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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The present study investigated language policy implementation in selected high schools in the Mthatha District of the Eastern Cape, in the light of the change in medium-of-instruction policy in post-apartheid South Africa. In the introductory chapter, I contextualise the study by outlining the background of the problem, the purpose of the study, and the research aims and objectives. This is followed by the research questions, statement of the problem, rationale of the theoretical framework, research assumptions, definition of terms and concepts, justification of the study, the research approach, the limitations of the study, the organization and overview of the study, and the conclusion.

Language is one of the major challenges of curriculum implementation for governments in post-colonial Africa. Language, which is the primary means of group identity formation and a shield to protect this identity (Zotwana in Alexander, 1989:77), is also linked to ideology and power (Makalela, 2005). Language has always been a controversial and explosive subject in post-colonial societies, primarily because of the legacy of colonial governments' language planning policies whose aim was to promote and entrench linguistic imperialism through divisive language legislation. Linguistic imperialism is the tendency to attribute favourable characteristics to a particular language whilst devaluing other languages (Phillipson, 1992). Makalela (2005:157) posits that the tendency for post-colonial governments to continue implementing their colonial masters' language policies has not resulted in linguistic reform in post colonial societies because of the following myths surrounding African languages:

- Many of the languages are not developed, so they cannot be used in education;
- The costs of developing African languages are very high;
- Their exclusive use will block the window to the world and result in exclusion from participation in the international community;
- Some speakers of African languages do not wish to see their languages used in education because they have a total lack of confidence in the languages in these domains;
- European languages are neutral and have a potential for creating national cohesiveness among speakers of competing languages.

Linguistic imperialism has resulted in the marginalization of indigenous languages and in English being positioned favourably as a language of prosperity and progress in linguistically plural African societies. Ouedraogo (2000:19) asserts that the complexity of the language question in Africa has been compounded by factors such as the commercial importance of the colonial language, the perception that multilingualism is a problem, the political value of English and French, parental demands, globalization, structural and cultural factors, technological changes, wars and riots, and economic cycles. Ouedraogo argues that, for the sake of political expediency, many African states chose colonial languages as *lingua franca* and media of instruction.

1.2. Language-in-Education Policy Implementation in African Countries

Bamgbose (2004) classifies African countries into the following categories in terms of the medium of instruction:

1. Countries that were once under colonial rule and favour the use of African languages for teaching, particularly in early primary school education: Botswana, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Sudan, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda.
2. Countries which discourage the use of African languages for teaching: Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Niger, Republic of Congo, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Mali, Guinea, Mauritania, Chad, Togo, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé, and Equatorial Guinea.
3. Countries that support a dual language policy, or whose LIE policy is different from those of the colonizing countries: Cameroon, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, and Somalia.

In post-apartheid South Africa, a number of policies, aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past, were promulgated after the democratic elections in 1994. One of these was the 1997 multilingual language-in-education policy which guaranteed an equal status to all the eleven languages. Brock-Utne (2001:129) maintains that some African states, among them South Africa, Namibia, and Uganda, are not implementing their progressive language policies. Zimbabwe, despite its multilingual profile, has also adopted English as the main language of instruction, only

using Shona, and Ndebele in the lower primary school (Thondlana, 2002:33). The exception is Tanzania, where KiSwahili, which is the national language for about 95% of the population, is employed as a medium of instruction in primary schools. As a result, learners in Tanzania experience immense challenges with the language of instruction when it changes to English at secondary level (Makalela, 2005:157). Prah (2005) maintains that the situation in Tanzania came about as a result of half-hearted attempts by the government to employ KiSwahili as MOI, then abandoning it mid-stream, instead of going the whole hog and employing it up to tertiary level.

Several explanations have been advanced for the success or failure of reform in the post-apartheid South African education system. Jansen (2002:200) cites political symbolism, which he describes as “the pre-occupation of the state with settling policy struggles in the political domain rather than in the realm of practice,” and regards as the main reason behind the lack of policy implementation. According to Jansen, LIE policy-making in South Africa has largely become a symbolic activity. No provision for policy implementation has been made; teachers have not been trained in bilingual/multilingual education; a materials development policy is not in place; and parents and teachers are relatively uninformed about the policy and its intended consequences. Others contend that government inertia, socio-political factors, language status and inequalities, and the absence of a coordinated plan have contributed to the lack of implementation of the multilingual MOI policy and the continued imposition of the apartheid period medium-of-instruction policy (Heugh, 2000:3, and Mda, 2004:167). Myths or misconceptions which militate against the successful implementation of the multilingual LIE policy include: English is the only language that can deliver quality education; very little or no South African indigenous research on MOI has been conducted; bilingual/multilingual education is too expensive and the only option for South Africa is a mainly English education; parents want the straight-for-English model only; and many South African children speak many languages and therefore do not need mother-tongue education (Heugh, 2000:12-30). Kamwangamalu (2000: 6) cites resistance to mother-tongue instruction, ambivalent clauses in the policy, and the tentative language in which the policy is framed as the main reasons behind its non-implementation.

1.3 Background of the Problem

A brief synopsis of the history of language-in-education policy is presented in order to contextualize the language question in South Africa and to show how language has been used as a political tool to perpetuate the agendas of past governments. Makalela (2005) divides the history of language-in-education policy in South Africa into seven epochs, namely:

- the pre-colonial era;
- the arrival of the Dutch in 1652;
- the invasion of English colonizers in 1795;
- the Dutch-English bilingual system from 1910-1925;
- the rise of Afrikaans with apartheid policies in 1948;
- the 1976 Soweto student uprising;
- the multilingual policy provisions of 1997.

For the purposes of this study, the history of language-in-education policy has been divided into two broad phases, the apartheid era and the post-apartheid era. My discussion concentrates mainly on language-in-education policy implementation during the post-apartheid period in South Africa.

1.3.1 Medium-of-Instruction Policies during the Apartheid Era

A review of the historical background of the medium-of-instruction policies in South Africa reveals that after the National Party came into power in 1948, language was used as a tool to entrench inequality through its segregationist policies (Kamwangamalu, 2000). Through the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was formulated to protect white interests, white students had access to languages of power and privilege, i.e. English and Afrikaans, throughout the school system, at university, and in the workplace. Black learners, on the other hand, were initially taught in their mother-tongue and then in English and Afrikaans, thus ensuring the delivery of a cognitively impoverished education for blacks and a culture of mediocrity and under-achievement in black schools (Kamwangamalu, 2000). The June 1976 student revolt in South Africa was a reaction to the realization that language policy in black education was legislated to promote inequality. Kamwangamalu maintains that the 1976 uprising had the following consequences for language policy planning and implementation. The status of English was boosted and was perceived as a

language of liberation in the black community; Afrikaans was discontinued as a medium of instruction in black education, but African languages continued to be stigmatized. Afrikaans and mother-tongue instruction in African schools were restricted to the primary school level and black learners were no longer required to meet the neo-colonialist requirement that they should obtain a pass in both English and Afrikaans before they could qualify for a Matric certificate (Alexander, 1989:25).

1.3.2 Medium-of-Instruction Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The post-apartheid period in South Africa was marked by the crafting of legislation aimed at overhauling a discriminatory and fragmented education system. The policies that were designed to usher in a quality education system, founded on equity, the redress of inequality, non-racialism and non-sexism, included the Schools Act of 1996, the 1997 Language-in-Education Policy, and Curriculum 2005. The aims of the South African Language-in-Education Policy are stated (National Department of Education, Language-in-Education Policy, 1997:4-5) as follows:

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

Heugh (2000:4) commends the South African government for the progressive thinking underlying the crafting of a post-apartheid medium of instruction policy that is “based on non-discriminatory language use and guarantees the best possible access to another language as it is based on a

bilingual/multilingual framework.” According to Heugh, the multilingual LIE policy takes into account the socio-linguistic profile of the country, guarantees mother-tongue instruction for every learner, creates an opportunity for a learner to add a second or even a third language to his/her existing linguistic repertoire, and grants rights to pupils and parents, through School Governing Bodies (SGBs), to decide on media of instruction in schools. In practice, SGBs in African schools choose English as an MOI, not as a sign of resistance to mother-tongue education but because of negative attitudes towards Afrikaans and the fact that English is a resource-rich language (Makalela, 2005).

1.3.3 A Critique of the 1997 Multilingual LIE

A major criticism of the 1997 multilingual LIE policy is that it is based on a faulty colonial notion of multilingualism, one which puts artificial linguistic boundaries for otherwise related and mutually-intelligible and comprehensible South African indigenous languages (Makalela, 2005). Makalela posits that multilingualism is an artificial construct which came about when missionaries, who were agents for perpetuating colonialism through evangelism in Africa, put the African languages (in which they were not themselves proficient) in writing. This resulted in the balkanization of African language varieties and the emergence of the nine African languages which formed the basis of the Bantustan homelands. These nine local/indigenous languages are sePedi, xiTsonga, tshiVenda, siSwati, isiZulu, seTswana, seSotho, isiNdebele, and isiXhosa. The current multilingual LIE policy could easily have resulted in linguistic reform had it not been based on the faulty notion that there are nine African languages in South Africa, which like English and Afrikaans are now official languages. Makalela proposes a language harmonization model which reconsiders the notion of multilingualism by harmonizing cognate (mutually intelligible and comprehensible) African languages. The nine local languages could be grouped as follows:

- A. Si language varieties (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati)
- B. Se language varieties (sePedi, SeTswana, seSotho).

According to Makalela (2005) and Prah (2005), a reduction in the number of local/indigenous languages would promote the use of African languages and lead to cost-effective materials development which could be shared across similar language varieties as shown above. This would

ensure that all African education could be offered in local languages from primary school to tertiary level, as has been the case for the Greeks, French, Germans, Chinese, Koreans, etc. Other languages, including colonial languages, could be offered as subjects to facilitate multilingualism (Prah, 2005: 35-36).

In South Africa, English continues to play a dominant role in education, with African languages being used as media of instruction at early primary school level only. This state of affairs does not reflect the spirit of the multilingual policy; instead, it undermines it. The proposed early introduction to English as a subject from Grade 1, when currently it is offered from Grade 4 onwards (Daily Dispatch, 16 January 2010), clearly indicates a move towards an English-only policy.

Webb (2006:9) states that the current language planning policies in South Africa show the following negative signs: too little effective language planning research and coordination of existing research projects, increasing institutional mono-lingualism, low level of public debate on medium-of-instruction (MOI), which is characterized by speculation and is ideological in nature, continued emotional resistance to indigenous languages, limited support for multilingualism at senior government level, and the lack of public support for multilingualism by public leaders. The positive signs are that the government has established the legal infrastructure for language planning and has shown willingness to involve language-planning experts in the discussions on language issues. Webb's analysis of language planning practices in South Africa indicates that, although a commendable LIE policy framework is in place, implementation is still lagging behind.

It is against the background sketched above that the complexity of language planning in the South African education system should be understood. This study aims at making a contribution to the existing body of knowledge on language-in-education by exploring how teachers in a post-colonial African context interpret and implement language policies in their classrooms. The historical background given above clearly indicates that the language question in the South African education system remains a complex and controversial issue, even after the promulgation of a multilingual language-in-education policy.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Language policy enactment at classroom level warrants investigation because the LOLT, which is a second language for black pupils, is viewed as a major factor behind the poor Matric results of black learners in South Africa (Daily Dispatch report, 12 January 2010). International studies such as TIMMS also cite English as a major contributory factor in learner achievement in schools where a second language (L2) is utilized as an LOLT (Reddy, 2006). In my research, I wanted to establish how teachers exercise their agency with regard to language policy implementation in a developing country, particularly in the light of the provisions of the 1997 language-in-education policy. This study contributes to the debate on the language question in education by giving teachers' perspectives on this complex and controversial issue.

In post-colonial African countries, the medium-of-instruction policy has always been a highly contested issue. Many post-colonial African governments have maintained the status quo and continued using colonial languages as official languages. Bamgbose (2004) refers to this phenomenon as “policy maintenance.” The colonial experience shaped and defined language policy development in post-colonial states, and the colonial practice of using African languages only in the primary school phase was maintained. At secondary and tertiary levels, colonial languages continue to be used as media of instruction. The reasons often advanced for maintaining English as LOLT at secondary school level are that there is a lack of terminology in the vernacular at post-school level, that African languages are not used as LOLT, that the multiplicity of African languages makes it impossible to use them as LOLT, and that globalization puts a high premium on English (Bamgbose, 2004).

Prah (2005) and Makalela (2005) assert that in post-colonial countries, colonial languages were positioned as languages of prestige whilst African languages remained devalued. Speakers of African languages perceived them as incapable of providing access to employment opportunities in the job market (Zotwana in Alexander, 1989:77). “Policy shift”, which involves either increasing or decreasing the use of African languages in education, is evident in some countries (Bamgbose, 2004). In South Africa, for example, there is a decrease in the number of years in which the mother tongue is used as MOI in the primary school section, though the shift towards

English only has not improved academic achievement in the school system. The reduced exposure to LI instruction puts black learners at a disadvantage because they switch to a new LOLT without having fully acquired their LI. The LI which is spoken in the wider community would have helped learners make sense of what they were learning at school, and resulted in improved motivation and achievement levels.

Firstly, the crux of the language question is that research indicates that the current language-in-education policy, which guarantees the use of all the official languages as LOLT, is not being implemented or is only partially implemented (Brock-Utne, 2001). For example, a major finding of the present study, which corroborates Brock-Utne's findings, is that in rural and township schools code-switching and code-mixing are employed extensively for teaching and learning, whereas in desegregated schools an English-only policy is pursued. In practice, indigenous languages are not employed as fully-fledged media of instruction, as was envisaged in the 1997 multilingual LIE policy.

Secondly, small-scale research needs to be conducted in order to uncover how languages in South African high schools are employed to deliver the curriculum, particularly in the light of the provisions of the 1997 medium-of-instruction policy. This study contributes to the debate on the language question in education by giving teachers' perspectives on the issue.

Thirdly, the heated current debates on language-in-education policy reveal that language is a topical issue not only for policy makers, politicians and researchers but also for the wider South African community. Shortly after the publication of the 2009 Matric results, the National Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshega, remarked that poor English skills were the major factor in the disappointing 2009 Matric results and that earlier exposure to the language (i.e. English) would prepare pupils for the final examinations (Sunday Times report, 10 January 2010). The Minister's statements - "We still want schools to offer mother-tongue instruction, **but** (my emphasis) we want them to teach more English...Even if we all agree to use Zulu, as a language of instruction, it's going to catch up with learners at university, because universities don't use it as a language of learning...It (English) really disadvantages them (black learners) compared to kids who start in English and Afrikaans. It's a major issue...In the main it's a factor which also affects

our results” - demonstrate the extent to which the Department of Education (DOE) is not supporting the multilingual LIE policy of which it is a custodian. It fails to question the ‘unassailable position of English’ in the South African context, or to confront the complexity of the language question in black education, or the disastrous effect that this has had on the academic achievement of black learners. Responding to the Minister’s press statement in the Daily Dispatch (January 12, 2010), Laura Miti, who is not against children learning their first language at school as a subject, maintains that the “crisis” needs to be addressed urgently because the Matric examination is set in English, and attaining a minimum standard of English proficiency should be a basic outcome of primary education. Contrary to her proposal, the early introduction of learners to an L2 can only disadvantage black children, since they will not have attained initial literacy in their first language. Miti argues in her column that “every child should attain the English language competency required for meaningful progression in the educational system.” She maintains that there is no sense in romanticizing mother-tongue instruction if it compromises learners’ literacy in the language of commerce and industry. Miti’s statements capture the concerns of many black parents, particularly those who cannot afford to take their children to well-resourced schools which can support an English-only policy.

Although the 1997 multilingual language-in-education policy has been commended for taking into account the linguistic profile of the country (Heugh, 2000), it has been criticized by other scholars who view it as a continuation of the apartheid language policy (Alexander, 1989; Makalela, 2005). Alexander and Makalela suggest that the alternative would be to harmonize Nguni languages and use them in high-domain functions to prevent them from becoming extinct.

In this study, the aim was to get the perspective of high school teachers on the language issue, especially in recognizing that languages other than English and Afrikaans are capable of serving as official languages and media of instruction. The study examined teachers’ interpretation and implementation of MOI policies and the reasons behind their choice of language of instruction. This was done using a questionnaire, classroom observations and focused interviews. The impact of policies on classroom language practices needs to be tested or confirmed through research in order to contribute to theory-building and influence classroom practice.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to obtain a micro-perspective view of how South African teachers understand, interpret and implement the current language-in-education policies in their classrooms. This entailed establishing the “agency, resistance, and appropriation often present in micro socio-political processes” (Deng & Gopinathan, 2006:617). Deng et al., define a micro-perspective as “the lived culture and everyday experience of students, teachers, schools and communities.” The present study investigated current classroom language practice in order to obtain a micro-perspective view of how high school teachers make sense of the medium of instruction policies in the light of the debates on language of instruction.

1.6 Over-arching Aim

The overall aim of the research project is to contribute to the knowledge of LIE policy and practice in the South African education context and also to improve LIE policy implementation.

1.7 Research Objectives

The study objectives were:

- To provide teachers from different school contexts an opportunity to reflect upon their classroom language practices and their effects on teaching and learning.
- To raise the awareness of the study participants about the centrality of language in education.
- To explain, analyse and record participants’ responses to questions relating to their understanding, interpretation and implementation of MOI policy and their classroom language practices.
- To explore the reasons behind the teachers’ choices of medium/media of instruction.
- To gain a deeper understanding of language policy implementation in different school contexts by examining the qualitative and quantitative findings of the mixed methods study.
- To make recommendations on LIE policy implementation on the basis of the research findings.

1.8 Research Questions

This study aimed at establishing possible answers to the following main research questions:

1. How do teachers understand and interpret medium-of-instruction (MOI) policies within their practice?
2. How do teachers implement medium-of-instruction policies (MOI) in their classrooms?
3. Why do teachers interpret the policies in the ways they do?

The following are sub-questions underlying the main research questions:

- 1) Are there any similarities and differences in the manner in which teachers in rural and urban-based schools understand and implement medium-of-instruction policies in practice?
- 2) Are there different MOI implementation patterns within each context?
- 3) Do subject and language teachers understand and implement MOI policies in the same manner?
- 4) What are the observed patterns of classroom interaction in both rural and urban schools?
- 5) Is teaching aligned with assessment practices with regard to language use?
- 6) Do teacher characteristics influence language policy implementation?

1.9 Rationale of Theoretical Framework

This research draws on the theory of linguistic imperialism which Phillipson (1992) regards as a distinct type of imperialism. Linguistic imperialism provides cogent explanations for the continued ‘uncritical acceptance’ of English as the only language that can be used in high-domain functions such as education, in developing countries. The teachers’ implementation, non-implementation or partial implementation of MOI policies and the effects thereof are also explained in relation to qualification analysis and Vygotsky’s theory of social constructivism.

The study also employed qualification analysis of the different skills for which the South African education system, in particular high school education, prepares its graduates, through its curriculum and the language(s) in which it is delivered. By subjecting the lesson transcripts to qualification analysis and Vygotsky’s social constructivist theory, I traced patterns of classroom interaction both between teachers and learners and amongst the learners themselves, using these to determine how the choice of language of instruction enabled or constrained the learners.

1.10 Research Assumptions

I undertook this study with the following assumptions in mind:

- 1) At school level, medium-of-instruction policies are derived from the national policy on medium-of-instruction and take into account school contextual factors such as teacher and learner linguistic profiles, the subject being offered, and the academic support learners need in order to master the curriculum on offer.
- 2) Teachers are conversant with the provisions of the 1997 LIE policy and are exercising their agency by making some adjustments to LIE policy, as dictated by the circumstances or contexts in which they teach.
- 3) Teachers at school level implement language policy in the same manner as during the apartheid era, in both rural and urban contexts, because they have to adhere to the provisions of their school language policies.

1.11 Definition of Terms/Concepts

In this sub-section, concepts which form the basis of the theoretical framework are explained in relation to the study. Phillipson (1992: 38) states that terminology used in the analysis of language and imperialism is ideologically loaded and tends to reinforce Eurocentric myths and stereotypes.

- 1) Mother tongue/ Home language/ First language

These three concepts are often used interchangeably. The defining criteria of 'mother-tongue' are origin, function, competence, self-identification, and identification by others (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984 a, in Phillipson, 1992:39). 'Mother-tongue' also refers to the language of the biological mother, or father, or a local vernacular language (Calvert, 1987, in Phillipson, 1992 p. 39). In the present study, the three terms shall refer to the language(s) spoken both in the child's home environment and in the wider community.

- 2) Second language refers to any language that one learns or acquires after first language acquisition
- 3) 'Hegemony' refers to dominant ideas that we take for granted (Phillipson, 1992:72). It is associated with "some notion of contrivance, of deliberate manipulation, and at the same time of having an identifiable source, of being devised to forward or protect a particular

interest” (Phillipson, 1992:73). According to Williams (1977:112-3, in Phillipson, 1992:74), hegemony is not a simple matter of manipulation or indoctrination; it has to be renewed, recreated, defended and modified, just as it is continually resisted, limited, altered, and challenged by pressures not all its own.

- 4) English linguistic hegemony refers to “the explicit and implicit values, beliefs, purposes and activities...which contribute to the maintenance of English as a dominant language” (Phillipson, 1992: 73).
- 5) Legitimation refers to advocacy for a particular language in the form of explicit statements or arguments that are aimed at promoting a particular language policy (Phillipson, 1992:74).
- 6) Imperialism is defined as a political system in which one group dominates another from an imperial centre for economic and other reasons; from an economic point of view, it refers to the penetration and control of markets and raw materials of the colonized by powerful countries with the aim of making profits.
- 7) Linguicism refers to ideologies and structures where language is the means for effecting or maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources (Phillipson, 1992:55). It involves attributing desirable characteristics to a language in order to either include or exclude certain people (Phillipson, 1992: 55).
- 8) English linguistic imperialism, which is a sub-type of linguicism, means promoting English by attributing to it favourable characteristics and devaluing other languages for the purposes of exclusion and inclusion. Phillipson’s working definition (1992:47) of English linguistic imperialism is that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and by continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.
- 9) Linguistic imperialism is a skewed way of thinking, evident when people are dominated by another language to the extent that they sincerely believe that they can only use that language for high-domain functions such as education (Ansre, 1979:12-13, in Phillipson, 1992:57).

1.12 Justification of the Study

The topic justifies research for the following reasons:

Firstly, in most economically advanced countries such as the South East Asian countries, Europe, and the United States of America, the home/first language (L1) is employed throughout the school system and beyond, and a language of wider communication is offered as a subject. South East Asian countries overhauled their education systems without giving up their culture and languages, and although they adopted education systems that favoured the teaching of Science and Technology, they kept out Western cultural values (Ouedraogo, 2000:48). This is not the case in most post-colonial states. Some African states, for example South Africa, Namibia and Uganda, favour the use of African languages as media of instruction; however, in practice they are not implementing their medium of instruction policies (Brock-Utne, 2001:129). I wanted to establish how teachers exercise their agency with regard to language policy implementation in a developing country such as South Africa, which has experienced colonialism and apartheid.

Secondly, the positions taken by scholars on the controversial and complex question of medium-of-instruction in post-colonial states have to be verified through research.

Thirdly, teachers are a resource that could influence policy implementation favourably or unfavourably through the manner in which they exercise their agency, regardless of how policy makers expect them to act out their roles. Their classroom practice could offer a micro-perspective on medium-of-instruction (MOI) policy implementation in a variety of socio-linguistic contexts.

Fourthly, Heugh (2000:3) argues that the 1997 policy on medium-of-instruction is silent on how teachers should implement this policy. As a consequence of this omission, teachers have had to take decisions on how to appropriate the policy, in spite of the fact that they have never had bilingual/multilingual training. It was envisaged that this study would steer the medium of instruction debate towards implementation issues, since the current medium-of-instruction policy is relatively untested. Emergent classroom-based research is needed to help policy makers

understand how medium-of-instruction policies constrain or enable teachers in their practice. On the basis of evidence gathered, MOI policies could be fine-tuned when the need arises.

Lastly, the intellectual justification for carrying out this study is that teachers' language practices have a bearing on factors such as lesson delivery, teacher effectiveness, student participation, learner achievement, retention rates, and throughput rates. There was therefore a need for teachers' language practices to be examined critically and understood in relation to policy provisions on the medium of instruction.

1.13 Research Approach

This research takes the form of a mixed methods approach and utilizes both quantitative and qualitative tools to address the research questions on the complex phenomenon of language of instruction. In a mixed methods study, numerical and text data are collected and analysed in order to provide a deeper and comprehensive understanding of the issue under investigation (Maree, 2007). Maree adds that when qualitative and quantitative methods are used together, they complement each other and provide a more elaborate approach to the research problem (Maree, 2007:261). A questionnaire, classroom observations and focused interviews were employed in this study to collect data that would give possible answers to the three research questions on teachers' understanding, interpretation and implementation of MOI policies, and the reasons behind their choice/s of language of instruction.

1.14 Limitations of the Study

This small-scale study was confined to a few selected high schools in the Mthatha District. Even in the selected schools, only a small percentage of the staff complement, those offering Business Economics/Economics, History, English and Geography, took part in the study. However, valuable lessons can be drawn for contexts similar to the one in which the study took place.

1.15 Organisation and Overview of the Study

The study comprises five chapters.

Chapter 1: introduces the inquiry by focusing on the historical background and context of the problem, the purpose of the study, statement of the problem, research aims and objectives,

research questions, rationale of the theoretical framework, research assumptions, the research approach and limitations of the study, overview and organization of the study, and conclusion.

Chapter 2: positions the study by examining empirical research on the subject of medium-of-instruction (MOI) and identifies gaps, silences and contradictions in the selected studies. It also introduces the theoretical framework and justifies the need for the kind of research conducted.

Chapter 3: presents the research design and framework for the study. It discusses and justifies sampling procedures, the choice of data collection tools, ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4: gives an evaluation of the research findings and an account of how the data from the different sources were collected, organized and analysed. The findings are discussed, and are related to the literature review, theoretical and conceptual framework, and the three research questions.

Chapter 5: presents the summary, deductions, findings and conclusions, recommendations, and the study's contribution to the expansion of knowledge in the field of medium-of-instruction policy implementation in post-colonial African states.

1.16 Conclusion

Language policy development and implementation in post-colonial states has always been an emotive topic because of the history that these countries shared with their colonizers. Many of them modelled their language policies after those of their colonizers. South Africa has tried, at least at the level of LIE policy development, to break away from the legacy of colonialism by crafting a multilingual LIE policy. The present study investigates the uptake and implementation of MOI policy from the teachers' perspective.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to summarize the findings of the literature review on the subject of medium-of-instruction policy implementation in the school system. I will also establish what is known through the research corpus about the relationship between policy and practice with respect to medium-of-instruction in contexts where the MOI is a second language, determine the limitations, gaps and contradictions within the literature on medium-of-instruction, and then justify my research in terms of what it would add to the knowledge base on medium-of-instruction, especially in the context of developing countries.

2.2 The Medium-of-Instruction Debate

2.2.1 African Languages Should Be Used As MOI in Post-colonial Contexts

Scholars have taken different positions on medium-of-instruction in post-colonial contexts. The main argument advanced by indigenous language advocates in this debate is that the learners' home languages are not in themselves deficient and can function as languages of instruction from the first grade to university (Prah, 2003:23). Scholars who hold this view approach the medium-of-instruction debate from the perspective that multilingualism is a resource, not a problem (Heugh, 1992:3). To counter the argument that multilingualism is expensive, Prah (2003:24) suggests that orthographies can be harmonized to ensure large-scale development of materials and to counter "missionary linguistic fragmentation of the ethno-linguistic field." Countries would then benefit the mass development of materials by sharing production costs and expertise. In the same vein, Alexander (1989:75) proposes that varieties of Nguni (Zulu, Xhosa, Swat, and Ndebele) and Sotho (Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, and Tswana) can and should be standardized or unified in writing and in all formal domains such as school, church, courts, etc. Alexander bases his proposal on the Zimbabwean situation in which a number of dialects (Karanga, Manyika, and Zezuru) were unified and collectively referred to as Shona. Shona, the harmonized language, is employed in all official documentation. However, a counter-view to this suggestion is that the Zimbabwean example, on which Alexander based his proposal, is not quite

comparable to the South African situation. In Zimbabwe, they were dealing with varieties within the same language, whereas in South Africa it would be more appropriate to talk about unifying isiXhosa with its dialects, such as siMpondo, siHlubi, siXesibe, siMfengu, etc (Zotwana in Alexander, 1989:76).

Dewa (2010) approaches the language question from a developmental perspective by arguing that the wealth of traditional knowledge on medicine, health practices and agriculture that Africans possess must be brought into mainstream science and technology. This could be achieved by making science, which has so far been an English language-based pursuit, accessible to Africans through local languages. To address pressing developmental issues on the African continent, it is imperative that African countries invest in such services as translation activities, including compiling dictionaries and hiring people with specialist communication skills such as integrators, filters and synthesizers, to translate and summarize science and technology ideas in local languages.

2.2.2. English Should Remain the Main Medium-of-Instruction in Post-colonial Contexts

Another position taken by scholars is that English should be employed as MOI because it is not the root cause of academic difficulties experienced by learners, and that learners who under-achieve would do so in any language (Kadegde, 2003:177). De Klerk (2002: 29-30) argues that in the case of South Africa, “claims framing first-language maintenance as a linguistic human-rights issue are inadequate because mother-tongue education and mother-tongue promotion in South Africa have been used for purposes of exclusion,” and for this reason, mother-tongue education remains a highly contested subject. Kadegde (2003:177) argues that English should remain the language of teaching and learning in Tanzania, as shifting to native languages would marginalize the majority from the economy and close possibilities for upward mobility. Researchers from Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) dispute this view on the grounds that the Kiswahili tests used by Kadegde purposely employed technical terms which were unfamiliar to the learners, even though their command of Kiswahili was good (Brock-Utne, Desai, Qorro, 2003:177).

Contrary to Kadege's view, English has been identified as a contributory factor in learner achievement in many small-scale studies carried out in South Africa and in other countries (TIMSS, 1998-1999; Simkin & Paterson, 2005; Threshold Project Report, 1990; Grade 6 Intermediate Phase Systemic Evaluation Report, 2005; Howie, 2002; Desai, 2003; Mwinsheike, 2003; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Yan, 2003; MacKay & De Klerk, 1996; Broom, 2004; Schlebusch, 2002; Malekela, 2006; Qorro, 2006; and Yohannes, 2009).

2.2.3. Proposed Solutions to the Language of Instruction Question

On the complex question of medium-of-instruction in African education, Alexander (1989) suggests a gradual transition model for South Africa. He proposes that initial learning should be in the mother tongue and that English be introduced gradually as an MOI in most subjects, subject to the availability of adequate teaching-learning materials in indigenous languages and teachers trained in these languages. Alexander (1989:67) contends that only when these conditions have been met, will the balance between English and indigenous languages change. In support of his proposal for a gradual transition model as an interim solution, he argues that the attrition rate in Matric is directly related to the language question and that a more efficient strategy would be to adopt a first or home-language medium or promote an additive bilingual approach to schooling. This would afford learners access to effective acquisition of English, while African languages were being intellectualized for high-status functions of society. An additive bilingual model emphasizes the importance of developing initial literacy in the LI and then gradually introducing an L2 alongside the L1. Makalela (2005) and Prah (2005) view the harmonization of African languages as a long-term solution to the language question in African contexts.

Heugh (1995:46) is critical of the continued use of English in African countries as languages of teaching and learning, contending that English Second Language (ESL) education in the form of subtractive and transitional models is likely to fail in South Africa for the following reasons:

- knowledge and experience acquired in the home environment are not affirmed by the school, since the child is taught in a language that is not his/her home language;
- the cognitive development of the child is disrupted with the switch to a second language (L2), even before adequate proficiency has been acquired in the first language (L1);

- the promotion of a second language is at the expense of the learner's first language (L1).

Subtractive and transitional models use the LI as a bridge to English by ensuring that the LI skills acquired by the learner form the basis for learning an L2. Heugh (2000) is of the view that the economic viability/functionality of African languages needs to be unmasked and recovered in education and beyond schooling in order to ensure that they do not become extinct.

Harlech-Jones (1997:243) criticizes the “uncritical acceptance” of English in Namibia and proposes that indigenous languages, which are currently disregarded or taught uncreatively, be employed as MOI. He proposes that factors such as school variables should be taken into account in order to ensure that language policy and practices in education promote academic success. These factors include the many under-qualified teachers who have low proficiency levels in English, the lack of resources such as library books, the need for Namibia to reduce inequalities and maximize opportunities, and the fact that English is not a lingua franca in Namibia and is not spoken in the communities where the children live.

Finlayson and Madiba (2002:1) also argue for the creation of a demand for new terminology by using African languages as MOI. Carstens (1998:01) maintains that factors such as failure to facilitate scientific knowledge using an L2, the existence of an extensive stock of technical terms in African languages, and the positive attitudes of teachers, particularly in rural schools, towards the use of the LI as LOLT are indicators that the time is ripe for South Africa to achieve the ideal of terminologisation, i.e. the development of subject-related terminology in the mother tongue. Research conducted by Manyane in 1998 in the Northern Province also validates the claim for terminologisation. Manyane's research showed increased pass rates in Physical Science in schools where the MOI matched the learners' home language, as compared to schools in which there was a mismatch between the LI and the LOLT. Prah (2003:21) cautions that failure to use African languages as media of instruction is the surest way of ensuring extinction of these languages. In the same vein, Brock-Utne (2001:118) and Reagan (2001:63) argue that the language shift towards English in countries like South Africa and Tanzania will only entrench social inequalities and continue to disadvantage the poor and benefit the élite, because the language question is all about power.

Other scholars emphasize the importance of context in the MOI debate. Desai (2001:323) asserts that language plays a central role in enabling citizens of a country to participate in all spheres of life, economically, socially and educationally, and that a two-pronged approach is needed to ensure success and access to education, and to meet the demands of globalization. This would necessitate employing colonial and indigenous languages as media of instruction (Desai, 2003:47). She maintains that only when African languages are used in high domains such as education will they develop and empower their speakers (Desai, 2000:178).

In addition, Desai (2003) proposes a case for mother-tongue instruction in monolingual contexts because of the difficulties that learners experience from being taught in an L2. Desai based her proposal on the findings of a contrastive study she conducted for her doctoral research in a Khayelitsha primary school near Cape Town in 1998. Her subjects were taken from four classes, two from Grade 4, the other two from Grade 7. The Grade 4 class was taught in English for the first time, while the Grade 7s had been exposed to English for three years. All the subjects who participated in the study were first-language Xhosa speakers. The study found that in every class, performance was better in the Xhosa version. Learners performed poorly in the reading comprehension exercise in both languages, but the Xhosa version showed better clarity, even in cases where the responses were incorrect. Learners who performed well in English did not necessarily perform well in isiXhosa, nor did their performance in the expository task show any significant improvement in Grade 7. The English version was full of spelling and grammar errors, and learners did not answer the questions. Generally, subjects struggled to express answers in English. According to Desai (2003: 61), their proficiency was nowhere near the requirements for using it as a sole language of learning and teaching (LOLT). The isiXhosa version showed fewer grammar and spelling errors and learners attempted to answer the questions. The response was written in good language and was a reflection of what was in the picture. Subjects who took the test in English scored lower marks than those who were tested in isiXhosa. Desai's study presents compelling evidence that studying in a second language is a complicated process. Desai (2003:62) contends that in linguistically homogenous environments, such as Khayelitsha, it makes more sense for the learners to be taught in their first language, at least until the end of Grade 7.

De Klerk and MacKay (1996: 218) highlight the importance of developing the eleven official languages in South Africa in order to reap the cognitive benefits of mother-tongue instruction. The Molteno Project based its literacy programmes, Bridge to English and Breakthrough to Literacy, on a language-experience approach grounded on the principles of learner-centredness and initial first-language proficiency. Learners could understand, read and write both in their mother tongue and in English with effortless ease, thus proving to some degree the argument that literacy skills acquired in the first language can be transferred to a second-language learning situation (Kingwill, 1998:26). However, longitudinal studies of learners who were recipients of the early exit models on which the Molteno programme was based, hardly showed any gain with regard to overall proficiency in English (Hassana, Brock-Utne, Diallo, Heugh, Wolff, 2006).

In the case of Tanzania and South Africa, where safe talk, code-switching and code-mixing were employed extensively, Brock-Utne (2005:563) recommends the three-language model put forward by Maurice Tadadjeu (1989) as a solution to the language question. This model proposes that learners first acquire proficiency in the mother tongue. Thereafter, they can learn a regional African language which will be adopted as an LOLT at secondary and tertiary levels. An international language such as English would then be offered in the education system as a subject, at the same time that the regional language was introduced as an LOLT at secondary and tertiary levels. An advantage of this model is that it makes it possible for the school to affirm the home /local language as well as the language of wider communication (regional language), while introducing the so-called international language at a much later stage in the learner's life when the initial literacy skills in the LI have developed fully. In the interim, whilst African languages are in the process being intellectualized, Brock-Utne recommends that code-switching be used as a teaching-learning resource. For example, teachers could use it to facilitate learning and permit learners to respond to examination and test questions in either the local, regional or foreign language. Qorro (2009) argues that teaching and learning should be done in languages in which both teachers and learners are proficient, not a foreign language. Using an African language in a post-colonial context as MOI would eliminate pupil exposure to wrong English during lesson delivery, improve student understanding of content, eliminate dependence on English, and reduce the burden placed on subject teachers when they are also expected to assist in the development of English language skills (Qorro in Brock-Utne, 2005).

2.3. Synthesis of Current Literature on the Subject of Medium Instruction: Patterns and Trends

Literature on medium of instruction can be classified in the following categories: literature which seeks to explain and understand the effects of L2 education (Schlebusch, 2002; Broom, 2004; Howie, 2002; MacKay & De Klerk, 1996; Threshold Project report, 1990; Qorro, 2006; Malekela, 2006; Brock-Utne, 2006; Lomofsky & Stofile, 2006); teacher, parent and learner attitudes towards indigenizing the LI and employing it as media of instruction (Mfum-Mensah, 2005); and LIE policy implementation, including code-switching and language choice (Muthwii, 2001; Probyn, 2001; Adendorff, 1993; Chick & MacKay, 2001; Setati, Adler, Reed, Bapoo, 2002; Setati & Adler, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2005; Merrit, Cleghorn, Abagi, & Bunyi, 1992). The scope of this review is, however, limited to MOI policy implementation, including code-switching and language choice.

2.3.1 Identified Gap in the Literature on MOI Policy Implementation

A major limitation of the literature is that, although there has been a lot of theorizing on the subject of medium-of-instruction policy, there are few classroom-based accounts on how high school teachers in particular implement language policies in post-apartheid South Africa. The literature is limited in that it covers teacher language practices in a few learning areas at secondary school level, notably case studies in Mathematics and Science. These were conducted in multilingual township schools and racially desegregated primary and secondary schools. There is a deafening silence on the topic in monolingual rural and urban (township) high schools where the medium of instruction is English.

The case studies on medium-of-instruction policy implementation focus mainly on code-switching as a teaching/learning strategy that is commonly used in primary and secondary multilingual contexts where teachers who share a home language with their learners, teach in a second

language. This research will not focus exclusively on code-switching, but will also consider teacher language choices, classroom interaction, and teaching and learning as they occur in English, Business Economics and Geography classrooms in rural and urban high schools in the predominantly rural Eastern Cape Province.

2.3.2 Code-switching in Different Contexts

Baker (1993:76-77) provides the following definition of code-switching: “Code-switching is when an individual (more or less deliberately) alternates between two or more languages...Code switches have purposes...There are important social and power aspects of switching between languages, as there are between switching between dialect registers.”

Myers-Scotton (1993:3) defines code-switching as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.” Myers-Scotton (1993:3-4) asserts that code-switching can be inter-sentential or intra-sentential and that inter-sentential code-switching “involves switches from one language to the other between sentences: a whole sentence (or more than one sentence) produced entirely in one language before there is a switch to the other language(s) in use in the conversation,” while intra-sentential code-switching takes place within the same sentence or sentence fragment.

Brock-Utne (2005) asserts that code-switching is generally looked upon positively, as opposed to code-mixing (inter-sentential change) which is regarded in a negative light. Code-mixing is an indication of a lack of competence in both languages, while code-switching is a strategy that speakers with a good command of either language use to promote understanding of content during lesson delivery. Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that code-switching is not necessarily a reflection of poor language skills on the part of the speaker, but on the contrary results from complex bilingual skills.

The literature presents code-switching as a valuable tool which teachers use to mediate learning (Adendorff, 1993; Slabbert & Finlayson, 1999; Moyo, 2000; Setati et al., 2002), particularly in situations where learners have limited proficiency in the official language of instruction. In

township schools, code-switching is widely accepted by teachers, school administrators and the Department of Education (Holmardottir, 2006:206). It is in racially desegregated South African schools that resistance to code-switching has been identified (Chick & McKay, 2001). Code-switching functions include making the curriculum accessible to learners, facilitating classroom management, eliciting student response, and promoting interpersonal communication (Holmarsdottir, 2006:204-205). Some researchers further argue that the introduction of outcomes-based education in South Africa necessitates the employment of code alternation practices (which include code-switching) in situations where English is learned whilst simultaneously being used as an LOLT (Setati, Adler, Reed, Bapoo, 2002:77).

Some researchers regard code-switching as a coping strategy which teachers adopt to save face, i.e. mask their own linguistic deficiencies in English (Arthur, 1996). Alderson and Landbury (1990) observed in Tanzanian secondary school science classes that code-switching was used as a coping strategy when teachers had problems expressing themselves in English or when the learners had problems understanding the teacher. Osaki (1991) observed that learners with limited proficiency in English would contribute minimally in class discussions and would code-mix, with the result that teachers who insisted on English only ended up talking to themselves and not getting much input from learners. Qorro (2003), Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003) regard code-switching as a compensatory strategy for masking inadequate competence of teachers and learners in the target language/s. Arthur (1996:43) argued that the adoption of an L2 as a medium of instruction in Botswana inhibited teaching and learning, and that code-switching into the mother tongue of the learners by most teachers was a face-saving exercise. Consequently, the mother tongue functioned as a language of complicity. According to Pontefract and Hardman (2005:100), current classroom discourse practices in Kenyan primary classrooms do not support the learners' linguistic and cognitive learning because of the adoption of a foreign language as MOI. Ferguson (2002) and Martin-Jones (1995) are sceptical about the value of code-switching, especially in cases where English is taught as a subject and the aim is to improve the learners' overall competence in English.

Studies conducted on language use in the school system before 1997 point to the pervasive use of this strategy for teaching and learning, particularly in L2 contexts (Adler, 1998; Adendorff, 1993).

These studies, together with those conducted after 1997 in South Africa, reveal that teachers who shared the same home language with their pupils used code-switching extensively in their teaching to facilitate learning and understanding and also to make up for their pupils' linguistic insecurities (Adler, 1998; Adendorff, 1993; Probyn, 2001). In cases where the teacher shared the same LI as the pupils, most of the teaching was done in the LI (i.e. the shared language between teachers and pupils), thus making the learners' first language the *de facto* medium of instruction (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Setati & Adler, 2000, Setati et.al, 2002). Code-switching was employed most during group work to facilitate teaching and learning (Mwinsheike, 2003:91; Setati & Adler, 2000:254).

The studies conducted by Setati and Adler (2000), Probyn (2001), and Chick and MacKay (2001) attest to the importance of context and resource provisioning in medium-of-instruction policy formulation and implementation. Setati and Adler (2000) reported extensive code-switching in secondary Mathematics classrooms, as compared to switching practices in primary Mathematics classrooms, and greater use of code-switching by teachers and learners in second-language learning environments than in foreign language learning environments. Code-switching in urban primary multilingual schools was found to be a dominant practice because of the multilingual profile of the classes (Setati & Adler, 2000:259).

Language issues in rural schools where there was very limited support for English medium instruction were found to be quite complex (Setati & Adler, 2000:255). According to Setati and Adler, the rural teachers' insistence on the use of English in the teaching-learning environment could be explained by the fact that they perceived themselves as the primary role models of English for their pupils. The Further Diploma in Education (FDE) program, which introduced the participants in the study to participatory and learner-centred methods of teaching, influenced their classroom practice and language behaviour, particularly code-switching (Setati & Adler, 2000: 255). A study conducted by Adler in 1992-1993 revealed that, although the medium of instruction remained English in South African secondary schools, indigenous languages complemented English to facilitate concept development and promote mathematical communicative competence. According to Adler (1998: 25), although teachers in black township schools believed that the best way to acquire English was to use it as an MOI, code-switching was most prevalent where the

teacher and many pupils shared a main language. The teachers' dilemma was that "they did not know how to help pupils whose expression was poor" (Adler, 1998:25). Also, their concerns about access to English, the language of power, and equity issues resulted in the teachers experiencing conflict about code-switching (Adler, 1998:26). In multiracial classes, mathematical language teaching which gave explicit instructions and explanations was found to benefit all the learners, including those whose first language was English (Adler, 1998: 25).

In the light of the findings of their studies in Mathematics education, Setati and Adler (2000:265) proposed that curriculum programmes be tailored according to context, i.e. whether they were in English Additional Language or English Second Language or within a primary or secondary context. Setati and Adler (2000:265) caution that overlooking contextual factors could "unintentionally exacerbate educational inequalities." A range of uses of code-switching were evident in township schools. Teachers code-switched in repeating a question, in classroom discipline and management, in emphasis, in drawing attention to a point, in prompting, probing and scaffolding students' responses, in building confidence, in inviting learner participation and understanding, and for affective purposes (Probyn, 2001).

Adendorff's 1993 classroom-based research, which was on code-switching as a communicative resource used by teachers and learners who shared the same L1, in this case Zulu, revealed a number of uses of code-switching. In the English lesson, code-switching constituted a meta-message, "an attempt on the teacher's part to gain credibility from his pupils." Other functions fulfilled by Zulu were direct translation, paraphrasing, and academic and social functions. IsiZulu also emerged as a "language of provocation" and was used by the teacher to encourage learner participation and foster teacher-pupil unity. In the Biology lesson, code-switching was used for different purposes to those identified in the English lesson. It was used for advance marking of key terms, as a means for checking pupils' understanding, to mark solidarity with the pupils and to express implicit encouragement of the pupils. In the Geography lesson it was used for exercising classroom management and achieving academic and social functions, while the principal used it for paraphrasing his message, listing items, reiterating important information and as a focusing device (Adendorff, 1993:146-152). Although Adendorff's study provides valuable insights into code-switching, its findings cannot be generalized because of the size of the sample

selected. A major methodological weakness of the study was that data were collected and recorded surreptitiously by a teacher at the school who helped interpret it with other teachers.

Merritt, Clegghorn, Abagi, and Bunyi (1992:105), who also reported extensive code-switching, variation and repetition during lesson delivery in Kenyan primary schools, maintain that the determinants of language use and code-switching are more complex than could be “legislated” by language policy on MOI. Their study revealed that teacher language practices, such as translation, repetition, code-switching and modality splitting, are educationally appropriate strategies which teachers and learners employ to negotiate meaning. However, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003:92) found that translation slowed down the lesson, as learners did not pay attention to the language spoken by the teacher since they knew that the information would be repeated in their L1. Martin (2004:3) found that translation did not necessarily aid learning or promote classroom interaction in a primary school environment.

Mwinsheike’s 2003 study on the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in Tanzania revealed a remarkable gap between teachers’ beliefs about their role and what actually happened in practice. Although the official language policy was that English should be used as medium of instruction at secondary school, teachers and pupils used Kiswahili extensively during classroom interaction. 89% of the teachers admitted to using Kiswahili, while 10% claimed they used English only. Over half the number who claimed to be using English only still used Kiswahili in their lessons. Teachers who taught in English tried very hard not to code-switch. According to Mwinsheike (2003:138-139), the effects of teaching in a second language were that the teachers were very tense and their verbal expressions were rather dry as opposed to those of teachers who taught in Kiswahili who were more relaxed and confident and appeared to enjoy what they were doing. In particular, teachers employed Kiswahili to clarify difficult concepts during lesson delivery.

Learners used Kiswahili extensively during discussions to ask questions and answer teachers’ questions. They lowered their voices in the presence of the observer, thus suggesting that they were experiencing guilt about using their home language for learning subject matter. The use of English in Science lessons hampered pupil participation immensely; those who were taught in

English only were very inactive during the lesson, and it was only when they worked in groups that they participated actively in the lesson. As reasons for the learners' non-participation, the teachers cited poor command of English, language problems, lack of interest in Science subjects, and lack of laboratory equipment and chemicals (Mwinsheike, 2003:138). Learners performed better in questions which did not require long explanations and performed poorly in those which required long and analytical explanations (Mwinsheike, 2003:140), possibly because the language of instruction constrained them. This was a similar finding to that of the TIMSS 1998-1999 study with respect to South African L2 learners of English and their performance in Mathematics. Some learners in Mwinsheike's study even answered questions correctly in Kiswahili, though they knew this was unacceptable. Mwinsheike's study confirmed the finding of seminal studies on medium of instruction by other LOITASA researchers that English is a barrier to learning in Tanzania and South Africa. Mwinsheike (2003:142-143) attributed poor performance of learners to the poor command of teachers and pupils in English, difficult and ambiguous questions that the teachers asked, and the fact that pupils were not given enough time to answer the questions.

Research emerging from Tanzania and South Africa on MOI also reveals that teachers use code-switching and translation extensively in both countries as coping strategies in the classroom (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003:90). Holmarsdottir's research at a school in Khayelitsha in Cape Town revealed that the entire Mathematics lesson was carried out in isiXhosa, except for an initial attempt to use English. After receiving no response to questions, the teacher switched to isiXhosa and the remaining lesson progressed in isiXhosa only, with some minor code-mixing taking place. According to the project researchers, this was not an isolated case, as many of the lessons they observed were conducted in isiXhosa, even though learners were expected to use English. Holmarsdottir (2003) argues that a possible explanation for this is that the teachers' English language skills had not developed to a level which would enable them to use it as a medium of instruction.

The teachers in Holmarsdottir's study used English predominantly in the public domain and switched to the learners' main languages for re-formulation and interaction with individual learners or groups. Teachers who had not themselves mastered the colonial language of instruction resorted to "safe talk", code-switching and code-mixing (Brock-Utne, 2005:557). To

eliminate pupils' exposure to their teachers' at times wrong use of English, Qorro (2003:188) suggested that English should not be used as the sole medium of instruction in Tanzania, and that the teaching of English as a subject also needed improvement. Brock-Utne (1997:253) made a similar proposal for Namibia by suggesting that, instead of parents mistakenly thinking that the best way to learn English was to use it as a medium of instruction, a wiser choice would be to offer English as a subject and to strengthen the Namibian languages as languages of instruction. Brock-Utne (1997: 254) makes a number of suggestions for strengthening Namibian languages. These include making use of public information campaigns to stress the importance of using the mother tongue as a medium of instruction; multi-grade teaching in cases where learners have different home-languages; comparative studies involving LI and L2 teaching; and public information campaigns for principals on the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction.

Observations made in other schools which participated in the LOITASA research project also revealed a lack of fit between policy and practice with respect to medium of instruction. In one school, though the official school policy declared that the transition from isiXhosa to English should take place at Grade 4, in reality that was not the case. IsiXhosa was generally used for classroom interaction and this was accompanied by code-switching and code-mixing. Ostensibly, lessons were conducted in English when in fact, after teaching in isiXhosa, teachers would write sentences on the board in English and learners would then copy these sentences into workbooks (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003:90-91). Teachers delivered lessons mainly in the mother tongue or code-switched/mixed extensively to ensure that learners grasped the content and developed the necessary skills.

Alexander (1999) and Desai (2000) cite the negative attitudes of speakers of African languages as reasons behind the lack of promotion of African languages. Ironically, it is these languages (e.g. isiXhosa) that teachers in most black schools were found to be employing as media of instruction.

In South East Asian countries such as Hong Kong, language-in-education policy change has not produced the desired change in classroom practice. Evans (2009) states that in post-colonial Hong Kong a controversial medium-of-instruction policy was introduced in 1989 which compelled

hitherto English-medium secondary schools to change to Chinese-medium teaching. Only a few were permitted to continue using English only as LOLT, and code-switching had to be avoided when presenting content subjects. In practice, teachers in both Chinese and English streamed schools experienced difficulty in implementing the new policy in their classrooms. They used Cantonese and English interchangeably and in varying degrees, an indication that there was a huge gap between policy and practice in these schools. Evans cites low teacher and learner proficiency levels in English as the main reason behind the adoption of a mixed code in Hong Kong.

2.3.3 Factors Influencing Language Policy Implementation

The existing literature on LIE policy implementation reveals a range of factors underlying the inconsistencies and contradictions in the implementation (or non-implementation) of bilingual/multilingual MOI policies at classroom level. These have to do with resource provisioning or the lack thereof, the context in which the policy is implemented, teacher deployment policies, teacher training, teachers' linguistic insecurities, curriculum policies, perceptions and attitudes of teachers and parents towards indigenous languages, misconceptions about the choice of language of instruction, perceptions about the power of English, and admission policies (Muthwii, 2002; Merrit et al., 1992; Ando-Kumi, 1999; Setati, Adler, Reed, & Bapoo, 2002; Probyn, 2001; Setati & Adler, 2000; Setati, 2000). All the factors stated above can thwart efforts to implement MOI policies at the micro-level.

Some of the studies also reveal that school context, the teacher's home language and that of his or her pupils, teacher perceptions about using English as a MOI, and learner proficiency levels are important factors in medium-of-instruction policy implementation (Probyn, 2001). A qualitative research study conducted by Probyn in which she explored the perceptions and practices of teachers using the medium of English as an additional language (EAL) in township (ex-DET) high schools in South Africa revealed that, although they were expected to teach in English, they took into account the learners' limited proficiency levels and provided the necessary "scaffolding" their learners needed to make sense of subject content. Probyn found that the teachers' perception of English Additional Language (EAL) teaching was that it was an arduous, time-consuming and stressful task because the learners' proficiency in the language was extremely poor. As a result,

this constrained classroom discourse and interaction (Probyn, 2001: 256). Teachers used various supporting strategies to mediate learning. These included code-switching, using a simpler vocabulary, speaking more slowly, repeating a question and allowing a longer waiting time for an answer, drawing examples from the learners' own lives, using body language and visual aids. Some teachers, however, insisted on the exclusive use of English in class and kept reminding learners that tests and examinations would be written in English. All the teachers encouraged their learners to speak English in class, but when they responded in isiXhosa allowed this and assisted them in providing the correct response in English (Probyn, 2001:258-259). Taking into account the teachers' awareness of the challenges of studying in an L2, Probyn concluded that there were notable differences between the teachers' perceptions and their practice (Probyn, 2001:262).

The literature on LIE implementation also reveals that the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of teachers and parents about languages have an impact on teachers' language practices and the implementation or non-implementation of medium-of-instruction policies (Probyn, 2001; Muthwii, 2001; Chick & MacKay, 2001). In Kenya and Uganda, parents and teachers were instrumental in the uneven implementation of the bilingual language policies in primary schools. Parents were against teaching in the mother tongue because they believed that their children already knew their own language, that it had no place in the curriculum, and that allowing for the use of the mother tongue would lead to too much code-switching and result in confusion (Muthwii, 2001:26). However, some teachers and parents in semi-urban contexts in Kenya supported formal instruction in the mother tongue, since some English words were new and unfamiliar to the learners (Muthwii, 2001:26).

Chick and MacKay (2001) conducted an ethnographic study in six racially desegregated schools in the Durban metropolitan, to investigate the extent to which the schools promoted the multilingualism and multiculturalism advocated in the 1997 official MOI policy. Their study highlighted a number of trends. They noted a preference for English, with a devaluing and stigmatisation of Zulu and of code-switching by principals and subject teachers. There were low levels of provisioning for Zulu, coupled with a perception by some teachers that Zulu was a threat to non-Zulu speakers. Younger teachers regarded code-switching as a resource, as opposed to the older and more conservative teachers who promoted an English-only discourse (Chick &

MacKay, 2001). Chick and MacKay's study reveals that in some racially desegregated schools, integration remains an ideal and an assimilationist policy is pursued vigorously through the schools' language policies.

Generally, empirical studies on MOI implementation at primary schools in Kenya, Ghana, South Africa and Uganda reveal that the implementation of bi/multilingual policies is problematic and results in a number of inconsistencies and contradictions during lesson delivery and assessment in the classroom situation. Martin (2004:3) observed an outright rejection of the multilingual MOI policy and a vigorous pursuit of monolingualism, especially in the primary school section in the Western Cape, though some teachers made an attempt at implementing the policy. Muthwii (2001:20-21) lists the practical constraints and misconceptions in the implementation of a bilingual policy at primary school level. These include resource provisioning or the lack thereof, support for English in schools, poor quality pre-service training, lack of science terminology in the mother tongue, the multilingual composition of classes, teachers' and parents' misconceptions about the choice of medium of instruction, and the context in which the school was situated. This resulted in urban and rural schools adopting different MOIs in both Kenya and Uganda.

The study by Muthwii (2001:16-17) concluded that teaching in the mother tongue at the primary school level presented the teachers with a number of challenges which arose partly because of the asymmetrical relationship between English and indigenous languages. There was a severe lack of books written in mother tongue, the teachers lacked competence in Kiswahili, the language they were supposed to use as a medium of instruction, with a limited vocabulary in the mother tongue. Examinations were not set in the mother tongue, even though learners were not competent in English. The existence of many dialects in the community made it difficult to choose the appropriate dialect form for school use. When pupils failed to understand subject content, teachers had no alternative but to revert to using the mother tongue. Parents refused to buy the few available texts in Kiswahili, discouraging their children from taking the mother tongue seriously because it was non-examinable at the end of primary school. And the school management team allocated only a few hours for mother-tongue instruction and teacher deployment policies

A 1999 study by Ando-Kumi from the University of Ghana, conducted in partnership with the Ministry of Education, set out to inform the language policy dialogue and to improve bilingual practices in primary education. It showed similar findings to those of Muthwii's. There was an uneven implementation of the bilingual policy in Ghana, with urban and rural primary schools using different media of instruction because of constraints such as an unsupportive language environment and teachers' negative attitudes towards indigenous languages. These attitudes and perceptions were shared by the parents. Rural schools implemented the policy, as opposed to those which had long-established school policies of early English medium. There were inconsistencies in the way in which different subject teachers implemented the bilingual MOI policy, with extensive use of code-switching. It was clear that multilingualism and the problems of dealing with children and teachers who spoke mutually unintelligible languages was not solely an urban phenomenon (Ando-Kumi, 1999:3-5). As a result of these challenges, teachers from both monolingual and multilingual schools chose English as a medium of instruction. Resources were available for them to teach in English, and they had been trained to teach in English, not in the mother tongue. Given the multilingual composition of their classes, there was a need to harmonize the multilingual groups (Muthwii, 2001:22-23). Merrit et al. (1992:103) maintain that the determinants of teachers' language choice and code-switching among English, Swahili and mother tongue in Kenyan primary classrooms are official school policy, embracing classroom management concerns, cognitive concerns, and values and attitudes about societal multilingualism.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This research draws on the theory of English linguistic imperialism which Phillipson (1992: 53) regards as a distinct type of imperialism. What follows is an overview of Galtung's theory of imperialism from which Phillipson derives the theory of linguistic imperialism. Qualification analysis and Vygotsky's social constructivist theory, which form part of the theoretical framework, are also discussed.

The rationale for choosing the three frameworks for this study is that the critical theory perspective of linguistic imperialism explains how colonization shaped attitudes towards languages and led to the stigmatization and devaluation of African languages. In the education

arena, it provides an explanation on how political agendas have driven language policy planning and implementation. Social Constructivism and Qualification Analysis are underpinned by the understanding that education should be a collaborative event in which language is used effectively to promote cognitive understanding. The quality of interactions taking place in classrooms and the skills or “qualifications” acquired by learners serve as indicators of the quality of education offered in a country. By subjecting the lesson transcripts to social constructivism and qualification analysis, the researcher sought to understand how language is used to mediate learning in different school contexts. Code categories such as scaffolding, reciprocity, appropriation, proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications, which form the building blocks of Qualification Analysis and Social Constructivism, were used to analyse the lesson transcripts.

2.4.1 English Linguistic Imperialism

Galtung posits six different but interrelated types of imperialism: economic, political, military, communicative, communication, and transport. According to Phillipson (1992:52), imperialism is driven by the four mechanisms: exploitation, fragmentation, penetration and marginalization. Imperialism and modernization, though purported to be mechanisms for development by powerful Western countries, have not brought about prosperity for the targeted or colonized countries (Phillipson, 1992:51).

According to Galtung’s theory, the world is divided into dominant Centres (i.e. the powerful Western countries) and dominated Peripheries. Both the Centres and Peripheries have powerful Elites who are linked by shared interests, in this case language. The relationship between the Centres and Peripheries is characterized by exploitation. Imperialism unfolds in three distinct phases. During the early colonial phase, the élites are colonizers. In the neo-colonial phase, powerful indigenous people, many of whom were educated in the centre countries through the centre languages, collaborate with inter-state actors and act as primary agents of linguistic imperialism. The neo-neo-colonial phase is characterized by the increased use of communication technologies, dissemination of centre languages in the periphery, and the promotion of cultural imperialism through language.

Linguistic imperialism, which is a primary component of cultural imperialism, permeates all the different types of imperialism through its form and content (Phillipson, 1992: 53). Form refers to language as a means of transmitting ideas, and the Centre's language, not the subjugated group's language, is used. Ansre (1979:12-13) defines linguistic imperialism as:

“The phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc... Linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society, and of preventing him from appreciating and realizing the full potentialities of indigenous languages.”

“Linguicism” or “linguistic racism” is central to understanding English linguistic imperialism. According to Phillipson (1992:55), “linguicism refers exclusively to ideologies and structures where language is the means for effecting or maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources.” Linguicism may be conscious or unconscious, overt or covert, abstract or concrete (Phillipson, 1992:55). English linguistic imperialism captures the way one language dominates others through unequal power and resource allocation.

2.5.1. Qualification Analysis

Brock-Utne (2006:24) states that a country's labour force is trained through the educational system to acquire three different types of skills, namely proficiency qualifications, adaptability qualifications, and creative qualifications.

Proficiency qualifications, which have to do with skills which are directly work-related, are divided into general proficiency qualifications and special proficiency qualifications. General proficiency qualifications lay the foundation for learning more advanced proficiency skills; for example, being able to read and make sense of what one has read prepares one for advanced text analysis of different genres. Special proficiency qualifications are skills which are specific to a vocation, e.g. welding. The special proficiency skills can also be learned on the job.

Adaptability qualifications have to do with desirable attitudes in the workplace and are divided into three sub-groups: active adaptability qualifications, which enable the learner to carry out his/her work with diligence and intensity; directly accepting adaptability qualifications, which enable one to carry out his/her duties willingly, obediently and with a sense of duty; and indirectly accepting qualifications, which prevent the worker from engaging in unprofitable activities such as strikes.

Creative qualifications are those that are a prerequisite for the development of productive forces, for example independence and openness, teamwork, a critical sense and creativity. Lesson transcripts were analysed using qualification analysis, social constructivism and the research questions.

2.5.2 Social Constructivism

Vygotsky's social constructivist approach to learning explains the link between culture (of which language is a part), learning and cognition. Vygotsky (1978:90) argues that it is through activity that individuals/learners come face-to-face with culture and that activities influence the way people think. Tasks or activities are socially and culturally designed, and learning is a mediated experience which comes about through the use of schema and scaffolding. "Scaffolding" refers to the kind and quality of cognitive or intellectual support which an adult or teacher provides for a child's learning (Mercer, 1991). The purpose of providing scaffolding is to improve learning because it leads to the appropriation of content, ideas and opinions. Mercer (1991:104) asserts that "appropriation", a concept that was introduced by Leontiev, Vygotsky's colleague, refers to the culturally-based quality of most learning. It conceptualizes initial learning as being culturally defined and brings to the fore the reciprocity of teaching and learning. It is not only learners who appropriate ideas; teachers themselves may need to appropriate ideas from learners (Mercer, 1991:105). Discourse strategies, such as paraphrasing and reconstructively recapping what has been done in class, improve learning.

Spradley and McCurdy (1975:5), maintain that "culture refers to ideas, knowledge that people use to interact with other people and to interpret experience, generate social behaviour and produce

artefacts.” Ngugi (1978:15) observes a symbiotic relationship between language and culture. He describes culture as being “almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its transmission from one generation to the next.”

A concept closely related to scaffolding is that of the zone of proximal development (ZPD). The ZPD represents the difference between what learners can do on their own (level of actual performance) and what they can do with assistance from other competent individuals, e.g. teachers and peers (level of potential development). Through scaffolding the teacher helps learners develop problem-solving skills, and this assistance in turn raises achievement levels. Mercer (1991:102) argues that the ZPD explains key features of learning and development, maintaining that giving assistance or instruction is a normal and important feature of learning, and that the limits of a person’s understanding or learning can be expanded by providing cognitive support.

A major criticism of Vygotsky’s activity-based theory is the hypothetical nature of his views and the fact that they were inconsistent with the demands of education in previous decades in Russia (Davydov: 1995). At the time that Vygotsky crafted his theory, education in Soviet Russia emphasized the collective in personal development to the exclusion of individuality. The individual could only be conceptualized in the context of the group. Davydov maintains that education in Russia was uniform and teachers served the state as bureaucrats by carrying out Communist Party dictates which excluded basic human, moral, aesthetic and religious values. Consequently, teaching methods were uniform and education did not contribute to the development of a free personality. Graduates from the education system could not use their own creativity to manage their personal lives.

The significance of Vygotsky’s theory for this research lies in the fact that it emphasizes an activity-centred approach and the centrality of language in education. The focus shifts from the teacher to the learner and the activity itself. Vygotsky’s theory suggests that for a learner to reach the ZPD he/she needs “psychological tools” such as language to interact with culture and learning. This means that the role of the school should be to affirm the cultural experiences of the learner and employ the languages that learners use in their social environment for teaching and learning. Culture and learning are dynamic and there is no one way to knowledge. To unleash learner

potential, promote creativity and greater comprehension and mastery of subject matter, teachers would have to provide what Krashen calls “comprehensible input” (Ellis, 1985: 262) in languages that learners understand.

Although Vygotsky has been criticized for emphasizing the collective in developing young minds, cooperative learning strategies, small group work, and whole class discussions have a place in the classroom as they complement teacher-centred methodologies. The advantages of learner-centred techniques are that they emphasize the importance of social interaction in learning, promote team work, and highlight the active role of the learner in constructing knowledge. The teacher relinquishes control in the teaching-learning situation and assumes a facilitative role.

3 Conclusion

The current study provides an opportunity for South African teachers to question their beliefs and assumptions about the role of language in education and to reflect on how their classroom language practices impact on teaching and learning in different contexts. Sutton and Levinson (2001:16) maintain that “studies on appropriation in general can be a lever against unexpected assumptions in policy formulation because they show how policy in practice differs from policy as conceived authoritatively.” The literature presented above provides an understanding of how MOI policies “impinge upon the daily lives of diverse people” (Sutton & Levinson, 2001:15), such as teachers who are expected to implement the MOI policies and the learners who are supposed to benefit from the exercise of policy-making.

In order to ensure change and counter the unintended effects of educational policies, it is imperative that policy development is informed by research, both to provide an understanding of the situation and to assist policy makers in identifying what their choices are (Reimers & McGinn, 1997:5). The gap between policy and practice can only be narrowed by engaging in research which takes into account the perspectives of role-players such as teachers.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a definition and overview of the mixed methods research approach used in the study, as well as the procedures for mixed methods designs, the sampling method used, data collection tools, justification for the choice of the research methods and tools, and ethical considerations.

The study sought to find answers to the following three questions:

1. How do teachers understand and interpret medium-of-instruction (MOI) policies within their practice?

Question 1 required teachers to articulate their classroom language practices. This question was asked in order to establish teacher awareness and understanding of the provisions of the 1997 multilingual policy and their school language policies, whether they implemented their school LIE as expected, and why they used one or more languages when teaching. They had to recall information relating to what took place in their classrooms during teaching and learning. It was envisaged that a significant number of teachers would participate in the first phase of study and that a questionnaire would be the most practical tool to use since the aim was to gather baseline data on the status quo in the selected schools in the Mthatha District. A structured or closed questionnaire containing a few open-ended questions was designed to gather the baseline information in the selected schools. Structured questionnaires enable the researcher to observe patterns, make comparisons, and process data using computer analysis (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007:321). Numerical data are best gathered using a questionnaire.

2. How do teachers implement language in education (LIE) in their classrooms?

Question 2 required the researcher to establish LIE policy implementation patterns in different contexts, to examine patterns of classroom interaction, and determine whether there were any similarities and differences between the contexts and within each context. It also required the researcher to observe the kind and quality of classroom interaction taking place in the different school contexts during teaching and learning, and to find out whether teaching was aligned with assessment practices with regard to language use. This

question sought to establish actual classroom practice, and qualitative data were therefore sought. Purposively selected teachers who took part in the survey were observed and video-recorded in action. “Observational data afford the researcher an opportunity to gather ‘live’ data’ from’ live’ situations” (Cohen, Manion, Morrison, 2000:305). I wanted to experience first-hand how teachers used language(s) to help learners achieve educational goals. Unstructured observations were employed in the second phase of the research because they yield potentially valid and authentic information (Cohen et al., 2007:396). Classroom observations provided a “reality check” on the data obtained in the survey. Direct methods of data collection enable a researcher “to conduct a fine-grained analysis of the moment-by-moment process of classroom instruction and interaction” (Evans, 2009:293). Their limitation is that they may not be representative of the teacher’s routine classroom language behaviour, and the analysis of such data may not be invariably straightforward (Pennington in Evans, 2009). A major limitation of direct methods is that the presence of the researcher and use of recording instruments may influence a teacher under investigation to behave differently from his day-to-day style of teaching (Evans, 2002).

3. Why do teachers interpret the policies in the ways they do?

Question 3 sought to establish factors influencing LIE policy implementation in different school contexts. It required the teachers to reflect on their classroom language behaviour and the effects it had on learning and teaching. This question involved finding out factors influencing the classroom language choices of key informants during the focused interviews. The key informants were teachers who had taken part in the preceding two phases of the research. A qualitative approach was found to be suitable for Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the research process, as I wanted to do an in-depth analysis of the selected teachers’ classroom practices.

3.2 Description of Research Approach

Mouton (2001:55) states that a research design is “a plan or blueprint” for how the researcher intends to conduct the study. It shows what can be achieved and how it can be achieved. The notion of “fitness for purpose” becomes paramount when the researcher has to decide on a choice of research design (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:73). A number of other questions govern the choice of research design and methodology. These have to do with the specific research questions; what needs to be the focus of the research in order to answer the research questions; the main methodology of the research, how validity and reliability will be addressed; what kinds of data will be required; the kind of sampling chosen; where else the data will be available; how the data will be gathered and analysed; and who will undertake the research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 75).

3.2.1 Epistemology

The study takes the position espoused by Social Constructivists, that learning or knowledge construction is a social and collaborative event, and that language mediates learning and promotes understanding/cognition. Prior to colonization, indigenous ways of knowing, which were transmitted from generation to generation through local languages, served Africans well. The possibility that one could be found wanting in terms of the proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications did not arise since learning occurred in languages which were spoken in the wider community. The L1 was not only a survival tool but also a means for initiating one into his/her own culture. The exclusive and uncritical use of an L2 as the main LOLT during the colonial and neo-colonial era created gaps in learner understanding and led to under-achievement.

3.2.2 Mixed Methods Approach

(Creswell, 2005, in Maree, 2007: 261) defines a mixed methods research as a procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing both qualitative and quantitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study in order to understand a research problem more completely. The mixed methods approach, which is based on pragmatism, is flexible in that it uses multiple methods, contextual interpretations and the best strategies to address research questions about real-life problems (Patton, 2002, in Maree, 2007:260). Pragmatists argue that quantitative and qualitative methods are compatible and can be combined in a single study because of their

similarities in fundamental values (Howe, 1988, and Reinhardt & Rallis, 1994, in Maree, 2007:263).

The following have been given by Creswell et al. (Creswell et al., 2003, in Maree 2007:261) as the main reasons for employing a blended approach which utilizes both quantitative and qualitative techniques within one study:

- 1) Explain or elaborate on quantitative results with subsequent qualitative data.
- 2) Use qualitative data to develop a new measurement instrument or theory that is subsequently tested.
- 3) Compare qualitative and quantitative data sets to produce well-validated conclusions.
- 4) Enhance a study with a supplemental data set, either quantitative or qualitative.

To counter the weaknesses of surveys, this study was enhanced with supplemental qualitative data sets in the form of unstructured classroom observations and focused interviews. This helped explain or elaborate on the quantitative results. The qualitative data sets enabled me to gain a comprehensive understanding of the topic under investigation. The respondents were observed in action and were asked to reflect on their practice during the focused interviews.

3.2.3 Mixed Methods Procedures

Creswell, Plano, Clark, Gutmann and Hansom (in Maree 2007:263) identify four basic mixed methods designs, namely the explanatory design, exploratory design, triangulation design, and embedded design. I have chosen the explanatory design because of the complex nature of the topic under investigation and the fact that the three research questions all seek to find answers on the same research topic.

In an explanatory design, data are collected in two separate phases, and the qualitative findings are used to help clarify the quantitative findings. The quantitative findings “provide a general picture of the research problem, while the qualitative results refine, explain or extend the general picture” (Creswell et al., 2003; Ivankova et al., 2007). In the present study, the questionnaire was used in the first phase of the research in order to obtain a general picture of school, teacher and learner profiles; contextual information relating to the schools, and questions relating to MOI policy

interpretation and implementation. In the second phase, classroom observations were utilized to observe language policy implementation in practice. In the third phase, two purposively selected teachers were interviewed on their observed classroom language behaviour. The second and third phases used qualitative approaches, while the first phase mainly employed a quantitative approach.

3.2.4 Sampling Strategy

Cohen et al., (2000) state that there are two main methods of sampling, probability and non-probability sampling. In non-probability sampling the researcher deliberately chooses not to represent the wider population and focuses only a smaller section of the population. In a sense, non-probability sampling may demonstrate skewness or bias. In a probability sample, the chances of members of the wider population being selected for the sample are known and the findings are generalizable.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007:117-118) identify the following steps in planning the sampling strategy:

1. Decide whether you need a sample or whether it is possible to have the whole population.
2. Identify the population, its important features (the sampling frame) and its size.
3. Identify the kind of sampling strategy you require.
4. Ensure that access to the sample is guaranteed. If not, be prepared to modify the sampling strategy.
5. For non-probability sampling, identify the people you require in the sample.
6. Calculate the numbers required in the sample, allowing for non-responses, attrition and sample mortality.
7. Decide how to gain access and contact.
8. Be prepared to weight the data, once collected.

Question 1 required that probability sampling be employed for the survey. However, after taking into account the resources available for conducting the study, the fact that schools in the rural Eastern Cape are sparsely distributed, and that accessing the sample would involve a lot of time and money, I chose to draw my sample from conveniently selected schools that were close to my workplace. Cohen et al., (2007) state that although a large sample size is ideal for surveys, it does

not mean that surveys cannot be carried out on small sample sizes. However, convenience samples do not seek to generalize. The researcher chooses the sample from those to whom he/she has easy access. Questions 2 and 3 required purposive sampling since they followed up on the question underpinning the survey in the first phase.

The study targeted subject teachers of Geography, English, History, and Business Management/Economics in the conveniently selected schools and deliberately left out other subject teachers. I therefore opted for non-probability sampling to address the questions underpinning the study. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:103) state that in purposive sampling “researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality.” The choice of participants in the first phase of the study was also influenced by the fact that I deliberately wanted to work with teachers whose subject/learning areas I was familiar with. Because the population size was rather small (one teacher offered the subject across Grades 10-12), I decided to administer the questionnaire to all the teachers offering the targeted subjects in the selected schools. This decision was taken to also allow for non-responses, attrition and sample mortality.

3.2.5 The Study Population and Sample Size

The population from which the sample was drawn comprised Grade 10, 11, and 12 teachers of English, Geography, Business Management/Economics and History from the 56 high schools in the Mthatha District. Depending on the total enrolment figure of the school and its curriculum, the norm in most schools would be for a teacher who had specialized in the subject to generally offer it from Grade 10-12. In a few cases where there was a wider subject offering and a large pupil enrolment, there would be two teachers offering the same subject in different grades in the same school; for example, in two urban-based high schools offering English First Language and Second Language, there were two different teachers for English LI and L2. The total population from which the sample was drawn was worked out as follows: (56 schools x 4 subjects) plus 6 teachers from the three high schools with a wider curriculum, making a total of 230 teachers.

In the first phase, a questionnaire was administered to teachers who were drawn from six conveniently selected rural and urban high schools out of the fifty-six high schools in the Mthatha

District. The study sample was drawn from 10% of the total number of high schools in the Mthatha District, i.e. six randomly selected high schools, and the figure was rounded off to six high schools. The six high schools were chosen because of their accessibility and the cost-effectiveness in terms of travelling. Of the six schools chosen, there was an equal split between rural and urban schools. The sample was calculated as follows: (6 high schools x 4 subject teachers) plus 6 teachers from the three high schools with a wider curriculum, and this came to a total population of 230 teachers. The questionnaire was administered in order to obtain a general understanding of how urban and rural high school teachers made sense of medium-of-instruction policies in practice. Out of the 35 questionnaires that were distributed manually to the selected schools, 31 were returned. Four of these were incomplete and did not form part of the sample.

In the second and third phases, sampling was informed by the teachers' responses to the questionnaire, their willingness to participate in the second phase of the study, and the context in which the schools were situated. Cohen et al., (2007:115) maintain that in many cases purposive sampling, though it is not generalizable or representative, is used to access "knowledgeable people, i.e. those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues." Five purposively selected teachers who had participated in the survey took part in the second phase of the study. In the third phase, two teachers, one offering History at a rural high school and the other Business Economics at an urban desegregated school, were selected for the focused interviews because of the location of their schools and the interest they had shown in the project.

3.2.6 The Research Context

This research was undertaken in the Mthatha District in the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa. The most commonly used languages of communication in the Mthatha District are isi-Xhosa and seSotho. Most of the schools in the province are situated in the rural areas. In the rural schools, English, which is hardly spoken in the communities where the learners live, is the preferred main language of learning and teaching (LOLT). Isi-Xhosa is used by teachers to promote understanding of content, especially when learners experience difficulties with English. Most of the teachers in the schools share an L1 with their learners. However, there are a few expatriate teachers in these schools whose knowledge of African languages is limited to basic conversational isi-Xhosa.

English is used exclusively as a MOI in desegregated schools, whilst in township schools the learners' home languages and English are used for teaching and learning.

I constructed the following brief profiles for the selected teachers, their schools and their learners on the basis of demographic and background factors that they provided in their questionnaire responses and the interactions I had with them during classroom observations.

Teacher A is a Grade 10, 11 and 12 History teacher at a rural high school on the outskirts of Mthatha. She is multilingual and speaks English, seSotho (her home language), isiXhosa and Afrikaans. She has a Bachelor's degree and a B.Ed, which is a professional teaching qualification. Her teaching experience is 12 years. The learners in her class are all LI isiXhosa speakers. Her school endorses English and the learners' LI as media of instruction.

Teacher B is a first-language speaker of isiXhosa and teaches Business Economics in an urban desegregated school in Mthatha from Grade 10-12. His highest academic and professional qualifications are Matric and a College Higher Education Diploma (CHED). He has 11 years' teaching experience. The MOI at his school is English only, and he offers tuition only in English. There is a strong element of diversity in this school, as teachers and pupils come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Although most of the pupils are Xhosa-speaking, there is a smattering of seSotho and English-speaking Coloured pupils, as well as expatriates.

Teacher C speaks isiXhosa and seSotho and he offers Geography from Grade 10-12 at a township school in Mthatha. He has a professional degree in Education (B.A Education) and has 11 years of high school teaching experience. His school language policy is English only, but he employs English and the learners' HL (isiXhosa) for teaching.

Teacher D is an expatriate teacher of Indian descent and speaks several languages plus a smattering of conversational isiXhosa. He offers Geography to Grade 10, 11, and 12 pupils at a rural high school in Mthatha. He has a Bachelor's degree and a Higher Education Diploma (HDE) and has 21 years' teaching experience. Learners in this school speak isiXhosa as a first language

(LI). He adopts an English-only policy, although the school language policy allows teachers to employ other languages for teaching and learning.

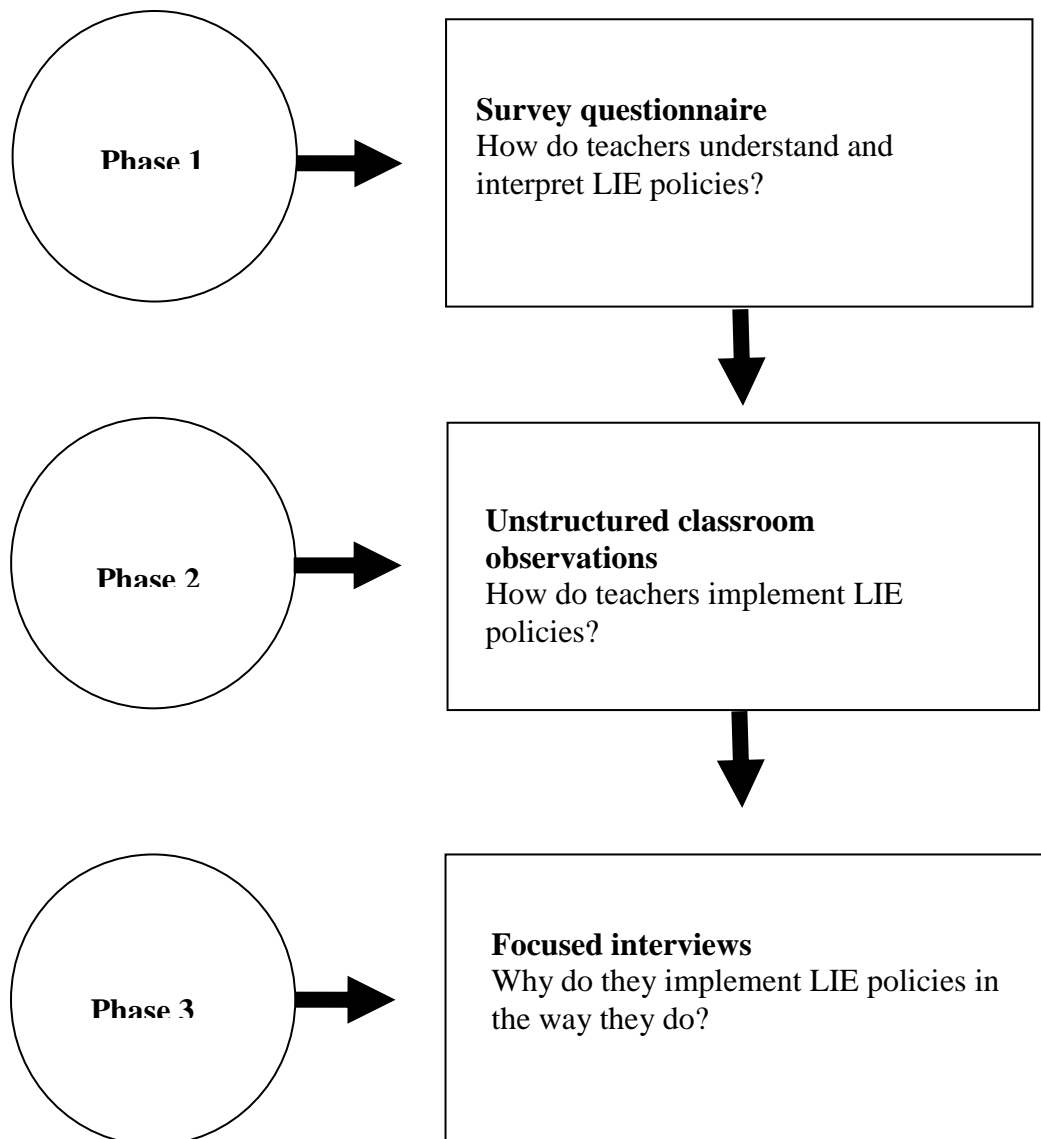
Teacher E is isiXhosa-speaking and offers English First Additional Language (EAL) to Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners at a rural high school in Mthatha. Learners in this school speak isiXhosa as a first language (LI). Teacher E is a B.A and B.Ed graduate and has 13 years' teaching experience. His school adopts an English-only policy and he offers tuition in English only.

Initially, six teachers were purposively selected for classroom observations and were drawn from the sample that had participated in the first phase of the research. In one of the schools it was not possible to conduct classroom observations as the school was preparing for trial examinations and district CASS moderations, as a result, five teachers participated in the classroom observations. My interest as a researcher was in exploring the ways in which teachers in public schools exercised their agency vis-à-vis language policy provisions. My other justification for choosing predominantly black public schools over private schools was that the literature on medium-of-instruction (e.g. Chick & MacKay, 2001, and Muthwii, 2001) reveals that private and desegregated schools pursue a monolingual policy which promotes English-only discourse, whereas in black schools, depending on context, indigenous languages and English are used to varying degrees as media of instruction.

3.3 Data Collection Tools

In keeping with the nature of mixed methods research approaches, data for this study were collected using different tools, for example, a questionnaire, classroom observations and focused interviews, to strengthen the validity of my study. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:112) define triangulation as “the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour.” The advantages of a multi-method approach are that it acknowledges the complexity of human behaviour, minimizes researcher bias, and increases researcher confidence. When triangulation is employed, the researcher is not method-bound (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2002:112), and this improves the validity of the study.

FLOWCHART SHOWING PHASES OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS



3.3.1 Survey Questionnaire

Questions in a questionnaire or interview try to get at the underlying attitudes and dispositions (the orientations) surrounding a piece of information (Barker, 1993:174). Surveys, whether they are exploratory, confirmatory, analytical or descriptive, gather data which are intended to describe existing conditions, identify standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or determine the relationships which exist between specific events (Cohen et.al., 2007). Surveys are

useful because they gather data which can be statistically manipulated. They can use large-scale data from which generalizations can be made about given factors or variables, presenting information which is uncluttered by contextual factors, and representing a wide target population. Careful sampling is required in order to gather standardized information, ascertain correlations, and provide descriptive explanatory and inferential information. Data can be gathered on a one-shot basis, particularly in order to generate numerical data. Key factors and variables can be manipulated to derive frequencies, support or refute hypotheses about the target population, and observe and make generalizations about patterns of response in the targets of focus (Morrison, 1993, in Cohen et al., 2007:2006).

However, surveys have a number of potential weaknesses. They can gather remembered information which may be faulty, selective and inaccurate. Respondents may forget, suppress or fail to remember some facts, and interpretations may not be contemporaneous with the actual events. Simple causality is unlikely; a cause may be an effect and vice versa. Results are seldom easy either to confirm or falsify; and the roots and causes of the end state may be multiple, diverse, complex, unidentifiable or difficult to unravel (Cohen et al., 2000).

In this study, the “piece of information” on which I intended to get the teachers’ perspectives was their understanding and interpretation of the medium-of-instruction policy, how they implemented the policy, and why they implemented the policy in the ways they did. I wanted to get baseline information on the teachers’ classroom language practices.

The design of the questionnaire was informed by the three questions on which the study is based. The first part of the questionnaire covered questions on teachers’ demographic details/personal information, the second part focused on contextual factors relating to the schools in which the data was collected, while the third covered questions relating to the teachers’ LIE policy interpretation and implementation.

The questionnaire was pre-tested and piloted at Holomisa Senior Secondary School in Mqanduli, to determine its effectiveness/validity, reliability and practicability. Teachers were asked to comment on the wording of the questions and whether the questions made sense to them. Their

comments on the content of the questionnaire and the wording of the questions were taken into consideration at the revision stage of the instrument.

I distributed and collected the questionnaires at the selected schools. As very few teachers had filled in the questionnaires, a second batch was left for the targeted subject teachers to fill in. The return rate of the questionnaires was not good, even in the second round of distribution. A few teachers from the subject areas which had not been targeted had also filled in the questionnaire.

3.3.2 Classroom Observations

Classroom observations were another lens that I used in order to understand the purposively selected teachers' language behaviour and motivations. Observational data enables a researcher to gain a comprehensive understanding of the situation being described (Paton, 1990:200). Although I had initially planned to carry out structured observations as explained in my research proposal, I abandoned this idea at the data collection stage and opted for discursive observation, the reason for this being the fact that I was going to use observation not as a design type but as research tool. Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004: 82) states that "observation may be brief and serve only as a discrete research tool for gathering information within a study that is not ethnographic."

Henning et al., (2004:96-97) maintain that observation for discourse analysis purposes is "focused on the research question, which will direct the researcher to be sensitive to issues of structure and form." The researcher would be on the lookout for the following during data collection and analysis: language forms and other communication actions dominating a piece of discourse; discourse shapers such as symbols and signs shaping the backdrop to the inquiry; and the stage on which the social actors performed their roles. The researcher would then make conceptual links to connect what he/she hears and sees. The researcher's field notes would focus on what is not seen or recorded and as such would add another dimension to the analysis. Observations carry the risk of bias; factors involved may include, for example, the selective attention of the observer; participant reactivity; attention deficit; selective data entry, selective memory; interpersonal matters and counter-transference; expectancy effects; the number of observers, the problem of inference; and decisions on how to record (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister & Zeichmeister, in Cohen et al., 2007).

The classroom observations were video-recorded by someone who specializes in video-recordings. He was briefed on the purpose of the task at hand and on how he was expected to carry it out. I visited the research sites with him and sat at the back of the class as a non-participant observer. The use of video-recording during the classroom observations and focused interviews strengthened the qualitative integrity of the study in that the recordings were accurate and comprehensive. They could be re-played to ensure accuracy of interpretation. Their advantage was that they captured both verbal and non-verbal behaviour.

Together with a student assistant, I transcribed the video-recorded lessons, the original copies being duplicated for safe-keeping. The advantage of transcribing the lessons myself emerged clearly at the time I was doing the analysis, as I could recall most of the content in the tapes. I then read through the transcribed lessons several times and made notes and comments where I observed interesting or relevant information on the teacher's classroom language practice. I kept going back to the literature chapter in search of answers to some of the questions that I raised as I was reading through the transcripts.

The interest displayed by the teachers in the study was a key reason for their selection for participation in the classroom observation. On average, three one-hour lessons were recorded, transcribed and analysed for each teacher. A major consideration in the choice of participants was the proximity of the schools to my work situation and the fact that I wanted to work in subject fields to which I could relate.

3.3.3 Focused Interviews

Focused interviews, sometimes referred to as “discursively-oriented” interviews (Henning, 2004), concentrate on the respondent's subjective responses to a known situation, one which has been analysed by the interviewer prior to the interview. The data collected are employed to confirm or reject previously formulated hypotheses (Cohen et al., 2000:290). The major difference between this type of interview and the structured or semi-structured interview is its open-ended character and the fact that it can challenge the preconceptions of the researcher (May, 1993). It allows the interviewee to talk about a subject from his or her “frame of reference” and offers a greater understanding of the subject's point of view (May, 1993).

The two interviewees who had previously responded to the questionnaire and were then recorded during classroom observations, provided me with some insight into what informed their classroom language behaviour. In order to generate meaning from the interview data, their responses were coded. Cohen et al. (2007:369) describe coding as “the ascription of a category label to a piece of data, with the category label either decided in advance or in response to the data that have been collected.” Key concepts in Qualification Analysis and Social Constructivism provided the codes for analysis of classroom observations. Recurrent themes were then identified in the three data sets. Consequently, I formed conclusions about the participants’ linguistic behaviour and the belief system underpinning their classroom practice. As the interviews were employed at the last stage of the research, I acquired a deeper understanding of the teachers’ classroom language behaviour, as I could now reflect on the previous two phases of the research and theorize about the findings.

3.4 Field Notes

Field notes are a researcher’s aid when it comes to compiling narrative accounts of what takes place in the field. Berg (2004:172) maintains that detailed, complete and accurate field notes in the form of cryptic jottings, detailed descriptions, analytical notes, and subjective reflections should be completed immediately following every excursion into the field. In the different types of observations, field notes capture what is not seen or heard on the recording (Henning et al 2004:96). Although I was not consistent in taking down notes during classroom observations, when I did remember to record what was not captured in the video, I made cryptic jottings which I revisited after the excursion. By the time I came to conducting interviews I was acutely aware of the value of field notes in qualitative studies.

3.5 Research Diary

I consistently kept a research diary from the time that I commenced with field work in order to reflect on and record memorable events or happenings during my research journey. These included informal conversations with the teachers at the schools, disappointments and frustrations encountered in those schools which viewed research as a luxury they could not afford to indulge in because of OBE/NCS curriculum demands, the suspicion with which research was regarded in

some schools, the enthusiasm shown by some teachers who had interesting contributions to make on the subject of my investigation, even though they did not take part in the study, and insights that I gained on the topic as I was collecting and analysing the data.

However, the diary entries were not subjected to any form of analysis. They only provided me with insights into the complexity of the topic, enriched my narrative and inspired me to plough through the data with a renewed sense of enthusiasm.

3.6 Data Collection, Management and Analysis

3.6.1 Data Collection and Management

Video-tapes containing the observed lessons and focused interviews were duplicated and stored in a safe place after they had been transcribed. The questionnaires were also stored in a safe place for future reference. The data collection tools appear in the Appendices of this thesis.

3.6.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

The questionnaires were first coded in preparation for capturing on the SPSS spreadsheets and the data were reduced to numbers. Questionnaire responses were captured and analysed using the SPSS programme in order to perform a descriptive analysis of the data. The frequency tables were then imported to the research narrative in Chapter 4 for reference purposes and easier interpretation.

3.6.3 Qualitative Data Analysis Processes Used

Babbie (2001:379) asserts that “qualitative analysis is the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations.” It involves a continual interplay between theory and analysis. When analysing qualitative data, the researcher seeks to discover patterns and possible causal links between variables (Babbie, 2001). In the present study, the transcripts of the classroom observations were subjected to coding in order to discover patterns of LIE policy implementation, discourse structures used by the teachers during lesson delivery, reasons behind the observed patterns of language use, and the effect that these had on teaching and learning. Vygotsky’s Social Constructivism theory and Qualification Analysis informed my choice of units of analysis. In Brock-Utne’s Qualification Analysis framework, the concepts of proficiency, adaptability and

creative qualifications are employed as units of analysis. Thus each lesson was analysed to establish the extent to which teachers developed the different types of skills through their engagement with learners. Key concepts in Vygotsky's theory were also used to analyse the lessons.

Focused interviews were subjected to open-coding to discover the two key informants' views on LIE policy implementation at high school level. Babbie (2001:366) states that in open-coding, data are broken down into discrete parts and compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about the phenomena under investigation. This creates an opportunity for the researcher to reflect on both his/her own and others' assumptions about how the topic/phenomena are questioned and explored; this in turn leads to new discoveries.

The data were analysed and the results, together with the study research questions, the literature review and the theoretical framework, assisted me in forming conceptual links between the questionnaire, classroom observations and the focused interview data. I then drew a table in (Chapter 4, p.147 - 150) to present the data from the three sources. I looked for similar or different patterns from the three data sets and established relationships amongst the themes.

3.7 Quality Assurance

3.7.1 Reliability

Reliability in empirical research refers to precision and accuracy. This means that if the study were to be replicated on a similar group of respondents, in a similar context, then similar results would be found. Reliability in quantitative research means stability over time, internal consistency and equivalence. Cohen et al., (2007) assert that criteria of reliability in quantitative methodologies differ from those in qualitative methodologies. Test-retest reliability is a measure of consistency over time and over similar samples. The term reliability is thus synonymous with dependability, consistency and replicability (Cohen et al., 2007).

The present study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods, and my discussion on how quality assurance issues were taken care of will cover both qualitative and quantitative techniques. During the pilot stage, the questionnaire was administered to a group of teachers similar to the

group which took part in the survey, in order to determine whether similar results would be achieved. Inter-rater reliability was not addressed as there was only one researcher conducting the study.

In qualitative research, reliability “can be regarded as a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched, i.e. the degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992:48, cited in Cohen et al., 2007). Cohen et al., (2007) state that in qualitative methodologies, reliability is concerned with fidelity to real life, context- and situation-specificity, authenticity, comprehensiveness, detail, honesty, depth of response and meaningfulness to the respondents. In the qualitative phases of the design, the classroom observations and the focused interviews were video-recorded to achieve “accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage.” To ensure accuracy in my interpretation of data, I read through the transcripts several times. To ensure dependability, data collection was done over an extended period of two and a half months, from August to October, 2009. Field notes were taken during the classroom observations, and the context of the research, school context and teacher profiles were explained fully in Chapters 1 and 3 of this report.

3.7.2 Validity

Cohen et al., (2007:135-140) state that earlier conceptions of validity emphasized the importance of the instrument measuring what it purports to measure. However, a more comprehensive view of validity now includes different kinds of validity, for example, ecological, predictive, and concurrent validity.

In qualitative data, validity may be achieved through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data collected, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation, and the objectivity of the researcher (Winter, 2000, in Cohen et al., p.132). The video-recorded classroom observations and interviews made it possible for me to capture the data as it was presented. The advantage of video-recording was that I could re-play the tapes to check whether I had captured the lessons and interviews accurately in the transcripts. This strengthened the validity of the data collected and counteracted any researcher bias or selectiveness.

External validity in observations is concerned with whether the results of the research are applicable to other situations and whether the results represent the real thing (Cohen et al., 2007). To address the external validity requirement, purposive sampling was employed because the intention was not to generalize the findings, but to gain a micro-perspective view of how a selected number of high school teachers understood, interpreted and enacted LIE policies in their classrooms.

Internal validity in observations is concerned with addressing fears about whether the observer's judgements will be influenced by his/her close association with the subjects under investigation (Cohen et al., 2007). From the outset, I knew that I had to detach myself from the research in order to achieve objectivity. I strove to achieve this by briefing the subjects fully on what the study was about in each phase and by maintaining a professional relationship with them.

In quantitative data, validity can be enhanced through careful sampling, careful instrumentation and appropriate statistical treatments of the data (Cohen et al., 2007). Frequency tables and cross-tabulations were computed to reduce the data and establish possible associations between variables. The potential for researcher bias was counteracted by ensuring that questions were worded in the same way during all the interviews. Alterations to question sequencing were accommodated only when I wanted to follow up on an interesting or unexpected response. The questionnaires were piloted first and then refined in terms of wording, content, layout and length. I delivered the questionnaires in person to the schools and collected them at a later date in order to counter the problem of a lack of response. I re-administered the questionnaire for a second time in cases where teachers had "misplaced or forgotten" the questionnaire.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

Cohen et al., (2007) argues that surveys can be undertaken on a small-scale basis, but the generalizability of small-scale data will be slight. As the sample size for the survey was small, its findings, like those obtained from classroom observations and focused interviews, cannot be generalized. Findings from this study are propositional and can be extrapolated only in similar contexts. However, insights gained could inform LIE policy and practice.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

A key concern in social research is the question of ethics, that is, the need to treat participants with dignity and respect in one's pursuit of new knowledge as a researcher. Cohen et al. (2000:49) maintain that ethical issues arise from the nature of the research problem, the research context, data collection methods, the nature of the participants, and what is done with the data. Ethical dilemmas facing researchers could involve factors such as privacy, anonymity, confidentiality, as well as questions of deception and betrayal, ethical problems endemic to particular research methods, and the ethics of teacher evaluation (Cohen et al., 2000:60-66).

In order to gain access to the schools, I sought permission first from the Eastern Cape Department of Education. A letter was written to the District Director explaining the nature and purpose of my study. On receiving a positive response from the District Office, I drafted consent letters to the school principals and would-be participants, that is, to teachers offering History, Geography, English and Business Economics /Entrepreneurship (See Appendix 1).

I then made telephone arrangements with the principals of the selected schools to come and make a presentation on my research study and ask for permission to carry out the investigation. The letter granting me permission to conduct the study was attached to the consent forms in order to confirm to participants that I had received consent from the Department of Education. Gaining entry into the schools through the principal was not a problem for me in most of the schools because these were schools I had been to for practice teaching. The principals wrote letters granting me permission to conduct research in their schools after the briefing session. However, I experienced some reluctance on the part of some of the subject teachers who maintained that they had a lot of catching up to do with their students, especially Grade 12s, and had to prepare for Continuous Assessment (CASS) moderations. I therefore moved on to other schools in which the teachers were more willing to participate. Teachers who agreed to participate in the study were left with the questionnaire and consent letters to fill in. These were collected two or three weeks later.

Ethical issues such as informed consent, confidentiality and explaining the consequences of the interviews were taken care of prior to the recording of classroom observations and interviews. To

secure their anonymity and confidentiality, the respondents were not required to furnish their names on the questionnaire, nor were they required to reveal the names of their schools. A coding system was used to help me identify participants for the next phase of the research, that of classroom observations. Each teacher was given a code, and those who participated in all three phases of the research were given the same code.

Before I conducted the classroom observations through video, participants were again assured of confidentiality. They were informed that the tapes would only be viewed by my supervisor and by the external moderator when examining the thesis. At the interview stage, candidates were further assured of confidentiality and of their right to privacy. The steps described above were addressed in the Ethical Clearance application that I submitted to the University of Pretoria's Ethical Clearance Committee which granted me permission to conduct the study. A sample of the consent letters appears in the Appendices of this thesis.

3.10 Conclusion

In order to gain contextual and individual perspectives on the complex subject of LIE policy implementation in South Africa, a mixed methods research approach was selected. Multiple methods, in this case a survey questionnaire and focused interviews, provided the key to obtaining an in-depth understanding of the subject under investigation.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and evaluation of data in relation to the study questions, and the theoretical framework and empirical research on MOI policy implementation in African countries, in particular where there has been a change in MOI policy and/or in contexts where a second language has been adopted as an LOLT. The literature review and the conceptual framework have been integrated into the evaluation of the findings in order to assist the researcher to reflect on the study questions and formulate the conclusions and recommendations in the last chapter.

4.2 Data Analysis Plan

Data were first presented by instrument and by individual. The findings from the three data sets were then tabulated in search of emergent themes/patterns. In the second stage of the data analysis process, the findings were discussed in relation to the research questions, the literature review and the conceptual framework. The researcher then reflected on the study findings and crafted conclusions and recommendations.

4.3 Questionnaire Findings

In the first phase of the study, data analysis was organized and presented through the use of the SPSS statistical package for social scientists and the following analyses were done:

- Descriptive statistics where frequency tables and relevant charts were performed. Only the frequency tables have been presented in the report, since the charts and frequency tables present the same findings in different formats.
- Inferential statistics where cross-tabulations, including two-way tables, have been computed.

A summary of the findings is presented in tables for each question and brief explanations on the frequency tables are given. The questionnaire which was administered in the first phase of the research yielded the following information:

Personal and Background Information

1. Name (optional)

Participants preferred to remain anonymous and did not respond to this question.

1. What is your home language?

Table 1: Teachers' home languages

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Xhosa	18	66.7	66.7	66.7
English	9	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

66, 7% of the teachers spoke isiXhosa as a home or first language, while only 33, 3 % spoke English as their home language. The latter could be expatriate teachers who have come to work in the Eastern Cape and can only communicate with learners whose LI is isiXhosa, in English

2. Which other languages can you communicate in?

This question complemented Question No.1 in that it was aimed at establishing the linguistic profiles of the study participants. There was a wide spread of languages that teachers in the sample schools could speak, viz. English, seSotho, Afrikaans and Indian languages.

Table 2: Other languages teachers can communicate in

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Xhosa	2	7.4	7.4	7.4
English	16	59.3	59.3	66.7
Afrikaans	2	7.4	7.4	74.1
Other (specify)	7	25.9	25.9	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

3. Which grades do you teach?

The purpose of including this multiple-response question was to establish whether the grade at which one taught influenced teacher classroom language behaviour. For easier manipulation of the data on SPSS, the grades were split. 74, 1% of the teachers in the sample taught in Grade 10.

Do you teach Grade 10?

Table 3a Grade 10 teachers who participated in the study

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	74.1	74.1	74.1
	No	7	25.9	25.9	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Table 3b: Grade 11 teachers who participated in the study

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	81.5	81.5	81.5
	No	5	18.5	18.5	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

81, 5 % of the teachers taught in Grade 11.

Do you teach Grade 12?

Table 3c: Grade 12 teachers who participated in the study

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	21	77.8	77.8	77.8
No	6	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

77, 8 % of the teachers in the sample taught in Grade 12

4. Which subjects do you offer?

Table 4a: Teachers offering English

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	10	37.0	37.0	37.0
No	17	63.0	63.0	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

37% of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire offered English.

Table 4b: Teachers offering isiXhosa

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	3	11.1	11.1	11.1
No	24	88.9	88.9	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

11,1% of the respondents in the survey were teachers of isiXhosa.

Table 4c: Teachers offering Business Economics

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	6	22.2	22.2	22.2
No	21	77.8	77.8	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

22,2% of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire were teachers of Business Economics.

Table 4d: Teachers offering Physical Science

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	1	3.7	3.7	3.7
No	26	96.3	96.3	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

3,7% of the respondents offered Physical Science.

Table 4e: Teachers offering Biology

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	2	7.4	7.4	7.4
No	25	92.6	92.6	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

7,4% of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire were offering Biology in their schools.

Table 4f: Teachers offering History

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	4	14.8	14.8	14.8
No	23	85.2	85.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

14,8% of the sample were History teachers.

Table 4g: Teachers offering Geography

29, 6% of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire were Geography teachers.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	8	29.6	29.6	29.6
No	19	70.4	70.4	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Table 4h: Other subject(s) that you teach

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	26	96.3	96.3	96.3
Economics	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

3,7% of the teachers who took part in the survey offered Economics.

6. For how long have you been teaching?

This question was asked in order to establish whether teaching experience was a factor in language choice. Teachers with limited teaching experience (1-5 years) formed 7,4% of the sample, while the more experienced teachers (>5 years) comprised 92,5% of the sample.

Table 5: Teaching experience

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1-5 Years	2	7.4	7.4	7.4
6-11 Years	6	22.2	22.2	29.6
12-17 Years	8	29.6	29.6	59.3
18-25 Years	5	18.5	18.5	77.8
26 Years and above	6	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

7. What is your highest qualification in the subject(s) that you teach?

Most of the teachers in the sample had first degrees (59,3%). Those with Matric and Masters each comprised 14,8% of the sample.

Table 6: Highest qualification in the subjects that one teaches

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Matric	4	14.8	14.8	14.8
Bachelor's Degree	16	59.3	59.3	74.1
Honours Degree	3	11.1	11.1	85.2
Masters Degree	4	14.8	14.8	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

8. What is your professional qualification?

This question was included in the questionnaire in order to establish whether having been trained as a teacher influenced language choice in the classroom. All the participants in the study had a teaching qualification.

Table 7: Professional qualifications of participants

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid JSTC	2	7.4	7.4	7.4
STD	3	11.1	11.1	18.5
Higher Diploma in Education	11	40.7	40.7	59.3
University Diploma in Education	2	7.4	7.4	66.7
B.Ed	3	11.1	11.1	77.8
PTC	6	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

All the teachers who participated in the study had professional teaching qualifications.

2. Contextual Factors Relating to the School

2.1 Name of School at which you are currently teaching (optional)

Only a few teachers responded to this question; this could mean that some teachers preferred not to divulge the identity of their schools.

2.2 Where is your school situated?

55,6% of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire taught in rural schools, while 44,4% taught in urban areas.

Table 8: Location of the schools

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Urban	12	44.4	44.4	44.4
	Rural	15	55.6	55.6	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

2.3 What home languages do your learners speak?

Table 9: Learners' home languages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	IsiXhosa	27	100.0	100.0	100.0

According to the literature review, home language is a factor in school achievement (TIMSS, 1999; Simkin & Paterson, 2005; Threshold Project Report, 1990; Grade 6 Intermediate Phase Systemic Evaluation Report, 2005; Howie, 2002; Desai, 2003; Mwinsheike, 2003; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Yan, 2003; MacKay & De Klerk, 1996; Broom, 2004; Schlebusch, 2002; Malekela, 2006; Qorro, 2006; and Yohannes, 2009).

Although it was recorded on the questionnaires that all the pupils in the selected schools spoke isiXhosa, my visit to two urban-based schools showed that some of the learners were studying English as an LI, even though they were LI isiXhosa and Afrikaans speakers.

2.4 Which languages are spoken in the area in which your school is situated?

Table 10: Language(s) spoken in the area in which the school is situated

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	IsiXhosa	26	96.3	96.3	96.3
	Afrikaans	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

If the language used for teaching is the one spoken in the wider community, then it becomes possible for parents to support the education of their children and become more involved in the activities of the school. This question was asked to determine whether the teachers did take into account the learners' HL and the language spoken in the wider community when delivering lessons. Most of the teachers (96,3%) indicated that isiXhosa was the language spoken in the area in which their schools were situated, while 3,7% cited Afrikaans. The 3,7% Afrikaans-speaking pupils and a few black pupils studied English as an LI at school.

3. Questions Relating to Medium-of-Instruction Policy Implementation

3.1 Does the current MOI policy guarantee the use of all eleven languages in SA as MOI?

Questions 3.1 and 3.2 were asked to establish teachers' knowledge of current national MOI policy, as knowledge or awareness of the policy could influence their classroom language choices. Most of the teachers (77,8%) in the study knew about the 1997 multilingual MOI policy. However, 22,2 % of the respondents did not. Whereas knowledge about the existence of a new LIE policy does not presuppose a change in teacher language behaviour, a lack of knowledge of the current LIE is likely to result in teachers implementing LIE policy in the same manner in which they were implementing it before the promulgation of the 1997 policy.

Table 11: Teachers’ knowledge of the current medium-of-instruction policy (MOI) provisions guaranteeing the use of eleven languages in South Africa as media of instruction.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid True	21	77.8	77.8	77.8
False	6	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

3.2 Does the current MOI policy allow the teacher to code-switch, i.e. the simultaneous use of more than one language during lesson delivery?

3.3 Table 12: Teachers’ knowledge of current MOI policy provisions on code-switching

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	19	70.4	70.4	70.4
No	4	14.8	14.8	85.2
Don't know	4	14.8	14.8	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Empirical research indicates that code-switching is used extensively to facilitate learning in contexts in which the teacher and pupils share a home language (Probyn, 2001; Adendorff, 1993; Setati, 2000). This question served two purposes: it indicated the teachers’ awareness or interpretation of the LIE policy, whilst at the same time revealing the extent to which code-switching was used by the teachers who participated in the study. Most of the teachers (70,37%) could not provide an answer to this question, 14,8% agreed that the LIE policy allowed for code-switching, while 14,81% showed a lack of awareness about the fact that languages other than English and Afrikaans should be used for teaching and learning.

The ‘No’ and ‘Don’t know’ responses (29,6% in all) revealed a lack of knowledge about current LIE policy provisions. These would be the teachers most likely to employ languages in the same manner they had prior to the introduction of the new policy, e.g. those who promoted English-only, irrespective of the context of the school(s) in which they taught. Teachers who employed other languages for teaching prior to the introduction of the 1997 LIE policy would be less likely to depart from this practice.

3.4 What is your school’s language policy?

Table 13: School language policy

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Only English, no other language is permitted for teaching	14	51.9	51.9	51.9
English and any other shared language	11	40.7	40.7	92.6
Learner's home language and a bit of English	2	7.4	7.4	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

School language policy should direct teachers on how they are expected to use language(s) for teaching. The respondents indicated that 51,9% of the high schools in the sample had an English-only policy, despite the fact that the schools in the sample were situated in an area in which isiXhosa was a language of wider communication. 40,7% permitted the use of English and any other language as MOI, while 7,4% opted for the use of learner’s HL mostly plus a bit of English. In total, English and isiXhosa were accepted in 48,1 % (Options 2 & 3) of the schools.

The responses above reveal that, although the preferred LOLT in schools was English, teachers also accommodated the use of languages other than English, even though some might not even have been aware of the existence of a multilingual MOI policy.

3.5 Which language do you employ most when teaching the subject(s) that you offer at your school?

Table 14: Language(s) employed most when teaching

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid English only	17	63.0	63.0	63.0
English mostly and learners' home language	10	37.0	37.0	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

When asked to indicate the language they used mostly during lesson delivery, 63% of the teachers revealed that they used English only, while 37% indicated that they used English mostly and the learners' HL. None of the respondents chose the third option, i.e. "learners' home language mostly and English", an indication that home/local languages were not employed as fully-fledged LOLTs in an area in which isiXhosa was the most widely spoken language.

The contradiction is that, although 7,4% of the teachers in Table 13 above indicated that their school had adopted Option 3 (The learners' home language mostly, with a little English) as their language policy, when asked about what they did in practice, none indicated that they implemented this option. Possible explanations for this are that the schools had opted for an English-only policy, that teachers were not conversant with their schools' language policies, or that the schools' language policies had not been re-adjusted after 1997.

3.6 Why do you employ the language(s) you have selected in 3.4 above?

This question was aimed at establishing the reasons behind the teachers' choice of the language(s) of instruction they had identified in Question 3.4. The responses were then categorized. Factors that were identified as having an influence on language choice were:

Table 15:

Factors Influencing Teacher Language Choice	Examples
Resource provisioning	‘Textbooks are written in English.
Teacher beliefs and perceptions of English	‘English is a world language, it promotes nation-building and tolerance for diversity.’
School LIE policy	‘Since the medium of instruction in my school is English, I prefer to teach in English.’
The subject being taught	‘I teach English as a subject, I can’t teach it through another language.’
Teacher characteristics and preferences	I’m a foreigner, and it’s the only language I can communicate in.’ ‘I teach English as a primary language, and I think learning a language can best be done by using it.’
Making the subject accessible to learners through employing English and the pupils’ home languages.	‘Pupils are not comfortable expressing themselves in English.’ ‘I translate and use what is familiar in their surroundings to promote understanding.’ ‘To promote understanding of content and develop their English language skills.’ ‘Learners do not understand English.’ ‘I have to explain some of the content in English.’ ‘Everybody understands isiXhosa, so I have to use isiXhosa to help them understand.’ ‘I have to explain some stuff in isiXhosa.’
Assessment Policy	‘Pupils are taught and examined in English; I would be misleading them if I were to facilitate in the vernacular’
Teacher misconceptions	‘English is an international MOI and is widely accepted; everybody understands English.’ ‘Using other languages would confuse learners.’ ‘To improve learner proficiency in English.’

3.7 Indicate the language(s) you often use to do the following. Put a tick in the relevant column.

Teacher responses revealed that they employed English mostly to achieve curriculum goals and manage their classrooms. English was used mainly for assessment (100%), error treatment and language development (96,3%), giving special information (92,3%), and building learner confidence (85,2%). These findings suggest that teachers devote a lot of their teaching time to developing their learners' English language skills, i.e. treating learner errors and building learner confidence in using English.

Table 16 a. Language(s) often used by teachers to Paraphrase a Point

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	21	77.8	80.8	80.8
	All (Xhosa/Se-Sotho/English)	5	18.5	19.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

The results show that English was the language used most to paraphrase difficult aspects of the curriculum. 19, 2% of the teachers used English and indigenous languages for paraphrasing content. One of the respondents did not answer this question.

Table 16b: Language(s) often used to clarify or elaborate on a point I have been teaching

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	20	74.1	76.9	76.9
	All (Xhosa/Sesotho/English)	6	22.2	23.1	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

76,9% of the teachers used English to clarify or elaborate on aspects related to the curriculum. Only 23,1% used English and indigenous languages. One of the respondents did not answer this question.

Table 16c: Language(s) often used to substitute unfamiliar words

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Xhosa/seSotho	3	11.1	11.5	11.5
	English	18	66.7	69.2	80.8
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	5	18.5	19.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

English was the language most often used to substitute for unfamiliar words during lesson delivery (69,2%). Only 19,2% of the teachers used English and other languages. 11,5% of the teachers used isiXhosa and seSotho to substitute for unfamiliar English words. One of the respondents did not answer this question.

The language I use to emphasize something

Table 16d: Language(s) often used by teachers to emphasize something

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	18	66.7	66.7	66.7
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	9	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

To emphasise a point, 66,7% of the teachers used English. The remaining 33,3% used indigenous languages and English to emphasise important information.

Table 16e: Language(s) often used to stimulate discussion/engage with a topic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	20	74.1	80.0	80.0
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	5	18.5	20.0	100.0
	Total	25	92.6	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

English was used by 80% of the teachers to stimulate discussion in class. Only 20% of the teachers used indigenous languages and English to stimulate discussion.

Table 16 f: Language(s) often used for repetition/reformulation, e.g. repeat a question or a statement

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.8	3.8
	English	21	77.8	80.8	84.6
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	4	14.8	15.4	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Indigenous languages were used by only 3,8% of the teachers for reformulations/repetitions. 80,8% of the teachers repeated or reformulated a question/statement using English. Only 15,4% code-switched for repetition/reformulation. One of the respondents did not answer this question.

Table 16g: Language (s) often used to promote understanding of content

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.7	3.7
	English	22	81.5	81.5	85.2
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	4	14.8	14.8	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

81,5% of the teachers used English only to make the curriculum accessible to learners. 14,8% of the teachers used indigenous languages and English to help learners understand the content being taught. Only 3, 7% used indigenous languages for this purpose.

Table 16h: Language (s) often used to check the pupil's understanding of the subject matter

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	21	77.8	80.8	80.8
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	5	18.5	19.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

80,8% of the teachers checked the pupils' understanding of the subject matter in English. 19,2% used indigenous languages and English. One of the respondents did not provide an answer to this question.

Table 16i: The language(s) often used for exercises, assignments and homework

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	26	96.3	100.0	100.0
Total		27	100.0		

All the teachers (100%) carried out their assessments in English.

Table 16j: The language(s) often used to correct or develop learners' language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	26	96.3	96.3	96.3
	All (Xhosa/Sesotho/English)	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Error correction aimed at developing learners' language was carried out mostly in English. Only 3,7% of the teachers used indigenous languages and English.

Table 16k: Language(s) often used to encourage learner participation in the lesson

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	21	77.8	80.8	80.8
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	5	18.5	19.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

80,8% of the teachers used English to encourage learners to participate in class. Only 19,2% used English and indigenous languages to encourage learner participation.

Table 16l: Language(s) often used to encourage learners to explain things to one another

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.8	3.8
	English	19	70.4	73.1	76.9
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	6	22.2	23.1	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

73,1% of the teachers promoted collaborative learning in English. Only 23,1% used English and indigenous languages to encourage learners to explain things to one another. IsiXhosa and seSotho were used by only 23,1 % of the teachers for this purpose.

Table 16m: Language(s) often used to build learner confidence

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.7	3.7
English	23	85.2	85.2	88.9
All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	3	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

85,2% of the teachers used English to build learner confidence in class. IsiXhosa, seSotho and English were the second most used languages (11,1%), while IsiXhosa and seSotho were used by only 3,7% of the teachers.

Table 16n: Language(s) often used to give special information, e.g. make an announcement

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Xhosa/seSotho	2	7.4	7.7	7.7
English	24	88.9	92.3	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

92,3 % of the teachers gave special information such as announcements in English, and only 7,7% used indigenous languages. One of the respondents did not respond to this question.

Table 16o: Language(s) often used to address a serious issue

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.8	3.8
English	21	77.8	80.8	84.6
All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	4	14.8	15.4	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

80,8% of the teachers addressed serious issues in English, while only 3,8% used indigenous languages. 15,4% employed English and indigenous languages to address a serious issue.

Table 16p: Language (s) often used to maintain discipline, e.g. admonish a pupil

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Xhosa/seSotho	1	3.7	3.8	3.8
	English	19	70.4	73.1	76.9
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	6	22.2	23.1	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

73,1% of the teachers maintained discipline in class using English, while only 3,8% did so in indigenous languages. 23,1% used both indigenous languages and English.

Table 16q: Language(s) often used to respond to pupils' non-verbal behaviour

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	19	70.4	73.1	73.1
	All (Xhosa/seSotho/English)	7	25.9	26.9	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

To respond to pupils' non-verbal behaviour in class, 73,1% of the teachers used English, while only 26,9% used indigenous languages and English to respond to such behaviour.

3.8 Do you switch between languages when delivering your lessons?

Table 17: Code-switching during lesson delivery

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	6	22.2	22.2	22.2
No	13	48.1	48.1	70.4
Sometimes	8	29.6	29.6	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Contrary to what the respondents had indicated regarding languages they employed most when teaching (Table 14), the 'Yes' and 'Sometimes' responses combined (51,8%) indicated that code-switching was a common language practice in the classroom, and that the number of teachers who code-switched to make the curriculum accessible to learners slightly exceeded those who employed English only (48,1%).

3.8 If your response to Q 3.7 above was (a) or (c), then respond to the following statements by putting a tick next to the appropriate responses. Skip this question and answer No 9 if your response was (b) in No.3.7 above.

3.9 I code-switch for the following purposes:

Table 18a: I code-switch to make up for my pupils' lack of English language skills

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	14	51.9	53.8	53.8
Not Applicable	12	44.4	46.2	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

In response to the statement above, the majority of the teachers (53,8 %) cited their learners' lack of English language skills as the main reason for employing other languages when teaching,

whereas only 46,2 % of the teachers indicated that the statement did not apply to them. The latter would be teachers who employed English only. The respondents indicated that 51,9% of the high schools in the sample had an English-only policy, despite the fact that the schools in the sample were situated in an area in which isiXhosa was the language of wider communication. 40,7% permitted the use of English and any other language as MOI, while 7,4% opted for the use of the learners' HL mostly, with a bit of English. In total, English and isiXhosa were accepted in 48,1 % (Options 2 & 3) of the schools.

The responses above reveal that although the preferred LOLT in schools is English, teachers also accommodate the use of languages other than English, even though some may not even be aware of the existence of a multilingual MOI policy.

Table 18b: I code-switch because some English words are new/unfamiliar to the pupils

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	40.7	40.7	40.7
Not Applicable	16	59.3	59.3	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

40,7% of the teachers code-switched when learners had a restricted vocabulary in English, whereas 59,3% did not. This indicated that even when learners were experiencing difficulties with English, some teachers stuck to English.

Table 18 c: I code switch to clarify/paraphrase a difficult point for my pupils

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	12	44.4	44.4	44.4
Not Applicable	15	55.6	55.6	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Some of the teachers (44,4%) made the subject matter more meaningful and accessible to their learners by expressing the difficult aspects in their own words using an indigenous language. This could be through either “inter-sentential or intra-sentential code-switching” (Myers-Scotton, 1993) . The remaining 55,6% indicated that the statement was not applicable to them.

Table 18d: I code switch when I can't think of an appropriate English word to use

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	10	37.0	37.0	37.0
Not Applicable	17	63.0	63.0	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Only 37% of the teachers switched to another language when they could not think of an appropriate English word to use. The remaining 63% indicated that this statement was not applicable to them. This suggests that some teachers did not code-switch because they believed they had good English language skills and had no reason to code-switch.

Table 18e: I code switch to facilitate concept development, i.e. help learners understand content

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	12	44.4	46.2	46.2
Not Applicable	14	51.9	53.8	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

46,2% of the teachers code-switched to facilitate concept development, whereas 53,8% did not. This could mean that a good number of learners who experienced difficulty in understanding the register of the subject were not accommodated by the teacher and were therefore left behind. One of the teachers did not respond to this question.

Table18f: I code switch when I can't present a point successfully in English because I lack the necessary vocabulary

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	5	18.5	18.5	18.5
Not Applicable	22	81.5	81.5	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

18,5% of the teachers code-switched when they experienced difficulty in using English as an LOLT. This is an indication that teaching in an L2 presents challenges for some teachers.

Table18g: I code switch for no specific reason

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	3	11.1	11.1	11.1
Not Applicable	24	88.9	88.9	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

Some teachers may not even have been consciously aware of the reasons that prompted them to code-switch. 11,1% of the teachers maintained that they code-switched for no specific reason.

Table18h: Excluding other languages, particularly in education, would not be in line with the country's Constitution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	4	14.8	14.8	14.8
Not Applicable	23	85.2	85.2	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

14,8% of the teachers were aware of the provisions of the South African Constitution and were comfortable with using more than one language to make the curriculum accessible to learners.

85,2% of the teachers did not regard the provisions of the Constitution as motivation for them to code-switch.

The reasons advanced for code-switching were tallied and ranked to establish their order of importance for the participants. The most cited reasons for code-switching were:

- To make up for my learners' lack of English language skills (53,8 %.);
- To facilitate concept development (46,2%);
- To clarify /paraphrase a difficult point for my pupils (44,4%);
- Some English words are new and unfamiliar to the pupils (40,7%).

Responses to Question 3.8 indicated that code-switching was employed primarily as a “compensatory strategy” during lesson delivery in order to make the subject content accessible to learners who did not have the necessary (English) proficiency qualifications.

Answer question 3.9 only if your response to Q. 3.7 above was (b)

I use English only during lesson delivery and when conducting assessments for the following reasons:

(Please tick all applicable responses)

Table 19a: I use English only because, as a subject teacher, I am the primary role model of English for my pupils

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	40.7	40.7	40.7
No	16	59.3	59.3	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

40,7% of the teachers perceived themselves as primary role models of English in the classroom, as opposed to 59,3% who did not. This suggests that for the former, good language skills form the basis of a sound education and that teaching a subject also means paying attention to language use.

Table 19b: I use English only to help my pupils understand the register (i.e. vocabulary used in the subject) of the subject that I teach

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	33.3	34.6	34.6
	No	17	63.0	65.4	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

The reason stated above was chosen by 34,6% of the teachers, an acknowledgement that content written in English was not always accessible to learners, especially those studying in an L2. Some teachers believed that immersing learners in the language of the discipline would improve their understanding of the subject. A significant percentage (65,4%) of the respondents did not equate teaching in English with improving overall English language proficiency, an indication that they also used other languages for teaching.

Table 19c: I use English only because examinations are only in English

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	29.6	30.8	30.8
	No	18	66.7	69.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Only 30,8% of the teachers indicated that they employed English only for teaching and learning because examinations were set in English. An overwhelming 69,2% used other languages for teaching. This corroborates the finding in Table 19b above that languages other than English were employed for teaching.

Table 19d: I use English only because parents expect their children to be taught in English

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	9	33.3	34.6	34.6
No	17	63.0	65.4	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

Contrary to popular belief about parental expectations and languages of learning, teachers do not appear to be influenced by parental demands. Only 34,6% of the respondents chose parental expectations as a factor in the manner in which they used language in class. For the remaining 65,4% this was not an important factor.

Table 19e: I use English only because our school has chosen English as the medium of instruction and I have an obligation to observe this.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	10	37.0	38.5	38.5
No	16	59.3	61.5	100.0
Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total	27	100.0		

School language policy was chosen by only 38,5% of the respondents as a factor in the manner in which they implemented language policy, as opposed to the 61,5 % who did not. This is an indication that some teachers go against school language policy provisions and focus on making the curriculum accessible to the learner by using other languages.

Table 19f: I use English only because indigenous languages do not have the necessary vocabulary to teach some of the subjects, e.g. Mathematics

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	22.2	23.1	23.1
	No	20	74.1	76.9	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Those who advocate the use of English only in education in post-colonial contexts use the statement above as a justification for marginalizing indigenous languages and not using them as media of instruction (Bamgbose, 2004). Only 23,1% of the teachers in this study agreed with this view. This suggests that some teachers had the necessary vocabulary (in the teachers' and learners' home language) to conduct lessons and assess learners in their home languages. However, a significant percentage of the teachers (76,9%) used English and other languages to promote understanding of the content. Out of the 27 participants, 26 responded to this question. One of the respondents did not answer the question.

Table 19 g: I use English only because I do not know my learners' home languages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	29.6	30.8	30.8
	No	18	66.7	69.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

In cases where there was a mismatch between teachers' and learners' home languages, 30,8 % of the teachers adopted an English-only policy. English and other languages were used in contexts where there was a match between the teacher's home language and that of his/her pupils.

Table 19h: I use English only because I was trained to teach my subject area in English only

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	37.0	38.5	38.5
	No	16	59.3	61.5	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Teacher factors, such as past educational experience, could have an influence on language policy implementation. Although most high school teachers in South Africa were trained in either English or Afrikaans, 61,5% of the teachers who participated in this study used other languages to deliver the curriculum, and only 38,5% used English only.

Table 19i: I use English only because in most tertiary institutions in South Africa, the medium of instruction (MOI) is English

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	37.0	38.5	38.5
	No	16	59.3	61.5	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Articulation between high school and tertiary programmes was not a major concern for most of the respondents. By implication, the 61,5% who did not choose this option as a factor influencing their language choice used other languages, as opposed to the remaining 38,5%. This indicates that other languages are increasingly being used to promote understanding of content, regardless of the school's preferred MOI.

Table 19j: I use English only because the world of work demands high proficiency levels in English

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	29.6	30.8	30.8
	No	18	66.7	69.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

There is a belief that the labour market in South Africa puts a high premium on English and that to ensure upward mobility, one must demonstrate good (English) language skills. Contrary to this belief, only 30,8% of the respondents chose this option from the list provided as a reason for using English only. This could mean that high school teachers do not see themselves as preparing young people for the world of work, and that this is instead perceived as the role of post-school or tertiary institutions.

Table 19k: I use English only because English is the only language that can serve as a medium of instruction (MOI) in multilingual South Africa

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	22.2	23.1	23.1
	No	20	74.1	76.9	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Heugh (2000) cites the perception that indigenous languages are incapable of serving as MOI as one of the myths which perpetuate English linguisticism in South Africa. The findings of the current study supported this view, as only 23,1% of the teachers chose this option from the list provided. The remaining 76,9% did not regard other languages as being incapable of serving as MOI.

Table 19l: I use English only because textbooks and other resource materials used in schools are written in English

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	25.9	26.9	26.9
	No	19	70.4	73.1	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

One of the explanations forwarded by Phillipson (2005) for the unrivalled hegemony of English in developing countries is the fact that English is a resource-rich language. However, only 26,9% of the sample agreed with this view, as opposed to the 73,1% who did not regard this as a valid reason for using English only.

Table 19m: I use English only because English is an international language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	33.3	34.6	34.6
	No	17	63.0	65.4	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

The perceived supremacy of English as a world language was confirmed by only 34,6% of the teachers. 65, 4% did not support this view, an indication that teachers are aware of the fact that in South Africa, English is spoken only by a small percentage of the population.

Table 19n: I use English only because South Africa, being a multilingual country, uses English to facilitate communication among people who speak different languages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	29.6	30.8	30.8
	No	18	66.7	69.2	100.0
	Total	26	96.3	100.0	
Total		27	100.0		

Only 30,8% of the respondents were of the view that English facilitates cross-cultural communication among those who speak different languages. The majority of the teachers (69,2%) did not agree with this statement, thus suggesting that other languages are used in South African classrooms for teaching and learning and to promote cross-cultural communication.

Table 19o: Although my students and I speak the same LI (mother tongue), I cannot use it successfully as a medium of instruction (MOI)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	26	96.3	100.0	100.0
Total		27	100.0		

One of the consequences of training teachers in an L2 is that they end up teaching in the language in which they received tuition whilst they were being trained, irrespective of whether there has been a change of language policy or not. All the teachers in the sample (100%), except one who did not respond to the question, confirmed the fact that they cannot teach in their L1, even though it is the same as that of the pupils they teach. This contradicts their responses to questions on code-switching practices and languages used most for teaching, in which they indicated that the LI/language of wider communication was used extensively in the classroom to make the curriculum accessible to learners whose English language skills were not well developed.

The most cited reasons for using English as an LOLT were: teachers whose L1 matched that of the pupils could not teach in the L1 (100%); subject and language teachers saw themselves as English language role models (40,7%); school language policy insisted on the use of English (38,5%); teachers were previously trained in English (38,5%); and it was the LOLT adopted by

tertiary institutions (38,5%). Contrary to the fact that the high school teachers used code-switching extensively to facilitate learning, they earnestly believed that indigenous languages could not serve as media of instruction and could only be used as a bridge to English. This is an indication that policy implementation can either fail or succeed because of the beliefs, perceptions and attitudes harboured by individuals who are expected to implement them.

Other reasons (items not listed on the questionnaire) provided by the respondents for using English only for teaching and assessment were: job promotion is dependent on high proficiency levels in English; English is the language of computers; it promotes racial tolerance; it is at the heart of effective leadership; and it also improves learners' English language skills.

Cross-tabulations

Data were subjected to further analysis using cross-tabulations. Cross-tabulations in inferential statistics are used in order to establish whether there are any associations between two variables. The following variables were cross-tabulated in order to find answers to the sub-questions, those concerned with school policy, the school situation, teaching experience, code-alternation practices, e.g. code-switching, and teacher qualifications. The following are results of the analysis:

Table 20: Cross-tabulation between teaching experience and language choice Cross tab

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly and learners' home language	English only
Number of years you have been teaching	1-5 Years	Count	1	1	2
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



6-11 Years	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	5.9%	10.0%	7.4%
	% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	7.4%
	Count	4	2	6
	% within Number of years you have been teaching	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
12-17 Years	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	20.0%	22.2%
	% of Total	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%
	Count	4	4	8
	% within Number of years you have been teaching	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
18-25 Years	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	40.0%	29.6%
	% of Total	14.8%	14.8%	29.6%
	Count	4	1	5
	% within Nnumber of years you have been teaching	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	10.0%	18.5%
	% of Total	14.8%	3.7%	18.5%
26 Years and above	Count	4	2	6
	% within Number of years you have been teaching	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	20.0%	22.2%
	% of Total	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%

Total	Count	17	10	27
	% within Number of years you have been teaching	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

Cross-tabulations between teaching experience and choice of MOI revealed that teachers with limited teaching experience (1-5 years) used both the learners' home language and English equally (50% each) during lesson delivery. Teachers with between 6 and 11 years' teaching experience displayed a different pattern; they used English more (66%) than they did the learners' HL (33%), whereas teachers with between 12 and 17 years of teaching experience used both languages equally (50%). Between 18 and 25 years' teaching experience, teachers showed a preference for English (80%) and isiXhosa was employed less (20%). The same trend was evident with teachers who had 26 years' teaching experience and above; 66,7% employed English as opposed to 33,3% who used English mostly and the learners' home language. The general picture showed that teachers gravitated towards the use of English as a medium of instruction as they gained more teaching experience. This means that, considering the above trend, there is some positive association between teaching experience and use of English as a medium of instruction.

Table 21: Cross tabulation between professional qualification and preferred language of instruction.

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly & learners' HL	
State your professional qualification	JSTC	Count	1	1	2
		% within State your professional qualification	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	5.9%	10.0%	7.4%
		% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	7.4%
	STD	Count	1	2	3
		% within State your professional qualification	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	5.9%	20.0%	11.1%
		% of Total	3.7%	7.4%	11.1%
	Higher Diploma in Education	Count	9	2	11
		% within State your professional qualification	81.8%	18.2%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	52.9%	20.0%	40.7%
		% of Total	33.3%	7.4%	40.7%
	University	Count	0	2	2

	Diploma in Education				
		% within State your professional qualification	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	.0%	20.0%	7.4%
		% of Total	.0%	7.4%	7.4%
	B.Ed	Count	2	1	3
		% within State your professional qualification	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	11.8%	10.0%	11.1%
		% of Total	7.4%	3.7%	11.1%
	PTC	Count	4	2	6
		% within State your professional qualification	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	20.0%	22.2%
		% of Total	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%
Total		Count	17	10	27
		% within State your professional qualification	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

The above question addresses the understanding of whether there exists any association between the variables of teaching qualifications of the respondent and the language of choice used when

the respondent presents his/her lessons in class. The following breakdown of the responses was determined from the cross-tabulation table for both responses, namely *English only* and *English & learners' HL* respectively: (**JSTC**) 50.0%, 50.0% ; (**STD**) 33.3%, 66.7%; (**Higher Diploma in Education**); 81.8%, 18.2%; (**University Diploma in Education**); 0.0%, 100.0%; (**B.Ed**); 66.7%, 33.3%; (**PTC**) 66.7%, 33.3%.

The responses reveal that the majority of teachers used English only, as compared to those who used English and home languages. These results suggest that there is a relationship between language choice and one's professional qualifications; they show that there is a preference for English amongst the teachers, irrespective of their qualifications.

Table 22: Cross tabulation between subjects offered and language of instruction.

			Which language(s) do you use most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly & learners' HL	English only
Do you teach English?	Yes	Count	6	4	10
		% within Do you teach English?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	35.3%	40.0%	37.0%
	No	% of Total Count	22.2% 11	14.8% 6	37.0% 17
			64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
			% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		
			64.7%	60.0%	63.0%
			% of Total Count	40.7% 17	22.2% 10
Total					63.0% 27

	% within Do you teach English?	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

In order to make the data easy to manipulate in SPSS for this multiple-response question, the subjects were considered individually when performing the analysis. The purpose of this question was to find out whether teachers of English as a subject employ English only when delivering lessons, or use other languages as well. 60% claimed that they used English only, whereas 40% used English and the learners' home languages. This means that the belief which informs their language practice is that one learns a language through having it modeled for him/her and through practice, but in instances where the learner experiences difficulties, the LI is employed to facilitate learning.

Table 23: Cross tabulation between Business Economics and teaching experience

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly & learners' HL	English only
Do you teach Business Economics?	Yes	Count	4	2	6
		% within Do you teach Business Economics?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	20.0%	22.2%
		% of Total	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%
Total	No	Count	13	8	21
		% within Do you teach business Economics?	61.9%	38.1%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	76.5%	80.0%	77.8%
		% of Total	48.1%	29.6%	77.8%
		Count	17	10	27
		% within Do you teach business Economics?	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

This question was asked to establish the language practice of teachers of content subjects such as Business Economics, Geography, and History. 66,7% of the teachers indicated that they offered Business Economics using English only, while 33,3 % used English mostly and the learners' HL. This is a similar pattern to the one observed when English (as a subject) was cross-tabulated with language of teaching. The general trend was that where there were language difficulties experienced by learners, the tendency was for teachers to use the learners' LI to make the curriculum accessible.

Table 24: Cross-tabulation between History and language choice

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching?		Total
			English only	English mostly & learners' HL	English only
Do you teach History?	Yes	Count	3	1	4
Total	No	% within Do you teach History?	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	17.6%	10.0%	14.8%
		% of Total	11.1%	3.7%	14.8%
		Count	14	9	23
		% within Do you teach History?	60.9%	39.1%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	82.4%	90.0%	85.2%
		% of Total	51.9%	33.3%	85.2%
		Count	17	10	27
		% within Do you teach History?	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

When History was cross-tabulated with language choice, 75% of the teachers claimed that they used English only when delivering lessons, whereas only 25% used English mostly and the learners' HL. As was the case with Business Economics, code-alternation was used by History teachers to promote learning, but there was a definite preference for English by these teachers.

Table 25: Cross tabulation between Geography and language of instruction

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly and learners' home language	English only
Do you teach Geography ?	Yes	Count	4	4	8
		% within Do you teach Geography?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	23.5%	40.0%	29.6%
		% of Total	14.8%	14.8%	29.6%
	No	Count	13	6	19
		% within Do you teach Geography?	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	76.5%	60.0%	70.4%

Total	% of Total	48.1%	22.2%	70.4%
	Count	17	10	27
	% within Do you teach Geography?	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

English and isiXhosa were used equally by teachers of Geography when delivering lessons. Unlike in History, where there was a tendency to use more English than the learners' HL, in Geography there seemed to be a balance between the use of English and isiXhosa.

Table 26: Cross-tabulation between school location and language of instruction

			Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?		Total
			English only	English mostly & learners' HL	English only
Location of your school	Urban	Count	9	3	12
		% within Location of your school	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	52.9%	30.0%	44.4%
		% of Total	33.3%	11.1%	44.4%
	Rural	Count	8	7	15
		% within Location of your school	53.3%	46.7%	100.0%
		% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	47.1%	70.0%	55.6%
		% of Total	29.6%	25.9%	55.6%

Total	Count	17	10	27
	% within Location of your school	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
	% within Which language(s) do you employ most when teaching at your school?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%

The cross-tabulation between the variables of school location and teacher language choice revealed that 75% of the urban-based (township and desegregated) schools in the sample used English only, possibly because of the linguistic profile of their learners, while 25% used English and the learners' HL. In rural contexts, 53,3% of the schools used English only, while 46,7% employed English and the learners' HL. This means that rural areas use isiXhosa more than urban-based schools, because learners in these schools speak and understand isiXhosa better than they do English. Also, isiXhosa is the language of wider communication in their environment.

Table 27: Cross-tabulation between teaching experience and code-switching

			Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?			Total
			Yes	No	Sometimes	Yes
Number of years you have been teaching	1-5 Years	Count	1	1	0	2
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	16.7%	7.7%	.0%	7.4%
		% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	.0%	7.4%
	6-11 Years	Count	2	3	1	6
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	33.3%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0%
	12-17 Years	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	33.3%	23.1%	12.5%	22.2%
		% of Total	7.4%	11.1%	3.7%	22.2%
		Count	3	3	2	8
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	37.5%	37.5%	25.0%	100.0%
	18-25 Years	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	50.0%	23.1%	25.0%	29.6%
		% of Total	11.1%	11.1%	7.4%	29.6%
		Count	0	2	3	5
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%

		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	.0%	15.4%	37.5%	18.5%
		% of Total	.0%	7.4%	11.1%	18.5%
	26 Years and above	Count	0	4	2	6
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	.0%	30.8%	25.0%	22.2%
		% of Total	.0%	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%
Total		Count	6	13	8	27
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	22.2%	48.1%	29.6%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	22.2%	48.1%	29.6%	100.0%

Cross-tabulations between teaching experience and whether teachers code-switched or not were aimed at establishing whether there existed any association between the two variables. The following observations were made.

Teachers with 1-5 years' teaching experience used English and the learners' HL in the following manner:

1-5 years (16,7 %)

6-11years (33,3%),

12-17years (50%),

18-25 years (0%),

26 years and above (0%).

There was no noticeable code-switching trend for teachers whose experience ranged between 1 and 17 years, whereas more experienced teachers (18 years and above) did not code-switch at all. A possible explanation for this is that they have become more accustomed to using English only over the years.

Table 28: Cross-tabulation between teaching experience and language of assessment

			The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	Total
			English	English
Number of years you have been teaching	1-5 Years	Count	1	1
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	3.8%	3.8%
	6-11 Years	% of Total	3.8%	3.8%
		Count	6	6
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%
	12-17 Years	% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	23.1%	23.1%
		% of Total	23.1%	23.1%
		Count	8	8
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%



18-25 Years		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework % of Total Count	30.8% 30.8% 5	30.8% 30.8% 5
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	19.2%	19.2%
Total	26 Years and above	% of Total Count	19.2% 6	19.2% 6
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	23.1%	23.1%
		% of Total Count	23.1% 26	23.1% 26
		% within Number of years you have been teaching	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	100.0%	100.0%

Whereas during lesson delivery teachers used other languages, all the teachers in the sample, irrespective of teaching experience, employed English only when conducting assessments.

Table 29: Cross-tabulation between professional qualifications and code-switching

			Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?			Total
			Yes	No	Sometimes	Yes
State your professional qualification	JSTC	Count	0	1	1	2
		% within State your professional qualification	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	.0%	7.7%	12.5%	7.4%
		% of Total	.0%	3.7%	3.7%	7.4%
	STD	Count	1	1	1	3
Higher Diploma in Education		% within State your professional qualification	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	16.7%	7.7%	12.5%	11.1%
		% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%	11.1%
		Count	2	8	1	11
		% within State your professional qualification	18.2%	72.7%	9.1%	100.0%
		% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	33.3%	61.5%	12.5%	40.7%
University Diploma in Education		% of Total	7.4%	29.6%	3.7%	40.7%
		Count	1	0	1	2
		% within State your professional qualification	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%

B.Ed	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	16.7%	.0%	12.5%	7.4%
	% of Total	3.7%	.0%	3.7%	7.4%
	Count	1	2	0	3
	% within State your professional qualification	33.3%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	16.7%	15.4%	.0%	11.1%

PTC	% of Total	3.7%	7.4%	.0%	11.1%
	Count	1	1	4	6
	% within State your professional qualification	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	16.7%	7.7%	50.0%	22.2%
	% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	14.8%	22.2%
Total	Count	6	13	8	27
	% within State your professional qualification	22.2%	48.1%	29.6%	100.0%
	% within Do you switch between languages when delivering your lesson?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	22.2%	48.1%	29.6%	100.0%

Code-switching was highest amongst teachers with a UED (100%) qualification, PTC (83,7%) and JSTC (50%). These are older-generation professional teacher qualifications which were obtained at a time when there was fierce resistance to mother-tongue education in South Africa. Code-switching was employed least by those with an HDE qualification.

Table 30: Cross-tabulation between professional qualifications and assessment practices.

			The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	Total
			English	English
State your professional qualification	JSTC	Count	2	2
		% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	7.7%	7.7%
		% of Total	7.7%	7.7%
	STD	Count	3	3
		% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	11.5%	11.5%
		% of Total	11.5%	11.5%
	Higher Diploma in Education	Count	11	11
		% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	42.3%	42.3%
		% of Total	42.3%	42.3%
	University Diploma in Education	Count	1	1

		% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
		% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	3.8%	3.8%
		% of Total	3.8%	3.8%
	B.Ed	Count	3	3

PTC	% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
	% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	11.5%	11.5%
	% of Total	11.5%	11.5%
	Count	6	6
	% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
	% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	23.1%	23.1%
	% of Total	23.1%	23.1%
Total	Count	26	26
	% within State your professional qualification	100.0%	100.0%
	% within The language I use for exercises, assignments and homework	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	100.0%	100.0%

Irrespective of teacher qualification, all the teachers in the sample used English only for assessment of learners, even though they employed code-alternation extensively, especially in rural and township schools, during lesson delivery.

The analysis above reflects that the preference of English over isi-Xhosa as the main MOI was largely influenced by the teachers' perceptions of indigenous languages (i.e. indigenous languages cannot be used as media of instruction as they do not have the necessary vocabulary to teach some of the subjects), and how the teachers themselves perceived their roles, both as subject teachers and as language teachers. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998, cited in Desai, 2000:175) assert that the negative attitudes of speakers of African languages towards their own languages stem from the fact that many languages in sub-Saharan Africa had an oral tradition until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with an absence of "linguistic nationalism". The Mazruis describe linguistic nationalism as the type of nationalism that concerns itself with the value of its own language, defends it against other languages, and encourages its use and enrichment (Mazrui, A. & Mazrui, A., 1998:5, cited in Desai, 2000:175). The question the Mazruis pose about linguistic scale is whether the scale of the linguistic constituency (i.e. the fact that, although there are languages spoken by some twenty million people, the majority of African languages are spoken by a few) can influence nationalistic sensitivity. Desai's response to this question is that minority language speakers in South Africa, for example, Tsonga, Ndebele, Swati, and Venda, are keen to assert their language rights, as opposed to isi-Zulu or isi-Xhosa speakers. The question of language attitudes remains a key challenge to the successful implementation of multilingualism in high domain areas such as education in South Africa. In a conversation between Desai and an imagined South African Audience (ISSAA), Desai argues that the key to African language development is through their use as media of instruction.

4.4. Classroom Observations

The second phase of the research focused on teacher-learner interactions and language use in each of the lessons observed. Five high school teachers, who were purposively selected from the survey respondents, were observed in order to understand how they used language(s) for teaching, the effects of their choices on teaching and learning, and the factors that informed their classroom language practices. In the second phase of the study, data analysis was organized and presented individually. This entailed presenting the classroom language behaviour of each teacher comprehensibly, then moving the analysis on to the next individual. Excerpts from the lessons were analysed using pre-determined codes from the theoretical frameworks. Cohen et al. (2007) maintain that organizing data by individual preserves the coherence and integrity of the

individual's response. Issues arising across the individual participants and patterns of language use were identified.

The next section provides an in-depth analysis of the lessons that were observed. Translations of ideas expressed by the teachers in isi-Xhosa are provided in English and from isiXhosa into English for parts of the lessons that were delivered in the vernacular. My comments, coding, and interpretations are presented inside brackets in the selected extracts.

4.4.1 Analysis of History Lessons: Teacher A

This teacher's responses to the questionnaire survey reflected that she was aware of the provisions of the current multilingual language-in-education policy in South Africa. Her school's language policy allowed teachers to use English and any other language that the learners and the teacher shared. However, there was not much correlation between her responses in the questionnaire and how she employed the two languages during lesson delivery. For example, when asked about which language(s) she employed most when delivering a lesson, she chose Option 2, i.e. English mostly and the learners' home language. Her reasons for switching from one language system to another had to do with facilitating the aims of education, namely, to make up for the learners' lack of English language skills, some English words being new and unfamiliar to the pupils, clarifying or paraphrasing a difficult point for the pupils, and facilitating concept development. She also chose to code-switch when she could not think of an appropriate English word to use.

An analysis of the History lesson transcript reveals a marked departure from what she believed she was doing in class. She employed the learners' home language mostly and used English minimally to deliver lessons (Option 3 in Question 3.4. of the questionnaire). The History lessons were mainly presented in isi-Xhosa.

The lesson was structured in such a way that the sub-topics/headings were presented in English and the ensuing narrative given in isi-Xhosa, possibly to ensure that learners recognized the topics that were covered in class when doing their own independent reading. Despite the fact that the lessons observed were presented mostly in a language that learners and the teacher shared, there was minimal student-student interaction or teacher-learner communication. A possible explanation for this is that the teacher was at the centre of the process and did not create

opportunities for dialogue and negotiation of meaning. No opportunities were created for learners to read and write (except for the chalkboard summaries) in any of the two languages that the teacher used during lesson delivery, thus making it difficult for learners to develop proficiency and attain advanced special proficiency qualifications. It is highly unlikely, in a class where there is no constructive engagement amongst learners, that creative qualifications, e.g. openness, a critical sense, independence and teamwork, could be achieved.

The chalkboard summary, which captured mainly key phrases and ideas, was written in English only. It was at the introductory stage of the lesson that the teacher mostly employed English. As the lesson progressed, the narrative was increasingly presented in isi-Xhosa, with English complementing the isi-Xhosa. The teacher code-switched extensively in this lesson. For example, she would use isi-Xhosa and English within an utterance or present the discussion in isi-Xhosa and pepper it with a few English words. In some instances, the chosen English word would be given an isi-Xhosa structure, e.g. “benefiter/benefita”. Although in the example cited above the root of the word is English (the new word is derived from “benefit”), such a word does not exist in English or in isi-Xhosa. The teacher made use of coined un-English/un-isi-Xhosa words. These words are commonly used by black L2 speakers of English, mostly in spoken or informal communication.

The teacher would use isi-Xhosa only to give instructions to pupils, to get a response from them, or to remind them about how what she was teaching related to a previous lesson. The following example illustrates how both isi-Xhosa and English were used by her during lesson delivery:

Extract 1.

Teacher: *In 1989 i-Communism collapsed, but ke (code-switching) it's only Cuba and what? He bethunana siyenzile le nto! (We've discussed this before!)*

(Teacher code-switches to isi-Xhosa and expresses her dismay at the learners' non-response to her question which has been phrased in English and isi-Xhosa.)

Class: *No response.*

Translations and repetitions were a common feature of the teacher's utterances. She would reiterate important points and paraphrase what she had said to ensure that there was common understanding, using any of the two languages. The example below is a case in point.

Teacher: *There were two main problems relating to the land. Most of the farms were owned by the white commercial farmers. Uyabona ke umhlaba wonke wawu 'own-wer' ngama- Bhulu.*

(You see, only whites owned land then.)

(Teacher code-switches/provides scaffolding.)

Uthi xa uhambayo ngapha ngako ma Queenstown usiya eRhawutini ufike amasimi apha koo-Ntshongwana nase Tabase engalinyangwa. Akukho ntoni?

(When travelling through Queenstown to Johannesburg one would notice that land belonging to the Ntshongwanas was lying fallow in rural areas such as Tabase. What had they not planted?)

(Teacher elaborates on previous point made above in isi-Xhosa.)

Class: *Kwa mbona (chorus answer).*

(They had not planted mielies.)

Literal translation was employed as a form of scaffolding mainly to emphasize, clarify or amplify a point. The following example illustrates clearly how the teacher accomplished this:

Extract 2.

Teacher: *During the Land Act of 1913, over a million people were forced to move from their land or houses.*

Kwathiwa hayi kuzokulinywa apha and lomhlaba ulinywa nje kufunwa nikwazi ukufumana i-flour, nifumane umgubo, nifumane ingxowa yombona, nifumane yonke into sukani kule ndawo niyohlala phana.

(Blacks were made to believe that if they agreed to be resettled, the land they were leaving behind would be utilized for their benefit. They would get mielies and maize meal from it.)

For the better part of the lesson the learners were silent and non-participatory and would either give a one-word response or provide a chorus answer. The teacher would ask a question and then answer it herself. The questions asked would mostly be close-ended questions that would not require learners to argue, engage in sustained communication, or solve a problem. When the learners asked questions they did so in isi-Xhosa and the teacher would respond either in English only, or use both English and isi-Xhosa (*scaffolding*). It appeared that there was a common understanding between the teacher and her learners that both languages should be used for

teaching and learning. The teacher did not sanction use of the learners' home language during her classes or promote the exclusive use of English.

Extract 3.

Student: *Kuthiwa yintoni i-IFP xa iphelele?*

(What does the acronym IFP stand for?)

(Again, a student asks a question in isi-Xhosa. This appears to be the norm in this class.)

Teacher: *The IFP is called the Inkatha Freedom Party (Teacher responds to a question asked in isiXhosa in English).*

Student: *Kula Communism nala Capitalism before ya yiye Communism ne Capitalism babe 'fight(er)' for into yokuba ibe yinto eyi-one. Ngoku, apha e-S.A sifumane i-Communism okanye i-Capitalism? (Teacher code-mixes/provides scaffolding).*

(They were fighting for a single economic system before the introduction of Communism and Capitalism. Here in South Africa, which economic system are we following? Communism or Capitalism?)

Although the teacher would occasionally construct a full sentence in one language system, i.e. English, the patterns of language use in this lesson were no different from those observed in the Grade 12 History lesson above. There was extensive use of isiXhosa by the teacher, for example code-mixing and code-switching. The following example illustrates the extent to which isiXhosa and English were used within an utterance:

Extract 4.

Teacher: *We can say these are the Nobles and these are the Clergies, so the whole class is the members of the Third Estate. Kwezi members of the Third Estate from uZama to that boy, zii-Bourgeoisie, from there to uYomelelani zi-Peasants, you understand? So then if we are saying i-Third Estate consists of 90% that means aba bohlulelana ngo 10% to make u-100%. Niyaqonda moss i-percentage iphela ku 100 (code-mixing/scaffolding).*

(Teacher points at the front rows to illustrate that the two rows would constitute the Nobles and the Clergy and the remaining rows would be members of the Third Estate. From where Zama is seated (teacher pointing at Zama) to where that boy is seated, those would be the Bourgeoisie, and from there to where Yomelelani is seated those would be Peasants. Do you understand? So if

the Third Estate made up 90% of the population, the Clergy and Bourgeoisie made up only 10% of the population. I'm sure you understand that percentages add up to 100).

Class: Yes.

Teacher: *Not unless ke ayibalwa ngolu hlobo. So, if iphela ku 100%, it means when aba besenza 90%, that means aba benza bani? (Teacher code-mixes provides/scaffolding).*

U-100%.

That is, the Nobles and the Clergy.

(Unless it's not worked out like that. If it adds up to 100%, it means that if this group made up 90%, the other one made up which percentage?)

100%.

That is how the Nobles and the Clergy were represented in the population.

So yayi ngabona bantu baninzi (code-mixing/scaffolding to promote appropriation) in the population of France, the Nobles and the...(pause) I mean the Bourgeoisie and the Peasants but the Nobles and the Upper Clergy enjoyed ii- privileges at the King's palace and in Versailles.

Babehlala e-Versailles, u-Louis the 16th kumnandi be-braya besitya imali ye-state, but abantu bona behlupheka (Translation of previous utterance into isiXhosa and elaboration/scaffolding).

You understand?

(So it means the Peasants were in the majority but the Nobles and Upper Clergy enjoyed privileges that those who were in the majority could only dream of, at the king's palace and in Versailles. They lived in Versailles and had a good time, wasting state money while the masses lived in poverty).

Extract 5.

An example was provided by the teacher in isi-Xhosa to explain a concept that she had introduced in English. The teacher explained and translated (scaffolding) the concept "balance sheet" into isiXhosa within the context of the narrative. The following example illustrates this point:

Teacher: *Then emveni kokuba esibizile he also said to him (code-mixing) makathi draw-up a balance sheet.*

Kulapho kuvezwa khona imali ezisetyenzisiweyo (translation/scaffolding) zase France.

Because u-Necker wathi makwenziwe ezo zinto kwathwa makagxothwe because uveza amahlebo enziwayo e-Versailles apho bahlala khona, the Nobles and the Clergy.

(After summoning them he instructed them to draw up a balance sheet. The balance sheet would reflect state expenditure. Because Necker had insisted that this be done, he was dismissed. The balance sheet would have revealed a lot about the lavish lifestyle enjoyed by the Nobles and the Clergy).

Word coinage was also a common feature of this lesson. Examples of this phenomenon would be words such as “enjoy-wa”, “aligner”, and “uyi-mention-nileyo”. During the History lesson the teacher developed the learners’ vocabulary and promoted concept development (appropriation), as illustrated in the following examples:

Extract 6.

Teacher: *So one of the philosophers advised Louis the 16th to summon the States General, to call the States General (The teacher substitutes “summon” with “call” to ensure that learners understand the concept). I--States General must assemble masikhe sidibane (Translation).*

I-tax yase France was paid by the members of the Third Estate. Bona babe exempted (code-mixing/scaffolding) from paying the tax.

(They were exempted from paying taxes.)

Xa kuthiwa (code-mixing) you are exempted it means sukuyenza into ethile (Translation/scaffolding).

So they were not paying the tax, and they condemned that.

In terms of qualification analysis, although the History lessons were delivered in code-switching/code-mixing mode, this developed the learners’ proficiency qualifications to a limited extent. For example, vocabulary development was achieved through translations and word substitutions and paraphrases. However, the teacher asked close-ended questions to which she received one-word or chorus answers. Generally, learners were uncommunicative and the lessons were not interactive. She provided answers to her questions when she could not get responses from learners. In a classroom climate such as the one described above, creative qualifications such as independence and openness, creativity and constructive cooperation, which are much needed in the workplace, cannot be realized by learners. English became a barrier to learning, and code-alternation, though aiding learning, took up a lot of the time allocated for the History period.

4.4.2 Analysis of Business Economics Lessons: Teacher B

The Business Economics teacher consistently adopted an English-only approach throughout the lessons in Grades 11 and 12. Classroom interaction among the students and between the teacher and students in this multilingual classroom was exclusively in English, and this despite the fact that the teacher under observation shared a home language with a number of learners in his classes. The vignette below illustrates this clearly.

Extract 1.

Teacher: *Now, I want someone also to remind us... (incomplete utterance) because if we are having conflict you need to solve it, although we said that there are steps in solving problems because conflict can also be taken as a problem, it is a problem.*

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *Thank you very much. Now, can someone remind us of the first step in solving a problem in an organization? Yes?*

Student: *You must identify the problem.*

Teacher: *If you want to solve that conflict also, you identify the problem.*

Student: *You identify decision factors.*

Teacher: *You need to generate ideas and compose those ideas and link them.*

Student: *Collect and analyse the possibilities*

Teacher: *Guys, remember we said that you develop different ideas
(The teacher is re-capping to encourage reciprocity).*

Once you've got those ideas, take the best idea that can actually solve the problem. And now I think there's another step.

Student: *Implement the selected solution.*

Teacher: *Yes, we've already identified that one. Ok, fine, guys, what is important is that from those ideas, we said that you selected the best idea that can help to solve the problem, and once you've selected the best ideas, you implement so...and the last is also...?*

Class: *Evaluate.*

Teacher: *But guys, before we actually do anything, I want us to write a few lines about what conflict is, that is conflict management. (The question asked is not quite clear here.)*

Yes?

Teacher: *What is conflict, just generally?*

Learner: *Conflict refers to different ideas that people have about a situation. It is differences that people may have.*

Grammatical errors that the learners committed were largely ignored throughout the lessons. The teacher focused on getting ideas across without bothering about the grammatical correctness of utterances. The following example illustrates this clearly:

Extract 2.

Teacher: *That's the first thing that came into your mind. It's all about promoting a business. What else do you think you as an entrepreneur need to do when promoting a business?*

Yes, Bongani?

Student: *As in marketing is to link as to combine to be consumers and service provider.*

(The answer provided is unintelligible. Instead of trying to work out, by providing the necessary scaffolding, what the learner was trying to say, the teacher provided the expected response. The learners' ZPD may not develop to a cognitively higher level/appropriation of content may not be possible).

Teacher: *Ok, thank you very much. Marketing is also about creating demand for goods and services.*

As in the History lessons discussed above, there was extensive teacher talk in this lesson and not much teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction and reciprocity, possibly because the teacher adopted an English-only approach and teacher-centred techniques when delivering lessons to learners who were mostly L2 speakers of English. English proficiency qualifications were not achieved, mainly because all the explanations and assessments carried out in class were in one language system, English. There was no vibrant discussion of issues related to the topic, nor were questions of clarity raised; thus one can conclude that creative qualifications were not developed in this environment as the teacher turned a blind eye to glaring errors made by learners.

4.4.3 Analysis of Geography Lessons: Teacher C

How this Geography teacher used language in this township school had a lot to do with his personality, i.e. character and mannerisms, and the context of the school. As illustrated in the examples below, he used township lingo/colloquial language at times to get his message across. Consequently, the mood in his classes was relaxed and communication was not constrained. He used code-switching liberally, and word coinage was a common feature of classroom discourse.

Extract 1.

Teacher: *Planting the same thing every year, okay, that's point number 1.*

Two, we are involved in subsistence farming but we want to improve our needs so that singa – 'feysi' (face) poverty indlala (word coinage and translation to ensure appropriation of content) indeed.

Yes.

Also, government andithi moss sinabo noo-Ceba (translation and code-switching).

(We have councillors.)

So they must make it a point that... the government is giving us intoni? (code-mixing/scaffolding). Seeds.

What else? What if the government brings the seed and then there are no people to use it? The seed, what if the people in urban areas who are not good at farming receive seeds from the government? So who is gonna use it?

(The teacher asks a high-order question which requires learners to speculate and solve a problem.)

Learner: *They will not plant the seeds because they do not have the skills.*

Teacher: *Ja, because of that rural urban migration we said that we are practising subsistence farming. I think u-Sindiswa if ndimva kakuhle uthi (The teacher code-switches/re-states the learner's response in order to raise learners' ZPD to a higher level).*

(If I understand Sindiswa well.)

They must form groups, isn't?

Learners: *Yes,*

Teacher: *kuthiwa yintoni? (Code-switching).*

(What is it called?)

Silence

Teacher: *Community garden, you get what I am saying?*

Learners: *Yes.*

Teacher: *Not for selling for themselves uya-understander (word coinage) and they must also use the surrounding school. Do you get what I am saying? They must also use... or the schools must have plants to serve their community okay? ... Right, let's move on guys, right?*

We are going to deal with agriculture as a primary activity, let us look now at ii-factors promoting agriculture in South Africa.

The teacher employed code-alternation (code-switching and code-mixing) extensively during lesson delivery.

Extract 2.

Teacher: *I think she is referring to migration' cos we said when we were dealing with aging, is that right, because the young are leaving the rural areas to urban areas, searching for better opportunities.*

Okay, right, the government now is providing the 'style' (Township lingo meaning 'money') but we do not know what we are going to do.

Singa maxhegwaza angasena kuya ndawo (code-switching).

(We are old and cannot go anywhere else.)

(Teacher amplifies the point he had made before to promote appropriation of content)

Here is a challenge, ukhona ke ngoku wena kula lali, umcimbi (township lingo for 'money') uyawubona ukuba unjani uza kuthini? (code-mixing).

(You live in this area and you've got money. What are you going to do?)

Come on. (Teacher encourages participation/reciprocity).

Learners: *(silence)*

Teacher: *So, South Africa has a dual agricultural economy, we are having subsistence and commercial farming, right.*

(Teacher reads from the textbook, translates and explains the content when he cannot get the required response.)

Subsistence farming is characterized by use of traditional farming methods.

Subsistence farmers do not produce high yield... even farmers that are involved in that kind of farming, they do not produce high yield, right, as they provide only for themselves. So there is no need for high yield. There is no surplus 'cos they are doing this for their families.

Andithi na xa nithetha mos kwi - local community kuya nkingwa, andithi kuthwe khawuyo kundicelela umbona phaya kulo bani, utshintshe ngo-mealie-meal, and yes, that's good. (Translation/scaffolding)

(In the local community the bartering system is used a lot. One would be sent to the neighbours to exchange mielie-meal for some other foodstuff.)

Right, they do not produce high yields as they provide only for their families so there is no need for high yield because they are just providing only for ii-families and their local communities.

As in the previous lesson, the teacher used English as a MOI, but also employed code-switching and translated some phrases. He asked probing questions based on the case study in order to assist students make meaning of the text and relate it to the day's topic.

Extract 3.

Teacher: *Read the case study okay. Firstly, masimamele kuqala.*

(Teacher code-mixing to capture learners' attention.)

(Let's listen first.) Sizongena now kwi ntoni? (What are we going to discuss?) mining and we have kwelinye icala agriculture in South Africa. (Mining and agriculture.) Now let us look at mining as an example of a primary activity, but here is the case study, which means that the mining industry in South Africa has problems, problems that are faced by i- mining industry itself. Here is the case, let us read the story, we are going to answer u-Question 5 and there is a star next to u-Question 5. Niyambona andithi? (code-switching) (Can you see Question5?) Now, kuthiwa (it is stated in the extract...) 'Gold Miners Returning Home to Die'. Listen, you have to develop an attitude, it can be positive or negative but those miners return home to die. Oh my God, gold miners return home to die.

What is the problem, before you-read ntoni? The story.

Do you get what I'm saying? You must first understand the topic, now you are going to be fast in reading the what? The case study. Do not just read pr.....pr...pr... no, you must understand the main theme of the case study.

You have to understand first what the topic “Gold Miners Return Home to Die” means. Mhh what is the problem in the mines because I think i-mining plays a major role in our economy in South Africa (silence).

What is the problem now, because the topic says “ Gold Miners Return Home to Die”?
(The teacher’s question remains unanswered, and to encourage participation and reciprocity, he asks the learners to identify the problem in the case study).

Oh my God, Oh my Jesus, at the age of 59 Mr. Mobetshe grows sorghum and maize in a village in Lesotho.

Now you are going to get me the answers? (Teacher encourages learners to respond to his question).

Learners: *No response.*

Teacher: *Okay, the time is up, 10 minutes is up; the time is 10 past nine, okay. Now firstly, before we attempt the question, let us give a summary. Anyway the topic says, “Gold Miners Return Home to Die”. What are the causes of that, what are the causes of that situation, because the gold miners return home to die? Ey, that’s a blind statement (township lingo).*

What are the causes?

Learner: *They are out of work.*

Learner: *They are sick and cannot work. (The teacher has allowed learners enough time to think about the question. They then provide the appropriate responses).*

Teacher: *It’s okay, class, that is a nice summary. So I want us to attempt Question 5.*

Khe sizame ukuba singakwazi na ukumphendula (translation/ scaffolding).

Question 5, what is the question there? (Code-switching).

Teacher: *He has received compensation. Ugule esemsebenzini, he was sick while he was at work. (Translation from isi-Xhosa into English/scaffolding).*

Do you get what I’m saying? So he applied for i- compensation, (code-mixing) but there was no answer, what else?

Learner 1: *I think the causes are i-polluted air underground.*

Learner 2: *Because of heat.*

Teacher: *Guys, listen; the topic says “Gold Miners Return Home to Die”. What are the causes of that situation?*

Anika ndiphenduli

(You have not answered my question).

Yes?

Learner: *I think, Sir, because of i-pollution in the mines and when they return home they cannot get help to help them. (appropriation of content).*

Teacher: *You are coming to the point*

(The teacher encourages learners to respond by providing positive feedback/reciprocity).

Learner: *It is the mistreatment of the managers of the mine workers because of the air pollution, that fuel under the mine, then somebody catches the tuberculosis and then that person is told to remain even if he is under treatment. So they return home to die because they try to do something to provide for their families, then it is eroded by drought. (appropriation of content).*

Teacher: *Yes, Nyembezi.*

As in the History lesson, extensive code alternation was employed in this lesson in which the textbook was used as a resource. Learners read the case study in groups and discussed the accompanying questions amongst themselves in isi-Xhosa and English. Although reserved and non-participatory in the early stages of the lesson, they participated enthusiastically as the lesson progressed. Proficiency qualifications received attention in the lesson, as both the teacher and learners read and discussed the case study using both isiXhosa and English.

4.4.4 Analysis of Geography Lessons: Teacher D

This expatriate teacher adopted an English-only policy for teaching, and throughout his lessons classroom interaction was in English only. The fact that learners could bring the teacher's incorrect spelling to his attention, as reflected in the example below, was an indication that correct English language usage was of paramount importance to the learners and the teacher.

Extract 1.

Teacher: *No questions, I asked you a question I expect you all to know.*

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *I don't want you to tell me stories.*

Student: *Your spelling of longitude is wrong.*

Teacher: *Where?*

Student: *You put M instead of N.*

Teacher: *Why, do you think all my answers are right?*

To stimulate discussion and steer the debate towards application of the theory the teacher asked open-ended questions that prompted learners to challenge each others' views. This activated the learners' ZPD.

Extract 2.

Teacher: *Do you agree with what this theory of dual economy is proposing? Do you agree that this theory is in operation today?*

Mhmm...

Yes or no? Do you agree? Do you agree with what is happening? Now tell me, it looks like it's a gloomy picture. Hey?

(The problem-solving approach adopted by this teacher generates discussion and stimulates the learners' thought processes. This in turn raises their ZPD/achievement levels).

Learner: *I disagree with that.*

Teacher: *Why do you disagree? (Teacher asks an open-ended question to set everybody thinking about how to apply the theory.)*

Learner: *Because some rural areas are far away from Mthatha. They are developed, like i-Zimbane Valley, Sir.*

Teacher: *Which place?*

Learner: *It's not far away.*

Teacher: *Zimbane is this one (pointing to the place referred to on the map). Isn't it?*

Class: *Yes.*

Learner: *Can I attack him?*

Teacher: *Yes, attack him if you don't agree.*

Learner: *Here we are talking about rural areas, like if you see, those areas which are far away from town, like Mqanduli, Xhora (tape inaudible as learners are all talking at the same time)... They are more developed, you see.*

In the whole class discussion on rural development, which later on took the form of a debate, the teacher stimulated discussion on the topic by asking divergent questions, as illustrated in the example below. The questions asked and the examples given to amplify the point being made by

the teacher related to the learners' environment and personal experiences. Given that the school is situated in a rural setting, learners could make inferences and use examples from their rural experience.

Extract 3.

Teacher: *Rural areas, if you can remember that. I'm sure you remember but you have forgotten the name of the theory, follow the dual economy theory. You understand?*

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *Ok, tell me, do you think this theory has been successful? Do you think the rural areas have been developed because of this theory or this model? Do you think the rural areas of South Africa have been developed because of this model? Yes, Molo?*

Molo: *Some of the rural areas have been developed. If you can see around here, Mthatha, there are RDP houses and toilets that had been made.*

Teacher: *RDP houses and toilets?*

Student: *Yes.*

Teacher: *Yes, at the back.*

Student: *They are not.*

Teacher: *You agree that there's nothing had been done. Something has been done.*

Class: *Has been done, but it's not enough.*

Teacher: *Not enough?*

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *What has been done?*

Student: *There are toilets, there are RDP houses. Water has been given to rural areas but...*

Teacher: *Were there RDP houses before elections?*

Extract 5.

Although the development of the learners' English language skills was not the teacher's main concern, he would sometimes facilitate communication by extending the learners' vocabulary, e.g. provide the appropriate word/s at a time when the student could not come up with the required word. The example below illustrates this clearly.

Teacher: *What type of toilets is there?*

Class: Zii-RDP toilets.

Teacher: What toilets?

Class: Flush toilets.

Class: Yes.

Teacher: There is a flushing of water there. Is that what you are talking about? Is there water for the flush toilets?

Class: No, no.

Teacher: Like you have in the cities.

Class: No, there's no water.

Student: It's just a toilet that's built with blocks.

Teacher: It's a pit toilet. Ok, Lawrence. I'll come to you (vocabulary development/scaffolding).

Lawrence: I agree with you, some of the rural areas are developed, because let's face it, in the olden days the rural areas didn't have electricity, didn't have roads. Now they are improving. We have electricity, we have roads. We have better roads than we had before.

Teacher: Before.

(Although this is a one-word response from the teacher, it is aimed at expanding the learners' ZPD by encouraging them to compare the prevailing situation in South Africa with what the conditions were like before the democratic government came to power. The teacher's response demonstrates reciprocity and appropriation.)

Class: Yes. And there's no need for ii-what do you call it?

Teacher: Flush toilet. (The teacher provides the required word/scaffolding)

English.....flush toilet system.

The teacher used English for different purposes in his lessons, for example prompting and encouraging his pupils to apply a theory they had discussed in a previous lesson, asking probing questions and stimulating debate and discussion.

Extract 6.

Teacher: Who can add to that? Make an attempt. Think about what I told you before. Yes, nobody? (Teacher prompting and encouraging learners.)

Teacher: *Ok, tell me, do you think this theory has been successful? Do you think the rural areas have been developed because of this theory or this model? Do you think the rural areas of South Africa have been developed because of this model? Yes, Molo.*

(The teacher asks open-ended/divergent questions to stimulate debate.)

Class: *Yes, uqalile ke ngoku.*

(Learner not sanctioned by the teacher for switching to isiXhosa, a language that he himself does not speak. Although the teacher does not speak isiXhosa as a home/first language, he made it a point of using the few Xhosa words he knew during lesson delivery.)

Teacher: *Think about what we've done. Theories that we've done, the dual economy, look at the location of these places, RDP houses, these RDP houses, are they in the rural area, or close to the city or in the city?*

(Teacher requires application of theory studied and steers the discussion towards the right direction by asking thought-provoking questions that can lead to the expansion of the learners' ZPD.)

Teacher: *So what you are saying is that the one in the city has got better roads, accessible roads. People can reach their houses.*

(The teacher is paraphrasing the learner's unintelligible/incomplete response. He is concerned with meaning, not correctness of utterance.)

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *Ok, right. So what does that tell you now about the theory? What theory are they using now?*

Yes, Sihle.

The excerpts from the Geography teacher's lessons demonstrate the teacher's attempts to enhance learner proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications. There was vibrant discussion and debate amongst the learners who asked questions and challenged some of the responses. The teacher asked questions aimed at improving learner vocabulary, paraphrased, prompted and asked open-ended questions. That there was a non-participant observer in this class did not stop learners from engaging with the topic, making critical comments, evaluating each others' responses and citing examples from their own rural experience. There was constructive cooperation amongst learners. This was how the teacher conducted his lessons from Grades 10-12.

4.4.5 Analysis of English Lessons: Teacher E.

This teacher offers English as a second language at a rural high school to learners with whom he shares a home language. He adopted an English-only policy in this lesson and switched to isiXhosa only once to confirm that learners had understood what he had said. Creative and proficiency qualifications were not developed in this lesson as there was no sustained interaction between the teacher and the learners. Learners were passive and did not contribute to the lesson, thus making it difficult to conclude that they had understood the lesson. This was a teacher-dominated lesson in which communication was one-way. The teacher asked close-ended questions to which he received one-word answers.

Extract 1.

Teacher: *The shorter version for the word memorandum is the word memo, I think we all know.*

Class: *Yes.*

Teacher: *To answer question No.2, which was asked earlier on, what is the purpose of writing a memorandum? Because in our definition we have said it is a written message, then question No.2, which we asked earlier on, is why does one write a memorandum? What are the purposes of writing a memorandum or a memo?*

(Teacher answers this question himself after not receiving a response.)

Teacher: *One writes a memorandum in order to inform the employees of a company about the company policies. That is the purpose of ... (Tape inaudible). Let us take a school situation, the SRC president for example wrote a memo to inform students of a particular school about the policies of a particular school. That is one of the reasons why memo is important. Secondly, to communicate the decision of other ... (Incomplete utterance).*

Thirdly, you write a memo in order to inform or to remind about the events at that particular institution if it happens to be an institution. Also, one can write a memo to convey instruction. And lastly, to confirm matters discussed in a meeting.

Let us say that the Student Representative Council of this school had a meeting, and in that particular meeting there were decisions that were taken, and the students at large need to be informed about such decisions that have been taken using a memo.

How does one go about drawing up a memo? This is the layout for a memo (teacher writes on chalkboard). The date is of utmost importance, anything written down is important to write a date, for an example, if you are writing a letter and it is a formal or informal letter, that letter must have a date. So in the case when one writes a memo there must be a date, and when writing a date in a memorandum you must write it in full. For example, what date is it today?

Class: 18 September 2007.

Teacher: You write it in full, instead of writing it like this, 18-10-2007, are we together?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: So one thing that a memo must have is a date. Again, to whom are you writing this memo? You write TO: and the initials of that person and the occupation of that person.

Why is it important to have such specifications? (Rhetorical question) Because, let us say it is a company, we might have two or three people having the same surname within the company, for an example, if it is this institution you might have maybe two Damonis. So it is important for people to specify the occupation of that person.

Sivene? (Does this make sense?)

Class: Yes.

Teacher: Again, you need to write the person to whom the memo is addressed, and again, write... the memo and even with that particular somebody those specifications must be there. Let us say From: Mrs Dyantyi (RCL-President). It might happen that, much as this memo is addressed to this particular person, there are other people to whom Mrs Dyantyi would like to get hold of and love to read what is written. Are we together?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: We have this CC. What does it stands for?, Who can tell us? Yes, Sisipho.

Student: CC stands for carbon copy.

Teacher: Very good, Sisi. That is your list under CC. These are the names of other people you would love to read this. Are we together?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: You just write the names. Mr A. Goxa CC. You list the names of people to whom you would like to get hold of this memo. Equally important is the subject, that is, what will be in the content of the memo. Let's say maybe Mrs N Dyantyi would like to tell us about the Annual

General Meeting, you write that under the subject, that is, before we read what is in the memo we must know what we are to read about, the annual general meeting. Are we together?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: Please note that the meeting scheduled for 19 October has been postponed. The meeting will now be held on 25 October at 14:00 hours. What you need to know is that when writing a memorandum you use full sentences. Are we together?

Learners: Yes.

But, much as that is the case, we discard, we do not include, we exclude any irrelevant or unnecessary information.

Teacher: Are we together?

Learners: Yes.

Teacher: That is all I need, excluding that unnecessary information. Are we together?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: When you've done that, don't forget to sign at the end, the signature of a person who wrote the memo. That's how one goes about writing a memorandum. Are we together?

Class: Yes.

Extract 2.

As in the previous lesson, communication was mostly one-way in this Grade 12 literature lesson. The teacher occasionally asked good anchor questions that required learners to analyse what the characters in the play said, but received one-word responses most of the time. He then provided the required response and offered explanations to a generally quiet and uninvolved class. He provided the meanings of difficult and unfamiliar words and summarised the scenes in the play after reading extracts from the text.

Teacher: My other question to you is did the witches succeed in corrupting him?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: They do succeed in stripping him off of his good character, they do succeed in making him evil, and they do succeed in making Macbeth to be like them, so now we no more speak of good Macbeth but evil Macbeth, which is precisely why in this second half of the play it is Macbeth who now goes to the witches. He goes to them because he is no different to them; he is as evil as the witches are. I hope you all understand.

(Instead of using scaffolding in the form of prompts, paraphrases, clarification, etc., the teacher provides the correct response, thus depriving learners an opportunity to expand their ZPD and improve their proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications.)

Class: Yes.

Teacher: *Good, alright, on page 111 where we get the second witch speaking. We have said now it's Macbeth who seeks the witches, not vice versa. The second witch says by speaking of my thumb something wicked is going to happen. The word 'wicked' means evil (language/vocabulary development). So the second witch feels pain in her thumb and she says something evil may come, and who may come?*

Class: Macbeth.

Teacher: *The witch refers to Macbeth as evil because they have succeeded in stripping him off of his humanity. Now they have made him to be like them, to be evil. And then Macbeth comes in and he says, "How now you... (Teacher reading from the text) what is it you do?" And then I want us to compare the way Macbeth addresses the witches when he first saw them in Scene 3 (Silence, no response).*

Now he is kind of speaking roughly.

(Teacher reads from the play and interprets the relevant lines from the text for his learners.)

You see now, he's being rude, and he's being demanding, but when he first came across the witches in Scene 3, he was soft and kind. Right?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: *Macbeth made demands to the witches. There is something that we've learnt from what Macbeth says to the witches, "Thou who untie the wings...churches." That's what the witches do. So the witches are able to destroy that which is good and natural.*

Class: Yes.

4.5 Focused Interview Findings

In the focused interviews, the aim was to encourage the key informants to be reflective about their classroom practice and establish why they implemented the MOI policies in the way they did during classroom observation. The aim was also to understand what informed their classroom language behaviour. Open coding was used in search of emergent themes in the interview data.

4.5.1 Teacher A

Two teachers, one from a rural high school and the other from an urban desegregated high school, participated in the last stage of the research, i.e. the focused interviews. My justification for selecting these two teachers for the focused interviews was the learner linguistic composition of their classes, the situation of their schools, their enthusiasm about the subject of my investigation, and the fact that they shared an L1 with most of their learners, although they were teaching in different contexts.

Both teachers endorsed the use of English as an LOLT at high school. The History teacher (Interview 1), whose school is situated in a rural context, indicated she used English mainly as MOI. She also supported the use of isiXhosa for teaching, especially in rural schools where learners have considerable challenges with English and are more proficient in isiXhosa than in English. According to this teacher, code-switching would make the content accessible to learners and improve their levels of achievement. This is how she responded when asked about her classroom language choices:

Extract 1.

Interviewer: *In your view, which language(s) should be used as LOLT at secondary school?*

Interviewee: *Thank you, Ma'am. I think we must use English. But because we are teaching in rural areas we have to code-switch from English to the vernacular which is used in their homes.*

(Context is of utmost importance in LIE implementation.)

Interviewer: *You mentioned rural areas. Why should you use both English and isiXhosa? You have just said it should be English, then you said 'we are teaching in rural areas', which is true, that is where you are teaching. Why would you have to use both languages?*

Interviewee: *The problem is that learners from rural areas are not like learners from Model C schools. They understand their home language better than English, but they do understand English. But the problem is that they understand their mother tongue better than English because they grew up with their parents who are not that much educated.*

(The teacher identifies learner profiles and school context as factors in teacher language choice in the rural school where she teaches. The teacher displays inconsistency here, although she uses the LI extensively to promote understanding, she endorses the use of English as an LOLT. The fact that black pupils are more proficient in their mother tongue than in English is viewed as a challenge in an education system which values and uncritically supports English. A question that arises from this teacher's response is why one would need to be more proficient in an L2 in order to use it for learning, when the learner is more proficient in the LI. Parental support would also be readily available, since the school system would be utilizing a language that is widely spoken in the community in which the school is situated.)

Extract 2.

This teachers viewed the English language as a barrier to learning but linked it to learner achievement. In classroom-based summative assessments, she recommended that only English be employed as external examinations were set in English, although as Grade 12 History markers they accommodated other languages when marking at Provincial level.

Interviewer: *So that would be your motivation for saying the media of instruction should be both English and isiXhosa. And how do you think this could be implemented, the use of a dual medium of instruction, that kind of thing? How do you think this could be implemented in high school particularly?*

Interviewee: *I think we have to use it when you explain something that you see... when you are teaching that, now they do not understand what you are saying. Then as a teacher you have to code-switch, (pause)... to use their mother tongue in order for them to understand better what you are trying to explain to them.*

(Although multilingualism is perceived as a problem, isiXhosa is used extensively to promote and support learning.)

Interviewer: *Would that be restricted to teaching only or do you also do the same when assessing them?*

Interviewee: *No, we don't do that when assessing them. We assess them in English and sometimes you can see even if they are writing that when answering and when marking their scripts that they did not understand this question. They understand it on their own, but they fail to understand it*

properly, but if it was put in their language, that means isiXhosa, then they would answer better, then they would earn better marks in their assessment.

(The teacher acknowledges that English is a barrier to learning for L2 learners and affects learner achievement. Learner performance would improve greatly if the content were presented in isi-Xhosa, the learner's LI. The teacher showed insight into the limiting effect of using an L2 only in assessment when teaching had been in code-switching mode.)

Interviewer: *Do I understand you well when you say that teaching should be in both languages but when you are doing assessment you will stick to English, is that what you are saying?*

Interviewee: *Yes.*

(The teacher shows inconsistency once more when she suggests that teaching should be in code-switching mode and assessment in English only.)

Interviewer: *Why stick to English only when assessing, I would have thought that teaching and assessment are two sides of the same coin?*

Interviewee: *No, the problem is with assessment or with ... (inaudible) because English is the language which is used in our schools so we cannot assess them in isi-Xhosa while we are teaching History, but if you are teaching them in isiXhosa that means you can strictly assess them in isi-Xhosa. That's the problem. We cannot assess them in isi-Xhosa because there are no question papers set in isiXhosa at national level.*

(Although the current MOI policy suggests that any of the official languages may be used for teaching, an enabling environment that makes it possible for teachers to implement the multilingual policy fully has not been created. IsiXhosa is used as a bridge to English, i.e. to facilitate learner understanding of History content which is presented in English, but assessment is carried out in English only. Resource materials are written in English and examinations set nationally are in English only.)

Extract 3.

This teacher was of the view that her classroom language practices were in keeping with the provisions of the current multilingual LIE policy because her use of the learners' HL facilitated learning and helped her students remember most of what was learnt. However, she felt that the current MOI policy needed to be revised, and that if English were to be used effectively as an MOI, a strong (English) language foundation needed to be laid at the General Education and

Training Band (GET) to ensure that by the time learners reached the Further Education and Training (FET) Band there would be no need for teachers to use other languages (HL) for teaching. Like Teacher B, she was of the view that employing English as an LOLT improved one's proficiency in English. When asked to give her personal commentary regarding the investigation, she responded as follows:

Interviewer: *We are coming to the end of our interview. Are there any comments or observations that you would want to make about this investigation? Are there any comments or insights that you can share with me as far as this investigation is concerned? Any comments that you would like to raise?*

Interviewee: *One thing that I would like to say is, I think the multilingual language policy that was promulgated needs to be revised, more especially in the GET Band because, if the Department (DOE) wants the teachers to teach properly in English throughout, that must be implemented at the GET Band. So when they (learners) come up to the FET Band, that is, high school, they must be ready. They must understand that everything that they want to say they must say in English. Whatever they want to explain they must explain in English. So there must be good English teachers down there at the GET Band for them to give them a good practice.*

(Problems associated with teaching in an L2 were superficially understood to be emanating mainly from poor teaching in the lower levels, when the problem is quite complex. The teacher's comments suggest that languages other than English are used for teaching in the GET Band and that when the learners reach high school, they cannot use English successfully for learning. To ensure consistency and continuity between the GET and FET Bands, the issue of which languages should be used for teaching must be articulated clearly.)

Interviewer: *In the same vein, you would expect that if what you are talking about is implemented, even high school teachers would have to stick to one language system?*

Interviewee: *Yes, if it was implemented in the GET Band there would be no problem.*

(The teacher displays insight into how language policy is implemented in the lower classes. English is employed as an MOI by teachers who cannot use it effectively as an MOI and she

regarded this as a source of the problems that learners experienced with English when they reached the FET Band. Learners are not prepared adequately to use English for learning in the GET Band.)

***Interviewee:** Learners would be answering their questions freely. One wouldn't have to code-switch from English to isiXhosa if the necessary English foundations were laid in the GET Band. (This teacher seems to be using isi-Xhosa grudgingly for teaching. By implication, isiXhosa cannot be used as a fully-fledged LOLT; it can only be used as a bridge to English.)*

***Interviewer:** So by implication, you are saying you wouldn't be code-switching if the group of students had a firm grounding in English at the FET Band. You wouldn't have to code-switch?*

***Interviewee:** You don't have to. You don't have to explain any terms in isiXhosa if they could understand English (Code-switching is used to provide access to the curriculum). They would be so able to answer questions freely in English because they understand the tenses, and everything. They would be able to answer without problems.*

***Interviewer:** So you reckon these challenges that they have in English are challenges that could have been tackled at the lower level.*

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you.

4.5.2 Teacher B.

The Business Economics teacher from a desegregated school was of the view that LIE policy should be context-based, and that other languages should be used for teaching and learning as this would improve achievement levels. The use of other languages for teaching and learning was inevitable because of the challenging nature of the OBE-NCS curriculum for both the teacher and the learner. In practice, he used English only for teaching and assessment.

Extract 1.

***Interviewer:** In your view, which language(s) should be used as LOLT at secondary school?*

***Interviewee:** English, most definitely, Ma'am, although some teachers may be challenged when it comes to English.*

Interviewer: *I find the point that you are making about teachers being challenged at times, very interesting. Can you explain that?*

Interviewee: *Ja, now they are challenged because if you look at the way language is a barrier in terms of explaining the new syllabus and things like that...So there are language barriers somewhere there even. Take for instance concepts that are new; they were not in the old syllabus, but they have been incorporated into the new syllabus. Therefore now you need to go an extra mile even in preparing the lesson to make it understandable to the learner. Take for instance when dealing with contracts. You don't know the language of lawyers as a teacher. Then you need to explain. Take an example about the plaintiff. We don't know such things, but at the end of the day you need to go back to the roots and you get those examples and you need to present. So it is a challenge according to the new syllabus because there is lots of research also in your plan as a teacher that you need to do before you can actually present to the learners.*

(OBE-NCS is seen as a more challenging curriculum/approach in terms of content and language demands for both teachers and students, use of other languages inevitable.)

Extract 2.

Extracts 2 and 3 below reflect that the teacher's choice of LOLT is heavily influenced by factors such as the national Department of Education's (DOE) assessment policy and learner profiles.

Interviewer: *But if you were teaching in a different context would you use isi-Xhosa?*

Interviewee: *Yes, I would have used isi-Xhosa depending... provided that the learner, or maybe we've got a challenge of English, maybe to a specific learner whether can use maybe isi-Xhosa explaining that. Maybe that... a short statement not maybe, to actually present because at the end of the day you know that these learners will be tested in English. Therefore now you don't want to deprive them of... (inaudible) also by not understanding.*

(This teacher would only use isi-Xhosa briefly in instances where learners had a challenge with English. The fact that they would be tested in English forced this teacher to teach in English only.)

Extract 3.

The teacher endorses the use of other languages for teaching and learning as this would improve achievement levels. Contrary to what he says, in his class he sticks to English only because he believes that his learners do not have a language (English) problem by virtue of their home backgrounds.

Interviewer: *As far as classroom language practices are concerned, ... in your view which languages should be employed as media of instruction at high school, particularly in schools situated in urban areas?*

Interviewee: *Ja, most definitely it... it must be English, but in a way knowing our cultural background as people that are disadvantaged. In some instances I would rather support the logic that teachers at least if they are given time they must be in a position to express themselves... even using other languages will help learners understand, I think. That's my opinion.*

Interviewer: *So if I understand you well, you are advocating for the use of not only English in the classroom but also other languages.*

Interviewee: *Other languages, yes. They must, they need to claim in a way to...because we are actually depriving the progress of students.*

(English is seen as a barrier to learning and the teacher advocates the use of other languages for teaching and learning. In practice, he used English only for teaching and assessment, an indication that there was a gap between beliefs and practice.)

If we are saying it must be strictly English knowing very well that some learners are not coming from a background that would actually make them understand (English), even to analyse what we are trying to explain as teachers. So it would be very difficult for some learners to cope.

Extract 4.

In the classroom observations, he religiously used English throughout. For this teacher, mastering a subject is closely tied up with knowing the register/jargon of that subject (which happens to be in English, as there are no textbooks written in indigenous languages).

Interviewee: *No, it's because well the... according to the prescribed laws of the country there's no way that you as a teacher can go to class knowing very well that your study or your learning area requires the use of English. Then you strictly... you need to present in English although it is well known that at least your learners can mostly understand what you are saying.*

This teacher adopted an English-only approach during lesson delivery, and even though acutely aware of the challenges of some of his L2 learners, he still gave unwavering support for an English-only policy.

Extract 5.

According to this teacher, an English-only policy should be adopted in a desegregated school.. Code-switching should be used in cases where English is a barrier to learning and when learners need further explanation on a particular aspect of the syllabus.

Interviewer: *Are you by implication saying that in your situation your students can understand English, so there would be no need for you to use isi-Xhosa?*

Interviewee: *There is no need at all because of where they are coming from. You know like in rich communities, also rich families, so they do understand English, and yes, our environment requires that.*

(For this teacher, the fact that some of the pupils in his class are LI and others L2 speakers of English is not an issue. He assumes that all the learners in his class have the required English competence because of their home background, hence their parents' decision to enrol them at the former Model C school.)

Otherwise if I were to present maybe in another platform maybe where they need some extra explanation not in class, then maybe I would use isi-Xhosa in those situations. But where you feel that this learner has got maybe a language barrier then you are bound to go back to mother language definitely if you want the learner to understand.

(Model C schools must teach in English only, and maybe code-switch only out of class when learners experience difficulties.)

Interviewer: *If you were teaching in a different context other than...High School where you are teaching at the moment, would you use isiXhosa for teaching?*

Interviewee: *Not in class, maybe perhaps when you are actually explaining certain things, where learners are challenged, a lot of them. I would not specifically use isi-Xhosa when presenting something that is going to... (Sentence incomplete).*

(Although supportive of code-alternation, particularly code-switching, he would employ it minimally in certain contexts, only to assist his pupils to access the curriculum. IsiXhosa would be used in out-of-class consultations. Switching to isiXhosa would be one way in which the teacher responds to individual learner needs while providing access to the curriculum. The teacher assumes that all former Model C learners are from environments that are supportive of their

English language development and that in an urban environment the practical thing to do is to offer tuition in English.)

Extract 6.

Teacher- and learner-related factors were cited by the interviewee as reasons underpinning his choice of Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT), in this case English, whilst at the same time being supportive of a multilingual policy. Other reasons cited by this teacher for supporting English only were that it is an international language and that in the world of work, English was the most commonly used language. It also boosted the learner's confidence and the teacher's proficiency in English.

Qorro (2009), argues that all these are good reasons for learning English as subject, not using it as an LOLT. This teacher indicated that having both L1 and L2 learners in one class presented immense challenges, but he took care of the challenges that student diversity presented him with by employing active learning strategies such as group work and oral presentations.

Interviewee: *The fact that I'm using English only?*

Interviewer: *Yes.*

Interviewee: *It is because we are also training these people to be better citizens.*

(This statement demonstrates the perceived power of English.)

To have confidence also in the near future so that at the end of the day if they are in the environment where they are expected to use English only so they can be in a position to express themselves without feeling that maybe they will make some mistakes and being embarrassed. So, it's helping on both sides. Also it's developing you as a teacher so that your professional competence can also improve by not using both languages specifically in class.

(The teacher's motivation for using English only was that this would improve his learners' proficiency levels and his own.)

Interviewer: *Looking at the profile of your students, I've noticed that you have students who are English L1 and English L2 in your class. You have students who speak English as a first language, as well as students who speak English as a second language. How do you deal with linguistic diversity in class?*

Interviewee: *Ja, it is a big challenge because you know that cultural diversity that we are having in our institution. Other learners you know end up suffering. Take for instance there is a learner who's not sure on how to actually, express himself or herself in class. You know those learners end up being shy, I do understand that. You know, like you end up maybe asking them and then you end up directing the question to them, although you are not supposed to. But because of the fact that you know they are shy but you want to hear them talk. It is a challenge also to them and to us.*

(Using more than one language for teaching at a desegregated school would be a challenge because one might end up excluding learners who do not speak the indigenous language.)

Interviewer: *Are there specific strategies that you use, for example when you want them to open up in class?*

Interviewee: *Ja, there are specific strategies like the oral presentations. You give them the topic or whether you need them to go and research. Take for instance my Grade 8s, like take for instance last week I had to give them something on research, they didn't understand anything about that but I told them that it is South Africa is declared as a country that is going through a recession currently. They must go and research about that. So it is...possible you know in a way.*

Extract 7.

When asked about challenges experienced by teachers in urban schools in the implementation of a multilingual policy, this teacher indicated that he accepted multilingualism-in-education in principle, although he felt implementing it would be a mammoth task because learners are assessed exclusively in English and rural-urban migrations necessitate that urban-based schools accommodate linguistically under-prepared learners in English.

Interviewee: *Hayi, in actual fact, or even if that is the case there is that policy of that nature, I don't think it can be relevant for some of the ... opinion to actually say that. We know at the end of the day that it is not realistic even if they say let's use all other languages in presenting. But at the end of the day, when these learners are tested, they are tested in what? In English. Therefore now, it means that we need to make it a point that we use English as our medium of instruction if we were to use that. I said we can use that in certain instances where you have a language barrier or maybe there's a certain Afrikaner student in your class not actually understanding. Then if you got the opportunity of improving understanding or maybe luckily you as a teacher you don't have*

any challenge in Afrikaans then you can explain that. But to use all of them because of that cultural diversity, when do you finish up the lesson if you were to use all these languages in one lesson? Let's say someone understands isi-Xhosa, someone understands Sotho, someone understands that. When will you finish the whole thing?

(Linguistic diversity at classroom level is a challenge for the teacher.)

Extract 8.

According to this teacher, language support for L2 learners who are not performing well academically in multilingual settings is at the core of learner success, particularly for learners with low levels of proficiency in English, but he would not know what kind of support to give them in order to improve, except send them to libraries.

Interviewer: *Are there any comments you would like to make or anything you would like to bring to my attention regarding the topic?*

Interviewee: *Ja, Ma'am, not specifically, but there is something I would like to highlight, because I don't know what can be done to actually assist rather...say learners/students who are coming from these disadvantaged areas because we even do get them in our (urban/multi-cultural/multilingual) schools. Then I don't know what the government together with people who are in authority can do to make it a point that those people (learners) are granted the opportunity of making it a point that they understand (what they are taught in school). Take for instance, opening libraries and places where they can go and develop their (English) language skills.*

4.6 Emergent Themes from the Three Data Sets

In the next stage of the data reduction process, the focus was on identifying emergent themes and patterns from the three data sources. The objective of this exercise was to establish whether there were common or different themes/patterns emerging from the three data sets and to theorise about the findings. The table below presents key findings from the three data sets, as well as emergent themes/patterns.

Table 31: Data Presentation from the Three Data Sets: Emergent Patterns and Themes

Data Source	Emergent Patterns/Themes
Questionnaire	<p>The preferred MOI at high school is English, in rural and urban contexts. <i>(Confirmation of the perceived hegemonic status of English in a post-colonial education context/Other languages remain devalued despite promulgation of the 1997 multilingual policy).</i></p> <p>Although many teachers are aware of the existence of a multilingual LIE, implementation patterns have not changed as a result of the introduction of the 1997 LIE policy. <i>(Policy resistance/Absence of change management structures within the Department of Education to support multilingual policy implementation/negative teacher attitudes towards multilingual policy.)</i></p> <p>Code-switching and other multilingual practices such as translation are used extensively in rural and township contexts to facilitate learning. <i>(Learning in an L2 is a challenging exercise/The L1 is a valuable resource for teaching and learning/Indigenous languages are capable of serving as MOI.)</i></p> <p>An English-only policy is adopted in desegregated schools because of the linguistic profiles of learners in these schools. <i>(At operational level, contextual factors shape/influence language policy implementation/ resistance to policy change.)</i></p> <p>Assessment is carried out in code-switching mode whilst teaching had been in code-switching mode. <i>(Policy implementation is characterized by inconsistencies and contradictions/Context shapes policy implementation.)</i></p>
Classroom Observations	<p>There is a gap between teacher beliefs about LIE policy implementation and how the policy is actually implemented. <i>(Implementers' beliefs influence policy implementation.)</i></p> <p>An English-only policy is adopted in a desegregated school, even though the</p>

	<p>teacher and most of the learners are LI isi-Xhosa speakers. <i>(Policy resistance/Contextual factors such as the linguistic profile of learners influence policy enactment.)</i></p> <p>There was extensive teacher talk and minimal interaction in a rural high school classroom, despite the fact that teaching was done in code-switching mode.</p> <p><i>(Teacher pedagogic expertise influences how languages are used for teaching and learning.)</i></p> <p>In township and rural schools, code-alternation is used extensively to facilitate learning</p> <p><i>(English is not the only language that can serve as an MOI/Teachers are acutely aware of the challenges their learners face as a result of studying in an L2/Teachers are aware of the fact that learners have the necessary vocabulary in their LI that can help them understand the subject matter/Teachers find it easier to explain the content in a language that they share with their learners.)</i></p> <p>Learner-centred methodologies used by an expatriate teacher in a rural high school promoted vibrant discussions and quality teacher-learner interactions.</p> <p><i>(Teacher pedagogic expertise influences how languages are used for teaching and learning.)</i></p> <p>English lessons conducted in English-only at a rural high school were marked by one-way communication and non-participation by learners.</p> <p><i>(Learning in an L2 is a challenge for learners whose LI is not English/Learning in an L2 does not advance one's understanding of the subject matter, especially if one has not had a good grounding in the language/Learners who have low proficiency levels in the L2 become self-conscious and choose not to display their linguistic insecurities.)</i></p>
Focused Interviews	<p>Teacher A</p> <p>English should remain the MOI at high school, but in rural schools learners' home languages should also be utilized because learners understand their LI</p>

	<p>better than they do English.</p> <p><i>(Context is a factor in language policy development and implementation/Inconsistent argument - if learners are more proficient in the LI, why not advocate for the use of the LI as the main LOLT?)</i></p> <p>English is a barrier to learning.</p> <p><i>(Learning in an L2 is a challenging experience.)</i></p> <p>For English to be used effectively as an MOI at high school, a strong English language foundation needs to be laid at the GET Band. High school teachers would then stick to one language system and not code-switch.</p> <p><i>(Policy implementation should be properly coordinated at all the different levels within the system; Isi-Xhosa is used grudgingly as a bridge to English/The early introduction of learners to English would solve language difficulties experienced by L2 learners.)</i></p> <p>Assessments should be done in English only, even if teaching had been in English and other languages.</p> <p><i>(Policy implementation is marked by inconsistencies.)</i></p> <p>Employing English as an LOLT improves the English proficiency levels of teachers and learners.</p> <p><i>(L2 teachers sometimes experience difficulties in using English as an LOLT.)</i></p> <p>Teacher B</p> <p>LIE policy development and implementation should be context-based.</p> <p><i>(Teaching should be conducted in languages that learners understand.)</i></p> <p>In desegregated schools, only English should be used for teaching.</p> <p><i>(Teachers/schools should take linguistic diversity into account when crafting school LIE.)</i></p> <p>Other languages should be used for teaching and learning to improve learner achievement. However, in a multilingual urban setting one would exclude other learners if he were to code-switch to the vernacular.</p> <p><i>(Implementing a multilingual LIE policy is a challenge in multilingual settings.)</i></p> <p>The teacher employs English only at the desegregated urban school and</p>
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	<p>would code-switch minimally, in out-of-class consultations in a different context. (<i>Implementing a multi-lingual LIE policy is a challenge in multi-lingual settings.</i>)</p> <p>Using English only for teaching and learning improves teacher and learner proficiency levels.</p> <p>(<i>Practice makes perfect.</i>)</p> <p>English is a barrier to learning for L2 learners, even in urban multilingual schools. Language support programs should be put in place to counter this.</p> <p>(<i>Studying in an L2 is an arduous task.</i>)</p> <p>Language policy implementation is shaped by learner profiles and the DOE assessment policy which promotes English only.</p> <p>(<i>LIE policy implementation is complicated - is influenced by a host of factors, some of which are beyond the control of the teacher.</i>)</p>
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The following are common themes on teacher language policy understandings and enactment that were identified in the three data sets:

1. Contextual factors and implementers' beliefs and attitudes are key issues in language policy implementation. The different implementation patterns in rural and urban contexts can be attributed mainly to these factors.
2. There are practical concerns that implementers have to take into account when implementing LIE policies, e.g. DOE assessment policy and linguistic diversity in their classrooms.
3. Language policy implementation is marked by inconsistencies and contradictions, e.g. English remains the preferred medium of instruction in post-colonial contexts, despite teacher awareness of the difficulties experienced by their learners (and by some teachers) because an L2 has been chosen as an LOLT.
4. The successful implementation of policy depends on consistency and coordination at the different levels within the system. Efficient policy implementation at primary school level would reduce some of the challenges experienced by teachers and learners at this level.

This implies that efficient monitoring and evaluation of how the policy is implemented at different levels of the school system would ensure success.

5. IsiXhosa is a valuable resource for teaching and learning and possesses the necessary vocabulary to promote cognitive understanding.

There are differences in the manner in which subject teachers and the language teacher in this study implemented LIE policy. The former used isiXhosa liberally, while the latter, motivated by the concern that one cannot teach a language through another language, stuck to English. The urban-rural differences with regard to LIE policy implementation are driven by the hegemonic status of English, contextual and teacher factors.

4.7. Interpretation of the Findings in Relation to the Study Questions, Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

In the second stage of the data analysis, findings were interpreted in relation to the study questions and conceptual framework.

4.7.1. How Teachers Understand and Interpret Language Policies in Practice

Teachers' language choices in different classroom contexts are to a great extent influenced by their past social and educational experiences, as well as the values, beliefs and attitudes that they were socialized into by society and the formal education system. Heugh (2000) states that the discriminatory apartheid system socialized blacks into devaluing themselves, their culture and languages. This view is similar to Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism which conceptualises English hegemony and linguicism as sub-sets of cultural imperialism. Years of linguistic imperialism and a discriminatory apartheid system could be possible explanations for English being the preferred MOI, regardless of the fact that teachers in the study viewed it as a barrier to learning. Teachers' responses in the three phases of the study confirm the hegemonic status of English in an African context.

Responses to Questions 3.1 and 3.2 of the questionnaire, which were aimed at finding out the teachers' knowledge and awareness of the current national language-in-education policy and its provisions, revealed that teacher conceptualizations of MOI policy ranged from acknowledging

the fact that South Africa has a multilingual language-in-education-policy on which school policies should be based, to recognizing English as the only official language of instruction in the FET Band. However, teacher awareness of the multilingual policy does not translate to new language practices in the classroom. Teacher B, whose learners are mostly LI Xhosa speakers, is convinced that implementing a multilingual policy would be a challenge in urban settings and uses English exclusively for teaching, and would use other languages if he were to teach in a different setting. In the desegregated urban school, language practice has not changed since the introduction of a new National LIE policy. Although schools are now open to all racial groups, LIE policy implementation does not reflect the racial composition of the schools. This constitutes resistance to change.

Although aware of the provisions of the current national MOI policy, for some teachers, English was seen as a powerful and seemingly innocent instrument for communication which opened up opportunities for one in the labour market, and indigenous languages were perceived as not having the potential to serve as MOI. This is an indication of the powerful position that English occupies in the minds of some teachers in post-colonial contexts. Teachers in rural and township schools were found to be more accommodative and provided scaffolding through code-alternation in order to promote learner understanding of content. Teacher A put the blame squarely on primary and senior primary school teachers for the poor English language skills of high school pupils.

Selective LIE policy implementation was explained in a number of ways by the teachers who were maintaining the status quo, i.e. implementing the policy in the same manner that it was implemented prior to the promulgation of the 1997 LIE policy, depending on the context of the school. For example, they avoided code-switching because during their training they had been introduced to a body of knowledge which made them specialists in their fields in a second language (i.e. English). Consequently, it became quite a challenge for them to convey new knowledge to their students in a different language. As part of the imperialist agenda, there is a concerted effort by the English-speaking countries from which developing countries import most of their teaching-learning materials, to dominate the publishing industry and produce English-only materials, and to promote an anglicized education system based on English values and belief systems. This is what Phillipson (2005) refers to as cultural imperialism, of which linguistic

imperialism is a component. The belief that knowledge can be conveyed in only one language system (English) has its roots in the manner in which the colonized were introduced to formal education. Whereas African education valued its own languages and transmitted what was later labeled as informal education in the vernacular (Bamgbose: 2005), English was introduced into the African education system with the sole aim of colonization through evangelism. It is colonial socialization and the psychologically damaging apartheid system that have resulted in Africans seeing little value in their own languages except for inter-ethnic communication.

Another justification for using English only was that when learners progressed to the next level they were expected to have acquired certain competences/skills and the register used in each of the Learning Areas. The teachers' understanding seemed to be that failure to equip learners with expected knowledge and skills would hold them back in their studies, as South African tertiary institutions mainly promote a bilingual approach by either teaching in English or in Afrikaans or using both languages as MOI. Their understanding was that it was in the school system that the necessary foundation for excellence in education would be laid, and by promoting monolingualism (i.e. teaching in English only) they wanted to ensure a smooth transition from the school system to tertiary education, thus facilitating curriculum and language articulation between secondary and tertiary programmes. They equated success in the school system with possession of above average English proficiency skills, an indication that teachers, other than imparting the subject matter, were indirectly or unconsciously promoting the agenda of the apartheid government, i.e. by promoting "state-imposed monolinguals" (Smolicz & Secombe in Phillipson, 2000:165) or linguisticism through the provision of a supposedly African education system using a foreign language. According to Phillipson (2005:55) linguisticism, refers to "ideologies and structures where language is the means for effecting or maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources", and can either be conscious or unconscious, overt or covert.

State-imposed monolingualism is promoted by several role-players, such as School Governing Bodies (SGBs), who are tasked with taking decisions on school language policies, and teachers in the schools through their language choices during lesson delivery and the teaching-learning resources they use, and this has resulted in cultural and linguistic suppression in the name of stability through uniformity and little or non-existent liberty (Smolicz & Secombe in Phillipson,

2000:164). Language is a vehicle for cultural transmission; it nurtures language and in turn is nurtured by culture. Failure to use one's HL alienates the speaker from his/her cultural roots, and does not create stability. The marginalization of African languages in the South African education system reflects the unfair promotion of English at the expense of African languages in high-domain functions such as education and government, and can only result in partial participation in the socio-political and economic life of a country's citizens.

Qorro (2009:59) cites the following as reasons that policy-makers and parents advance for the continued use of a foreign language of instruction in countries such as South Africa, where the majority of the population speak an African language: globalization, English is an international language and is essential for science, technology and the labour market; most school literature is written in English, whereas African languages cannot be used as MOI as they are not well-developed; proficiency in English is a ticket to a good qualification and a good-paying job; there are too many indigenous languages, consequently English should be used to maintain national unity; English would die if it were not used as an MOI; using English as an LOLT improves one's proficiency; and changing the LOLT would be a waste of money, an already scarce resource. Most of the reasons stated above are similar to those advanced by the teachers in this study. Qorro (2009:59) suggests that these are good arguments for English Language Teaching, but not for using English as MOI. According to Qorro, Teacher B. in the interviews expressed a belief shared by many teachers when he stated that by pursuing an English-only agenda, he was creating an opportunity for improved proficiency not only for himself but for his learners as well. This is how he expressed this view:

Interviewer: *Okay, I understand. As we said at the beginning, I noticed that you use English mostly when you teaching. What impact does that have on teaching and learning?*

Interviewee: *It has a real impact because they learn to express themselves you know they.....*

Interviewer: *Yes.*

Interviewee: *It is because we are also training those people to be better citizens (my emphasis). To have confidence also in the near future so that at the end of the day if they are in the environment where they are expected to use English only so they can be in the position to express themselves without feeling that maybe they will make some mistakes, and being embarrassed. So*

it's helping on both sides. Also, it's developing you as a teacher so that your professional competence can also improve by not using both languages specifically in class (my emphasis).

Implicit in this statement is the acknowledgement that some teachers and learners may not be sufficiently proficient in English to use it as an LOLT, and that English has a civilizing role to play in education. Mlama and Materu (1978), cited in Qorro (2009), argue on the basis of their research that learners' low levels of English proficiency can be attributed to the fact that primary school teachers are themselves not proficient in the English language. Research in some Tanzanian secondary school classrooms reflects that most secondary school teachers and pupils are not sufficiently proficient to employ English for teaching and learning (Mlama & Materu, 1978; Brock-Utne, 2001, 2005, 2007; Vuzo, 2005 cited in Qorro, 2009). In Ethiopia, the secondary data analysis of the Grade 8 National Assessment examinations revealed that the use of the LI as an LOLT resulted in better achievements in Science and Mathematics, and that there were no significant differences in cases where English was used as an LOLT (Yohannes, 2009:189). These findings seem to support Qorro's view that there is a difference between studying a language as a subject and using it as a LOLT. Mwinsheike (2009:223) also argues that the pervasive use of coping strategies, such as code-switching, safe talk and negative reinforcement (punishment), in Tanzanian secondary Science classrooms indicates a serious problem, that the majority of teachers and pupils were unable to express themselves clearly in English. According to Mwinsheike (2009:223), the findings suggest that "the use of Kiswahili tends to promote performance and minimize the differences among students, while for English it is the opposite and for code-switching midway." Although one should generalize with caution, the similarities between the Tanzanian situation and what prevails in South African classrooms cannot be overlooked. The language question has become a vicious cycle, as graduates from the school system are expected to further their education at tertiary institutions in a language in which they can barely function. The proliferation of extended programmes and language support initiatives in Higher Education in South Africa is testimony to the fact that, without a sound basic education that is delivered in a familiar language, graduation/throughput rates for black students will remain appallingly low.

Teachers who “appropriated” the multilingual policy partially (i.e. through code-alternation), advanced the following reasons for employing other languages. Code-switching facilitated learning by promoting understanding, and the context of their schools often dictated which languages would match the profile of their learners. They used isi-Xhosa as a bridge to English, the familiar language aiding memory. Moreover, the learners’ diverse English language proficiency levels and the teachers’ own challenges with English at times necessitated that other languages be employed as LOLT. The reasons advanced by teachers for code-switching indicate that, contrary to popular belief, indigenous languages have the potential to serve as fully-fledged media of instruction. The University of Limpopo’s BA in Contemporary English and Multilingual Studies (CEMS) programme, which is a dual medium degree in Northern Sotho and English, provides concrete evidence that any language can serve as an LOLT, even though there may be challenges with terminology for technical terms (Karabo Keepile, 16 April 2010). One major is taught and assessed in English, while the other major is taught and assessed through the medium of Se-Sotho sa Leboa. The design of the programme ensures that students reap the educational and cognitive benefits of studying in their own LI (Tlowane, 2009).

4.7.2. Practice as a Reflection of Teachers’ Sense-making of LIE Policy

Practice often reflects the understandings, beliefs, attitudes and values underpinning one’s interpretation of a situation. An analysis of how the teachers’ understanding and interpretation of MOI policy translated into practice revealed that in some rural and township schools, language policy was customized to suit the context in which schooling took place. Isi-Xhosa was only employed in cases where the teacher felt there was a need to clarify key concepts or difficult aspects in the curriculum. The teachers’ understanding seemed to be that a language that learners were familiar with facilitated thinking. They coined un-English words with distinguishable English roots, which one often hears in informal conversations amongst young people, and township lingo (Teachers A and C).

The relationship between language and thought has been well documented by social constructivists such as Vygotsky whose theory emphasizes that learning is a meta-cognitive social process and is situated, occurs when learners are actively engaged in collaborative activities, and the teacher acts as a ‘scaffolder’ who provides challenging learning materials in order to direct

learners to the ZPD (Pritchard, 2005:111). Although teachers may be consciously aware of this relationship, and are expected to be implementing a learner-centred approach that is informed by a constructivist philosophy of education, there seemed to be reluctance or even resistance by some teachers (e.g. Teacher B's interview responses) to utilize the familiar language fully, or even partially, for teaching, because of the linguistic profile of the classes and the belief that learners' English language skills can only be honed by the sole use of English as a medium of instruction.

4.8. How Teachers Implemented LIE Policies in Practice

Teaching is a highly contextualized and complex human activity that is usually informed by educational principles, such as the mother-tongue principle (teaching in a language that the child is familiar with), prefacing one's lesson with information that the child already knows and linking it with new information. It therefore becomes extremely important that the school does not negate the child's life experiences, including his/her home language, as these are the very experiences on which new learning depends. By employing the learners' home languages, even if this is only done partially, educators are observing and acknowledging the importance of their learners' needs and their prior knowledge in the teaching and learning environment. In that sense education becomes the key to unlocking the mystery that life is for the learner. By denying learners an opportunity to use the linguistic tools (home language) with which the home and the community have armed them during the socialization process, schools are reinforcing the idea that the new knowledge and skills learners have acquired/learnt in their communities and in their languages are worthless. This could do a lot of psychological damage to the learner. The Grade 6 Intermediate Phase Systemic Evaluation Report (2005:133) recommends pair work, small group work, projects and group assignments as some of the strategies that teachers could employ to enhance pupil participation. In addition to these participatory strategies, the language of instruction should be one in which learners and teachers are proficient.

4.8.1 Code-Alternation and School Context

Code-alternation (code-switching, code-mixing, translations and repetitions, township lingo, coining of new un-English words) was employed extensively by teachers in rural and urban township schools who shared a home language with their pupils, to facilitate learning, concretize

abstract information, and encourage learners to construct their own knowledge and apply new knowledge to solve real-life problems.

Differences within similar contexts were observed, e.g. where the teacher shared an LI with his/her learners and where there was a mismatch between the teacher's home language and that of the learners. In a rural context where the teacher shared a HL with her pupils the learners' home language was used more often than English as a medium of instruction, although there was a belief by the teacher under observation that she was using English as a LOLT. Although she used a language that her learners were familiar with, the teaching strategies she adopted did not promote active learning and did not contribute to knowledge construction. In another rural school, where there was a mismatch between the teacher's home language and that of his learners, an English-only policy was upheld. The teachers who offered English as a subject employed English only, whereas those who used English as an MOI for content subjects used isiXhosa as well to make the subject accessible to learners.

Researchers such as Adendorff (1993), Slabbert and Finlayson (1999), Moyo (2000), and Setati et al. (2002) view code-switching as aiding learning, particularly in situations where learners have limited proficiency in the official language of instruction. Teacher B, who teaches in an urban desegregated school, displayed a similar attitude to code-switching. Code-switching functions include making the curriculum accessible to learners, facilitating classroom management, eliciting student response and promoting interpersonal communication (Holmarsdottir, 2006). Teachers in rural and township schools applied certain aspects of the policy by employing English and isiXhosa for teaching in varying degrees.

The strategies of code-alternation (code-mixing, code-switching and translations and repetitions) were implemented extensively during classroom observations in rural and township schools for educational reasons, such as clarifying difficult concepts, making up for learners' poor language skills, and promoting concept development. However, in some instances (e.g. rural contexts where the teacher shared a HL with her pupils) the learners' home language was used more often than English as a medium of instruction. Contrary to popular belief, the extensive use of code-switching reflects the capability of isiXhosa to serve in high-domain functions, e.g. education.

Studies on medium-of-instruction policy implementation also raise the question of whether content teachers should regard themselves as English language teachers too. Brock-Utne (2005:563) is of the view that developing learner proficiency in English should be the language teacher's responsibility and that content teachers should also employ other languages to facilitate learning. Brock-Utne's proposal is a direct challenge to the notion of Language across the Curriculum (LAC), which ELT programmes present as a panacea for the language struggles experienced by L2 learners.

4.8.2. The Disjuncture between Policy and Practice

The disjuncture between policy and practice was noticeable when questionnaire responses in classroom observations and interview responses were compared. For example, teachers in rural and township schools indicated in the survey questionnaire that they used English and other languages for teaching, and there was evidence to the effect that the strategies of code-alternation (code-mixing, code-switching and translations) and repetitions were used extensively to promote learning. Observations of the five teachers showed that the most frequently used supporting strategies in rural and township schools by teachers who shared an L1 with their learners were code-switching, translations, repetitions and township lingo. In a rural school situation where the teacher did not speak the learners' L1, the teacher, who was a foreign national, made use of examples from the pupils' own lives/surroundings, used visual materials, paraphrased his questions, gave his students more waiting time to reflect on the question, and did some vocabulary development work to extend his pupils' vocabulary in English.

Profiling learners raises the teacher's sensitivities to learner needs and compels him/her to attend to the identified needs in various ways, e.g. scaffolding. The scaffolding and the interactive teaching strategies used by the expatriate teacher paid off handsomely, judging from the quality of the interactions that took place in his classroom and the questions that he and the learners raised. The 1999 Malawian IEQ Report revealed that the mismatch between the teacher and pupils' home language compelled teachers to use a colonial language as a MOI. This appears to be the reason behind Teacher C's exclusive use of English. As a foreign national, he found that English was the only language in which he could communicate meaningfully with his pupils. This illustrates that

even within rural contexts language policy is not implemented uniformly, possibly because of teacher language profiles and deployment policies that the Eastern Cape Department of Education follows. Although Teacher A and Teacher D taught in similar contexts, their classroom language practices were remarkably dissimilar.

In an urban desegregated school, the teacher promoted an English-only agenda, despite the linguistic composition of his class and the fact that he shared an LI with most of his learners who had differential levels of proficiency in English. The teacher at the urban multilingual school (former Model C) who went through the three phases of the study, recommended the use of code-switching for out-of-class consultations when explaining difficult aspects of the subject, especially to meet the demands of the OBE-NCS curriculum, assessment policy and changing learner profiles brought about by rural-urban migrations. He displayed some uneasiness about employing a language other than English in a desegregated school. This teacher recommended an English-only policy for urban multilingual high schools, as implementing a multilingual policy would be quite a challenge in classes where there were L1 and L2 learners. The dominance of English was taken for granted by this teacher. He believed that language support programmes and the use of interactive/participatory teaching strategies would raise pass rates and throughputs in urban multilingual schools.

4.8.3 Teacher-related Factors and LIE Policy Implementation

In a rural high school, the gap between the teacher's beliefs on how she was implementing MOI policy and her actual practice was also evident. For example, she used isiXhosa more than English as a medium of instruction, even though she was of the view that she was using English as an LOLT.

Teacher attitudes and beliefs came out as important factors in the implementation of an English-only language policy. The anomaly here was that although the current national MOI policy in South Africa is aimed at promoting multilingualism through additive bilingualism, some teachers continued to use English exclusively (as was expected before 1997), even though they shared an LI with most of their pupils (Teacher E), while others employed English and indigenous languages to facilitate learning (Teacher A), an indication that the gap between policy and practice

is fuelled by factors such as teacher attitudes, misconceptions, beliefs and out-of-class concerns, resulting in uneven LIE policy implementation.

Teaching English as a subject in an L2 context proved to be as demanding as using English as an LOLT. For example, Teacher E, who offered English as a subject at his school from Grade 10-12, employed English throughout his lesson in which a transmission style of teaching was adopted. However, learner responses were limited to silences, one-word or very short answers. This finding partially corroborates Arva and Medgyes' research (2000) in which they found that native and non-native English teachers generally used English only when teaching, employed autocratic pedagogical methods, and were not so rigid when it came to their students' use of language in class. In Teacher E's class, however, English was used exclusively by the teacher and learners. Hornberger and Chick (2001:42) contend that safe talk, silence and chorusing, which are strategies that do not necessarily facilitate learning, were employed in classrooms as far apart as South Africa and Peru to avoid embarrassment on the part of the teacher should (s)he give a wrong answer. In the case of this teacher, who had a good command of the English language, his insistence on English only had a lot to do with the fact that he was teaching English as a subject. In the Grade 12 History class, where there was extensive use of isiXhosa by the teacher, there was limited teacher-pupil interaction, despite the fact that the teacher and her pupils shared an LI. Responses to the teacher's questions were chorus answers, one-word answers or dead silences. The teacher asked mostly close-ended questions and received one-word answers. The following interaction fragment illustrates the one-way communication pattern which characterized this lesson:

Teacher: *On Saturday it was Women's Day. I-Women's Day is the day on which 20 000 women marched in 1956, zilwela ukuphathwa kakubi kwabafazi in Pretoria.*

(The women were demonstrating against the oppression of women by the government.)

That is why it is celebrated as Women's Day in S.A. It was on the 9th of August, so all the women marched to Pretoria. So ezo- apartheid laws, they tried to put them back and i-business leaders... where the government made further reforms, because they thought...the on-going process and S.A's poor image overseas were based on the business because iyaziwa moss overseas that i-S.A

is the apartheid country and kulapho kukho ntoni? (What was the prevailing situation in South Africa at the time?)

(The question, though asked in isiXhosa has not been phrased clearly enough for learners to understand what is expected of them.)

Class: No response.

Teacher: *Ku-practizwa khona ii-racist policies. Kulapho abantu abamnyama, the Coloureds, Indians, Blacks, etc were not given the right to vote. (Racist policies were practiced and Blacks, Coloureds, Indians were barred from voting.)*

So i-image yabo babe yibonile ukuba iyo-denteka.

(They were concerned about the negative publicity, even overseas, and they were afraid that more countries will support blacks, will impose economic sanctions kuthwe mabanga nikezwa mali, abavunyelwa banikezwe zimali because of apartheid laws.)

(They would not be granted loans and were therefore worried that more countries would impose economic sanctions against them, thus leading to great suffering for the country.)

So they were afraid that more countries would support ii- economic sanctions, so i-S.A isafarishe. (South Africa would suffer because of the sanctions.)

That is white South Africa, I'm talking about.

There were financial trade-offs in 1985 when the government made clear that it had no intentions to make any right kwi-policy yakhe, no matter it includes banks sigqushalaza sithinina.

(The government maintained its position despite the protests.)

Ii-banks za-overseas they cancelled ii-loans for them, ukuze u-survive in our days kufuneka ii-loans. I-S.A ibolekwe i-15 million izomane iyibhatala, so zonke ezo nto zapheliswa.

(Overseas investors cancelled the loans they'd granted to South Africa.)

One needs money to survive. The 15 million rand that had been granted to South Africa was cancelled.

But overseas banks cancelled loans for S.A and the value of the rand collapsed. Because babengafumani loans, i-value ye-rand le siyisebenzisayo ya- dropper, (translation) as a result i-JSE was forced to close for a period of a few days, where kwenziwa khona ii-shares.

(That is the place where they sell shares.)

Ningayi bhidisi ne New York Stock Exchange

(Do not confuse it with the New York Stock Exchange.)

There was a NYSE which was formed in 1929 but there was a JSE ekhona apha e-S.A. So i-MK, the military wing of ANC, attacked the South African police stations, government buildings nezinye ii-important places, for example in Cape Town there was a place called i-Koeberg kulapho kwenziwa khona umbane (Where they generate electricity).

So i-MK got a chance yokuba ibhombhishe (code-mixing) that place, even in Durban and in Pretoria. So in Cape Town, Durban ... air force got into Pretoria, kule-air force ndithe ii-whites they were recruiting ii-white males to join the military i-MK was having that anger that phana emajonini (in the military) most of the whites were soldiers that's why ke ngoku ba fomisha (That is why they established...) the air force military yabo, then the United Nation by the time besisenza i-Africa sihe kukho i-clause kwi UN-Charter ethetha nge-Declaration of the Rights of Man. You understand moss.

(Teacher checking learner understanding.)

Class: *Yes.*

The extract above illustrates that the quality of interactions during lesson delivery is determined not only by the use of a familiar language between the learner and the teacher but also by the educator's teaching style. In Teacher D's class (situated in a rural context) there was less rigidity when it came to language use. Learners were not sanctioned for using their mother tongue when they needed to during class discussions, because the teacher's focus was on learners' understanding of key concepts in the subject. The expatriate teacher would occasionally use an isiXhosa phrase, maybe as a way of showing his acceptance of his learners' HL. There was vibrant class discussion and the teacher used only English at this rural school as his knowledge of the learners' home language was limited to basic conversational Xhosa. He used interactive techniques, such as question-and-answer method and problem-solving, as teaching strategies. Learners disagreed with each other, asked questions and gave critical responses to their teacher's questions.

4.9. Teachers' Classroom Language Choices and Their Effects on Teaching and Learning

4.9.1. Attainment of Learning Outcomes

Outcomes-based (OBE) education, which was first introduced in South Africa as Curriculum 2005, has its roots in educational objectives, competency-based education, mastery learning and criterion-referenced assessment (Van der Horst & MacDonald, 2005:7). It is designed around

critical cross-field outcomes (CCFOs) from which learning outcomes (LOs) are derived, and places a high premium on team work, effective communication, problem solving, academic literacy skills, critical thinking, the effective use of technology, and understanding the world as a set of related systems (Killen, 2000:187). These are complex high-order skills which require high levels of proficiency in the chosen language of instruction. When instruction is in an L2 or a foreign language, as it is the case with the majority of black learners (Alexander, 1989), learning outcomes are partially attained or not attained at all, and this further perpetuates mediocrity and inequalities in the education system. In OBE, the envisaged learner is an active participant in the learning process, a problem-solver, an effective communicator, a productive worker, a critical and purposeful thinker, a responsible person, and a self-directed independent learner (Van der Horst et al., 2005:214). The notion of “active learning”, which is central to OBE, rings hollow if learners cannot construct knowledge or engage in critical reflection because they do not possess proficiency qualifications.

When teachers who are expected to provide the necessary scaffolding in order to assist learners reach their ZPDs, are linguistically handicapped (i.e. cannot use the LOLT successfully to deliver the curriculum), classroom-based activities, such as designing and implementing authentic teaching and learning activities, giving constructive and meaningful feedback, asking questions at the different levels of Bloom’s taxonomy and responding to learner needs, become difficult to accomplish. Consequently, learners are exposed to an impoverished education that stifles the development of proficiency, creativity and adaptability qualifications.

4.9.2 Teaching Strategies, Classroom Interaction and Language Choice

Teaching involves the exchange of ideas between the educator and learners, and amongst learners themselves. This necessitates that the educator promotes a classroom climate which allows for two-way communication. The teacher uses language for various purposes, for example, to explain, ask questions, clarify concepts, elaborate, give feedback, assess learners, analyse, compare and contrast, and maintain discipline in order to promote learning. Learner-centred techniques and strategies, such as question-and-answer, whole-class discussions, problem-solving, cooperative learning and small group work, are used by the educator to facilitate learning. Learners use

language mainly to make sense of the subject matter, create new knowledge, solve problems and engage constructively with their teacher and the other learners.

In contexts where learning takes place in a language that learners are not familiar with, classroom interaction is compromised. In a comparative study of Tanzanian secondary schools using Kiswahili and English as media of instruction, Brock-Utne (2006) revealed that in classrooms where English-only was employed there was apathy, grave silence, and indifference. Learners obeyed, kept quiet or looked afraid. In contrast, in classrooms where Kiswahili was used as an LOLT, there was constructive cooperation and vibrant discussion. The lesson pace was fast and questions and answers were spontaneous. There was a relaxed mood, and the teacher developed the learners' critical abilities. In return, the pupils taught their teacher a thing or two, asking challenging questions and using many and long sentences, with the teacher consciously developing their vocabulary through a familiar language. The study was undertaken in a country where Kiswahili is spoken by over 90% of the population. Each language (Kiswahili and English) was employed as a fully-fledged MOI and code-switching was not employed as a bridge to English. In a South African township school in which English was offered as an additional language, classroom discourse was constrained, despite the teachers' use of code-switching to facilitate learning (Probyn, 2001).

In the present study, in cases where English and isiXhosa were used simultaneously, classroom interaction was constrained and limited mostly to one-word answers, even though there was extensive code-alternation by the teacher. This pattern was also observed in a classroom in which English was offered as a subject (English Additional Language). Students communicated minimally by giving mostly one-word answers, and there was no sustained interaction either in English or isiXhosa, their first language. Studying History as a subject is about the development of nationalism/national pride, learning from the mistakes and follies of others, and developing a sense of identity. It is questionable whether learners can have well-developed critical thinking skills when they cannot make sense of what is in a History textbook written in a language they do not understand well, or are taught predominantly in isiXhosa and yet are assessed in English only. Qorro (2009:72) contends that teaching learners in a foreign language has detrimental effects on the learner's self-confidence, alienates high school and university graduates from society, and

leads to failure and apathy. In the present study, the questionnaire findings showed that some of the teachers who adopted English as an LOLT devoted much of their time to building learner confidence in using English in class. One doubts if this would be the case if a familiar language were used for teaching and learning, or if learners and teachers had the required proficiency levels in English to use it as an LOLT.

In a township high school where English and code-alternation, including township lingo, were employed by the teacher, classroom interaction was not constrained. In an urban multi-cultural school, there was an attempt by the learners to communicate in English, even though vibrant and spontaneous discussions were not a common occurrence. Learners asked questions and attempted answers to their teacher's questions in English. The teacher's focus was not on the production of accurate utterances but on meaning and he often did not bother about oral error correction. The mood was relaxed, and even though the seating arrangement was for group work, in the few times I was in his class I saw no evidence of this taking place.

However, in a rural high school where the teacher did not share the learners' HL, but employed interactive teaching techniques and used English only, a different pattern of language use was observed. Pupils displayed a remarkable sense of confidence in using the language of instruction (English), engaged with the teacher, corrected and critically reviewed each other's responses. This suggests that, besides context, teacher characteristics such as home language, teaching competence, the use of interactive teaching strategies, and personality influence classroom group dynamics and language choice.

4.9.3 Alignment Between Teaching and Assessment Practices

An anomaly that the current study revealed was the fact that in some rural contexts (Teacher A focused interview transcript), although teaching and learning took place in code-switching mode, assessment was conducted only in English. Although she acknowledged the efficacy of using other languages for assessment, and gave the marking of external Grade 12 national exams subjects such as History as a case in point, Teacher A did not adopt this as part of her assessment strategy. She displayed inconsistency in the manner in which she used language for teaching and

assessment. Her moment-to-moment scaffolding in class, though done rarely, was conducted in both isiXhosa and English. This oversight points to a lack of policy coordination between the national Department of Education (DOE), the provincial education department, the district offices and schools, as well as concerns by the teacher that learners needed to get used to providing their responses in English as external examinations would be set in English.

Assessment, whether formative or summative, has always been regarded as the flip side of teaching, and if there is no alignment between teaching and assessment, this puts learners at a disadvantage as they may not have the necessary English vocabulary to express their answers. Teachers B, D and E showed consistency in their approach to teaching and assessment by employing English only for teaching and assessment.

The alignment between teaching and assessment is an aspect requiring urgent attention from teachers. For example, the policy could give direction on how much code-switching should be allowed, how learners could be assisted in gaining the necessary vocabulary to answer questions in English when discussions in class were mostly in code-switching mode, and whether some assessments cannot be done in the learners' home languages.

4.10 Why Teachers Implemented MOI Policies in the Ways Evident in the Study

The reasons advanced by teachers for their classroom language behaviour can be explained by drawing on Phillipsons' (2005) English linguistic imperialism theory, social constructivism and qualification analysis, and by demonstrating how in the South African education system, English has been entrenched for decades through symbolic policy formulation and engagement of intermediaries or "actors" such as government officials and teachers in the promotion of English and marginalization of indigenous languages. The questionnaire, classroom observations and focused interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to reflect on classroom language practices of teachers and relate them to the literature, qualification analysis and Phillipson's English linguistic imperialism theory.

4.10.1 English Linguistic Imperialism in the South African Education System

Desai (2001:323) maintains that language policy can either enable or deny citizens the opportunity to participate in the political, educational, social and economic life of one's country. In South Africa, language policy has perpetuated inequalities since colonization, the apartheid era and even after the promulgation of a multilingual LIE in post-apartheid South Africa. This has resulted in learners being exposed to unequal educational experiences because the language issue has been highly politicized. Consequently, there has not been full-scale use of indigenous languages in areas such as education because of the government's lack of political will (Mda, 2004).

The unequal treatment and marginalization of African languages in South African classrooms has its roots in English linguistic imperialism. Currently and in the past, LIE policies have promoted linguicism through selective resource provisioning for the dominant language, while African languages remained marginalized. This has produced a vicious cycle in which black senior government officials and teachers who were products of a system that devalued their languages have now become instruments for promoting the very language that was used to discriminate against them. All official communication by the DOE in the form of policies, strategy documents and action plans are written in English, thereby sending a clear message that not all official languages are equal.

The findings reveal that some teachers, even though they may share the same L1 as their learners, experience guilt or conflict when using isiXhosa, like Teacher B. However, another group of teachers is accommodative of other languages, and this is evident in their judicious use of the strategy of code-switching to mediate learning. Some teachers may be constrained by the fact that they do not speak the same L1 as their learners.

Education, which is a form of socialization, is a powerful tool for transmitting values, attitudes, beliefs, skills and knowledge through language. When the socialization of the majority of the people in a country takes place in a foreign language and the indigenous languages are mainly used as a bridge to English, a great deal will be lost or sacrificed, and the value system being imparted to learners will most likely be foreign. In Mondli Makhanya's words, "language is more

than just a communication tool” (Sunday Times, 24 January 2010). It forms the bedrock of a society’s group culture and identity.

4.10.2 Intended and Unintended Consequences of LIE Policy

The current schooling system in South Africa was initially planned along racial lines and social class. Well-resourced schools were the preserve of whites, while under-resourced schools which provided an impoverished education for the majority of the population were attended by blacks. The history of language planning in South Africa and its consequences is outlined in the introductory chapter of this thesis. The effects of a divisive schooling system can still be felt long after the promulgation of a multilingual LIE aimed at redressing imbalances of the past and widening access to education. Private and Model C (desegregated) schools continue to adopt and support an English-only policy. It is only recently that indigenous languages are being offered as subjects in these schools. These schools continue to produce sterling Matric results because of their staffing profiles, resources, unequivocal support for English, and selective admission policies that favour learners who have a sound foundation in English. The few black learners attending these schools perform well academically because they are in a supportive (English) learning environment. The opposite is true for the majority of learners in black schools who write the same examination that pupils from well-resourced schools sit for, in English, despite having been taught in a code-switching mode. Their performance in Matric does not compare with that of their counterparts in well-resourced schools. Contrary to the intended consequences of the language-in-education policy, it has perpetuated inequalities which have translated into high drop-out and failure rates in black schools and the production of high school graduates who do not have the proficiency skills needed by the labour market.

Qualification analysis shows how the school system and the labour market reinforce the importance of overall proficiency in English, and how they reject and exclude those with limited proficiency in English. In terms of qualification analysis, general proficiency qualifications (being able to read and write, use a computer, etc.), which are taught in basic education, lay the foundation for special proficiency qualifications (special skills needed in a vocation). The inability to read and write perpetuates the cycle of poverty in that it excludes one from participating

actively in the mainstream economy because one has not acquired the special proficiency and creative qualifications that an industrializing economy requires.

Ideally, general proficiency skills should be taught in the home language to promote the acquisition of these skills in a second or third language. Without sound initial literacy skills in the HL, it becomes difficult for learners to master literacy skills, special proficiency and creative qualifications in a first or second language, i.e. English. The poor English language skills of L2 learners limit their chances of furthering their studies after Matric or participating meaningfully in the economy, thus sentencing them to a cycle of poverty and under-achievement. During the interviews, Teacher B displayed an “uncritical acceptance” of English and associated the language with progress and success.

4.10.3. The Role of Intermediaries in English Linguistic Imperialism

Publishers, DOE officials nationally, in the provinces and districts, as well as teachers in the schools are key agents of linguistic imperialism in the South African education system. Each of these actors has a different role to play in the promotion of English in education. Book publishers promote linguisticism through marketing teaching-learning materials written in English and mainly about English. Recent developments in the publishing industry include the translation of class readers from English into isiXhosa. Although some of the stories may have a cultural bias for speakers of indigenous languages in South Africa, the initiative is commendable since it introduces black learners to the written form of their languages at an early age. An ideal situation though would be to have teachers and parents forming writing teams.

One of the roles of DOE officials is to raise awareness about government policies, monitor and evaluate implementation of policies by teaching personnel. The policies, strategies and plans are written in English exclusively and no attempts are made to make them available in the languages spoken by the teachers. Teachers are at the tail-end of policy implementation; and at times some implement policies uncritically, while others adapt them to suit their circumstances. Reason 1 (“As a subject teacher I am the primary role model for my students”) demonstrates that some teachers are gate-keepers whose role is to create a positive image of the English language by

promoting its exclusive use in the school system and refraining from using it simultaneously (code-alternation) with other languages.

4.10.4. Social Constructivism, Qualification Analysis and LIE Policy Implementation

Initial professional teacher training should prepare teachers for the world of work and contribute to the development of different perspectives on teaching. Pratt (forthcoming) describes a perspective on teaching as an interrelated set of beliefs and intentions that directs and justifies teachers' intentions and classroom practices. In a country in which the majority of black teachers have been recipients of an impoverished education, teacher trainees were short-changed in terms of pedagogic and content knowledge and were not afforded an opportunity to become reflective practitioners. This created a vicious cycle in that not only did they under-value their languages but also continued to teach for under-achievement in under-resourced schools.

From Vygotsky's theory one can deduce that good teaching practice is anchored in accurate profiling of learners, learner engagement, setting meaningful and authentic tasks, providing the necessary scaffolding to ensure that learners appropriate content, and being a good facilitator. Therefore, if a teacher cannot perform these teaching-learning functions on which good teaching should be based, this affects education negatively. In classrooms where there is limited constructive engagement, the teaching-learning process is compromised and pupils cannot appropriate ideas and concepts. Consequently, the learners' ZPD cannot be raised or expanded, nor can the teacher appropriate ideas from their learners. The transmission style of teaching, characterized by excessive teacher talk and less pupil engagement, does not promote the learners' ZPD.

The language question in black education compounds the problem of under-prepared teachers in that the language-in-education policy in post-colonial South Africa remains based on an L2, a language in which teachers and pupils alike experience considerable challenges. In the context of this study, social constructivism seems to suggest that teaching which is not transformative, even though a familiar LOLT may have been used, does not expand the learners' ZPDs. Neither does it lead to the appropriation of content. The poor performance of learners can thus be partly explained as resulting from the teachers' lack of pedagogic expertise and inability to mediate

learning using language. The majority of high school graduates exit the education system without having acquired the necessary proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications which would enable them to participate meaningfully in the economy. In a sense, the government does not get a good return on its investment in education.

4.11 Reflections on the Findings

Currently, most African learners in South Africa are subjected to an early transition subtractive bilingualism model in the school system. They only learn in the mother tongue in the first few years of their schooling before a switch is made to English, which they speak as a second if not a foreign language. With the advent of multi-racial/Model C schools after 1994, and the emergence of an affluent black middle class, the so-called Black Diamonds, a small number of African learners is taught in English from Grade 1 up to university. The high Matric pass rates that white Afrikaans and English L1 learners achieve can be attributed to a great extent to the fact that they study in their LI from Grade 1 to university. The sterling Matric results of the well-resourced desegregated former Model C schools can also be attributed to the fact that black learners find themselves in an immersion situation in which they have no choice but to use English. The downside of such a situation for black pupils is the negative effect it has on their first language. Generally, although they can understand and speak their first language, they cannot use it for reading and writing.

The majority of African children who live mainly in rural and township areas are taught briefly in their indigenous languages and a switch to English as MOI is made even before they have fully mastered their own home language. In so doing, the school and the parents are doing those learners a disservice as they end up being proficient in neither the L1 nor the L2. When these learners get to the General Education and Training (GET) Band and the Further Education and Training (FET) Band, the language that the education system reinforces is their second language, English. International studies, such as TIMSS, have yielded results which show that the performance of L2 learners is considerably below that of L1 peers, although countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines, which do not use the LI as MOI, outperformed S.A in the test. These findings suggest that factors other than language, e.g.

inadequately trained teachers, low attendance figures and lack of equipment, also have a bearing on achievement.

Prinsloo (2009) contends that strong literacy foundations in the 5-10 years of a child's life are critical in laying the foundations for future academic success and that language has an impact on learner performance. Prinsloo argues that the poor performance of South African Grade 6 learners in the International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) is directly related to the MOI issue and that it is in the Foundation Phase that literacy needs to be strengthened. Prinsloo cites a 2007/2008 HSRC literacy teaching evaluation study conducted in Limpopo Province in which the findings indicated that learners did not read and write sufficiently at school. Literacy instruction was not good, there was a lack of integration between Learning Areas and learning support materials, nor did poor home and community environments aid literacy development. The study concluded that the introduction of a first additional language should not be delayed; nor should mother tongue teaching be done away with too soon, as this could impede the development of both languages and leave learners struggling academically for the rest of their school careers. These findings complement those of the Threshold Project which confirmed that second language learners of English usually do not have the necessary vocabulary to handle content learning when they switch from an African language to English in Std 3. The studies also indicate that there would not be any dependence on a foreign language as an LOLT if a strong literacy foundation were laid at the primary school level. Teacher A in the current study made a similar recommendation during the interviews, although her focus was on English, not the learners' home language.

The improvement of access, retention and success in the entire education system, reduction of drop-out rates, and the raising of throughput rates, could be achieved through an additive bilingualism model that focuses on strengthening literacy skills in indigenous languages (isiXhosa and se-Sotho which are regional languages in the Eastern Cape). English and Afrikaans could be offered as subjects to ensure that learners were proficient in more than one language. However, how the teachers, who are implementers of policy, "appropriate" the policy depends largely on their convictions about the efficacy of multilingualism, and the kind of training and support that they receive at operational level. This would entail embarking on language consciousness raising

for teachers and revisiting teacher deployment policies to ensure that their linguistic profiles matched those of the learners.

On the basis of the participants' responses during the three phases of this research, the literature review on LIE, and more especially the Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) and Threshold Project findings, the 2007/2008 HSRC Grades R-4 literacy evaluation study in the Limpopo Province and other small-scale studies on LIE implementation, my view on the very complicated and complex issue of LIE implementation in post-colonial states is that South Africa should go beyond symbolic policy crafting and implement the multilingual policy which was promulgated in 1997 by revisiting its teacher placement, materials development and assessment policies. This would result in increased teacher morale and improved learner performance. According to Barker (1993:125), additional advantages of bilingualism are that bilingual children tend to be more sensitive in social situations requiring careful communication and display creative abstract and critical thinking skills.

South Africa should draw lessons from the LOITASA research which has revealed that in Tanzania, L2 learners experience learning difficulties when they switch from Kiswahili to English at secondary school. South Africans can now bridge the gap between policy and practice by employing indigenous languages as fully-fledged MOI in the school system, as suggested by Alexander (1995:80), Desai (2001), and Heugh (1995:86), and allow L2 learners to study English as a subject.

Desai (2001:323) proposes a two-pronged approach for schools with a homogenous profile that would entail using indigenous languages and English as media of instruction. Such a strategy would ensure success and access to education and also meet the demands of globalization (Desai, 2003:47). The delayed transition model of bilingualism that Desai is suggesting ensures that learners acquire sufficient literacy in their home language before the introduction of a second language as a medium of instruction. The literacy skills they would have obtained in the first language would then be transferred to a second language learning situation. Second language learners would then study English as a subject for a much longer period before its introduction as a medium of instruction. This would ensure a smoother and less wasteful transition from high

school to university than is currently the case. Alternatively, indigenous languages in monolingual contexts could be employed throughout secondary school, although this would be met with resistance from parents, learners and teachers and would require consciousness-raising for communities on language issues in education. This would result in increased pass rates and an improved quality of education as learners would be studying in a familiar language which was supported by their home and greater social environment.

Heugh (2000:24) contends that the vocabulary to teach various subjects in the languages that learners are most familiar with is available, as demonstrated by the extensive use of code-switching in most African classrooms. The findings of the current study also confirm this view, although not very many teachers use indigenous languages for assessment purposes. Banda (2000: 51) contends that South Africa's additive bilingualism policy is "unlikely to succeed as long as role models, learners and their parents see little utility in languages other than English." There is concrete evidence from the few small-scale studies, such as LOITASA and the present study, that English is not the sole medium of instruction in most schools, especially in rural monolingual contexts, despite what parents, learners, officials and many teachers would like to believe. What remains is for policymakers and educators to bridge the gap between policy and practice by allowing research evidence to reshape policy.

4.12 Conclusion

For some scholars the source of African learners' language problems is largely the unequal relationship between English and indigenous languages (Alexander in Phillipson, 2000:170). I am of the view that the uncoordinated manner in which the LOLT is implemented in contexts where learners and teachers speak the same indigenous languages is a contributory factor in learner achievement in the school system. For example, in the current study it emerged that learners are taught in a code-switching mode but are assessed in English only. This is a disservice to the learners, since they might know the answer but are unable to present it correctly in the "required language". The practice of sanctioning learners for using their LI to respond to examination and test questions compromises the validity of the inference made from tests and examinations for a very large number of learners in the school system.

South Africa has a number of regional languages, isiXhosa and Se-Sotho being the most widely-spoken African languages in the Eastern Cape. One can conclude on the basis of the research evidence presented above that schools in the Eastern Cape, where isiXhosa and se-Sotho are languages of wider communication, could employ these languages as MOI and offer English as a subject. No one model would suit every context; for example, urban-based high schools could employ English mostly to cater for the multilingual composition of the classes, and isiXhosa and Se-Sotho could be studied as subjects. Depending on whether teachers and learners shared an LI, the delayed transition model could also be implemented in urban multilingual schools. The LOITASA project and the University of Limpopo's CEMS programme have clearly demonstrated that languages grow from use in all the high domains of public life, including education.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DEDUCTIONS, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

In this final chapter my intention is to consolidate the findings of the entire research project and its significance. I also present the conclusions drawn from the findings, highlight the contribution of the study to the existing body of knowledge on MOI policy implementation, and make practical suggestions for the implementation of the findings and for future research.

5.2. Summary

In post-apartheid South Africa, the language question, particularly in black education, remains heated and unresolved, mainly because of colonial language planning practices of the past, which were firmly grounded in English linguistic imperialism and linguicism, and the attitudes of speakers of African languages towards their own languages. Phillipson (1992:271-272) describes the typical arguments used in linguistic imperialist discourse to justify the exclusive use of English in high-domain fields such as education, particularly in developing countries in which the main language of communication is an indigenous language. These arguments focus on the intrinsic qualities of English (English is noble, has a rich vocabulary and easily adapts to change), its extrinsic qualities (English is a resource-rich language, with a rich and varied literature), and the use to which it is put (English is a language of modernization, science and commerce). Half-hearted attempts by democratic post-colonial states to break away from the trend of adopting colonial languages as the only official languages and media of instruction, have failed to achieve their goal in most African countries. In the South African education system, this has translated into high drop-out and failure rates for the majority of black learners.

The present study, motivated by the poor performance of black learners at matric level, particularly in rural provinces such as the Eastern Cape, and the fact that South Africa has promulgated a multilingual LIE policy, singled out the language question from a host of other factors which influence school achievement, as a topic for investigation. Using a mixed methods research design, the study utilized a survey questionnaire, classroom observations and focused interviews to establish possible answers to the following questions:

1. How do teachers understand and interpret medium-of-instruction (MOI) policies within their practice?
2. How do teachers implement medium-of-instruction policies (MOI) in their classrooms?
3. Why do teachers interpret the policies in the ways they do?

The key findings of the questionnaire were:

- Even when there was a match between the teacher's LI and that of his/her pupils, or when isiXhosa was the language of wider communication, in general the teachers' preferred medium of instruction was English.
- Several main reasons were given for pursuing an English-only policy. African languages were perceived as not having the capacity to serve as MOI; the teachers saw themselves as language role models; and school language policy determined MOI, as did teacher training and the tertiary LOLT. Other reasons furnished by the teachers were that English was the language of computers, promoted racial tolerance, and was the key to effective leadership.
- English was used most for assessment, for developing the English language skills of pupils, building learner confidence, making announcements, repeating and reformulating, and assessing pupil understanding. Some schools (51,9%) had not adapted their school LIE since the 1997 LIE policy changes.
- An English-only policy was employed in the following situations: in a multilingual desegregated (former Model C) urban school; in a rural high school where there was a mismatch between the teacher's HL and that of his learners; and in a rural high school where English was offered as a subject.
- Most of the teachers in the study (77,8%) were aware of the existence of a multilingual LIE; nevertheless they preferred English to indigenous languages as MOI and continued implementing the policy in the same manner that they had been expected to implement

language policy before 1997, that is, 63% employed English only and 37% code-switched in contexts in which indigenous languages were spoken widely.

- MOI policies were not implemented uniformly in urban and rural contexts. Several factors influenced teacher language choice(s) during lesson delivery. These were the learners' linguistic profiles, whether the teacher shared a home language (HL) with his/her learners, the subject being offered, the need to promote understanding of content, and the teacher's understandings, misconceptions, preferences and beliefs about the role of language in education. School policy, the availability of resources, assessment policy, and the need to make the curriculum accessible to learners also had a bearing.
- Classroom language practices of teachers in similar contexts could be remarkably different or dissimilar, depending on factors such as teaching competence, the teacher's LI, learner profiles, teacher's beliefs, conceptions and misconceptions about the role of language in teaching and learning, etc.
- Code-switching was a common classroom practice and the percentage of those using English only (48,1%) was outnumbered by those who code-switched (51,8%).
- The main reasons advanced for code-switching had to do with making the subject accessible to the learners. It aimed to make up for the learners' lack of English language skills, clarify/paraphrase difficult points for my pupils, facilitate concept development, and help with English words which were new and unfamiliar to the pupils.
- Some teachers endorsed the use of English as an LOLT, together with the learners' home language, even though they viewed English as a barrier to learning, and conducted assessments in English only.
- Even though some teachers believed that they used English mainly for teaching, isiXhosa was used extensively, especially in rural and township schools, through code-switching,

code-mixing, translation, repetition, and the use of township lingo in order to make the curriculum accessible to the learner.

Cross-tabulations revealed that:

- Teachers gravitated towards the use of English-only as they gained more teaching experience.
- Generally, teachers assessed in English, even though they may have delivered lessons in code-switching mode.
- Irrespective of professional qualifications and teaching experience, those in possession of older-generation qualifications (UED code-switched more than those with more recent teaching qualifications (e.g. HDE).
- Less experienced teachers were more likely to code-switch than more experienced teachers
- School location was a factor in LIE policy implementation; urban-based schools preferred English, while rural schools chose English and the learners' LI.
- Teachers preferred English as LOLT and the LI was used when learners were experiencing difficulties with the subject.
- Generally teachers preferred English as LOLT, irrespective of their academic qualifications.

Classroom observations revealed that:

- There was a gap between teacher beliefs about LIE policy implementation and how the policy was actually implemented. IsiXhosa was used mainly as a language of instruction, although the rural high school teacher believed she was teaching in English mainly.
- An English-only policy was adopted in a multilingual urban desegregated context even though the teacher shared an L1 with most of the pupils.
- Grammatical correctness of utterances was not regarded as important by a Business Economics teacher in an urban-based desegregated school, and there was no attempt to overtly correct learner errors. In contrast, an expatriate teacher in a rural high school attended to learners' incorrect English.
- There was minimal classroom interaction (one-word answers, chorus responses and long silences) in some rural classrooms, even though the lessons were offered in code-

switching mode. The teachers did not create opportunities for discussion and application of knowledge and asked mostly close-ended questions. The chalkboard summary was captured in English only. Teacher-centred methodologies were used and there was extensive teacher talk. Learners were passive spectators and the teachers' questions were met with silences. Generally, proficiency and creative qualifications were not developed under these circumstances.

- IsiXhosa was employed mostly to give instructions to learners, to secure a response to a question, and to remind learners about how the current lesson was related to the previous one.
- Code-switching was employed to explain a concept introduced in English through an example given in isiXhosa.
- In a township school, English was employed as the main MOI; however, there was also liberal use of code-alternation, and classroom discourse was not constrained.
- In a rural school where there was a mismatch between the Geography teacher's LI and that of his pupils, English was employed as an MOI and the teacher used interactive teaching strategies. English was used to ask prompting questions, encourage and motivate learners, as well as stimulate debate and discussion. The teacher also attended to vocabulary development. There was vibrant discussion and debate in all his lessons.
- A teacher of English at a rural school used English only when conducting his lessons and employed isiXhosa occasionally to confirm learner understanding of what he was teaching. There was one-way communication mostly as he did not receive answers to the good anchor questions that he asked. Consequently, he provided the answers and meanings of difficult words and phrases after giving his pupils enough "waiting time" to respond.

Interview Findings

Focused interviews with key informants yielded the following results:

- Two teachers, one from a rural school and the other from a desegregated school, endorsed the use of English as an LOLT, despite the acknowledgement that English was a barrier to learning.

- Teacher A from the rural school supported the use of the L1 because learners were not proficient in English. They understood isiXhosa better than they did English, and did not understand questions phrased in English. The parents' level of education and the context of the school also did not support an English-only policy. However, Teacher A supported the use of English as an LOLT in rural schools.
- Teacher A was of the view that there would be no need for high school teachers to code-switch if there were more effective teaching of English in the Foundation and Intermediate phases, an indication that isiXhosa was seen by this teacher as a bridge to English.
- The learners' poor English language skills were cited as the main reason behind the extensive use of code-alternation (code-switching, translations, word-coinage) in rural contexts. Although teaching was done mainly in isiXhosa, assessment was conducted in English.
- Teacher B (from a desegregated school) viewed English as a barrier to teaching and learning, but supported its use as an LOLT for the following reasons. It was an international language, it had currency in the workplace, it boosted learner confidence and the teachers' English proficiency skills, and schools trained pupils to become better citizens through the use of English as an LOLT. Learners with limited proficiency in English should be given the necessary support.
- Teacher B believed that LOLT should be determined by context and that urban desegregated schools should use English as an LOLT since learners in such schools understood English because of their background.
- Although Teacher B viewed multilingualism as a challenge, if he were to teach in a different environment, he would code-switch. Because the assessment policy influenced teachers to conduct classroom-based assessments in English, he would conduct assessments in English.

On the basis of the findings stated above, this study concluded that school context, teacher and learner profiles should be major determinants of school language policies in a multilingual country such as South Africa. These findings also suggest that it would be an educationally sound

decision to use local languages as fully-fledged media of instruction in the school system in order to facilitate learning, particularly in contexts in which the student profile was homogenous in terms of home language.

5.3. Deductions

Sutton and Levinson (2001:3) describe policy as both “practice” and “appropriation” and conceptualise appropriation as “a kind of taking of policy and making it one’s own.” The current multilingual LIE policy, which serves as a blueprint for schools to develop policies which take into account their own unique circumstances, is viewed by some scholars as a progressive policy since it is based on additive bilingualism (Heugh, 2000). Criticism of the policy has been directed at the manner in which it has been conceptualised and implemented (Alexander, 1989; Makalela, 2005).

The focus of this research was to uncover how high school teachers exercised their agency with respect to LIE policy in practice, which aspects of the policy they were implementing, which ones they were not implementing, and the reasons behind their language choices. I wanted to explore and understand how policy translated into practice, from the teachers’ perspectives. As curriculum implementers who use languages for a variety of purposes in the classroom, they gave valuable insights on the challenges of LIE policy implementation in a post-colonial/apartheid context. It appears that effective policy implementation is largely dependent on getting buy-in from the implementers of policy or raising their awareness about the intent of the policy prior to implementation. The provision of resources (e.g. textbooks and translation services) is important in ensuring that LIE policies are effectively implemented. Policy coordination, monitoring, evaluation, and support provided at classroom level would ensure successful implementation of the policy.

It was also my intention to understand constraints to effective LIE policy implementation, and ways in which these could be countered or eliminated for the benefit of both the teacher and the learner. The significance of the research lies in the fact that it underscores the importance of using languages for teaching and learning which are familiar to the pupils. Valuable lessons on LIE policy implementation can be gleaned from consolidated small-scale research findings in post-colonial states, including South Africa. These could help other African countries benchmark their

practices against those of their counterparts in order to improve the quality of their education and meet their development needs. This study has demonstrated that classroom-based research contributes to an in-depth understanding of LIE policy, showing how LIE policy plays itself out in practice, its effects on the people whose lives it is supposed to change for the better, its unintended consequences, and how those who must implement it can re-shape it through their actions.

5.4. Conclusions from the Findings

The research project was aimed at finding possible answers to three issues: teacher understanding and interpretation of LIE policy, implementation of the policy in urban and rural schools, and reasons/motivation for implementing LIE policy in the manner that the teachers did.

The following conclusions were drawn from the study findings:

1. Policy implementation is context-bound. The fact that LIE policy is unevenly implemented in both rural and urban contexts calls for a more flexible approach to LIE policy implementation in both urban and rural contexts, with contextual factors such as school situation, learner and teacher profiles being major considerations. For example, the development of teaching-learning materials should take into account the languages spoken in the wider community.
2. Curriculum development teams at school level should focus on language and its impact on school achievement. This would create a platform for teachers in similar contexts to share teaching-learning materials and experiences and learn from one another. On-going professional development of teachers that focuses on integrating research, learning theories, language learning and teaching methods, would enhance curriculum delivery and expand the learners' ZPD.
3. English was identified a barrier to learning in both urban and rural schools. This is a widespread crisis in contexts where English is an LOLT and will not be solved by "teaching more English". Using languages that learners are familiar with alongside English, which would be offered as a subject, would be a more practical solution to the language question during the twelve years of schooling. Literacy is at the heart of each learner's academic success. Teachers and pupils need on-going language support

programmes (in their MT and in a second language) that are based on identified language needs regarding teaching and learning in each school or district.

4. Using a foreign language as an LOLT stifles the development of proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications, thus compromising the quality of education provided to the majority of black learners who are mainly taught in code-switching and code-mixing mode.
5. In order to ensure the successful implementation of LIE policy, support at operational level is of the utmost importance. For example, multilingual materials could be developed and shared across provinces.

5.5 General Recommendations

The following are general recommendations which flow from the findings and conclusions discussed above:

1. Teacher training should focus on use of languages for learning across the curriculum.
2. Learners should be allowed to answer examination questions in the language of their choice and should not be penalized for doing so. This recommendation is made in the light of the fact that teaching in most L2 classrooms is accomplished through code-alternation (code-switching, code-mixing, translation, etc).
3. Initial professional teacher training should focus on language education modules, particularly in the training of Foundation, Intermediate and Senior Phase teachers (e.g. multilingualism in education, using the LI and English as LOLT, and language across the curriculum).
4. Language consciousness-raising, especially during pre-service training of teachers, irrespective of area of specialization, would be one way of changing or influencing language attitudes.
5. There is an acute shortage of GET Band (Foundation, Intermediate and Senior Phase) teachers in South Africa who speak indigenous languages and can write teaching-learning

materials in indigenous languages. To ensure that additive bilingualism is realized in the school system, the Ministry of Education should prioritize the pre-service and in-service training of primary school teachers who speak local languages. These teachers would also be actively involved in producing teaching-learning resources in indigenous languages.

6. Research could bridge the gap between policy and practice, and for this reason, teacher training programmes should have a strong research component; current ground-breaking research on language issues could be integrated into teacher training programmes, irrespective of field of study.
7. A mismatch between the teachers' and learners' home languages, particularly in rural schools, should be avoided at all costs. Teacher placement policies that take into account teachers' and learners' LI would give the teacher an opportunity to tap into the learners' home languages and make the curriculum accessible. The use of indigenous languages in the school system would enable teachers to act out their many roles as mentors, facilitators, assessors, curriculum implementers, and counsellors efficiently, thus making it possible for learners to experience an enriching academic environment.
8. A centralized teacher deployment policy would be preferable to ensure that languages other than English and Afrikaans were employed, and that teachers could make use of the valuable strategy of code-switching when necessary without experiencing guilt feelings. In multilingual urban contexts, the strategy of code-switching could be employed with caution because of the learners' profiles; for example, to stimulate classroom interaction, learners who spoke the same LI could be grouped together and the reporting done in English only.

5.6. Recommendations for Further Research

Emergent research on LIE policy implementation could focus on the following themes:

1. Longitudinal studies on the effects of using more than one language for teaching various subjects in the school system, or facilitating learning in multilingual/multicultural classrooms.

2. Innovative teaching strategies that promote a deep learning/active approach to learning, and how these can be employed to enhance learning through languages that are familiar to teachers and learners.
3. LIE policies for monolingual and multilingual/multicultural classrooms.
4. Code-switching in multilingual contexts.

1.7 Contribution to Expansion of Knowledge

The major limitation of this study is that its findings cannot be generalized to other contexts because of the sampling strategy and research design chosen. Lessons drawn from the study may only be applied to contexts that are similar to the one in which the study took place.

The findings and recommendations of this study should be made available to education policy makers, teachers, and language research agencies and considered in relation to the context and other factors. They should be acted upon where possible in order to improve learner success and retention in the school system.

The study has made an important contribution to the expansion of knowledge on the topic. It has uncovered that English, which has been uncritically accepted by many teachers as a language of prosperity in South Africa, is a barrier to learning in both rural and urban contexts and that teacher characteristics and contextual factors can either lead to the successful implementation of the policy or thwart its intended effects.

The study has also demonstrated that the LI is a valuable and readily available resource which promotes cognitive understanding. Alignment between teaching and assessment can be achieved by adopting a flexible approach to assessment in contexts where teaching has been in code-switching mode. For example, learners could be allowed to answer questions in the languages in which they are proficient, i.e. the languages that were used during lesson delivery. Assessment-based inferences drawn by teachers from learner performance would be more valid than currently is the case in L2 contexts.

The third important contribution that the study makes is that context in policy implementation is of utmost importance as it influences and directs classroom practice. However, variations with respect to classroom practice are possible even within similar contexts because of school contextual factors, teacher and learner profiles.

Fourthly, a lack of knowledge about the history of language planning in South Africa leads to misconceptions and negative attitudes or intolerance towards other languages and this in turn influences teachers' language practices.

Fifthly, the hegemonic status of English in post-colonial states remains unchallenged. However, in rural and township schools in South Africa, the reality is that LI is used extensively to promote understanding of content, an indication that context shapes policy and that African languages can be used as LOLT.

Sixthly, successful LIE policy implementation is largely dependent on coordination at the different levels of the education system.

Seventhly, implementing multilingualism in diverse linguistic backgrounds is a challenge, and teachers would need professional development on how to deal with linguistic diversity, particularly in urban contexts. The study has demonstrated that pedagogic expertise influences language use.

Lastly, teachers' voices are unheard in the language of instruction debate, particularly now that there is a policy which guarantees that learners must be taught in the language of their choice. This study offers a window through which policy makers can make sense of the challenges that teachers experience first-hand when they offer tuition in an L2 and/or use the LI partially as a MOI.

5.9 How the Triangulated Model of Enquiry can be Replicated

Although the triangulated model of inquiry has been strongly criticized because it is based on the positivist notion that a multiple data source is superior to a single data source (Silverman, 1985 in

Cohen et al., 2007 p.143), does not ensure consistency or replication (Patton, 1980 in Cohen et al 2007 p.144), does not bring objectivity to the study, reduce bias or increase validity (Fielding & Fielding, 1986 in Cohen et al., 2007 p 144), this study can be replicated through methodological and theoretical triangulation. Different methods are used in methodological triangulation to study the same object (Cohen, 2007). A survey, classroom observations and focused interviews were employed in this study. A different set of methods, such as focus group discussions, different types of surveys (confirmatory, exploratory, descriptive, and analytical), interviews and case studies, in whatever combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, could be used to replicate the study. The study could be replicated by using theories other than the ones used in the present study to answer the research questions.

The between-methods triangulation, i.e. using more than one method to unravel a research puzzle, is strong on concurrent validity. Using video-recordings for classroom observations would strengthen internal validity because they capture accurately what goes on in classrooms. External validity could be improved by drawing representative samples in a quantitative design such as a survey. In the qualitative aspect of the design, the focus would not be on the representativeness of the sample, but on comparability and transferability or applicability of the findings to other situations. To ensure content validity in both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the design, the researcher would have to ensure that items or questions were sampled carefully. Constructs such as “sense-making” and “language policy implementation” would have to be articulated carefully to ensure that construct validity was not compromised. Within criterion-related validity there are two forms of validity: predictive and concurrent validity. The former refers to a situation in which the first round of research correlates highly with data acquired at a later date, while the latter refers to correlation between data acquired through two different instruments. Criterion-related validity could be guaranteed by making sure that the instruments used addressed the same issue.

The advantages of triangulation are that it avoids “methodological parochialism or ethnocentrism” (Smith, 1975 in Cohen et al., 2007 p.143) and avoids problems associated with “method-boundedness” (Gorard & Taylor 2004 in Cohen et al., 2007 p.142). Triangulation gives the

researcher more confidence about his/her findings when contrasting methods of data collection have been employed (Cohen et al., 2007).

5.9. Conclusion

This study presented teachers' perspectives on the language question in post-apartheid South Africa. It highlighted how South Africa's colonial history and apartheid contributed to the promotion of English and the devaluing of African languages, despite their extensive use in rural and urban contexts to make content accessible to learners. The study also brought to the fore the far-reaching consequences of using an L2 as an LOLT, viz. constrained classroom interaction, lack of proficiency and creative qualifications, passive learners, and learners' inability to use English as a communication tool to promote understanding and construct new knowledge.

The tension that exists between English and African languages in post-colonial countries will remain unresolved for a very long time in African education, if language policy architects, parents and influential others in these countries turn a blind eye to the negative and limiting effects of English linguistic imperialism on African countries. English, which is only one of the many languages in South Africa, is spoken by only 8,2% of the population (Makalela, 2005:155). Indigenous languages, which are spoken by the majority of the South African population, must be positioned, promoted and used for various purposes by those for whom they are first/home languages. This was possible with Afrikaans and history can only repeat itself if present-day African governments commit resources to the promotion of these languages.

Post-colonial democracies are faced with massive development challenges and a sound education system is one of the strategies that could be used to address development issues. It is for this reason that they must by all means avoid sentencing the majority of African learners to a life of under-achievement, failure and mediocrity by educating them mainly in an L2. The challenge for the South African government is to turn the tide of under-achievement in black education by educating learners in languages in which teachers and learners are proficient. The spin-offs would be improved classroom interaction and achievement levels, with learners going through similar academic experiences, improved proficiency, adaptability and creative qualifications in the home language and the L2, and teachers and learners enjoying the teaching-learning experience.

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LIST OF APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1 : CONSENT LETTERS



Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Botha Sigcau Building * Office No. 39 * Ground Floor * Mthatha * Private Bag X5003 * Mthatha * 5099
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA * Tel: +27 (47) 502 4269 Fax: +27 (47) 531 3535 * Website:
ecprov.gov.za * Email: bjela@otpoprd.ecape.gov.za Date: 01 March 2007: Enq: Mr T.D. Jombile

F.N. Mashiyi
Walter Sisulu University
MTHATHA

Dear Mrs. Mashiyi

Your letter dated 23/02/2007 Refers.

I have pleasure in informing you that your application to conduct research on implementation of medium of instruction in our schools has been approved.

For your information please note that Mthatha District has 56 Senior Secondary Schools, forty six (46) of which are public schools and the rest being privately run schools. These schools are located within fourteen circuits, the latter which are managed by Circuit Managers. I believe it would assist you a lot to furnish the circuit managers with the itinerary of your intended visits before you actually going to schools. This will help you determine which days are most suitable for your sessions.

Let me wish you an eye opening session and I hope that as you have already indicated, the Department of Education will put to your findings and recommendations to effective use.

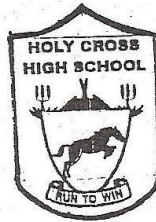
Yours faithfully


DISTRICT DIRECTOR



HOLY CROSS HIGH SCHOOL

Phone: 047—537 0956
Fax: 047— 537 0956
E-mail: holycross01@telkomsa.net



101 CHIEF JOJO DRIVE
SOUTH RIDGE PARK
MTHATHA
5099

Date:

23/05/2007

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to confirm that Mrs Mashiyi has been to our school seeking permission to conduct her research.

She has explained to me and to the educators the purpose of her research and how she intends conducting it.

I have pleasure in informing you that her application to conduct research in our school has been accepted.

Signed:

**M.T. BETELA
PRINCIPAL**

23

M.T. Betela



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA



JUMBA SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

PRO PATRIA LABOREMUS

P.O.Box 350, MTHATHA, 5099
EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA
TEL: (047) 536 8384

Dear Mrs F.N. Mashiyi

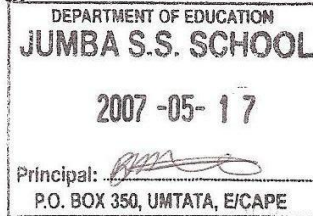
The Management of Jumba senior secondary school acknowledges receipt of your letter dated 25 April 2007 to conduct research in the area of MOI policy formulation.

As a school we regard your initiative as a very important step. We also think that improvement strategies that may possibly come out of the study would assist our school as well.

Finally , our school thanks you for selecting us as respondents in your study – we feel honoured , indeed.

Yours in Education – service

B.M. Tshirana (Principal)



APPENDIX 3: FOCUSED INTERVIEWS

The purpose of the focused interview is to make a comparison between the teachers' interpretation of MOI policy, and their language behaviour /practices in the teaching-learning situation. The interview will yield information on the attitudes, beliefs, motives and rationale underpinning the teacher's choice of language during lesson delivery.

Further questions will be developed from the data collected through classroom observations. The following are only tentative questions that the researcher might ask:

1. In your view, which language(s) should be employed as MOI at high school level? Explain your choice.
2. *I've noticed in the classroom observations that you employ both the HL (isiXhosa) and English for teaching. Can you explain why?*

I've noticed in the classroom observations that you employ English only as a medium of instruction. Can you explain why?

3. (a) Would you say that your classroom language practices are a reflection of the current MOI policy provisions and expectations?
(b) Motivate your answer.
4. What impact does/do your language(s) practice(s) have on your learners?
5. What challenges, if any, are teachers faced with in the implementation of the current MOI policy at high school?
6. What solutions would you propose to counter the problems you have identified?
7. Are there additional comments you would like to make on the topic?



23.

Walter Sisulu University
Zamukulungisa Heights
Private Bag x6030
Mithatha
5100
25 April 2007

The Principal

Dear Sir/Madam

APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR SCHOOL

I am conducting research on medium of instruction (MOI) policy implementation in rural and urban high schools in the Mthatha District. Your school was randomly selected to participate in the study.

This letter serves to ask for your permission to conduct the research using Grade 10-12 teachers at your school as subjects. The study involves *John*

- Conducting a survey, i.e. administering a questionnaire to teachers in the selected Grades in your school to determine how they interpret and understand medium of instruction policies.
- Observation of teachers during lesson delivery to establish their classroom language practice.
- Conducting focused interviews with selected teachers to find out why they implement the policies in the ways evident in the classroom observations.

The value of the study lies in the fact that the results of the study could be used to inform policy makers on how current medium of instruction (MOI) policies translate into practice. Research-based findings would help policy makers fine-tune the policies. By participating in the study, your school would be contributing immensely to current debates on medium of instruction in developing countries.

Participation in the study is voluntary and participants can withdraw from the study at any stage of the research should they wish to do so. The identities of the teachers who will participate in the study, as well as the name of your school will not be disclosed in the report.



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Kindly indicate whether your school will be available to participate in the study or not, and then sign the letter in the space provided for you.



☒

1. I would like my school to participate in the study.

☐

2. I would ~~not~~ like my school to participate in the study.

Signed:  2007-05-21

Date: 
Principal: 
P.O. BOX 350, UMTATA, E/CAPE

Yours sincerely

F. N. Mashiyi



NOZUKO SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

15 KALANE CRESCENT
IKWEZI EXT.
MTHATHA 5099

PHONE: (047) 5329895
FAX : (047) 5329895

PRIVATE BAG X 5067
MTHATHA
5099

29 May 2007

The Chairperson
The Ethical Clearance Committee
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0001

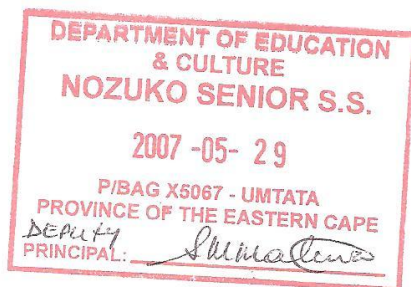
Sir Madam

This serves to confirm that Mrs F. N. Mashiyi has been permitted to conduct research on medium of instruction policy implementation at the above-mentioned school.

We hope that that your findings will be of great assistance in the Education department.

Yours Faithfully

N. P. Ngxisho
.....
PP N. P. Ngxisho [School Manager]





(Est. 1889)

UMTATA HIGH SCHOOL

Principal: Mr T. Thomas
Telephone & Fax (047) 531 2981 / 532 5855
eMail: uhs@wildcoast.co.za

P.O. Box 243
UMTATA
5099

The Chairperson
Ethical Clearance Committee
University of Pretoria

23 May 2007

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Research of Mrs. N. Mashivi

Herewith we give consent to Mrs. Mashivi to conduct her research study on Medium of Instruction in our school. The stages were explained to the teachers and they also gave their consent.

We wish her all the best in her studies.

Yours truly


SMT UHS



32.

MILTON MBEKELA SEN. SEC. SCHOOL



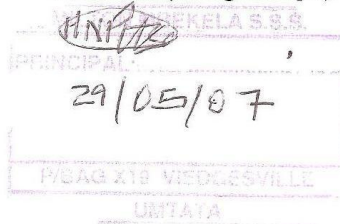
Private Bag X19
Meddlesville
5102
Tel 047-5388195
Fax

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Mrs F.N. Mashiyi of Walter Sisulu University has been allowed to conduct research on implementation of the medium of instruction in the above named institution

Thanking you in advance

Yours faithfully
H.N. Petse (Acting Principal)



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 2 : QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Grade10/ 11/12 Teacher

The present study seeks to explore how high school (Grade 10, 11 and 12) teachers in the Mthatha District understand and interpret medium of instruction (MOI) policies within their practice, how and why they implement the policies in the ways they do in the various Learning Areas.

You are kindly requested to participate in this research by answering the questions below.

1. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Name: (optional)

2. What is your home language?

1. Xhosa
2. English
3. Afrikaans
4. Sotho
5. Other (specify)

3. Which other languages can you communicate in (read, speak and write)?

1. Xhosa
2. English
3. Sotho
4. Afrikaans
5. Other (specify)

4. Which grade(s) do you teach?

1. Grade 10
2. Grade 11
3. Grade 12

5. Which subject(s) do you offer?

1. English
2. Xhosa
3. Business Economics
4. Mathematics

5. Physical Science
6. Biology
7. History
8. Geography

6. For how long have you been teaching (i.e. No. of years)?

1. 1-5 years
2. 6- 11 years
3. 12- 17 years
4. 18- 25years
5. 26 years and above

7. What is your highest qualification in the subject(s) that you teach?

1. Matric
2. Bachelor's Degree
3. Honours Degree
4. Masters

8. What is your professional qualification? 1. JSTC

2. STD
3. Higher Diploma in Education
4. University Education Diploma
5. B.Ed
6. PTC
7. Other (specify)

2. CONTEXTUAL FACTORS RELATING TO THE SCHOOL

2.1 Name of School at which you are currently
teaching:.....

2.2 Where is your school situated?

Tick in the correct box

1. Urban ☐

2. Semi-urban ☐

3. Rural ☐

2.3 What are your learners' home language(s)

1. IsiXhosa ☐

2. English ☐

3. Se-Sotho ☐

4. Afrikaans ☐

2.4 Which language(s) are spoken in the area in which your school is situated?

1. IsiXhosa ☐

3. Se-Sotho ☐

2. Afrikaans ☐

4. English ☐

3. QUESTIONS RELATING TO MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION (MOI) POLICY INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Indicate the applicable response by putting a tick in the relevant block.

3.1 The current medium of instruction policy (MOI) guarantees the use of all eleven languages in South Africa as media of instruction.

1. True ☐

2. False ☐

3. Don't know ☐

3.2 Does the medium of instruction (MOI) policy allow the teacher to code-switch i.e. the simultaneous use of more than one language as MOI during lesson delivery?

1. Yes ☐

2. No ☐

3. Don't know ☐

3.3 What is your school's language policy? (i.e. language(s) that teachers in your school are expected to use for teaching.

1. English only, no other language is permitted for teaching and learning.

2. English and any other language that the learners and teacher share.

3. The learners' home language mostly, and some bit of English

☐☐☐

3.4 Which language(s) do **you** employ **most** when teaching the subject(s) that you offer at your school?

1. English-only

2. English and learners' home languages

3. The learners' home language(s) and English

3.5 Why do you employ the language(s) you have selected in **number 3.4** above?

.....

.....

.....

3.6 Indicate the language(s) **you often use** to do the following. Put a tick in the relevant column.

	Xhosa/Se-Sotho	Eng	All Xhs/Sot/Eng
1. Paraphrase a point			
2. Translation			
3. Clarify or elaborate on a point you have been teaching			
4. Word substitution			
5. Emphasize something			
6. Stimulate a discussion/engagement with the topic			
7. Repetition/reformulation e.g. repeat a question			
8. Promote understanding of the content			
9. Variation/elaboration			
10. Check the pupils' understanding of the subject matter			
11. Giving exercises/assignment homework			
12. Correct or develop learners' language			
13. Encourage learner participation in the lesson.			
14. Encourage learners to explain things to one another			
15. Build learner confidence			
16. Give special information e.g. make an announcement			
17. Address a serious issue			
18. Maintain discipline e.g. admonish a pupil			
19. Teachers' response to non-verbal behaviour			
20. Correct/develop learners' language			
21. Allow pupils' to explain things to one another			

3.7 Do you switch between languages when delivering your lessons?

a) Yes

☐

b) No

☐

c) Sometimes

☐

3.8 *If your response to Q 3.7 above was (a) or (c), then respond to the following statements by putting a tick next to the appropriate responses. Skip this question and answer no 9 if your response was (b) in No.3. 7above.*

I code switch for the following purposes:-

1. To make up for my pupils' lack of English language skills.

☐

2. Some English words are new /unfamiliar to the pupils.

☐

3. Clarify/paraphrase a difficult point for my pupils.

☐

4. When I can't think of an appropriate English word to use.

☐

5. To facilitate concept development i.e. help learners understand content.

☐

6. When I cannot present a point successfully in English because I lack the necessary vocabulary.

☐

7. I code switch for no specific reason.

☐

8. Excluding other languages, particularly in education, would not be in line with the country's Constitution.

3.9 Answer question 9 only if your response to Q. 3.7 above was (b)

I use **English only** during lesson delivery and when conducting assessments for the following reasons:

(Please tick all applicable responses)

1. As a subject teacher, I am the primary role model of English for my pupils ☐
2. To help my pupils understand the register (i.e. vocabulary used in the subject) of the subject that I teach. ☐
3. Examinations are in English only ☐
4. Parents expect their children to be taught in English ☐
5. Our school has chosen English as a medium of instruction (MOI), and I have a ☐ obligation to observe this.
6. I do not know my learners' home language(s). ☐
7. I speak English only and was trained to teach my subject area in English. ☐
8. Indigenous languages cannot be employed as media of instruction as they do not have the necessary vocabulary to teach some of the subject(s) e.g. Mathematics and Science. ☐
9. In most tertiary institutions in South Africa, the medium of instruction (MOI) is English. ☐
10. The world of work demands high proficiency levels in English. ☐

11. English is the only language that can serve as a medium of instruction (MOI) in Africa.

12. Textbooks and other resource materials used in schools are written in English.

13. English is an international language.

14. South Africa is a multilingual country, and English facilitates communication among people who speak different languages.

15. Although my students and I speak the same LI (mother tongue), I cannot use it successfully as a medium of instruction MOI because of my limited vocabulary.

16. Other, (please specify):.....

.....

.....

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