitudes

These are defined by Ryan & Giles (1982: 7) as "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or speakers". The study of language attitudes is important for sociolinguistics, because it can "predict a given linguistic behaviour: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty and language prestige" (Ryan & Giles, 1982: 8).

Language Policy

Language policy is concerned with official efforts to affect the relative status and use of one or more languages. In multilingual societies, language policy is designed to influence the relative use of the various languages in whatever ways are currently judged to serve the general interest (Alexander, 2003: 19). As those perceptions change over time, so does the consensus about what constitutes linguistic justice. Language policy is an evolving accommodation to changing linguistic circumstances, and the social and political climate.

Language Education Policy

These are the principles and government policy-making in the educational sphere, as well as the collection of laws and rules that govern the operation of education systems, in terms of language (Alexander, 2003: 25). The language education policy is based on constitutional and legislative provisions. These are put in place to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language, and religion, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged.

Second Language (L2) Learning Motivation

This is defined as the learner's orientation, with regard to the goal(s) of learning a second language. Motivation is divided into two basic types: integrative and instrumental.

Integrative motivation is characterised by the learner's positive attitudes toward the target language group, and the desire to integrate into the target language community. *Instrumental motivation* underlies the goal to gain some social or economic reward through L2 achievement, thus referring to a more functional reason for language learning. Both forms will be examined in light of the research which will be undertaken to establish the correlation between the form of motivation and various attitudes to language.

1.5 Language Attitudes in South Africa

Bohner (2001: 270) says that attitudes are often studied, due to a belief that they can be at the origin of behaviour. For example, students holding positive attitudes toward the medium of instruction (MoI) in a given lesson employ this particularly more extensively than their peers who express negative attitudes.

In the socio-psychological attitude theory outlined by Eagley and Chaiken (1993: 103), beliefs are described as building blocks of attitudes. Also, the description of an attitude as a 'hypothetical variable' is based on the idea that attitudes are abstracted from the many statements and actions that an individual makes, with respect to a given language. People's beliefs can, subsequently, be connected with their affective evaluation of a language.

This is a study that investigates the gap between policy goals and what is actually happening in schools. This is because of the challenges, which are identified, that hinder implementation. According to Baker (1992: 9), policy makers can substantially increase the likelihood of successfully implementing their language policies, if they are fully aware of the language attitudes of the target population.

As a theoretical basis, focus is on the fact that, while the South African language policy has raised awareness around people's languages, and managed to unify the people in their diversity, the policy has yet to manifest in a practical way in the world of economics and education (Braam, *et al.*, 2003: 06). Even though multilingualism has created an awareness of respect for fellow individual South Africans, Heugh (1999: 70) observes that "the promise of a vibrant and linguistically diverse country looks disappointing".

Although public perceptions of language in South Africa have been looked at by various scholars, there still is a gap in the use of African languages in schools - particularly those that were formerly white schools. Braam (2004: 09) states that parents of learners who go

to these schools seem to be comfortable with the use of English and Afrikaans as media of instruction. Even in township schools, according to research by Kamwangamalu (1997: 241), multilingualism is still viewed as a problem, rather than a resource.

Much attitude theory and research is based on the assumption that attitudes develop as a consequence of cognitive learning. During these cognitive learning processes, according to Eagley & Chaiken (1993: 108), people form beliefs about objects, based on information they progressively gathered. The attitude proficiency in doing well in the English language at school will mean better job opportunities in the work place.

The higher dominance in English can be attributed, partly, to the teachers completing their tertiary education through the medium of English, thus having acquired higher levels of proficiency in English, as compared to African languages (Cooper, 1987: 481). This manifests in the belief that good academic performance is linked to speaking English. Again, this illustrates the pervading and dominant ideology which Broeder, *et al*. (2002: 29) refer to as that of "English as the key to self-improvement, upward social mobility, sophistication and learnedness".

The social identity function of attitudes helps people to identify themselves with certain social groups through the expression of their attitudes (Bohner, 2001: 243). Through the self-esteem maintenance function of attitudes, people associate themselves with positive objects, and distance themselves from negative objects. People will, generally, want to speak English fluently for better opportunities in the workplace, as opposed to speaking indigenous African languages, which are perceived to be less prestigious.

Linguists researching language attitudes have also identified functions of attitudes. Baker (1992: 31) makes a distinction between the types of attitudes as instrumental attitudes and integrative attitudes. People with instrumental attitudes are those who hold positive attitudes toward prestigious languages, due to an assumption that this will grant them social recognition and economic advantages. Instrumental attitudes are described as self-oriented and individualistic, and emanate from one's self-esteemed maintenance.

Various studies in language attitudes attempt to reveal, for example, whether language attitudes can cause certain social groups to be more or less successful in domains, like the labour market, or the educational system. Education emerges as a particularly important

domain for the study of language attitudes, as it can be shown that language attitudes can considerably influence learners' academic achievements, and career opportunities.

The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity, and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language that has shaped one from early childhood is the foundation of all democratic policies and institutions. This study will suggest that this is not the situation in these case studies of South African high schools.

According to Tollefson (1991: 201),

> "The hegemony of English or of other languages is not merely tolerated in the 'developing world'; it is considered a legitimate model for society. In many newly independent states, a tiny English-speaking group controls state policy-making organs while the masses of the people remain excluded…A world system that is more just and equitable depends upon an understanding of how people gain control of their own institutions. A key issue is the role of language in organizing and reproducing those institutions."

Both the Constitution of the country, and the language policy in education, take it as their point of departure that the eleven official languages shall have equality of status and "parity of esteem". However, the public sector (high schools included) is rapidly sliding in the direction of unilingualism, in spite of the constitutional provision for the use of the other languages.

In this study, I wish to highlight the prejudices of parents, who are against the use of their children's BSALs in the classroom, and opt for the use of a language which is foreign to their children. I will also confirm that children's BSALs are rich and necessary resources for learning, as stated by Alexander (2003: 18).

1.6 Summary of Chapters

This dissertation is organised into five chapters (including the Introduction):

The next chapter, **Chapter 2**, is mainly concerned with what other scholars have written on the topic, and various aspects of language attitudes and multilingualism are explored. This chapter also looks at the contradictions that exist between language attitudes held toward African languages development, and personal advancement.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology and procedures used in the study. The respondents are also profiled in this chapter.

The findings are presented in **Chapter 4**. Focus is also on the interpretation and analysis of data, and the drawing of inferences.

In **Chapter 5**, the conclusions reached, based on the findings, are presented and discussed, and recommendations are made. The findings and conclusions, regarding the hypothesis, the research problem, are formulated to form a base for follow up actions and further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The Council on Higher Education (CHE) (2001) states that colonial and apartheid language policies, together with political and socio-economic policies, gave rise to a hierarchy of languages. The inequality of these languages reflected the structures of racial and class inequality that characterised South African society. The corollary status of Black South African Languages (BSALs) has been engendered, and this has forced negative stereotypes of these languages (and their speakers). These negative stereotypes are held, not only by English and Afrikaans L1 speakers, but even by many of the speakers of the BSALs themselves.

During the apartheid era, the language debate in education in South Africa was concerned with the territorial struggle between English and Afrikaans, and revolved around questions, such as how much English or Afrikaans should be used, where, and why. When apartheid ended in 1994, the struggle between English and Afrikaans shifted to the struggle to promote the status of the BSALs.

While academic researchers, such as Eagley & Chaiken (1993), Baker (2001), Bamgbose (2000), and Heugh (2000), largely attribute a high degree of functionality to classroom multilingualism and code-switching, and describe it as a communicative resource, educational authorities remain suspicious of the use of multiple languages in classroom interactions (Redinger, 2010: 79). The success of language planning activities is heavily dependent on the policy makers' awareness of the attitudes of those who are directly affected by the language policies.

The low status of BSALs, and their use in restricted domains, is a concern for language specialists and educationists, like Alexander (2002), and Heugh (2000). Languages, like English and Afrikaans, have maintained their dominance, not only in terms of the prestigious domains in which they are used. Alexander (2002: 34) is of the opinion that status planning for BSALs in South Africa will succeed, if it results in tangible material gains for the language consumer.

According to Herbert (1992: 40), people hold different attitudes toward languages, and these attitudes go a long way in influencing them to behave in a certain manner toward the language itself, and the people, who speak that particular language.

(In this investigation, attitudes were traced particularly in the field of education in South Africa, towards the use of English as a language of learning and teaching in some high schools.)

2.2 Attitudes

An *attitude* can be defined as a "psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 1). This concept has three evaluative components which are the way in which a person thinks (cognitive component), feels (affective component), and intends to behave (behavioural component) toward something. Research carried out by social psychologists has shown that the tripartite model of attitudes outlined above does not have to be in place for an attitude to emerge, as attitudes can be based largely or exclusively on any of the three concepts (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 16).

Fishbein (1967: 257, in Redinger, 2010: 48) explains that:

> "A multi-component conception of attitude turns out to be a multi-dimensional conception and the attitude of any one person toward an object or concept may fall at three very different positions on three different dimensions."

Consequently, a person may believe (i.e., cognitive component) that speaking a particular language will help them to get a better job, while simultaneously having a negative emotional response (i.e., affective component) to that language.

Bosch & De Klerk (1996: 232) hold the view that an attitude is a deep-seated and private "state of readiness rather than an observable response", and is often from consciously held opinions, which are more public, more dependent on the context of elicitation, and more easily expressed, and possibly more easily swayed by external influences.

Due to their hypothetical or speaker-internal nature, attitudes are not directly observable, but need to be inferred from observable responses (Redinger, 2010: 45). This researcher

will obtain such observable responses by inviting the study participants to respond to questions, aiming to elicit their reactions to particular attitude objects.

2.2.1 Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are defined by Bosch and De Klerk (1996: 232) as "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers, and any such reactions would naturally be closely tied to emotions and beliefs". These attitudes to language are of great importance in revealing the perceptions and stereotyped reactions of speakers. Such stereotypes are important in the formation of the social climate within which language preferences act, and within which language learning takes place.

Modifying one's attitude and assumptions is not an easy matter, and those held, in respect of language, are held more tenaciously, because many of them have been acquired as a result of growing up in a particular community, or as part of acquiring the language itself. They are a very intimate part of people's way of viewing the world. When one is presenting an argument, it must be put forward in a way that people will not feel that their existing attitudes and assumptions are under attack, and, therefore, need defending, but be encouraged to rethink them in the light of new understanding.

The underlying cause of language-in-education problems in Africa is that the languages of learning and teaching, which, in most cases, is either English, French, or Portuguese, are considered to be foreign to the continent; yet, they have been in use in many African countries for centuries. The continued use of these languages as MoIs has come to be regarded as "linguistic imperialism" (Broeder, Extra, & Maartens, 2002: 15). In addition, Redinger (2010: 83) states that it is axiomatic that the best medium of teaching children is through their L1. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that, in their minds, works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among members of the community to which they belong. Educationally, they learn quicker through an L1 than an unfamiliar linguistic medium. Later on, however, the notion of transfer from the mother tongue into English becomes easier to facilitate.

According to Herbert (1992: 240), language attitudes have a profound effect on the lives and language(s) of bilinguals. The goal of language attitude studies is to contribute to the understanding of which languages are positively or negatively evaluated, which are

learned and used by bilinguals. The study of attitudes has implications for language planning.

2.2.2 Motivation in L2 Learning

Motivation provides the primary drive to initiate learning an L2, and, later, the driving force to sustain the process of learning. Pintrich and Schunk (1996: 4) define *motivation* as the process, whereby goal-directed activity is instigated, and sustained. It is responsible for determining human behaviour by energising it and giving it direction.

Dörnyei (1998: 117) states that, without sufficient motivation, even learners with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough, on their own, to ensure learner achievement. On the one hand, high motivation can make up for considerable deficiencies, both in one's language aptitude and learning conditions.

For a learner to be motivated into learning an L2, they have to be goal-directed, expend effort, persistent, attentive, have desires (wants), exhibit positive affect, be aroused, have expectancies, demonstrate self-confidence (self-efficacy), and have reasons (motives) (Gardner 2007: 2). These characteristics are cognitive in nature, some are affective, while some are behavioural.

According to Gardner (2007: 3), there are two types of motivation that should be considered. The first one is *language learning motivation*, which is the motivation to learn (and acquire) an L2. It is considered as the socio-educational model of L2 acquisition. This form of motivation is a general characteristic of the learner that applies to any opportunity to learn the language. The second type of motivation is *classroom learning motivation*. The focus is on the learner's perception of the task-at-hand, and is largely state-oriented. Motivation, in this instance, is influenced by the teacher, the class atmosphere, the course content, materials, and facilities, as well as the learner's personal characteristics (such as studiousness, etc.). These two types of motivation cannot be distinguished, because they operate on the learner at any given time, but it is meaningful to consider that both of them are operative.

People grow up attaching the highest degree of value to their L1s. Doughty and Thornton (1973: 19) state that learners are speakers of a language, because they have acquired it in the process of growing up as ordinary members of a community. It is this knowledge of a

language which they bring with them into the classroom. It becomes the operational knowledge of the language, in the sense that it provides each learner with the capacity to use the language.

How learners can develop new perspectives for themselves, since their existing attitudes to language may be a key element in preventing this effective use of language for learning. The climate affecting the use of language within a school or college is created as much by the prevailing climate in the home, the community, and the society, as a whole. This is based on the conditions within the school itself, or the education system to which it belongs (Doughty & Thornton, 1973: 19).

Learning an L2 is unlike learning other subjects at school, because it does not only involve the educational context, but also the cultural context. Learning an L2 involves taking on elements of another culture (viz vocabulary, pronunciations, language structure, etc.), while most other school subjects involve elements common to one's culture (Gardner, 2007: 4). The learner is a member of a particular culture, and many features of the learner are influenced by that culture. In the learner, this cultural context is expressed in terms of one's attitudes, beliefs, personality characteristics, ideals, expectations, etc.

The cultural context which includes socially-relevant variables is labelled "integrativeness" by Gardner (2007: 8). It focuses on the learner being interested in learning the language, in order to interact with valued members of the community (viz an integrative orientation, and favourable attitudes toward the community). It could also involve an open interest in other cultural communities, in general (i.e., an absence of ethnocentrism and authoritarian, or the presence of xenophilic attitudes). With respect to language learning, therefore, the learner will have various attitudes that might apply to language learning, beliefs about its value, meaningfulness, and implications, expectations about what can, and cannot, be achieved, and the importance of various characteristics in the process (Dörnyei, 1998: 118). All of these characteristics originate, and develop, in the overall cultural context, as well as the immediate family.

The other characteristic of the learner that Gardner (2007: 16) considers to be important in L2 learning derived from the educational context are "attitudes toward the learning situation". This is because it is assumed that it is the influence of the educational context on the learner's attitudes that influence the learner's level of motivation. These two contexts do not operate in isolation of one another. The cultural context has an effect on

the learner's attitudinal reaction to the school environment, and the educational context can play a role in the learner's level of integrativeness.

2.2.3 Language Attitudes in Schools

Languages play an important role in schools, both as taught subjects, and MoIs. Schools can actively increase, or decrease, the status of a language in society by awarding different amounts of time to the use and teaching of individual languages (Broeder, *et al*., 2002). Policy makers are typically faced with the need to make vital decisions, regarding which languages will be included in the curriculum as home or additional languages, and which languages will be employed as MoIs, and for communication in schools.

In South Africa, with a heterogeneous population, many children, who come from English cultural or linguistic backgrounds, are often seen as environmentally-deprived, simply because of their being different from the dominant culture in school (Heugh, 1995: 93). Baker (1998: 50) points out that the limited proficiency of learners lies in the childhood heritage of fables, nursery rhymes, proverbs, metaphors, songs and games, which form part of the English-speaking child's cultural world, and to which reference is often made throughout in the classroom situation. As a result, limited-English-proficient learners in multicultural schools may develop communication difficulties that are exacerbated, when the child is confronted with a foreign culture.

Cultural confusion for the child with limited English proficiency may be more severe than is commonly accepted, because, as Heugh (1995: 94) points out, parents communicate to their children the cultural values that underlie the language. These values are markedly different from one culture to another. Therefore, children should master their L1 before they are introduced to the English language.

Children are less inhibited than adults, and achieve native-like competence much more frequently than adults do; therefore, it makes good sense to encourage language learning at an early stage, thereby laying the foundation for training future language workers at this level, instead of starting at secondary, or even tertiary, level.

With clear evidence that children are very successful at learning languages, it seems fair to argue that it is realistic to introduce a second language (L2) at the level of basic interpersonal communication skills at primary school level where children are drawn from different linguistic backgrounds. If the Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3) teachers at primary

school have received the appropriate training, they will be able to provide the children with what Krashen (1985) terms "comprehensible input", which he considers essential for language acquisition. Since the children will be in a classroom environment, where an L2 is spoken as an L1 by at least some of the children, this should provide L2 speakers with native-speaker input by some of their peers. It would even be more desirable, if the teachers were to speak different languages.

Teachers have a duty to not only be involved in generating an interest in other languages, but to also elevate the status of a low status or minority language in the eyes of high status L1 speakers, and speakers of a language considered to be low. According to research done by Kaschula (2004), the perceived inferiority of BSALs is a major obstacle to multilingualism. This research shows that a positive attitude to one's own language, as well as to the target language, is necessary for successful language learning.

If an attitude of tolerance for others, and pride in their own culture, is not strongly inculcated in learners when they are still young, it may be difficult to do so when they reach high school. It may also have negative effects on their performance (Ngidi, 2007: 30). Changing attitudes to the low social status of the BSALs is a long-term project, with a strong commitment within the schools to this outcome. Teachers need support to help their learners overcome prejudice learnt at home; so, parents need to be part of this shaping process.

Through an L1, children see, and come to understand, the world around them. Mhlanga (1995, in Ngidi 2007: 32) argues that initial concept formation takes place in L1, as does acclimatisation to their environment, and that kinship with other children and adults is formed through an L1. A child is socialised into a system of beliefs and practices through the L1, and myths are also transmitted from grandparents down to parents. The feasts, and other cultural activities, all anchor the children to their culture, and through an L1. The loss of an L1, therefore, has serious implications for the rootedness of the children in the traditions of their speech community.

De Klerk and Gough (2002: 37) suggest that there exists little indication that learners identify with an L2, other than perceiving it as an instrument to obtain academic and economic success. Practising educators, in their daily teaching, observe that learners, in most cases, resist using English, which is an additional language, and of learning and

teaching, in South Africa. There is, in fact, some evidence which suggests that the feeling of ethnic identity plays a role in L2 acquisition (Krashen, 1997).

In a study conducted by Kaschula (2004) on language-related problems of limited-English-proficiency, learners, teachers, and parents maintained that frustration caused by communication breakdown was common to these children. Demands could be overwhelming, on account of the fact that limited-English-proficient learners may encounter English only at school, because their parents do not speak English, and they have little or no access to books. This, in turn, may lead to feelings of being lost, as a result of lack of communication that is not limited to specific times, but seems to be a constant state of these learners. It becomes apparent, when teachers give instructions or ask questions, that learners may not be able to respond.

According to Kodaly's (1991) philosophy, children should, first, be scientifically educated in their L1, in order to know its scientific precision, one could say, in terms of three demands, before being introduced to another language. Applied to the South African language policy of L1, this could be further interpreted. Scientists cannot convey findings and descriptions of processes, if they are not familiar with subtleties and nuances of previously-marginalised languages, such as the BSALs.

Kodaly's philosophy further implies that learners will never be able to significantly contribute to the music of their own culture, but, instead, will promote the music of the international macro culture in which they are educated. One may reason that it is equally the case, as history shows, that very few educational books have been written in BSALs, and that there is no research journal published in any BSAL.

Education in multilingual societies allows the use of multiple languages in the same classroom. In schools, which advocate the multilingual education classroom, code-switching becomes an integral part of interactions among learners and teachers. The concurrent use of multiple languages in a classroom can be characterised by different degrees of structure (Jacobson, 1990: 6). Teachers can, for example, switch between two or more languages in a largely unstructured way. On the other hand, alternation between two languages can occur systematically; for example, teachers can say everything in both the language of instruction, and a BSAL. A more frequent type of concurrent language use consists of previewing lesson content in the child's L1, before teaching it in-depth in the official MoI, or *vice versa* (Jacobson, 1990: 7).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Heugh (2000: 60) argues that:

> "The direct application of general education and linguistic principles to decisions involving classroom language use, without taking into account key aspects of the socio-cultural, economic and political context of implementation, is insufficient to ensure appropriate language development in specific bilingual classrooms."

The desire to assign different languages to different contexts can be related to the frequent argument in sociolinguistic research that, "for a minority language to survive, it must have separate and distinct uses in society" (Baker 2001: 275). Although language separation can be easily controlled in an educational context, it is uncontrollable within the mind. To South African learners, English is linked to job opportunities, social mobility, success and power, and not to the L1 and cultural identity which they would want to maintain. To them, English is for formal communication, and BSALs, for informal communication.

Dlamini (2001) observes that most Black South African students are not proficient in English, when they get to university, and they have to work harder than White students, because they have to grapple with the language of instruction, as well as with the concepts that are taught. According to the Council on Higher Education (CHE) (2001), this might be one of the reasons for the poor performance of many speakers of BSALs at university. Heugh (1993) stresses the need for language-in-education policy to take into account the attitudes of students, and their parents. Knowledge of language attitudes can, when responsibly applied, serve a very useful function, particularly when policy decisions are made.

Research into language attitudes in education has encouraged a number of studies in South Africa at all levels of the education system. Dlamini (2001) claims that most Black African parents prefer English as an MoI for their children from primary school, especially for instrumental reasons. Using English as a *lingua franca* is seen as 'politically correct', amidst all the 'confusion' caused by multilingualism in schools.

Heugh (2001: 12) agrees that little has changed in classroom practice, since the end of apartheid, noting that parents appear to demand increased access to English, rather than the substitution of the BSALs with English as an MoI.

In Mhlanga (1995, in Ngidi 2007: 63), the parents who pointed out that English was the language of local high schools saw it as futile for their children to spend many primary school years learning isiZulu. They saw it as more sensible to spend maximum time on the language of higher education, including tertiary education. Presumably, those who were aware of the children's poor performance in their first year of senior primary school would argue all the more that all the available time should be spent on the L2; the fact that pedagogy valued good grounding in, and proper maintenance of, the L1 is not known to those parents. If explained to them, they would, probably, be highly suspicious of explanations that have been, in the past, associated with apartheid policies. Until BSALs are developed fully, and seen as viable in tertiary education and employment, such parents will always second-rate their own languages.

2.2.4 Language Attitudes Among University Students

A number of studies on attitudes of students toward various language uses have been conducted at a number of universities in South Africa. These studies form a basis of this study, as it is assumed that some of these attitudes formed while these students were in high school. Dalvit & De Klerk (2005) conducted research at the University of Fort Hare on isiXhosa-speaking students' attitudes toward the possible introduction of isiXhosa as an MoI.

The analysis indicated that, while English was recognised as the dominant language in South Africa, and, more specifically, in the domain of education, some categories of respondents acknowledged the usefulness of isiXhosa as an additional MoI (Dalvit & De Klerk, 2005: 1). The communicative and participatory functions of English were explicitly recognised by at least half of the students who participated in the survey, and they emphasised the importance of English in communicating with non-isiXhosa speakers at all levels: on campus, nation-wide, and internationally. English was considered an important *lingua franca*, and, as such, was recognised as an important prerequisite for getting a good job (Dalvit & De Klerk, 2005: 9).

According to Dalvit and De Klerk (2005), students seemed to value the resources English gave access to. The respondents acknowledged the role of English in education in South Africa, and most of them subscribed to the belief that English-medium schooling was of a better quality. This is confirmed by the fact that, according to 88% of the students, English

should be introduced as an MoI in pre-school, or lower primary school. They also noted that most Black students were not proficient in English when they got to university, and they had to work harder than White students, because they had to grapple with the language of instruction, as well as with the concepts taught (Dalvit & De Klerk, 2005: 10).

De Klerk and Gough (2002) demonstrated that perceptions among isiZulu-speaking university students learning English posed a threat to ethnic identity, where it was associated with poor self-rating of English skills. It seems highly likely that the association between language and ethnic identity would materially influence individual reactions to the language learning situation in schools. If learners were to perceive L2 acquisition as a positive achievement, which broadened their horizon, the educational context would be expected to be reinforcing it. On the other hand, if L2 acquisition was perceived as a negative experience, the educational context and acquisition of the L2 would, thus, be non-reinforcing, or even aversive.

Ditsele (2014), in a study of attitudes held by Setswana L1-speaking university students towards their L1, found out that, while most respondents in this study agreed to the fact that Setswana was their heritage, and showed pride in the language, there was concern of the future generation upholding these, as most parents residing in urban areas communicated with their children only in English. The respondents in this study held a view that young people from families where the parents spoke Setswana as an L1 did not speak Setswana enough; instead, they spoke English. This was said to be prevalent in the suburbs, and they attributed the practice to the multi-racial and private schools that young people from the suburbs attended (Ditsele, 2014: 219-220).

Like in the study carried out by Dalvit & De Klerk (2005), Ditsele (2014) also noted his respondents argued that there were students who entered institutions of higher learning, like universities, with weaker competence in English, and struggled through their studies, as they found it difficult to decode the subject matter in English. The respondents in this study were more willing to use Setswana beyond high school (Ditsele, 2014: 221-2).

Schlettwein (2015) also conducted research on multilingual students' attitudes at the University of Stellenbosch, and the University of the Western Cape. Positive attitudes toward English were clearly evident in the formal domains, as participants indicated that academic and economic success were linked to English. L1 Afrikaans participants seemed to be using English not only in the formal domain, but also informally to communicate

with people outside of the immediate family circle, such as when going shopping, making new friends, and watching DVDs. While isiXhosa participants found their language important for communicating among family members and friends, English seemed to have manifested itself strongly in the religious, employment, and education domains (Schlettwein, 2015: 58-9).

2.3 The Apartheid Legacy

During colonial rule in South Africa, English and Dutch dominated the linguistic landscape. Colonial powers imposed their language in each territory they governed as the language of administration, commerce, and education. English and Afrikaans were dominant, and BSALs took a secondary position in status, and domains of use. Alexander (1999: 23) observes that "Additional evidence of the continued dominance of imported languages is the medium of education which remains substantially in these languages, particularly in secondary and tertiary levels".

According to Gough (1995), English was declared the sole official language of the Cape Colony in 1822 (replacing Dutch), and the stated language policy of the government of the time was one of *anglicisation* of the region. On the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which united the former Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the Cape and Natal colonies, English was made the official language, together with Dutch (which remained an official language until 1983).

During the height of the era of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, as well as after the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, the BSALs were still accorded no official status. However, in the 'independent homelands' (established as part of the apartheid policy of 'separate development'), English, rather than Afrikaans, was typically utilised by homeland authorities as an official language, together with one or more BSALs of the homeland. Since the first democratic elections in 1994, in terms of the new interim constitution (of 1993), English is now one of the 11 official languages in South Africa, (the others being Afrikaans, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga) (Alexander, 1999: 25).

English is, at present, established throughout the South African society, amongst individuals from a variety of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Amongst the educated, English functions as a *lingua franca*. It is a subject in all schools, the preferred MoI in

most schools and tertiary institutions, with the only other MoI at advanced levels being Afrikaans (Alexander 1999: 26).

Mesthrie (1988: 10) observes that:

> "Amongst the majority, English has typically been seen as the language of liberation and black unity (as opposed to Afrikaans, which has been perceived as the language of the oppressor). Very few Africans, however, presently reveal complete language of prestige and power, an African language is typically maintained as a solidarity code."

English and Afrikaans have had a strong influence on the languages of South Africa, and an enormous stock of English and Afrikaans words has been adopted into the BSALs (Mesthrie, 1988: 10). The pervasiveness of code-switching is, perhaps, the strongest indication of their impact. Mfusi (1989: 31) says that it has become a linguistic norm for many BSALs speakers to 'mix' their languages with English and/or Afrikaans. This reflects a dual identity of membership of both the elite and their indigenous languages.

2.4 The 'Power of Language' and the 'Language of Power'

There are two fundamental sources from which language derives its 'power'. These are the ability of individuals, or groups, to realise their intentions (will) by means of language (empowerment) or, conversely, the ability of individuals, or groups, to impose their agendas on others (disempowerment of the latter) (Bamgbose, 2000: 6).

For human beings to produce the means of subsistence, they have to co-operate, and, in order to do so, they have to communicate. Language is the main means of communication at the disposal of human beings; consequently, the specific languages in which the production processes take place become the language of power. If one does not command the language of production, one is automatically excluded, and disempowered (Alexander, 2002: 3).

The source of the power of language is its function as a transmission mechanism of 'culture', or its role in the formation of individual and social identities. The reason for this is that a consideration of the psychological and sociological issues involved in the question

of identity would tend to blur one's focus. Being able to use the language one has the best command in in any situation is an empowering factor, and, conversely, not being able to do so is, necessarily, disempowering. The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity, and spontaneity that come with being able to use a language that has shaped one from early childhood (one's L1) is the foundation of all democratic policies and institutions.

According to Alexander (2003: 65), in most countries in post-colonial Africa, proficiency in the language of the former colonial power (English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese) constituted 'cultural capital', and was an index of the class location of the individual, since this ability almost automatically elevated the speaker to the ruling elite. The hierarchical relations between different languages are a reflection of the historically-evolved relations of domination and subjugation between the speakers of the languages. In South Africa, Afrikaans and English came to be the 'legitimate languages', as a result of political conquest. Dominance was complemented and reinforced by hegemony. The smaller the number of people proficient in the legitimate language, and the more widespread the perception of the value of that language in the relevant population, the greater the profits of distinction.

Another concept which is important when dealing with language and power is that of 'elite closure'. This concept is described by Nelson (1990: 27) as:

> "…a tactic of boundary maintenance. It involves institutionalising the linguistic patterns of the elite, either through official policy or informally established usage norms in order to limit access to socioeconomic mobility and political power to people who possess the requisite linguistic patterns".

The social gap between the elite and the masses is deepened by the dominant position of languages in which more than half of the population do not have adequate proficiency.

In a multilingual society, it is in everyone's interest to learn the dominant language (of power), since this will help to provide equal opportunities in the labour market, as well as in other markets. This has led to the marginalisation of the languages of Black people, and the valorisation of English and Afrikaans in South Africa.

The distinction between 'official' and 'national' languages ironically highlights, in an unintended manner, the social distance between the elite and the masses of the people

(Alexander 2002: 18). The middle class in most African societies have attained role-model status. They tend to look down upon their BSALs, and do not think that they have any value. They tend to valorise only former colonial languages, in this case, English and Afrikaans. The vast majority of the people come to believe that all that matters is knowledge of English in South Africa.

Tollefson (1991: 7, in Alexander, 2002: 6) notes that, in modern societies,

> "...while vast resources are directed toward language teaching and bilingualism especially involving English, more people than ever are unable to acquire the language skills they need in order to enter and succeed in school, obtain satisfactory employment, and participate politically and socially in the lives of their communities...The great linguistic paradox of our time is that societies which dedicate enormous resources to language teaching and learning have been unable or unwilling to remove the powerful linguistic barriers to full participation in the major institutions of modern society".

Alexander (2002: 9) also makes mention of the "static maintenance syndrome", whereby most Black Africans are willing to maintain their L1s in the primary contexts of family, community, primary school, and religious practice, but do not believe that these languages have the capacity to develop into languages of power. Their consciousness reflects the reality of the linguistic market, and they have become victims of a "monolingual habitus", in spite of the fact that most African people are proficient in two or more languages.

2.5 Language Policy

Language policy is the deliberate attempt to change an individual's or community's use of a language or languages or a variety or varieties (Alexander 2003: 3). It deals not just with named languages and varieties but also with parts of language so that it includes efforts to constrain what is considered bad language and to encourage what is considered good language.

Language policy is an evolving accommodation to changing linguistic circumstances and the social and political climate. According to Alexander (2003:5), it is concerned with official efforts to affect the relative status and use of one or more languages. In

multilingual societies, language policy is designed to influence the relative use of the various languages in whatever is judged to serve the general interest. As perceptions change over time, so does the consensus about what constitutes linguistic justice.

2.5.1. The Language Policy in South Africa

In the Bill of Rights (Constitution of South Africa, 1996), it is stated that "Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights." In addition, the Bill of Rights states that:

> "Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community:
> (a) To enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language, and
> (b) To form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society".

The National Language policy in South Africa is considered appropriate in addressing language problems in a multilingual society. This policy rectifies the former language policies that uplifted and encouraged development of English and Afrikaans as the only official national languages (Ngcobo, 2003: 17). Several pieces of legislation spell out, in general and specific terms, provisions for language rights. All national institutions are required to promote these rights. An education language policy can have meaning and validity only when it is firmly grounded in the overall provisions of the national plan.

According to Heugh (2000: 24-5), if the apartheid language policy had intentionally promoted and entrenched old and new social divisions, the language policy of South Africa is clearly geared to the strategy of reconciliation and nation-building, which was the defining feature of President Mandela's government. Both the Constitution of the country, and the language policy in education, take it as their point of departure that the 11 official languages shall have equality of status and "parity of esteem".

While Alexander (2003: 16) agrees that all the languages used in the country are deemed to be assets, rather than problems, he, however, acknowledges that, in practice, the state bureaucracy, as well as most of the political leadership, is trapped in the 'language-is-a - problem' paradigm. The public service is rapidly sliding in the direction of unilingualism,

in spite of the constitutional provision for the use of a minimum of two languages at both national and provincial levels. This has unsettled the Afrikaans speakers - mainly the White community, who fear that the hard-earned equality between Afrikaans and English is about to disappear, because of the anglophile bias of the rising Black middle classes.

2.5.2. Challenges of Implementing the Language Policy

South Africa's National Language policy is yet to achieve much of its goals, as set out in Section 6 of the Constitution of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996). While the policy has raised awareness around people's language and cultural rights, it is yet to manifest, in a practical way, in the world of economics and education. Bamgbose (1991: 11) observes that, no matter how good language policies are in Africa, they are characterised by, *inter alia*, "declaration without implementation". In most African states, 'exoglossic languages' have become the languages of power, with the exception of Tanzania, where Kiswahili has been developed as a national language.

Bamgbose (1991: 13) says that, although research has shown that BSALs can be used just like any other language in formal education at all levels, doubts persist that they are as good for formal education. It is expected that, even if one would want to integrate BSALs more into the formal school system, it would require too much time, and too many resources, to develop the vocabularies of these languages, train teachers, as well as prepare teaching and learning materials (Bamgbose 1991: 15).

Kaschula (1999: 64) disputes this notion, as he states that BSALs are treasures yet to be fully discovered, valued, and used. A universal principle of language development is that language develops in use, and can be used for any purpose. Africa consumes information and knowledge produced elsewhere through languages unknown to the majority of its population. Most books published in Africa are textbooks, and not fiction or poetry, which fosters the imagination and creative potentials of readers. The UNESCO Science Report of 2005 indicated that Africa is contributing to 0.4% of the international gross expenditure on research and development, and of this 0.4%, South Africa is responsible for 90%.

The National Language policy needs to be entrenched in government departments. There is a need to raise awareness of the language policy, manage, and facilitate translation and editing services, and proof-reading documents, in the official languages. Kaschula (2004:

19) prescribes that there is still a need for public servants to develop proficiency in languages other than their L1.

According to Kaschula (2004: 21), the language-in-education policy stresses multilingualism, as an extension of cultural diversity, and an integral part of building a 'non-racial' South Africa. This policy deals with matters, such as language(s) of learning and teaching in public schools, school curricula, and the language-related duties of provincial departments of education, and school governing bodies.

If the problem of defining the status and possible functions of BSALs is not properly addressed, the use of these languages in educational systems would come up against numerous bottlenecks. A reward structure will be crucial for the acceptance of such policies, and will facilitate national language learning. Multilingualism could, for example, be a criterion for professional qualification and promotion, as well as national pride (Heugh, 2006: 37). This is why the language-in-education policy should be in the driving seat in preparing citizens, and to ensure the competitiveness of South Africa, by using a multilingual education system to build an efficient economic system.

2.6 Multilingualism in South Africa

Multilingualism has long been seen as a threat to nation states' cohesion and economic development. According to Heugh (2006: 53), this perception is part of the predominant European concept of nation-building as 'one country, one culture, one language'. To that end, the authoritarian politics of cultural and linguistic assimilation, and 'divide and rule', have been experienced worldwide. Many countries with a multitude of languages and cultures dealt with the diversity by trying to streamline language use towards one official language, and attached, at the same time, low status to other languages spoken in the country.

Bamgbose (1991: 17) argues that the fact that there are many languages is often used negatively to suggest that this is a distinct disadvantage, especially from the point of view of communication, and cost. Compared with a single language, which is widely spoken, a multiplicity of languages is assumed to be problematic, since it is possible that there may be no shared language. This argument, however, ignores the fact that there are languages spoken by millions of speakers, and that there are many people in Africa who speak two or more languages. Hence, multilingualism will, indeed, aid cross-linguistic communication.

Besides, when people talk of a common language that will facilitate communication, they almost always refer to an official, imported language. The argument about cost is that operating in a single language is more economical than operating in several. The existence of such a language avoids the problems of translation, interpretation, and the production of documents in several languages. While this may be true, the real cost is a comparison between denying a citizen the right to be heard in their language, as opposed to the so-called economy of operating in a language in which one is not competent.

The negative perception of multilingualism serves to diminish the status of BSALs, presenting them as a problem, rather than an asset. Notwithstanding its numerical superiority, isiZulu in South Africa, which has more speakers than English or Afrikaans (Webb 1996: 143-4), still ranks lower than English, because it is subjected to English dominance in several domains.

It is a common fear amongst African states that the time spent learning African languages, or learning in them, is time lost from learning and mastering supposedly more productive and useful languages that enjoy greater status. Learning these languages, or learning in them, does not delay access and mastery of science, technology and other global and universal knowledge.

The Human Development Report of 2004 (in Heugh, 2006) states that, at the heart of multilingualism is "belonging". Human beings always have several identities (viz. gender, religion, nationality, profession, ethnic group, friends, etc.). They belong to, and share the values of, a variety of social groups. Thus, the recognition of diversity does not compete with the unity of a State, because identification with the State will always be one of many identities of individuals. The Report (2004: 9) also states that:

> "There is no proof that economic development correlates negatively with linguistic and cultural diversity. On the contrary there are indications that economic growth is expected because more empowered and creative people are able to contribute".

An effective language policy should reflect the linguistic reality of the country. Multilingualism is the most sophisticated approach to handling languages-in-contact, as it leads to a mastery of several of them. Multilingualism is not a reflection of individual and

communal loss or gain; it is an indication of what these individuals and communities are becoming, and what attributes they are developing.

The Inter-African Bureau of Languages (Herbert, 1992: 6) recognises several advantages to using an L1 as MoI:

- It develops critical powers;
- It fosters effective communication;
- It enhances deeper cultural understanding; and,
- It increases national consciousness.

Most BSAL speakers find themselves in a position of preferring their L1s for communicative purposes, yet, functioning in an educational, social and economic system that emphasises the importance of English. In reference to the hegemony of the English language, Herbert (1992: 10) states that:

> "To embark upon a program of national development without careful consideration of the languages used in the nation is to invite an incalculable waste of vital resources simply through the compounding of everyday inefficiencies in communication. Even more serious in the long run is the waste of human potential that occurs when children are subjected to ill-conceived and inadequate language instruction during their school years".

The UNESCO *Journal on Multilingualism* (2010: 21) views multilingualism as an integral part of economic development. This has taken on a new dimension in the information technology sector. The journal cites international companies, such as "Microsoft", as having discovered that investing in African languages is beneficial, because they want to reach the estimated 100 million Kiswahili speakers residing in six African countries. In this regard, multilingual education would create demand, for example, for access to information in the respective languages, and, thus, lay the foundation for active participation.

Languages and communication are the foundation of the economy. It is very likely that the creative industry and language industry will benefit from mother tongue-based multilingual education, which aims at high level proficiency in languages that are relevant

to diverse social contexts. Therefore, it is likely that strengthening the multilingual skills of the African population, and responding to the reality of linguistic diversity in Africa, will broaden, and enhance, both the creative and language industries (UNESCO, 2010: 19).

In South Africa, constitutional principles do not seem to have made any progress towards promoting the status of the BSALs. This is because the other language-related principles in the country's Constitution seem to be contradictory. Chapter 1 (Section 3) of The Constitution (1996) stipulates that:

> "The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages".

The Constitution does not specify which official languages should be used in which province, or by the national government. This has given rise to the use of English and Afrikaans as the languages of administration, much as was the case in the apartheid era.

English has gained more territory and political influence than Afrikaans. Gunning (1997, in Kamwangamalu, 2000: 53) explains that politicians seem to prefer English to other languages, practical circumstances dictate its [English] use, it [English] is used to avoid confusion; it is the main language of documentation.

Afrikaans may have lost most of the political influence it had during the apartheid era, but it is the only language that seems to compete with English for territory in most of South Africa's institutions (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 54). Despite the constitutional commitment to multilingualism, there seems to be a drift towards unilingualism in public services. It is, therefore, evident that South Africa subscribes to internationalisation and pluralism, which are ideologies in language planning. Cobarrubias (1983: 49) defines *internationalisation* as the adoption of a non-indigenous language as an official language, while *pluralism* is the official recognition of more than one language, which often includes indigenous languages.

There is a mismatch between policy and practice, for the languages of a lesser status in South Africa. Broeder, *et al*. (2002: 10) state that the educational policy of any country reflects "its political options, its traditions and values, and its conceptions of the future", and exists in the context of a particular social, economic, and political order.

The medium of television seems to be the only area in which BSALs have, to some degree, made their mark. During apartheid, BSALs did not have as much exposure in the state-owned television broadcast (viz. the South African Broadcasting Corporation) as they do now. For instance, most of the BSALs are used in the news bulletins, in multi-lingual programmes, such as in game, music quiz shows, local soap operas, and comedy series; also in interviews and talk shows (Alexander, 2000: 21).

2.6.1 BSALs and Multilingual Education

For most South Africans, multilingualism is accepted at home, at the work place, and in the streets. It is also acceptable that the demoscopic distribution in school classes be multicultural and multilingual (Heugh, 1995). Multilingual teaching is still considered to be a novel concept, and, for many teachers, a daunting challenge.

Researchers, such as Baker (1991), cite research findings that show that children and adolescents have a strong aptitude for language learning, and even very young children have coped with as many as three languages simultaneously. There are a number of reasons which explain their success, and some researchers have even concluded that their youth is the most significant factor. They refer to this as a 'critical period', after which learning a language becomes increasingly difficult.

The choice of languages for education poses a challenge to many policy makers. One of the main worries of the policy makers, parents and other concerned people, is that L1-based education would lead to striking the official language from the school curriculum, which would, ultimately, have a negative effect on acquisition and performance. Indeed, the school is the place where most learners acquire the official language. It is estimated that, depending on the country and region, only 5-15% of learners know the official international language before they enter school (UNESCO, 2010: 24).

In most African countries, teachers are expected to teach learners to read and write in a language which is unfamiliar to the learners, and in which they have little competence themselves to teach. Both teachers and learners in African classrooms face serious

communication and learning problems on a daily basis. If teachers instruct learners in a foreign language, they must be trained in L2 teaching and learning didactics.

Kamwamangalu (2000) found that the switch from one MoI to another in the fifth year of school to be an important factor in higher drop-out and repeater rates by the end of the fifth year. Heugh (1995) sees this kind of bilingual education as undermining the self-concept and cognitive growth of the BSAL-speaking learner, resulting in subtractive bilingualism, instead of additive bilingualism. The learners lacked the linguistic proficiency in the foreign language of instruction. When Grade 5 learners switched from Setswana to English, they had exposure to only 800 words in English, but needed 7 000 to be able to follow the Grade 5 curriculum. Teachers are aware of this fact, and often use a familiar language instead, but the education system does not change to overcome or reward this creative behaviour to remedy the situation.

Bamgbose (2011) refers to the "early exit model", in which a BSAL is used as a medium for the first four years of elementary education, and then replaced from the fifth year onwards with English, which, all the while, had been taught as a subject. This has the distinct disadvantage of forcing children to make an arbitrary transition before they are ready for it. It also conveys the negative impression that BSALs cannot be used for learning and teaching beyond lower elementary level. Variations include dual medium, in which certain subjects are taught in a BSAL, and others in English. When this happens, the subjects taught in a BSAL are generally 'soft' subjects, like social studies, and religion, while 'core' subjects, like Mathematics, and Science, are taught in English. This practice presents a negative perception of BSALs.

Ideally, a properly planned L1-based multilingual education should make provision for the L1 to be used as an MoI, at least for the entire duration of basic education, while English is taught as a subject. The advantage of this model is that children would develop enough confidence in their own languages before they make any transition into another language; rather, they will add to what they already have. Hence, they end up having 'additive', rather than 'subtractive', bilingualism (Bamgbose 2011: 7).

In South Africa, most teachers have not received training in language acquisition theory and practice (Broeder, *et al*., 2002), coupled with a lack of mastery of the language of instruction, this results in a serious teaching barrier. Teachers equate lack of adequate proficiency in the language of instruction, on the part of the learners, with laziness, lack of

intelligence, or an unco-operative attitude. This type of attitude can seriously inhibit learners, and create anxiety related to language learning and learning, in general. To avoid being shamed in front of their classmates, some learners refrain from volunteering to answer questions in class. This attitude is commonly observed among girls in South Africa.

In an experiment in Botswana, conducted by McDonald (1990, in UNESCO 2010), a set of Science concepts were taught to an experimental Form 1 group in Setswana, and to a control group in English. The learners were tested for their understanding of these concepts. The researchers found that the learners taught in Setswana had developed a significantly better understanding of the concepts than the learners taught in English. A similar study with the same results has been carried out in Tanzania. Secondary school learners taught Science concepts in Kiswahili did far better than those who had been taught in English (Mwinsheikhe, 2003, in UNESCO 2010).

The practice of assessing learners' knowledge in exams in a language they can hardly master has negative effects on the results of exams, and pass rates. In an urban primary school in the Cape Coast (Dlamini, 2001), English was used as an MoI right from the start. By changing the medium of instruction from English to the child's L1, the study revealed that learners knew more, and learned better, when taught in a familiar language. These findings reveal that the use of an L1 as an MoI has a positive impact on student academic achievement.

No case has been reported of Black African students wanting to be educated through the medium of a BSAL (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 55). On the contrary, the apartheid-era territorial struggle between English and Afrikaans has resurfaced. Cases have been reported in the media of Black African students demanding English-medium education at Afrikaans-medium institutions; and, on the other hand, of Afrikaans students resisting this demand, and considering it an invasion of their cultural heritage. "The Star" (of 18 October, 2013) reports on this language struggle, and racial tensions, between White and Black students at the University of Cape Town.

Despite its cognitive advantages, mother tongue education will not appeal to Black African communities, because of the stigma with which it was associated during the apartheid era. During that era, and as a result of the Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953), in Black South African communities, L1 education was synonymous with inferior

education (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 56). It was also perceived as a lure to self-destruction, and a trap by the apartheid government to prevent the oppressed majority from achieving better education.

Through the first language, children see, and come to understand, the world around them.

2.6.2 Code-switching in the Classroom

Code-switching is another important aspect in a multilingual education context. Teachers need to, occasionally, code-switch from English into BSALs to achieve communicative effect. This is also an attempt by the teachers to reduce the level of formality, and establish themselves as members of the local community, as opposed to a teacher in a higher position of power. According to Redinger (2010: 79), by occasionally switching to [a BSAL], the teachers align themselves with the learners, and their languages. Switches into BSALs typically co-occur with discussions of local and cultural concepts. McGlynn and Martin (2009: 146, in Redinger, 2010: 79) argue that this strategy enables the teacher to gain the pupils' attention and trust.

Teachers code-switch during classroom interactions to signal friendship, solidarity, and build a rapport with learners. While none of the studies conducted disregard the sequential environment in which code-switching occurs, they take into account the social evaluations of the various languages used in classroom interactions. In other words, teachers code-switch into the L1 of learners, as these are widely associated with informality, and, thus, teachers are able to improve their relationships with students.

Code-switching is intended to help learners understand subject matter, and facilitate participation in classroom activities. In addition to providing learners with help in understanding and participating in learning activities, teachers code-switch for classroom management purposes. Code-switches fulfilling management functions consist of motivating, disciplining, praising learners, and signalling a shift of topic towards any 'off-lesson' concern (Redinger, 2010: 80).

In multilingual classrooms, code-switching is frequently employed to build interpersonal relationships. This can help teachers to project different identities, and appear more human to learners by, for example, telling jokes in the learners' home language. These often exploit the social evaluations attached to the various languages used in a given classroom interaction.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESPONDENTS' PROFILES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with a description of the research methodology design, which was employed to explore language attitudes in the selected South African high schools. The chapter discusses the theoretical basis of the methodology, which is followed by a description of the design of the study, including the procedures followed during the completion of questionnaires, interviewing of respondents, and observations, as well as their validity and reliability in this research.

3.2 Research Approach

The terms, 'qualitative' and 'quantitative', are frequently used to identify different approaches. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches is the type of data gathered. In a qualitative approach, data is verbalised, whereas, if the data is numerical, the approach is quantitative. Quantitative research, therefore, presents statistical results by numbers, unlike qualitative research, which presents findings using the narration of words (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 14). This study combined both approaches to validate data collected from questionnaires with that from the interviews.

Leedy (1989: 15) states that "All research methodology rests upon acceptable principles: the nature of data and the problem for research dictate the research methodology". Methodological principles demand that the most appropriate methods and instruments be always selected, when one is conducting research (Gardner, 1978: 69). In the field of research, there are various research methods, like experimental, historical, descriptive, and survey. The survey method is probably the best known used to sample public opinion. It involves selecting a representative and unbiased sample of subjects drawn from the population, which the researcher wishes to study (Maree, 2007: 34).

In this investigation, a survey research methodology was used to establish the attitudes of learners, teachers, and School Governing Body (SGB) members, regarding language use at two high schools. Survey research is more concerned with treating and preventing social problems than with formulating theories and laws. Surveys may be used to find out what is

wrong, and, if necessary, to arouse public opinion with a view to reaching a solution (Gardner, 1978: 15).

3.3 Research Methods and Instruments

A researcher collects data by using recognised methods, and presents the findings in an organised fashion. The nature of the data required dictates the methodology. If the data is verbal, the methodology is qualitative; if the data is numerical, the methodology is quantitative (Wiersma, 1991: 84). Three types of data collection methods were found to be appropriate for this investigation. These were questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and observations.

Observations were used, because the researcher is also a participant, and the phenomena under study would be observed on a daily basis. Insider perspective will be obtained, as the researcher learns through personal experience (observation), and reflection (which is part of the interim data analysis) (Maree, 2007: 84). A relationship with the participants was built easily - which made employing the other two data-gathering methods much easier. The participants would open up to the researcher in an interview, as they are familiar with her. This is why the semi-structured interview method was considered effective. It was also thought to be convenient to administer questionnaires to the respondents, as they were also easily accessible to the researcher. Data collected from questionnaires were validated with that from interviews; they were compared, and conclusive findings were drawn.

3.3.1 The Questionnaire

A *questionnaire*, as defined by Garrett, *et al*. (2003: 134), is a means of securing answers to questions. They are forms, which the respondents fill in by themselves. Questionnaires facilitate the collection of data by asking a sample of people to respond to the same questions.

Questionnaires elicit good data, and save time. They have the ability to reach a number of respondents (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 85). Affordability is the primary advantage of a written questionnaire, because it is the least expensive means of data-gathering.

According to Cohen and Manion (1989: 111), written questionnaires preclude possible interviewer bias. The way the interviewer asks questions, and even the interviewer's

general appearance or interaction, may influence the respondent's answers. Such biases may be eliminated with a written questionnaire.

A questionnaire permits anonymity. If it was arranged such that responses were given anonymously, the researcher's chances of receiving responses, which genuinely represent a person's beliefs, feelings, opinions, or perceptions would increase. In addition, questionnaires permit respondents a sufficient amount of time to consider answers before responding. Questions requiring considered answers, rather than immediate answers, could enable respondents to consult documents, in case of the questionnaire approach (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 11).

Questionnaires can be distributed to many people simultaneously; i.e., a large sample of the population can be reached (Maree, 2007: 56). They provide greater uniformity across measurement situations than interviews. Each person responds to exactly the same questions, because standard instructions are given to the respondents.

Generally, the data provided by a questionnaire can be more easily analysed and interpreted than data obtained from verbal responses. Using a questionnaire solves the problem of non-contact "when the researcher calls" (Cohen & Manion, 1998: 111). When the target population to be covered is widely and thinly spread, the questionnaire is the only possible solution.

A respondent may answer questions of a personal or embarrassing nature more willingly and frankly on a questionnaire than in a face-to-face situation with an interviewer, who may be a complete stranger. In some cases, it may happen that respondents report less than expected, and make comments that are more critical, in a questionnaire (Maree, 2007: 56).

Garrett, *et al*. (2003: 136) note that questionnaire design is relatively easy, if guidelines are followed, and the administering of questionnaires, the coding analysis, and interpretation of data can be done without any special training. Data obtained from questionnaires can also be compared, and inferences made. Questionnaires can elicit information, which cannot be obtained from other sources. This renders empirical research possible in different educational disciplines.

Although Maree (2007), Cohen & Manion (1998) and Garrett, *et al.* (2003) agree that a questionnaire has advantages, it also has some disadvantages. According to Maree (2007:

57), Cohen and Manion (1998: 112), and Garrett, *et al*. (2003: 136-7), disadvantages of the questionnaire, among others, can be summarised as follows:

1. Questionnaires do not provide the flexibility of interviews. In an interview, an idea or comment can be explored. It is possible to gauge how people interpret questions, if questions asked are interpreted differently by respondents, the validity of the information obtained is jeopardised;
2. People, generally, express their views better verbally than in writing;
3. Questions can or will be answered only when they are sufficiently easy and straightforward to be understood with the given instructions and definitions;
4. The questionnaire does not make provision for obtaining the views of more than one person at a time, it requires uninfluenced views of one person only;
5. Answers to questions are seen as final. Rechecking of responses cannot be done. There is no chance of investigating beyond the given answers, and if respondents are unwilling to answer certain questions, nothing can be done, because the questionnaire is inflexible; and,
6. Researchers are unable to control the context of question answering, and, specifically, in the presence of other people. Respondents may ask friends, or family members, to examine the questionnaire, or comment on their answers, causing bias, if the respondent's own private opinions were desired. Written questionnaires do not allow the researcher to correct misunderstandings, or answer questions, that the respondents might have. Respondents might answer questions incorrectly, or not at all, due to confusion or misinterpretation.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section consisted of demographic questions, which sought to know the age, gender, race, residence, and the languages the respondents could speak. The last part had statements mainly looking at the attitudes of the learners toward their different languages. (An exemplar of the questionnaire is in the appendices.)

In this study, most of the noted disadvantages were avoided, by first clarifying the correct method for answering the questionnaire. The questionnaire was easy to answer, but also probing enough to make respondents offer the required information. The questionnaire employed in this research was administered to learners at the same time. The researcher

was present at the time of completion of the questionnaire, in order to be able to answer any potential questions.

The majority of parents completed the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher during a parents' evening organised by the two high schools. The researcher had enough time to discuss and clarify any confusion, which could have arisen during the completion of the questionnaire.

3.3.2 Interviews

According to Glesne (1999: 85), an *interview* is a kind of guided conversation in which the researcher listens carefully, in order to hear the meaning of what is being conveyed. Maree (2007: 87) defines an interview as a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks a respondent questions to collect data, and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions, and behaviours of the respondent. Interviews are also a way of seeing the world through the eyes of a respondent, and aim to obtain descriptive data that would help one understand a respondent's construction of knowledge, and social reality.

Interviews produce detailed accounts from respondents, and the researcher can exploit the interactive nature of the interview to better their understanding of respondents' responses. Any differences in the interpretation of questions can be clarified, and the format of the interview allows respondents to raise any interesting points, which could not have been anticipated by the researcher (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003: 35).

The semi-structured interview is commonly used in research projects to corroborate data emerging from other data sources. It usually requires a respondent to answer a set of pre-determined questions, and allows for probing and clarification of answers (Maree, 2007: 87). Semi-structured interview schedules define the line of enquiry, and the researcher should be attentive to respondents' responses, so that they identify new emerging lines of enquiry that are directly related to the phenomena being studied, so as to explore and probe them. It is also easy for a researcher to get side-tracked by trivial aspects that are not related to the focus of the interview.

Interviews should be conducted at a convenient, available, and appropriate place and time, i.e., when either the respondent, or interviewee, feels like talking. The number of meetings will depend on the length of the interviews, and the researcher should stick to regularities,

regarding the location, time, and length of the interviews, so that the interview is not too long and tiring for the interviewee (Glesne, 1999: 78).

Maree (2007: 88) encourages the researcher to always maintain a perspective of disciplined subjectivity, as the main aim of conducting research would be to write, publish, and contribute to a body of knowledge and literature. Gillman (2000: 289) notes that the interviewer must control the pace, questions, and sequence of questioning to fit the circumstance surrounding the situation. At the same time, the person being interviewed must tell their stories at their own pace, in their own way, and within their own timeframe. Gillman (2000: 290) adds that when setting up the appointments for the interviews, the researcher needs to inform the interviewee about the purpose of the interview, how long it will take, and that the interview, for example, will be tape-recorded. The author indicates further that the researcher should tell the respondents that, when the interview is completed, it will be transcribed, and what the respondent has said may appear in articles, but the identity of the respondent will be protected.

Interviewers should be good listeners, who do not dominate the interview, and must understand that they are there to listen. They must not take shortcuts by only hearing what they want to hear. They should not be judgemental, and must not criticise, because they are there to understand, not judge. Interviewers also must not turn into psychologists or counsellors, and never argue or disagree with the respondent, in order to get the perception of the respondent (Maree, 2007: 88).

The purpose of interviews is to derive interpretations, not facts or laws, from respondents' views. Interviews are framed quite substantively, and the interactions aim to understand the meaning of the respondent’s experiences and life world (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 347).

Interviews are conducted with the aim of understanding the setting, the relationships between the components of, as well as members of, particular institutions or groups from the respondent’s viewpoint (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002: 455). Another aim of interviews is to obtain ‘thick descriptions’ of a given social world.

An additional significant aim of interviews is to understand the social context of learning in an organisation or unit within organisations, such as schools or classrooms. Understanding, in this context, implies exploring the contextual experience, actions, and

relationships from within the interview process, rather than merely describing behaviour, or objectifying the subjects.

Gubrium & Holstein (2002: 454) indicate that interviews can be used to gather information that cannot be obtained by means of other methods; for example, surveys offer mass data about a particular issue, but they lack the depth of understanding that interviews provide. The authors add that observations can certainly lead to insights about interactional styles or patterns of behaviour, but, without interviews, gathering data directly from respondents or actors is similar to watching silent movies.

Interviews, as one of the primary data collection methods, becomes necessary when the interviewer cannot observe behaviour, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them, and when the interviewer is interested in past events that are impossible to replicate. Interviews, therefore, are used, as they are the best method for intensive case studies of a selected few individuals (Merriam, 1998: 72).

However, interviews are extremely time-consuming and costly to administer; the number of interviewees is often limited, and the data obtained from interviews can be difficult to quantify, or to analyse systematically (Garrett, *et al*., 2003: 134).

Interviews were conducted to provide holistic interpretations of the phenomenon being investigated. The purpose was to uncover concrete, extra information about the attitudes portrayed by learners in some South African high schools. Semi-structured interviews were used for teachers, as these would set the teachers being interviewed at ease to give the information voluntarily; they would not feel compelled to respond only to those questions being asked. (A tape recorder was used to record the interviews.)

In this study, ten teachers from the two high schools sampled were interviewed. The researcher had an interview schedule, which served as a guide in the interviews. Teachers were asked to provide their ages, qualifications, residences, and teaching experience. The other questions on the schedule also sought to understand the attitudes held by both teachers and learners in multilingual high schools toward the languages and language use in school. Questions on language policies, and their implications on learning and teaching, were also posed.

3.3.3 Observations

According to McMillan and Schumacher (1993: 256), the term, *observation*, is used to describe the data that is collected, regardless of the methods employed in the study. The authors add that it is a more specific method of collecting information, and is very different from interviews, or questionnaires. It relies on the researcher seeing and hearing certain phenomena, and recording these observations, rather than relying on the respondents' self-report responses to questions, or statements.

Furthermore, Merriam (1998: 111) describes observations as the major means of collecting data in research. It offers a first-hand account of the situation under study, when combined with interviewing and questionnaires; it allows for the holistic interpretation of the phenomena under investigation. The author also indicates that it is the method of choice, when behaviour can be observed first-hand, or when people cannot, or will not, discuss the research topic.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993: 420) describe observations as an active process, which includes muted cues, facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and other non-verbal social interactions, on the part of the subjects, which convey a specific meaning. Observations have also been described as the most direct method for obtaining data (Gillman, 2000: 46). It is not what respondents have written about the topic, or what they say they do; instead, it reflects their actual performance.

Observations are quite unstructured, with the emphasis on capturing the perspective of the individuals under observation, and this requires careful listening. Furthermore, it is a continuous process, and is not limited to one or two sessions (Wiersma, 1991: 230). The primary advantage of observations is that the researcher records behaviour, as it occurs naturally in real life (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 257).

Merriam (1998: 95-96), indicates that an investigator might want to gather data through observations for various reasons. An observer will notice phenomena that have become routine to the respondents themselves, but may lead to a better understanding of the context. When gathering data through observations, however, people might not feel free to talk about certain topics. In studying an educational unit, for example, the researcher might observe dissension among respondents that an interview may not reveal. Since carrying out observations is a process, and is not limited to a few sessions, the researcher

needs to understand the respondents' behaviour, and their situation, in totality over an extended period.

Wiersma (1991: 229) also indicates that observers must try to be as unobtrusive as possible, so that they do not interfere with the day-to-day activities of the institution. They relate to the idea that contextualisation is needed to understand behaviour, in terms of the context which is observed. The author mentions further that, amongst others, the researcher must have different means of interpreting events, which will extend beyond an objective recording of what is happening.

Glesne (1999:43) notes that participant-observations provide the opportunity to acquire the status of a 'trusted person'. Through participant observations – through being a part of a social setting – one learns first-hand how the actions of research participants correspond to their words, see patterns of behaviour, experience the unexpected, as well as the expected, and develop a quality of trust with the others that motivates them to tell one what they might, otherwise, not disclose. The author adds that the interview questions developed through participant-observations are aimed at knowing, and understanding, the behaviour of the respondents. This way, the answers of the respondents can be better interpreted.

Although the idea behind a participant-observation is that it should continue throughout the period of data collection, it is particularly important at the beginning stages, because of its role of informing the researcher about the appropriate areas of investigation, and in developing sound research and other relationships (Glesne, 1999: 43-45).

3.4 Sampling and Respondents' Profiles

Sampling in field research involves the selection of a research site, time, people, and events. There are two types of sampling; namely, probability and non-probability sampling. *Probability sampling* (also known as *random sampling*) allows the researcher to generalise the findings of the study from the sample to the population from which it is drawn. Since generalisation is not the goal of research (Merriam, 1999: 247), the researcher used stratified random sampling. This was done to ensure a proportionate representation of the sub-groups of the population. *Stratified sampling* is used to address the problem of non-homogeneous populations, in the sense that it attempts to represent the population much better than could be done with other sampling methods (Maree, 2007: 175).

The sample for this language attitudes study was drawn from two high schools, and it comprised learners, teachers, and school governing body (SGB) members (representing parents). One high school (School B) is in the suburban area of Boksburg, which is 27 kilometres east of Johannesburg. The other high school (School D) is in a township in Devon, which is 40 kilometres south-east of Springs, and Springs is 50 kilometres east of Johannesburg. Devon is largely a Black community surrounded by farms (Census 2011). It was sampled, because of its accessibility to the researcher, and it was a contrast site to Boksburg.

Table 3.1: Respondents' Sample Size (N=100)

Site	Learners	Teachers	SGB members	Total
School B	40	5	5	**50**
School D	40	5	5	**50**
Total	**80**	**10**	**10**	**100**

In research, sample size often consists of a small number of knowledgeable respondents. The main aim is to have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996: 217). This study's sample population comprised 100 respondents and is presented in Table 3.1:

3.4.1 Learners

A total of 80 learners responded to questionnaires, and all of them were high school learners. The variables which were used in the study were gender, age group, race, type of residence, and linguality. Of the 80 learners who participated, 44 were female, and 36 were male. The study comprised of 71 Black, 3 Asian, 3 Coloured, and 3 White learners. 33 learners were between the ages of 14 and 16 years, while 47 were between the ages of 17 to 20 years. 66 (of the 80 learners) were from the township, while 14 lived in a suburban area.

In the questionnaire, learners were required to list all the languages they were able to speak, and those that they spoke at home. Their responses were not constrained by a pre-established list of languages from which they had to choose, but learners were given the freedom to include any languages they deemed part of their language repertoires:

Table 3.2: Learners' Language Repertoires

Languages	Languages spoken	Spoken at home
English	80	18
IsiZulu	72	48
Afrikaans	41	7
Sesotho	20	11
N. Sotho	14	7
IsiNdebele	13	8
IsiXhosa	12	7
SiSwati	9	4
Setswana	8	2
Tshivenda	2	2
Gujarati	1	1

3.4.2 Teachers

The 10 teachers (7 female; 3 male) that were interviewed were all language teachers. Seven were Black, two were White, and one was Asian.

Table 3.3: Respondents' Profiles (N=100)

Variable		Learners (n= 80)	Teachers (n= 10)	SGB members (n= 10)	Totals
Race	Asian	03	-	01	**04**
	Black	71	05	07	**83**
	Coloured	03	-	-	**03**
	White	03	05	02	**10**
Gender	Male	36	03	04	**43**
	Female	44	07	06	**57**
Age Range	14- 16 years	33	-	-	**33**
	17- 20 years	47	-	-	**47**
	21- 29 years	-	02	-	**02**
	30- 39 years	-	04	03	**07**
	40- 49 years	-	02	04	**06**
	50- 59 years	-	02	02	**04**
	60- 69 years	-	-	01	**01**
Residence	Suburb	14	07	04	**25**
	Township	66	03	06	**75**
Highest Qualification	Below Matric	-	-	2	**02**
	Matric	-	-	2	**02**
	Certificate	-	-	2	**02**
	Diploma	-	05	3	**08**
	Degree	-	05	1	**05**
Teaching Experience	< 10 years	-	04	-	**04**
	≥10 years	-	06	-	**06**

3.4.3 SGB Members

The study included 10 school governing body members (6 female; 4 male). There were four Black males, three Black females, two White females, and one Asian female. Seven were between the ages of 30-49 years, while 3 were between the ages of 50-64 years. Six of them resided in the township, while four were residents in a suburban area.

3.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Glesne (1999: 130) describes *data analysis* as the process that involves organising what you have seen, heard, and read, so that you can make sense of what you have learned. The author adds that, when working with the data, the researcher must describe the data, create explanations, pose hypotheses, develop theories, and link the study with other studies. In order to do this, the researcher must categorise, synthesise, search for patterns, and interpret the data collection.

According to Wiersma (1991: 85), data analysis in research is a process involving categorisation, description, and synthesis. Data reduction is necessary for the description and interpretation of the phenomenon under study. The author adds that it is a process of successive approximations towards an accurate description and interpretation of the phenomenon. The research report is descriptive in nature, and contains little technical language. A researcher will undertake much of the data analysis during, and after, the data collection process, as the research must include the extensive integration and overlapping of components.

In essence, then, analysis is the arrangement of what one has perceived, been informed about, and discovered, as well as the understanding one has arrived at through reading. The revealed data is explained in detail, or by creating a picture using words, when one is engaged with data analysis. Recommendations for further investigation can also be given in the form of suggestions, based on facts. Data analysis entails formulating a set of properly-acquired ideas (events), connecting the story with other stories, classifying phenomena that belong together, comparing parts with the whole, and developing patterns to explain the data that have been gathered (Maree, 2007: 304).

As previously mentioned, the data in this research was collected by means of a questionnaire, which was divided into different categories, in order to assist with the final processing of both qualitative and quantitative data. Interview transcripts and field notes

were read, to form a clearer understanding of the information, and then it was coded, conducting content analysis by looking for specific words for which themes could be identified (Maree, 2007: 304).

Once all the data had been coded, the researcher qualified the quantitative data by generating phenomena to be compared with the phenomena from the qualitative data, for the purpose of interpretation. These findings were then tabulated, and inferences made, in order to address the research questions.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Validity is a process that involves both deduction and induction; the researcher systematically reasons through the possible meaning of the data (Wiersma, 1991: 241). According to Wiersma (1991: 239), the validity of research is the interpretation of the research findings with confidence, and the generalisation of the findings. In other words, it involves two concepts; namely, the extent to which the findings can be accurate, and the extent to which they can be generalised to the population, and the prevailing conditions. The former concept is referred to as internal validity, and the latter, as external validity.

Internal validity refers to the extent to which the phenomena currently being studied relate to the realities of the world (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 39). It also places the responsibility on the researcher to observe closely, and evaluate critically, what she thinks, sees, and hears. In other words, the internal validity of a research design is the degree to which respondents ascribe a mutual meaning to concepts, and the interpretations of the research.

External validity is the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations, and refers to how generalisable the findings of a research study are (Merriam, 1998: 207). The author points out further that the study must be internally valid, because meaningless information cannot be applied generally to the population from which the participants were drawn. According to Wiersma (1991: 241-2), external validity is concerned with generalisation, and to which population, and conditions under which, the results are generalised. If the phenomenon is consistent across a number of studies, the degree of generalisation increases.

Strategies that increase internal validity are when continual analyses, comparisons, and corroborations are carried out. A respondent's language is used during the interviews, and

care must be taken that it remains less abstract than that of many data instruments (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 392). The interviews, in this study, were conducted in a conversational tone. Respondents were encouraged to express their views in their own words, and, if possible, to use their own languages. The interviews were later translated into English.

According to Wiersma (1991: 239), the *reliability* of the research includes the extent to which studies can be replicated. The concept applies to both procedures and findings. The author adds that, if a study is reliable, another researcher who uses the same procedures, variables, measurements, and conditions, should arrive at the same, or similar, findings.

Reliability in research refers to the consistency of the researcher's interactive style, data recording, analysis, and interpretation of respondent's meaning from the data (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993: 385).

In addition, Maree (2007: 264) states that reliability in research is viewed as the fit between what is recorded, and what has actually occurred at the setting under study, rather than literal consistency across different observations. Two researchers studying a single setting may come up with different data, and produce different findings.

Since there was only one researcher, in this case, all data was collected, analysed, and interpreted in a uniform manner. During this investigation, the researcher strove to avoid impeding the natural flow of information from the respondents as little as possible.

In this study, and in terms of the criterion used for validity, all the respondents shared information, and their own views, regarding the topic voluntarily. They were not under any pressure to share their views, and supported the study in totality.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Carrying out research in schools is heavily influenced by ethical considerations. When ethical approval was obtained from the Tshwane University of Technology's Ethics Clearance Committee, the permission of the Gauteng Department of Education was also sought. This Department employs the teachers; so, it was of importance to seek approval from their superiors, before the researcher engaged with them. An email was sent to the Department, explaining how, when, and where the research would take place. The

researcher also asked for parental consent through a form that was to be signed before a learner took part in the research.

The researcher informed the individuals involved in this study about the procedures that would take place during the research, and the intended use of the research data being collected. The explanation satisfied the respondents, as they co-operated throughout the research. Respondents were notified of their right to withdraw from participation at any time, and that their request would be honoured.

Confidentiality requires the signing of consent forms to protect respondents from being exposed in public, or in print, and to protect them against the invasion of their privacy. Sometimes, respondents do not consider the signing of consent forms adequate, and request consent forms to be supplemented by tape-recorded consent (Gall, *et al*., 1996: 88).

According to McMillan & Schumacher (1993: 399), individual respondents have the right to review the concurrent case study, in order to ensure confidentiality and the protection of privacy. This researcher reviewed the report, before it was finally released to the public, and to those who were interested in the topic, to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

A major concern during the design of this study was choosing a recording device, which was capable of producing good quality speech data without intimidating teachers during data collection. The option of video-recording interviews was rejected, on the grounds of the respondents' demand for anonymity.

3.8 Field Problems

A major constraint was time. The researcher had to arrange for a few sessions to administer the questionnaires to the learners, as the Department of Basic Education gave permission to conduct research on the basis that there would not be interference with learning and teaching. The researcher also had to administer the questionnaires, wait for the learners to fill them up, and collect them the same day. This meant that the respondents may not have had enough time to think through their responses before they responded. It was also difficult to arrange interviews within the confines of the teachers' very full schedules.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of students' attitudes toward the language of instruction in the two high schools sampled. The findings mainly originate from a medium scale study of language attitudes and self-reported language behaviour among students enrolled in both high schools.

As previously outlined, learners from both schools completed a language use and attitudes questionnaire. This was also completed by SGB members, while teachers were interviewed. In an attempt to gain insights into patterns of language use and language attitudes among a diverse group of high school learners, this chapter, therefore, presents a series of analyses, centring around the following research questions:

RQ1: What are learners' attitudes toward the various languages used in South Africa?

RQ2: To what extent do learners and teachers adhere to South Africa's medium of instruction policies?

RQ3: What functions are fulfilled by code-switching in South African schools, and does code-switching have an impact on the learning process?

RQ4: Is learners' language behaviour inside the classroom affected by their perceived competence in the official medium of instruction?

The data from the questionnaires was analysed statistically, and all variables were considered as categorical variables (i.e., responses) were put in different categories, and were not measured numerically. The chi-square test was used to determine the dependence/independence of the responses to the independent variables. Radloff (2003, in Dalvit & De Klerk, 2005: 8) describes this as a "conservative" approach. The different attitudinal tendencies were allocated a score, ranging from 1 to 5. With regard to the mean, scalar units used to determine the different attitudes were rounded off to one decimal point.

4.2 Findings

After profiling the learners in Chapter 3, the extent to which they were multilingual was established, and will be discussed, in relation to the findings below.

4.2.1 Learners' Questionnaire Data

The following responses were also obtained for the remaining part of the questionnaire:

Table 4.1: Learners' Likert Scale Responses (n = 80)

No	Statement	Mean
7	Black South African languages are difficult to learn.	**1.3**
8	There are more useful languages to learn than my home language(s).	**3.8**
9	Black South African languages have no place in the modern world.	**2.9**
10	You are considered a lower status person, if you speak Black South African languages.	**2.6**
11	Teachers should speak to you in your home language during lessons.	**4**
12	Your grades will become better, if you were taught in your L1(s).	**3.7**
13	Teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during lessons.	**2.2**
14	Learning languages, like English and Afrikaans, is more important in preparing for study in institutions of higher learning.	**3.9**

In **Statement 7**, the researcher wanted to know if the respondents found the BSALs difficult to learn. The mean of the attitudinal tendencies was **1.3**, which means most of the learners strongly disagreed with this statement. It is the statement with the lowest mean score.

Statement 8 suggested that there were more useful languages to learn than the learners' L1s. The mean was **3.8** – tending towards agreeing.

Statement 9 declared that BSALs have no place in the modern world. The mean of this statement calculates to **2.9** - which means most of the learners were not sure.

Statement 10 said that one was considered a lower class person, if they spoke BSALs. The mean was **2.6** – tending towards not sure.

In response to **Statement 11**, about whether teachers should speak to them in BSALs during lessons, the mean was **4**, which showed an attitudinal tendency to agree.

Statement 12 asked learners if they thought their grades at school would be better, if they were taught in their home language(s). The mean was **3.7** - which tending towards agreeing.

Statement 13 said teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during lessons. The mean was **2.2** - which showed that the majority of the learners disagreed. This was the second lowest mean score.

The last statement, **Statement 14**, stated that learning languages, like English and Afrikaans, was more important in preparing for studying in higher institutions of learning. The mean was **3.9** – a mean, which suggests agreement.

4.2.2 SGB Members' Questionnaire Data

The results of Statements 9-16 of the questionnaire were as follows:

Table 4.2: SGB members' Likert Scale Responses (n = 10)

No	Statement	Mean
9	I would like my children to be speakers of Black South African languages.	**4.1**
10	My language helps me to maintain my identity.	**4.3**
11	My language is essential to take part fully in South African life.	**4.4**
12	Teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during the same lesson.	**3.3**
13	Different languages of instruction should be prescribed for every subject.	**2.4**
14	English is an important language in South Africa, because it serves as a medium of communication amongst different races.	**4.8**
15	It is easier to find a job if you speak English than any other language.	**4**
16	Learning languages, like English, is important in preparing for studying in higher institutions of learning.	**4.9**

Statement 9 was about parents wishing for their children to speak BSALs. The mean was **4.1** - which showed an attitudinal tendency of agreement.

Statement 10 said language helped one to maintain their identity. This scored a **4.3** mean - which shows that most of the SGB members agreed.

For **Statement 11**, which stated that one's language was essential to take part fully in South African life, had a mean of **4.4** – again, this showed agreement.

Statement 12 was about learners being allowed to speak different languages during lessons. The mean was **3.3** - which shows that they were not sure.

Statement 13 was a statement suggesting different languages of instruction to be prescribed for every subject. The mean was **2.4** – i.e., they disagreed.

In response to **Statement 14**, which stated that English is an important language in South Africa, because it serves as a medium of communication amongst different races, the mean was **4.8** - which shows that most SGB members strongly agreed.

Statement 15 said it was easier to find a job, if one spoke English than any other language. All of the parents were in agreement with this statement, as the mean was **4**.

The last statement (**Statement 16**) suggested that learning languages, like English and Afrikaans, is more important in preparing for studying in higher institutions of learning. The mean was **4.9** - which meant that the SGB members strongly agreed. This was the highest mean score recorded.

4.2.3 Teachers' Interview Data

Ten teachers were interviewed: five from the high school in a township (School D), and five from a high school in a suburban area (School B). Their responses to the interview questions are summarised below:

Q1: What difficulties do you encounter when teaching learners in English?

All teachers from the high school in Devon said learners found it difficult to understand content taught in English. As DTm1 put it:

> *Too much time is dedicated to language teaching instead of completing the prescribed syllabus.*

DTf1 cited the language barrier as one of the difficulties she encounters. She said learners could not express themselves in English, and that she had serious challenges, when it came to debate and spelling.

DTm3 echoed the same sentiments as DTm1 that learners, generally, had an unwillingness to speak in the English language:

They had poor background knowledge of the language which resulted in poor performance in class. Content subjects, like Mathematics, Physical Sciences, Geography, or Economics, are made to seem too difficult by the use of English as a medium of instruction for learners who are not L1 speakers of the language.

On the other hand, the other teacher (BTf2) from the school in a suburban area, said their learners did not seem to struggle much, because:

They were made familiar with the language from a young age. The learners attended primary schools that are around the school whose medium of instruction is English from as early as Grade R.

However, BTf5, from the same school, was of the opinion that learners, who were not L1 speakers of the language, were at a disadvantage, as they struggled to understand in class. She felt they could do well in an environment where they were free to use their L1.

Q2: What effect do the learners' languages spoken at home have on their understanding of content taught in English?

Three teachers (BTf4, DTf1, and DTm2) said that, if learners were taught in their L1, there would be less explaining to do in the classroom; hence, more knowledge would be imparted to learners. It would save time which could be dedicated to other learning activities. DTm3 concurred with them:

The L1 has a positive effect. The learners tend to grasp the content in different subjects much better.

BTf2 and BTf4 were of the view that some concepts taught in English became abstract to the learners, as they had to translate them into their languages, in order for them to understand. Whatever they read, they must try and make sense of it in a familiar language. An example of 'cousin' was given. While in most BSALs, this translates into a child born of one's maternal or paternal uncle, in English, it has a broader meaning.

DTf2 and DTm1 thought that using the learners' L1 could assist in the learning process, and also help to uplift the competence level of learners. DTf1 suggested that:

The L1 of the learner will play a major role in the education of learners, because some of them fail in their studies, not because they are not intelligent, but because they do not understand the language of instruction.

Q3: Would you prefer learners to be taught all subjects in the languages they speak at home? Why?

For those who said 'yes', they would prefer this, their reason was that it would be easy for the learners to understand subjects perceived to be difficult. DTm2 proposed that:

> *The language barrier created by the fact that most of these learners only come into contact with the English language at school would be overcome. Content will be taught in a language they are familiar with.*

DTf1 said there is a need to utilise BSALs, as they make understanding content much easier, instead of concentrating on teaching in English, because, if a learner is taught to do a sum, what matters is getting the right answer, not the language used.

For those who said they would not prefer this (BTf1, DTf1, and DTm1), their reasons were that there was no ready material to teach learners in these languages. BTf1 pointed out that:

> *It will be a problem determining which language should be used as most of the classes were multilingual.*

DTm3 was more specific:

> *There would be problems of tribalism, as one language will be given preference over the other.*

According to DTm3, English has been used to overcome this potential problem, and it just has to be learnt at early stages to improve proficiency among the learners.

Q4: The language education policy states that all languages should be treated fairly in the classroom. Do you think this is being implemented in schools? Explain.

The teachers from both schools said the policy was not being implemented in their schools. BTf4 remarked:

> *The policy was only on paper as only two languages were being taught as subjects in both schools. English and Afrikaans are taught in a school which has a large number of learners from Black communities who speak these languages as third or fourth languages.*

DTm2 added:

IsiZulu and English are the languages that are mainly used in our school. IsiZulu was determined by the number of IsiZulu speaking learners which is at the expense of the other BSALs. These also become the commonly used languages for code-switching.

When asked why they did not raise the issue with the school governing body, which is responsible for choosing the languages to be learnt at school, DTm2 and DTm3 said that they had tried, but solving it proved to be a problem, because the primary schools around the area were offering isiZulu as a first language. It then remains a problem that the whole community has to take up with the district office for a solution.

DTf2 was of the opinion that:

The policy makers at school hold the notion that English is superior to other BSALs; hence, the insistence on its use.

DTm3 concurred that the BSALs tended to be looked down upon by the speakers of these languages.

Q5: Do you code-switch in your lessons? How does that help in the learners' understanding of the content?

Teachers from the high school in the township (DTf2, DTm1, and DTm3) indicated that they code-switched to ensure understanding. DTm3 explained:

We teach the content in English, as prescribed, then explain to the learners in IsiZulu. Since IsiZulu is taught as a home language for the learners, educators who did not speak IsiZulu have since learnt it, as it is used for clarification purposes, and is much needed aid.

DTf1 and DTm2 claimed learners understood better, when they code-switched, and it had proven to yield better results.

In the former Model C school, teachers said it was difficult to code-switch, as all the classes were multi-racial - which made it easy for them to stick to English. BTf3 said:

Code-switching does not apply to our school; English is a unifying language, and it makes sense for us to stick to it.

Q6: The current education system does not guarantee the equality of chances for all learners from different backgrounds. Do you agree? Please, explain.

All the teachers agreed with this statement. BTf3 revealed:

> *In the former Model C schools, learners who speak English well usually do well in the other subjects as it is the LoLT. However, learners from the Black community are coerced into learning languages and cultures that are foreign. Their cultures and languages are not shown any respect, and are, consequently, not considered at all.*

DTm1 remarked that:

> *High schools act as gatekeepers to filter through learners that are proficient in English as these perform well academically. This, then, makes them more privileged than their counterparts who do not get quality education because of their linguistic background.*

In the townships, as DTm2 put it:

> *Learners are disadvantaged, because English becomes their LoLT from the fourth grade, and are expected to catch up, and do well.*

Q7: How does teaching learners in a language that they are familiar with help them?

Most of the teachers said learners become confident to respond in class, as they are taught in a language that they are conversant with. BTf2 observed:

> *I see this when I start a lesson in English then change to IsiZulu, even those that do not usually contribute in class become free to ask questions.*

BTf4 also agreed that content would be understood more easily, if learners were taught in a language familiar to them.

However, DTm1 made the point that:

> *These learners have been learning in English from fourth grade, and by the time they get to high school in the eighth grade, they would be used to the language, and some students excel in it. It would be familiar to them.*

Q8: Do you think your learners hold the general attitude of learning the English language to gain some social and economic rewards in the community? Please, explain.

All the teachers agreed that there is a strong aspiration towards English, in order to move away from the perceived low socio-economic status. BTf4 was of the view that:

> *Learners embrace the English language for better future prospects. A good knowledge of, and fluency in, the English language gives an added advantage, in terms of job opportunities, as well as their social status.*

DTm3 was of the opinion that it was those learners, who could express themselves well in English, that stood a better chance of being employed.

BTf5 noted that:

> *The pass requirement for progression to institutions of higher learning is a contributing factor to seeing the English language as a means to a better life. A learner is required to achieve sixty percent in English, in order to gain entrance to a university, as it is the LoLT in many universities.*

According to DTf1, a good education, with prospects of employment, is still perceived as the only way to a better future. DTf1 also noted that young people in South Africa are mostly influenced by Western cultures, of which English is a great part.

BTf3's response was that:

> *This is also the attitude of parents as parents from townships around Boksburg want their children to stand out in their communities by bussing their children to a school that is far from home to be taught by White teachers who are deemed to be L1 English speakers - which is not usually the case.*

BTf3 concurred that they did not want to take their children to schools in the townships, which offer BSALs as first languages.

4.3 Synthesis

Most learners, with the exception of BLf2, BLf6, BLf8, BLf18, BLm2, BLm5, BLm7 and BLm10, showed that they used BSALs on the home front. This shows that BSALs are reserved for informal activities, and learners use mostly BSALs in their private space,

because they are more comfortable with them, as these are their pride. Although learners think that BSALs have no place in the workplace, they still believe they can achieve better marks in class, if the BSALs were used.

In Statement 11 (Learners' questionnaire), which sought to know if they would like their teachers to speak to them in BSALs, most of the learners agreed. While they did not see it worthwhile to spend time learning the BSALs (Statement 8), they still believed that their grades would become better, if they were taught in them.

The learners' response to Statement 9 was that they were not sure of the place of the BSALs in the modern world. However, they felt that they would be at an advantage, if their L1 was to be used in the classroom. The researcher picked mixed attitudes, probably because the learners were not well-informed of the importance of one's L1, in terms of expressing themselves.

In response to Statement 11, which sought to know if learners would like teachers to speak to them in languages they spoke at home, most of the learners agreed that their grades would be better, if taught in languages they spoke at home. They were, however, negative to having multilingual classes. The learners seem to like the idea of being spoken to in their L1s, and using their L1s to better their grades. This shows that, while they are proud of speaking their languages, they are still not confident in using them during classes.

The use of BSALs goes beyond ethnic boundaries as two Coloured learners (BLf11 and BLm5) and one White learner (BLf8) also spoke at least one BSAL. BSALs seem to give them a sense of belonging, especially with the Black learners.

Although most learners spoke their BSALs at home, English was being used at home by Black learners (BLf9, BLf12, BLF13, BLf14, BLf15, BLf16, BLf17, BLf22, BLm4, BLm9, BLm13, BLm14, and BLm16). This shows that, not only is English spoken at school, but learners are encouraged to use it on the home front too.

Learners from the township school preferred English and a BSAL to be used during lessons. While they saw the need to have the English language as an MoI, they also wanted to be addressed in their BSALs in class. This can also be attributed to them being proud of their languages; hence, their need for multilingual classes.

Learners seemed to value the resources English gives access to. In Statement 14, the learners acknowledged the dominant role of English in education, as most of them believed they needed it for their studies in higher institutions of learning. While learners pride themselves in speaking BSALs, they were also proud to embrace the English language for its functionality.

The learners, generally, disagreed about using different languages in the classroom. Multilingualism is perceived to be problematic, and not practical, in the classroom. Learners disagreed with Statement 7, about BSALs being difficult to learn, but they found it difficult to embrace them for use in the classroom.

In Statement 12, learners agreed that their grades would be better, if they were taught in their L1s. They also agreed to Statement 8 about more useful languages they could learn than their L1s. BLf2, BLf6, BLf8, BLf18, BLm2, BLm7, and BLm10 strongly disagreed with this statement, as they are not L1 speakers of BSALs.

One could conclude that, while the learners showed pride in their languages, they still considered English an important part of their lives.

The teachers cited the academic benefits of using BSALs as MoIs. BTf4 said there would be an increase in the academic performance of the learners, and it would also improve self-expression. It was stated that it would be difficult for learners to express themselves in a language, which is not their L1. This trend was also observed by this researcher, who, when speaking to the teacher interviewees in English, observed that the responses were not as forthcoming as when isiZulu was used. This shows that different stakeholders in schools were aware of the advantages of learners using their L1s.

The teachers revealed positive attitudes toward BSALs; they were proud of their languages, but they were reserved for use in informal communication. It was observed that BSALs only play a secondary role in the academic context in supplementing explanations in English during lessons.

Teachers also stressed the need for learners to learn the English language, in order for them to be competitive in the job market. DTm3 stated that, if learners were taught in BSALs, they would not become proficient in English, and their knowledge would be useless in an English-dominated workplace. The instrumental value of English is

mentioned by all respondents as an argument against BSALs being desirable MoIs in the classroom.

Multilingualism in the classroom was viewed as a problem by the teachers. Those from the suburban school did not see the need for it, as, according to BTf5, it was impossible to code-switch, since there are learners from different races in the same classroom, and using English was the only way to avoid disadvantaging other learners. This is ironic, since the non-English speakers were disadvantaged, as it was. In the township schools, the teachers seemed to be worried about one BSAL being favoured over the other, if a multilingual classroom was to be encouraged.

The parents, members of the SGBs, seemed to consider BSALs as only appropriate in lower-status domains, such as being used amongst peers, family, and community life, as most of them spoke different BSALs. They, however, wanted their children to be taught in English. This could be interpreted as them instilling in their children pride in speaking BSALs, but maintaining the English language in the classroom for socio-educational and socio-economic benefits.

In their response to Statement 9, five SGB members strongly agreed to their children being speakers of BSALs, four agreed, and only BGf2 was not sure. They, however, gave different attitudinal positions for Statement 13, which said different languages should be prescribed for every subject. The attitudinal positions were towards disagreement. While they agreed to their children being speakers of BSALs, they disagreed, when these were brought into the classroom.

Pride in one's language is shown, when SGB members agreed to Statement 11, which states that language is essential to take part fully in South African life. All the SGB members agreed with this. They were, however, not sure if teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during lessons. While they found it important for their children to be proud of their languages, they were reserved, when it came to their use in the classroom.

Positive attitudes toward the English language were also seen amongst SGB members who indicated that it was easy to find a job, if one spoke English. All the SGB members agreed with this statement. They were not sure if teachers should allow learners to speak different

languages during lessons. BGf1, who is Asian, strongly disagreed; BGf2 and BGf4, who were White, disagreed with having multilingual classrooms.

While Black parents acknowledged the importance of the English language on the job front, they also would like to see the BSALs in the classroom. The BSALs can only serve as an enhancement for the understanding of the learners in class. The parents implied that BSALs have a secondary role of being used to explain concepts that learners did not understand in English.

All the SGB members disagreed with learning school subjects in different languages, but agreed with teachers allowing different languages in class. This shows that BSALs could only be allowed in class for code-switching, the main MoI being English. This is to ensure the learners spoke English adequately for them to cope with the demands of higher institutions of learning, and the workplace. It was also observed that there were low levels of tolerance toward learner-initiated code-switching. During the interview with one teacher, a learner spoke to the teacher in Sesotho, and he was flatly ignored until he spoke in English. This was done outside the classroom.

SGB members emphasised the importance of English in education, because it is the preferred medium of communication in the workplace. With six of the SGB members employed, and four unemployed, this could be an indication of how much they valued being employed, and the need to speak well the language prescribed by the employer. This is at the detriment of the BSALs, which are being side-lined in the formal sectors of society.

4.4 Discussion

The study conducted revealed that learners had a positive attitude toward the use of English as an MoI, and as a subject, as all of them indicated that they could understand and speak the language. Among the languages they had listed as easy to speak, English was one of them. It was also one of the languages they spoke with their friends - which shows that they had embraced the language, as it forms part of their socialising. They also would like to learn and speak the language in their lessons, probably because they associated it with better prospects in the future.

The SGB members also displayed a positive attitude, as in most statements they strongly agreed or agreed with the use of the English language in the classroom. Since most of

them were employed, they probably were aware of the use of the language in the work place. Even those that were unemployed would probably want their children to do well in a class which is taught in English, and do better than they had.

The findings also reveal that teachers found teaching English, or in English, to learners, who were not L1 speakers of the language, a problem. Teachers experienced problems in comprehension from the learners, who could not express themselves in English, and the other problem could be that some teachers also struggled to express themselves in the language, just like their learners.

These findings in Boksburg are similar to those of a study conducted in Cape Town by Dyers (2004), where most learners at a secondary school in Wesbank from Black townships were placed in classes where they did English as a first language, even though they had extremely limited command of the language. This was with the strong support of the parents, who believed that English held the key to future success for their children.

In Devon, parents strongly agreed that their children be taught through the medium of English from the fifth grade. While learners at this stage would have acquired sufficient conceptual and cognitive development (De Klerk, 2004) to facilitate a smooth transfer into English, the learners' first language would have been ideal. De Klerk (2004: 5) sees this as parents who see English as vital for their children's future. She observed that there was a drift to English-medium schools among the elite. She further states that some parents even forbade the use of BSALs at home, as they saw no future for employment prospects in their own languages.

In a study conducted at the University of Stellenbosch in a language survey, Van der Walt (2010) highlighted that the global status of English, as the gateway to job markets and international communication, is the most obvious reason for students wanting to learn the language. Van der Walt (2010: 301) further argues that his use of Stellenbosch University data is meant to illustrate a more general phenomenon when students or learners are instrumentally motivated toward a language, such as English. Van der Walt (2010: 303) mentions that this argument is not only common in South Africa, but is used throughout the world to justify the 'simple' and economically viable solution of using English as a language of teaching and learning.

A study by Dalvit and De Klerk (2005) revealed that English seemed something that students had to come to terms with, rather than a freely chosen and desirable option. This also holds true in this study as English was strongly associated with tertiary education, and the workplace. English, being the main language of assessment, the use of BSALs seemed to be for the benefit of learners with low levels of English proficiency.

Van der Walt (2010), nevertheless, maintains that second language users of English do need support in their BSALs. When they deal with material that they perceive to be complex, they may prefer their L1, because their working memory capacity is bigger - which increases processing speed, and efficiency. Second language users still hold the belief that their first language gives them a feeling of ethnic identity, and that of belonging to a particular cultural group.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In a multilingual society, like South Africa, teachers, parents, and learners play an important role in the education of the learners. Teaching content subjects in the L1 of the learner is of great importance in the formative years of schooling. For the society at large, there is a need for language workers, especially in the big cities, where there is a great diversity of languages. This implies that there need to be changes in place in the curricula of high schools, and institutions of higher learning.

More people should be enabled to speak BSALs, and all learners should be able to pursue their education in their L1. Although this will be the ideal situation for a multilingual country, like South Africa, it is still a dream which is far from being achieved.

The intention of language-in-education policy makers is to establish a true multilingual learning environment (Baker, 2001: 57), implementing it is proving to be a difficult task. This is largely due to the attitudes that exist amongst the stakeholders at grassroots level of the education sector.

Based on the findings of previous studies, and the current study, it could be argued that learners use languages at their disposal for different purposes. Learners believe that using English, and being proficient in the language, could help them reach their goals in academic achievement and future employment. This relates to the cognitive component of attitude. Learners displayed a preference to use English to study, and find employment, rather than the BSALs. However, the BSALs are not replaced by English, and they do not value them any less than English.

English seems to be a language that students have to come to terms with, rather than a freely chosen and desirable option. Unless BSALs are given market value, unless their instrumentality for the process of production and distribution is enhanced, the policy changes in high schools will not help in changing the current attitudes held by all the stakeholders. The English language is strongly associated with tertiary education, and the workplace.

In the classroom, English being the main language of learning, teaching, and assessment, the use of BSALs seems to be strictly for the benefit of learners with low levels of English

proficiency. Teachers claimed they code-switched to enhance understanding of content for learners who were struggling to grasp concepts.

Given these findings, the following recommendations are, hereby, proposed:

Recommendation 1

The Department of Higher Education should work with the Department of Basic Education in educating high school learners of the importance of studying BSALs, and the career paths they could follow. A programme of job creation and employment, on the basis of BSALs proficiencies, would serve as an affirmative action programme. One that would make BSALs attractive in the job market, and also be taught in all education sectors, as there will be employment prospects for those who study them.

Recommendation 2

The various language policies in South Africa should move from being "pious articles of faith enshrined in constitutions and policy documents" (Prah, 2006: 34). If high schools are to make progress in educating the youth of South Africa, there is a need to pursue policies at the level of active practice.

Recommendation 3

The society should be encouraged to change its attitudes toward BSALs, as there are great economic benefits in being competent in them.

While this study confirms findings by other scholars, the data gathered will be used for the purposes of encouraging a change in perspective on the value accorded languages in and out of high school, so as to activate changes in policy and practice. General school improvement can be achieved by changed language perceptions. Empowering communities, and creating better chances for the younger generations to participate confidently in the social, economic, and political spheres of society, can be made possible.

ADDENDUM A: Questionnaire for Learners

In this questionnaire, the researcher is investigating language attitudes. This forms part of her study towards an MTech in Language Practice. Participation will be made anonymously and it is voluntary.

About yourself (tick the appropriate)

1. What is your age? (14-16) ☐ (17-20) ☐
2. What is your gender? Male ☐ Female ☐
3. Which race do you belong to? Black ☐ White ☐ Coloured ☐ Asian ☐
4. What type of area do you live in? Suburban ☐ Township ☐
5. Which language(s) do you speak at home?

.....

6. Which other language(s) can you speak?

.....

About language (Tick the appropriate)

No	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
7	The Black South African Languages (BSALs) are difficult to learn.					
8	There are more useful languages to learn than BSALs.					
9	BSALs have no place in the modern world.					
10	You are considered a lower class person if you speak the BSALs.					
11	During lessons your teachers should speak to you using BSALs.					
12	Your grades become better if you are taught using your home language.					
13	Teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during lessons.					
14	Learning English is more important in preparing for studying in higher institutions of learning.					

Thank you for your participation.

ADDENDUM B: Interview Schedule for Teachers

I would like to talk to you about how you perceive languages that are spoken in your school. I am interested in your feelings concerning the use of the English language in the classroom compared to the use of Black South African Languages. I would also wish for us to discuss what motivates your learners in language education. Your name will not appear in my work.

I am going to take 30 minutes of your time, and I would like you to give me your honest response to the questions that I will ask.

1. ***Kindly give me your age range, 20-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 or 60 & above.***
2. ***In what type of area do you live? Township, or suburban?***
3. ***How many years have you been teaching?***
4. ***What is your highest qualification?***
5. ***What position do you hold in the school?***
6. ***What difficulties do you encounter when teaching learners in English?***
7. ***What effect does the learners' first language have in their understanding of content taught in class?***
8. ***Would you prefer learners to be taught all subjects in their home language? Why?***
9. ***The language education policy states that all languages should be treated fairly in the classroom. Do you think this is being implemented in schools? Explain.***
10. ***Do you code-switch in your lessons? How does that help in the learners' understanding of the content?***
11. ***The current education system does not guarantee the equality of chances for all learners from different backgrounds. Do you agree? Please, explain.***
12. ***How does teaching learners in a language that they are familiar with help them?***
13. ***Do you think your learners hold the general attitude of learning the English language to gain some social and economic rewards in the community? Please, explain.***

Thank you for your participation.

ADDENDUM C: Questionnaire for SGB members

In this questionnaire, the researcher is investigating language attitudes. This forms part of her study towards an MTech in Language Practice. Participation will be made anonymously, and it is voluntary.

About yourself (tick the appropriate)

1. What is your age? (30-39) ☐ (50-64) ☐ (65 & older) ☐
2. What is your gender? Male ☐ Female ☐
3. Which race do you belong to? Black ☐ White ☐ Coloured ☐ Asian ☐
4. What type of area do you live in? Suburban ☐ Township ☐
5. How do you generate your income? Employed ☐ Self-employed ☐ Unemployed ☐
6. Which language(s) do you speak at home?

.....

7. Which other language(s) can you speak?

.....

About language (Tick the appropriate)

No	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
8	I would like my children to be speakers of Black South African Languages (BSALs).					
9	My language helps me to maintain my identity.					
10	My language is essential to take part fully in South African life.					
11	Teachers should allow learners to speak different languages during lessons.					
12	Different languages of instruction should be prescribed for every subject.					
13	English is an important language, it serves as a medium of communication amongst the different races.					
14	It is easier to find a job if you speak English than any other language.					
15	Learning English is more important in preparing for further study.					

Thank you for your participation.

ADDENDUM D: Learners' Profiles

Code	Age	Race	Type of residence	Home language(s)	Other languages spoken
BLf1	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu, Sesotho	Afrikaans, English, IsiXhosa, N. Sotho
BLf2	14-16	White	Suburban	Afrikaans, English	
BLf3	14-16	Black	Township	Northern Sotho	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu, SiSwati
BLf4	14-16	Black	Township	Sesotho	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu
BLf5	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu, Sesotho	Afrikaans, English
BLf6	14-16	Indian	Suburban	English	Afrikaans
BLf7	14-16	Black	Suburban	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English, Setswana
BLf8	14-16	White	Suburban	Afrikaans, English	IsiZulu
BLf9	14-16	Black	Township	English, IsiXhosa	Afrikaans
BLf10	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans , English
BLf11	14-16	Coloured	Township	Afrikaans, IsiZulu	English
BLf12	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu, Sesotho	Afrikaans , English
BLf13	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, Sesotho	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLf14	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, Setswana	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLf15	17-20	Black	Township	English, IsiZulu	Afrikaans
BLf16	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, Tshivenda	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLf17	17-20	Black	Township	English, Sesotho	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLf18	17-20	Indian	Suburban	English, Gujarati	Afrikaans
BLf19	17-20	Black	Township	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English
BLf20	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho	Afrikaans, English
BLf21	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English
BLf22	17-20	Black	Township	English, Sesotho	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLf23	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English, Setswana
BLm1	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu, Sesotho	Afrikaans, English
BLm2	14-16	Indian	Suburban	Afrikaans, English	
BLm3	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English
BLm4	14-16	Black	Township	English, IsiZulu	Afrikaans, Sesotho
BLm5	14-16	Coloured	Suburban	Afrikaans	English, IsiZulu
BLm6	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu
BLm7	17-20	Coloured	Township	Afrikaans	English, IsiZulu
BLm8	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho, IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English
BLm9	17-20	Black	Township	English, Setswana	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLm10	17-20	White	Suburban	Afrikaans, English	
BLm11	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu
BLm12	17-20	Black	Township	IsiXhosa	Afrikaans, English, Sesotho

BLm13	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, Sesotho	Afrikaans, IsiZulu
BLm14	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, IsiXhosa	Afrikaans, IsiZulu, Sesotho
BLm15	17-20	Black	Township	IsiXhosa	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu
BLm16	17-20	Black	Suburban	English, IsiZulu	Afrikaans, Sesotho
BLm17	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English, Setswana
DLf1	14-16	Black	Township	Sesotho, IsiZulu	English
DLf2	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLf3	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiXhosa
DLf 4	14-16	Black	Township	IsiNdebele	English, IsiZulu
DLf5	14-16	Black	Township	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu	English
DLf6	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiXhosa, Setswana
DLf7	14-16	Black	Township	IsiNdebele, IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLf8	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLf9	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiXhosa
DLf10	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Sesotho
DLf11	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, SiSwati
DLf12	17-20	Black	Township	SiSwati, IsiZulu	English
DLf13	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiXhosa, SiSwati
DLf14	17-20	Black	Township	IsiNdebele, IsiZulu	English, Setswana
DLf15	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiNdebele
DLf16	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho	English, IsiZulu
DLf17	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Sesotho, SiSwati
DLf18	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiNdebele
DLf19	17-20	Black	Township	SiSwati, IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLf20	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English
DLf21	17-20	Black	Township	Northern Sotho, IsiZulu	English, Sesotho
DLm1	14-16	Black	Township	IsiNdebele	English, IsiZulu
DLm2	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiNdebele
DLm3	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Setswana
DLm4	14-16	Black	Township	Sesotho, IsiZulu	English
DLm5	14-16	Black	Township	SiSwati	English, IsiZulu
DLm6	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiNdebele
DLm7	14-16	Black	Township	IsiZulu, Tshivenda	English
DLm8	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLm9	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiXhosa
DLm10	17-20	Black	Township	IsiNdebele	English, IsiZulu, SiSwati

DLm11	17-20	Black	Township	IsiNdebele	English, IsiZulu
DLm12	17-20	Black	Township	IsiNdebele, IsiZulu	English
DLm13	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLm14	17-20	Black	Township	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu	English, Sesotho
DLm15	17-20	Black	Township	IsiNdebele	English, IsiZulu, SiSwati
DLm16	17-20	Black	Township	SiSwati	English, IsiZulu
DLm17	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Northern Sotho
DLm18	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, IsiNdebele
DLm19	17-20	Black	Township	IsiZulu	English, Sesotho

ADDENDUM E: TEACHERS' PROFILES

Code	Age (in yrs)	Race	Qualifications	Teaching Experience (in yrs)	Designation
BTf1	<30	White	Bachelor's	6	Post Level 1
BTf2	30-49	White	Diploma	9	Post Level 1
BTf3	30-49	White	Diploma	12	Post Level 1
BTf4	30-49	White	Diploma	16	Head of Department
BTf5	50-64	White	Bachelor's	25	Head of Department
DTf1	<30	Black	Bachelor's	4	Post Level 1
DTf2	30-49	Black	Bachelor's	9	Post Level 1
DTm1	30-49	Black	Bachelor's	13	Post Level 1
DTm2	30-49	Black	Diploma	21	Deputy Principal
DTm3	50-64	Black	Diploma	27	Head of Department

ADDENDUM F: SGB MEMBERS' PROFILES

Code	Age	Race	Residence	Employment	Home language(s)	Other language(s) spoken
BGf1	30-49	Indian	Suburban	Employed	English	IsiZulu
BGf2	30-49	White	Suburban	Employed	English	Afrikaans
BGf3	30-49	Black	Suburban	Employed	IsiZulu	English, Sesotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda
BGf4	50-64	White	Suburban	Employed	English	Afrikaans
BGm1	30-49	Black	Township	Employed	IsiZulu, Setswana	English, IsiNdebele, N. Sotho, Xitsonga
DGf1	30-49	Black	Township	Employed	IsiZulu, Sesotho	English, IsiNdebele, SiSwati, Tshivenda
DGf2	50-64	Black	Township	Unemployed	IsiNdebele	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu, N. Sotho
DGm1	30-49	Black	Township	Unemployed	IsiZulu	Afrikaans, English, SiSwati, Xitsonga
DGm2	30-49	Black	Township	Unemployed	IsiZulu, Sesotho	English, IsiNdebele, Tshivenda
DGm3	50-64	Black	Township	Unemployed	SiSwati	Afrikaans, English, IsiZulu, Xitsonga

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