



Township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in
English Home Language classrooms in two selected
ex-Model C schools in Johannesburg

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fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Education Master's degree

by

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DECLARATION

I, **Nomfundo Nene**, a registered student at the University of the Witwatersrand with student number **876018**, pledge that the assessment task that I am submitting as part of **EDUC7030** is entirely my own work, except where I have indicated that I obtained information from other sources, such as books or internet sites (where allowed). I pledge that I have not consulted with anyone else, including other students, while completing the assessment task or copied information from any source without referencing it.

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Signed: *N. Nene*

Date: 5 July 2021

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--|
| CAPS | Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement |
| DBE | Department of Basic Education |
| EHL | English Home Language |
| FAL | First Additional Language |
| FET | Further Education and Training |
| GDE | Gauteng Department of Education |
| HL | Home Language |
| SAfE | South African English |

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My family and friends

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DEDICATION

To everyone trying to achieve a greater future for South African
education

ABSTRACT

“Language is used not just as a tool for the exchange of information, but as a symbolic system with the power to create and shape symbolic realities, such as values, perceptions and identities through discourse” (Kramsh, 2002, p. 118).

Several attempts have been made to examine how township learners negotiate their identities in language classrooms. McKinney (2007; 2013; 2014) has conducted studies on learners from township contexts in ex-Model C schools. However, her studies have been focused on how township girls in ex-Model C schools negotiate their identity. This study focused on how township learners with a special focus on both boys and girls negotiate conceptions of themselves with the assumption that the township context provides a huge cultural transition for township students into ex-Model C schools, which has significant implications on their conceptions of who they are. Not only does the academic knowledge they acquire in these schools impact on their identities but also the culture in which this knowledge is conveyed has the capacity to influence them. The purpose of this paper was to understand how township learners negotiate their identities in English Home language classrooms found in ex-Model C schools.

This study drew on the post-colonial theory to understand how learners negotiate their identities in an English Home Language (EHL) classroom. Post-colonialism aims at critiquing “colonial domination and the legacies of colonisation” (Lomba, 1998, p. 12). In order to explore the legacy of colonialism in EHL classrooms, this study used Bhabha’s (1994) concept of hybridity as a framework which argues that the mixing of cultures creates a hybrid of expression of culture and belonging which poses a challenge to students’ conceptions of themselves. A qualitative research method was then used to understand learners’ conceptions of themselves.

To understand how learners negotiate who they are, this study used semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Purposive sampling was used to select participants that hold characteristics of living in the township and experience the township culture but encounter white culture in the school context. To analyse the data, participants’

reponses were profiled in a table to enable coding within responses of each question. This allowed the researcher to identify commonalities amongst the responses of the participants as well as responses that were not common but showed difference in perspective. All key words led to the development of themes.

The major finding revealed that learners want to learn EHL as it comes with economic opportunities; however, learners experienced cultural difference as a hinderance and challenge in learning the subject. The study further revealed that both boys and girls experienced changes in behaviour when learning EHL which included the desire to assimilate in accent and attitude. These results revealed that hybridisation is a threat to African culture and ways of living. Further, hybridisation was only experienced by a group of learners from the township cultures and those groomed in urban contexts did not experience convergence of cultural differences. This study recommends that English should be redefined in the South African context in order to allow South Africans to own the language as theirs rather than the language being the language of the coloniser. Not redefining English poses the risk of losing African culture and development of African languages as learners do not view their African languages and the English language as equal languages. The study also recommends that ex-Model C schools offer both English Home Language (EHL) and First Additional Language (FAL) to enable learners to study their home languages at home language level which will improve the appreciation of African culture amongst the youth.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand township learners' conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language (EHL) classroom in ex-Model C schools. The study was based on the assumption that the township context provides a huge cultural transition for township community students into ex-Model C schools, which has significant implications on their conceptions of who they are. Not only does the academic knowledge they acquire in these schools impact their identities, but the culture in which this knowledge is conveyed also has the capacity to influence them. This is more so in the English language which is the medium through which they are inducted into the forms and bodies of knowledge. However, the township learners also bring in a particular concept of who they are from their homes. It is the clash of these two ways of life - one modern and western while the other is considered traditional and often backward - which this study sought to understand. The question worth investigating was how these learners come to perceive themselves at a point when these two seemingly different cultures come into contact. Are they suddenly transformed into new beings? Do they resist and remain as they are? Do they try to balance and find a compromise between the two cultural values? Studies on understanding identity changes of high school girls from a post-colonial perspective which focus on girls in English home language classrooms have been carried out in South Africa (McKinney, 2013). This study sought to extend our understanding of identity of both township boys and girls in ex-Model C EHL classrooms. This is important as both boys' and girls' understanding of who they are happen in the process of their interaction. Gender as an identity is actively constructed, in this case in the context of learning English Home Language.

1.1 Background of the study

For two years I have taught EHL in an ex-Model C school located in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. My observation during this experience has been that the ex-Model C school is flooded with learners from township communities who think that

ex-Model C schools provide better and quality education. This is the trend and assumptions of many parents from township communities who send their children to ex-Model C schools. The assumption that ex-Model C schools provide better educational opportunities has its origins in the apartheid era as the schools were well resourced with qualified teaching staff, and state of the art learning facilities such as libraries and laboratories which in comparison with township schools was a huge gap. In short, education provided to the white race was far superior than that provided to the blacks in township and rural schools. Post-1994, the education policy of desegregation in South Africa has led to an influx of learners from township schools into ex-Model C schools due to the parents' search for quality education in such well-resourced schools. This is happening all over the country where black middle class parents who can afford the financial expectations of the schools ensure that their children attend better schools as this comes with better opportunities later in the children's life.

This study explored how learners from the township communities negotiate conceptions of themselves in an EHL classroom in ex-Model C schools at grade 10 level. This study claimed that language is embedded in culture and culture is embedded in language, which then poses a challenge for learners from township contexts who have to learn English at home language level in ex-Model C schools. How then these learners negotiated their identities given their township background and their context of learning was of interest in this study.

1.2 Problem statement

In my two years of teaching English Home Language in high school I have witnessed learners' constant struggle with the content taught in the EHL subject as learners do not speak the language at home but yet are expected to learn and engage with it at home language level. The Department of Basic Education (DBE) (2018a, p. 8) contends that EHL "provides for language proficiency that reflects the mastery of basic interpersonal communication skills required in social situations and the cognitive academic skills essential for learning across the curriculum". Stated differently, the subject at this level assumes that basic communication skills have been mastered adequately that a learner is able to communicate successfully in different social situations. The second crucial factor mentioned by the Department of Basic Education

in explaining the subject is that home language level provides a learner with aesthetic, imaginative and literary skills to empower learners' existing understanding so that they can recreate the society they live in. I begin this study with a hypothesis that township learners' constant struggle to engage successfully with EHL is not just a challenge of mastering content and skills acquisition, but rather a more complex problem of trying to negotiate and acquire a different and distinct culture and values which are inherent in the learning and teaching of EHL. As these learners come from the township context, they are not exposed to the culture of English and some have been studying English as First Additional Language (FAL) in their primary education.

The option of studying English at FAL level is provided for non-native English speakers. FAL level English has a lower standard of conceptual demands and different learning objectives compared with the home language curriculum which assumes that learners must have achieved basic communication adequately for them to interact in different contexts. The aims of FAL are to enable learners to acquire the language skills required to communicate in different contexts as well as across the curriculum to enable critical thinking across a wide range of texts. DBE (2018a, p. 8) explains that "the First Additional Language level assumes that learners do not necessarily have any knowledge of the language when they arrive at school." With this assumption, the result is that the curriculum is presented with a view to providing academic support as learners are first taught the ability to understand and speak the language with the aim of improving their communicative skills in the language orally as well as in written form. Despite the academic support mentioned above, learners still struggle to understand the subject. The DBE (2018a, p. 8) has commented that most learners at Further Education and Training (FET) level are not proficient in the subject even though it is provided at FAL level. This is a challenge for learners' preparedness for higher education and training as well as grade 12 standards of learning and teaching. Most often the reasons for learners' failure have been attributed to overcrowded classrooms, lack of resources as well as inadequate training of teachers which can limit the successful implementation of the curriculum as prescribed, leading to lack of academic support for learners (DBE, 2018b; West & Meier, 2020; Mlachila & Moeletsu, 2019). Due to learners' lack of communication skills across the curriculum contexts they remain unprepared for higher standards of the language caused by constraining learning conditions. This then leads to a common belief amongst parents and

previously marginalised communities that EHL prepares learners adequately for higher education as learners find themselves in enabling conditions of learning.

Though EHL prepares learners adequately for higher education, it is still crucial to note that as learners try to master the intended curriculum of standard EHL, they also negotiate their cultural and linguistic identity issues, which is a problem that this study aims to evaluate. The school and home contexts of these township learners present competing and often conflicting cultural norms. For example, when these learners go back into the township they are labelled 'coconuts', a term referring to people who seem to be losing their township black identity under the influence of these urban schools. McKinney (2007) argues that "the 'coconut' labelling practice is a reflection of the discourse of race in South Africa which challenges and destabilises existing understandings of race as produced by the apartheid government and further aim at monitoring racial boundaries" (p. 25). This means that 'coconut' labelling aims at questioning notions of white culture, language and behaviour as being superior to the black culture as people who speak like white people, mostly speak English and also behave like white people are labelled negatively as a way of shaming them for rejecting who they are. Even when the issue of identity is noted, as in the case of the 'coconut label', a unitary and stable notion of identity is assumed. Working with the notion of post-colonial theory (Bhabha, 1994), particularly the concept of hybridity which suggests multiple and unstable and at times conflicting identities, this study aimed to explore the issue of language and identities among township learners in ex-Model C schools in Johannesburg. It may not be that all township learners accept the coconut label, but it is still of great interest that learners use the 'coconut' labelling practices amongst themselves as it highlights their contentment and pride with their black identity. This study further argues that it is important to preserve black culture; therefore the consequences of not doing so will lead to a generation of black youth that does not know who they truly are.

1.3 Rationale of the study

As mentioned earlier, McKinney (2007; 2013; 2014) has conducted studies on learners from township contexts in ex-Model C schools. These studies have mainly focused on township girls in ex-Model C schools. They show how female learners negotiate their identity in language classrooms by providing evidence that some learners reject the dominant culture conveyed through the medium of instruction while some learners embrace a hybrid culture of their home and that of the school.

Other studies have also focused on boys and literacy, even though not much research has been done in that field within South Africa. For example, Alloway (2000) in his study within the Australian context discovered that there is a need for teachers to recognise “tensions between demands for performing masculinity and the demands of school literacy” (p. 337). Stated differently, this means that boys experienced a challenge with their masculinity practices while having to keep up with the demands of school literacy. In line with the same understanding, Qin’s (2018) study conducted in America found that there is a need for boys’ internalised notions of masculinity to be challenged when it comes to language learning.

This study examined township boys’ and girls’ identity negotiation in a language classroom in former Model C schools in the context of South Africa. This focus, which combined both boys and girls, is likely to yield new knowledge and insights into how race and gender mediate identity formation in language learning and teaching. Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1968) has argued that English language learning is not a neutral exercise but involves significant cultural and identity embodiment. In *Decolonising the Mind* (1986, p. 4) he puts forward that, “The choice of language and the use of language is central to a peoples’ definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe.” This points to language as a cultural practice beyond mere learning to speak it proficiently. An advocate of the use of mother tongue as a medium of teaching and learning, Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s criticism of English in the context of African schooling is informative.

From previous studies by McKinney (2013 & 2014), race and identity are significant, while gender is assumed. On the other hand, some studies, such as Alloway (2000) and Qin (2018), have foregrounded gender alone. However, identity results from a combination of overlaying factors which includes home, gender and race, culture, age, disability and more. Language learning provides a context in which a number of factors

might interplay to form particular identities among learners. This is important in this body of knowledge if teachers want inclusive ways of improving literacy and learning in their classrooms. This is also important for not only teachers and learners, but parents and the society at large to understand which culture is embraced, strengthened, marginalised or compromised in English language classrooms.

1.4 Purpose of study

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of learners from township schools in negotiating their identity in ex-Model C schools in an EHL classroom. Bearing in mind that the EHL class presents a complete set of cultural values as compared to the culture that these learners bring from their township locations; the key research question in this study was how do learners from township schools negotiate cultural identities in an English Home Language Classroom in ex-Model C schools? Drawing on post-colonial theory, particularly Bhabha's (1994) concept of hybridity which asserts that identities are negotiated and never fixed but always becoming, thus alerting us to the concept of multiple identities, this study posed the following sub-questions:

- What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

1.5 Objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to examine township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language classroom in selected ex-Model C schools in Johannesburg.

Specific Objectives:

In order to examine township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in Grade 10 English Home Language classrooms in ex-Model C schools the study attempted to achieve the following objectives:

- To describe the identities and values which township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools
- To describe the new values and culture which the township learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools
- To explore how learners engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process in ex-Model C schools
- To identify the identities which enable and/or constrain township learners to acquire English Home Language skills.

1.6 Definition of terms

Culture:

The Oxford dictionary of languages (2021) defines culture as “ideas, customs and social behaviour of a particular people or society”. This study understands culture similarly to the Oxford dictionary but further adds that culture is shared through language and language also reflects culture, therefore the two cannot be separated.

English Home Language (EHL):

This can be explained as a language subject that reflects mastery of basic communication skills. The term is not associated with being native (home) to the language but rather the level at which the subject is offered assumes the learner has mastered the basic skills, hence (home) language.

Ex-Model C Schools:

This study understands ex-Model C schools as schools located in sub-urban areas that were previously well resourced white only schools, but post-apartheid these schools are open to anyone who can afford the fees. There is common belief that these schools still offer better education than schools in the township, which results in township learners attending ex-Model C schools.

First Additional Language (FAL):

This is a language subject that assumes “learners do not have any knowledge of the subject when they arrive at school” (DBE, 2018a, p. 8), hence ‘additional language’.

Hybridity:

This study understands hybridity as a mixture of different cultures resulting in a hybrid identity. The space where hybridisation takes place is the third space.

Identity:

This comprises background, cultural values and daily exposure. This study further adds that identity is fluid, however the direction one’s identity can move towards is influenced by what is deemed crucial by the society and the individual.

Township learners:

This study understands township learners as learners residing in a predominantly black residential area. The area could be a township which includes informal settlements as well as a city area.

1.7 Overview of research design

This study used a qualitative research approach in order to answer the research question. Ten interviews were conducted consisting of eight learners - four for each gender and two teachers. This study sought to understand learners’ conceptions of themselves using Bhabha’s (1994) concepts of hybridity and third space located in the post-colonial theoretical paradigm. This framework provided a lens to understand whether township learners accepted the English Home Language culture which comes with learning the EHL subject and rejected their own culture, or they rejected the western culture and remained with their own, or they combined the two and experienced hybridisation of their identities.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and provided details on the importance of conducting research on understanding learners’ conceptions of themselves in an EHL classroom in grade 10. In addition, this chapter has highlighted that it entails going beyond the

often cited reasons for township learners' failure which include lack of resources, overcrowded classrooms and insufficient teacher training but rather focuses on learner cultural and linguistic identity issues.

1.9 Structure of research project

CHAPTER ONE: This chapter outlined the background of the research problem by stating the problem, and stipulating the research objectives, and explained the research approach.

CHAPTER TWO: The focus of this chapter is on the literature from other research done on the topic or related topics earlier than this study. This chapter reviews the literature relating to language and culture, language and power, the gender differences in identity formation for adolescents as well as language, identity and pedagogy.

CHAPTER THREE: This chapter discusses the research methodology and the nature of the study. The theoretical framework of hybridity, which formed the basis for research instruments used in the study, is reviewed.

CHAPTER FOUR: This chapter provides the research method and design, including the sample to be used in answering the main research question.

CHAPTER FIVE: The research findings and their interpretation are presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: This chapter discusses the main findings of the study in relation to the literature as well as the framework of the study. Recommendations are made as a suggestion to improve teaching and learning of English in ex-Model C schools.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is a crucial part of research as it helps the researcher develop his or her knowledge in the field of study through discussing the relevant concepts of the research at hand. Gay et al. (2006) state that the purpose of a literature review is to “determine what already has been done that relates to your topic” and further to “discover research strategies and specific data collection approaches that have or have not been productive in investigations of topics similar to yours” (p. 1). In agreement, Hamza (2019, p. 1) argues that a literature review not only provides what has been researched and the researching strategies, but rather “it fosters a logical string of past relevant findings on a given topic that would either corroborate, refute or create a new departure.” This literature review is in alignment with the above discussion on literature reviews’ aims to discuss recent empirical studies related to the topic. Such a review helps to explore what has recently been researched as well as identify the research gap of what needs to be done. This review will provide deeper insight in understanding what has been previously researched in the area of study as well as develop crucial concepts required in answering the research question. This chapter will first discuss the relationship between language and culture then move to language and power. Then the relationship between language and identity is discussed as well as the cruciality of teachers recognising the difference in their pedagogy. Finally, the chapter looks at gender differences in identity formation for adolescents.

2.2 Language and culture

When engaging with language and culture, understanding their meaning and how they are used in this study becomes important. It can be argued that humans have always grouped themselves together for survival, developing sets of behavioural patterns. Differently stated, human beings have always been a social species; in developing sets of behavioural patterns, culture is then formed. Culture is understood as beliefs that are common and shared as well as values and behaviours amongst a group of people who live in a confined territory. Lebron (2013, p. 126) contends that:

Culture refers to society and its way of life. It is defined as a set of values and beliefs, or a cluster of learned behaviors that we share with others in a particular society, giving us a sense of belongingness and identity.

However this understanding of culture can further be elaborated; culture also entails what people think, do, what they produce and, I add, what they also feel. This elaboration is crucial for knowledge creation and storage as well as information processing within a cultural group (Lebron, 2013).

On the other hand, Kramsh (2002, p. 118) argues that “language is used not just as a tool for the exchange of information, but as a symbolic system with the power to create and shape symbolic realities, such as values, perceptions and identities through discourse”. From this view, language is viewed as a tool that creates socially shared realities and cultures. Concurring with Kramsh, Kamwangamalu (2007) affirms that language does not only form the identity of its speakers, but also identifies the social group membership of the speakers of the language. Toubert-Keller (1997) argues that “linguistic acts are acts of identity” (p. 263). This understanding is crucial as it argues that languages create identities for the speakers of that particular language.

Various authors, such as Blackledge and Pavlento (2004) and Kamwangamalu (2007), argue that the role of language in a country like South Africa is crucial as it comes from the understanding that language has been used for discrimination and empowerment as well as resistance. In a country like South Africa, also known as the rainbow nation, multiculturalism and multilingualism are inevitable, therefore hybrid identities which are complex are also inevitable as the differences range from race to different African languages. Having explained the above mentioned terms, it can be argued that the two concepts are intertwined as language expresses and creates realities which then mean that an individual carries a cultural experience that he or she expresses and recreates through language. This relationship between culture and language is important for this study as teaching English is not only teaching the language but also its culture. Therefore, how learners from a different cultural background experience learning of a different culture from theirs, which in this case is English, may shape and influence learners’ conceptions of themselves.

Previous research has looked at how learners from the township communities attending ex-Model C schools use their range of language resources and what

happens to these resources as they move from the township to the urban school (McKinney, 2014). On this view, Meshrie and Rampton as cited in McKinney, (2014, p. 4) argue that this kind of movement from township to urban schools is crossing over from township culture to ex-Model C culture which plays a crucial role in social issues and cultural issues as well as identity change. On this note, and also considering that the study was based on language learning, Kostoulas (2019) contends that one cannot put distinct boundaries between languages. This view is crucial for the study which aims to understand learners' experiences and conceptions of themselves in a language classroom with learners that cross over cultures and social contexts.

2.3 Language and power

In 1795 the British (coloniser) arrived in South Africa speaking English which was then spread by missionaries and became a dialect by 1920 as more British settlers came into the country (Bekker, 2012). The language became one of the dominant languages in South Africa as it was an official language along with Afrikaans up until 1994 when local languages were then officialised as the country adopted a multilingual language policy (Kamwangamuli, 2002). Afrikaans as a subject and language that played a critical role in perpetuating apartheid ideologies of segregation was strongly rejected post-apartheid. It is here that English took the role of Afrikaans as the language of economic activities as well as language of instruction as it was an official language during apartheid (with African languages ignored) and was associated as a language of the social elite (Silva, 1997). English continued to be questioned as some South Africans saw it as a language of the oppressor and further questioned that it largely became the language of opportunities even though only nine percent of the population is native English speakers, the majority being speakers of indigenous languages. It is such realities that led to the adoption of English as a major educational language being questioned. However, African parents encouraged their children to learn English as they believed it would give them better opportunities and further advance their personal lives.

Despite research that "mother tongue education is more effective than bilingual or second language medium" (Uys et al., 2007, p. 69), English still remains the language of learning in South Africa from grades 3 to 12. However, most important for the study is that English remains a compulsory subject in South Africa, offered at the level of

EHL as well as FAL. This means that despite English being a colonial language it still maintains its position as a powerful language in South Africa both in learning spaces (schools, universities) as well as in economic activities. Individuals who lack proficiency in the English language are systematically excluded from prominent economic activities as well as in the schooling system. Foucault (1991) contends that power is an “everyday socialised and embodied phenomenon” (p. 194). This means that physical bodies are subjugated and made to behave in certain ways, as a microcosm of social control of the wider population. This further creates behaviour and a body of knowledge and power that defines what is normal and acceptable. Therefore the relationship between the English language and power is evident as it produces certain ways of thinking which are reproduced in advocating for English as a powerful language which then influences the formation of one’s identity. Mastery of English and its values gives people access to good jobs and a better life.

The 2001 Census (Statistics South Africa, 2001, p. 5), showed that English is the home language of only 8,2% of South Africans in a diverse country with 11 official languages. The English language serves as an important language used in economic activities, education institutions, parliament as well as science and technology (English Academy, 2009, p. 1). This makes English in South Africa the language of status and also power. This then means that having the country’s education in English will definitely give a learner time to become fluent in English which is a powerful language. It is this understanding that has led to parents wanting their children to learn English at home language level as well as a language of instruction, including parents from contexts that are not exposed to the language stimuli (Barnard, 2010).

2.4 Language, identity, pedagogy and classroom content

Learners come to school having already developed a set of behaviours as well as characteristics that can influence or affect learning in the classroom. Therefore, promoting inclusivity in a culturally diverse classroom remains crucial for achieving educational equality (Cong Lin, 2019). This then means that since language encompasses culture, it consequently forges how one thinks and behaves, which then provides a sense of cultural identity for the individual. Then, to enhance academic success, teachers can use knowledge about cultural identity to create learning environments that recognise the cultural diversity of students. Leask and Carroll

(2013) have argued that teaching and learning within a multi-cultural context requires effort from both teachers and learners and further that teachers and the school have to be inclusive of all cultures and perspectives where different cultures have the opportunity to learn about each other. Therefore it is crucial that teachers recognise the need to adjust their teaching for learners of different cultures, to promote an intercultural dialogue when teaching. In advocating for inclusivity of different cultures, Pillay (2009) argues that colonialism, racism and apartheid has for years advocated for the superiority of a single culture of whiteness. Some reforms have been carried out since 1994 such as learner access to schools and admission policies, the curriculum in relation to inclusion, as well as ways in which schools govern their activities which includes parents. However; more needs to be done. Sayed and Soudien (2005, p. 124) argue that “it is important to safeguard the rights of individuals, including the right to mobilise, even around narrow sectional interests; it is equally important that the decentralised system recovers the capacity to hold individual schools to account.” This highlights the importance of ensuring that the inclusion policy remains effective by holding schools accountable should there be lack of or inconsistency in implementing the policy of inclusion. For instance, post-apartheid challenges of curriculum inclusivity of different cultures are still to be addressed, starting from teacher training level.

Ex-Model C schools provide a context where multiple cultures meet and new identities are negotiated and forged. It is then interesting when trying to answer the question of what values learners from the township bring to the EHL classroom and values they encounter in the classroom and how they view themselves within the conflicting cultures and values. Lin (2019, p. 4) argues that “cultural diversity provides people an opportunity to transcend their own ways of being and interact with others to understand and experience different ways of being.” This perspective encourages individuals to embrace rather than reject diversity as it provides opportunities of learning other languages and about other cultures. However, Lin (2019, p. 4) further notes that “difficulties arise when different identities are not necessarily compatible and have to compete with each other.” This is a challenge as it results in inequality and an even greater challenge when experienced in the classroom. On this note I maintain that diversity of cultures in the learning context does not mean that all cultures are equal. There are dominant and subordinate cultures; powerful cultures and less powerful

cultures. Township learners bring into ex-Model C schools their cultures. In the case of South Africa, there are more than 10 local languages. It can be argued that English provides that unifying language where all different cultures can communicate and understand each other. This automatically makes English a powerful language even before we consider its power in the economic world outside the schooling context.

Challenges in teaching and learning English, especially by second language speakers who have to learn the language at home language level, are one of the major causes of South Africa's low levels of literacy as other subjects are also taught in the language (Howie et al., 2017). According to a PIRLS study done in 2016, it was discovered that eighty percent of grade 4 South African learners cannot read and write and also stated that "South Africa was placed last out of all 50 countries who participated in PIRLS 2016" (Howie et al., 2017, p. 11). This means that the intended purpose of teaching English in South African schools has not been achieved, especially at home language level. One of the teachers' frustration to teach English was due to issues with resources for teaching the language as well as using it as instruction. Probyn (2010, p. 249), in his research, states that teachers and learners are "not able to communicate freely, with negative consequences for learning". One of the negative consequences is code-switching which has been highly critiqued, especially when teaching a language. Barnard (2010, p. 2) suggests that "learners who have access to English only through the domain of the school will have fewer words to express their answers to questions in the matric exam." This in line with Anyiendah's (2017) view of the importance of language exposure which shows the critical influence of learner background and how learners from township contexts are negatively affected as they lack exposure to the language. Barnard (2010) further expresses the influence of a non-native speaker educator as a disadvantage to learners as they are the ones to comfortably opt for a code-switching pedagogy as they will comprehend the explanation better than using a learner.

In Tanzania, learners learn English as a foreign language with ethnic languages as home languages, Kiswahili being the second language which then leaves English as a foreign language. One of the major challenges faced is material used to teach the language; in some cases there is a shortage of resources and in some the material is not suitable for the context. In the case of Tanzania, teachers are expected to use material from Oxford which has been written by native speakers which teachers

struggle with (Mtallo, 2015). The material does not correspond with the culture and learning environment of Tanzania as it has been written by individuals foreign to the Tanzanian context, which then makes it difficult to use the material. Another great challenge in the teaching of English in Tanzania is code-switching and code-mixing (Mtallo, 2015). Aljoundi (2013) highlights the challenges of code-switching, noting that even though it is understood as a tool of connecting the known to the unknown, its great advantage is that it improves learner participation, but the notion that it can impede learning cannot be ignored. Mati (2004, p. 22) further adds that “recent research studies provide evidence that bilingualism enhances academic success when it is additive rather than subtractive in nature.” This means that in a context where learners are taught in English but have a different mother tongue, code-switching can enhance learning if learners already have a strong development of their mother tongue. Therefore, I argue that the manner in which code-switching is used as well as the context in which it is used can either enhance or impede learning. This means that the use of code-switching does not always improve learning but can also impose challenges in learning. This calls for careful consideration of its use and the way it is used.

In understanding code-switching as a pedagogical tool in Tanzanian classrooms, Anyiendah (2017, p. 8) argues that “these learners are not given ample opportunities to practice the English language in the classroom as well as when learning other subjects because of switching from one language to the other.” It is on this note that Mtallo (2015) contends that when English is not taught in line with policy where learners are only taught linguistic skills and not a combination of communicative skills and linguistic skills, this becomes problematic as economic opportunities require communicative skills as well as linguistic skills. The other problem faced is classroom participation (Koderu, 2011). Due to learners’ lack of understanding, the language learners then do not participate in class unless the teacher allows them to speak in their home languages. In line with this view, Anyiendah (2017, p. 10) contends that “minimal learner participation can be linked to the learners’ negative attitude toward the subject which eventually leads to significant levels of underperformance in the English language.” This shows the importance of understanding learner experiences in the teaching of English as they can assist teachers to reflect on their pedagogy.

Botswana also uses English in its economic activities and teaches it as a second language with Setswana as a first language. Magombeyi and Odhiambo (2017) maintain that poverty is one of the biggest challenges in schools as there are resource shortages as well as exposure to the language, especially for learners in rural areas as well as township areas. Adeyemi and Kalane (2011) argue that language plays an institutional and social role in the community. This is an addition to Anyiendah's (2017) view that language learning requires exposure, and lack of exposure to the language is one of the challenges faced by Tanzanian learners of English. In Botswana, a report on the 2004 English examinations found that a large number of students did not understand some of the questions in the literature paper and that led to them not performing well. Another report on examinations conducted in 2008 found that learners' performance for creative writing had gone down slightly compared to previous years. This further supports the view that learners could not explain, describe, and express their own opinions and feelings. In primary level "only 21.9% of the pupils tested reached the competency level in literacy in English domains" (Adeyemi & Kalane, 2011, p. 120). This means that learners are facing various challenges in the learning of EHL despite it being an important subject aimed at preparing them for corporate world which also empowers them not only for their country but globally. In the South African context, Barnard (2010, p. 2) asserts that "learners who have access to English only through the domain of the school will have fewer words to express their answers to questions in the matric exam." This highlights the importance of exposure in language learning. One can argue that media exposes learners to the language; however, it is crucial to note that the language media expose learners to is informal English consisting of colloquial and slang language which can further place learners at a disadvantage in the classroom. Barnard (2010) further expresses the influence of a non-native speaker educator as a disadvantage to learners as they are the ones to comfortably opt for a code-switching pedagogy as they will comprehend the explanation better than using a learner.

The DBE (2018b, p. 4) argues that "the curriculum promotes knowledge in local contexts while being sensitive to global imperatives." This means that even though English is taught at home language level the content provided in the curriculum relates with the context of its learners. This can be seen with novels and poems written locally discussing local challenges such as the poem by Fazel Johannesburg titled 'a young

mans' thought before June 16'. The study acknowledges this; however, argues that the intersectionality in which township learners are positioned influences their identity and the study examined how township learners negotiated the differences placed in one context.

This literature shows that despite the need for learners to learn a language of power and opportunities, effective pedagogy for township learners who do not speak the language at home still remains questionable not only in South Africa but across the African continent. Resources required to teach the subject also remain a challenge. Code-switching in the South African context still remains a challenge as how it is used remains the critical part of this pedagogic style of teaching. Learners from the township are also exposed to a great amount of informal English which further contradicts the formal standard English they are expected to learn in the language classroom.

2.5 Gender differences in identity formation in adolescence

Before discussing the gender differences in identity formation in adolescents I will first discuss the crucial context in which both teenage boys and girls find themselves in. There is a clear impact on adolescents' identity formation by the school environment. Verhoeven et al (2019) argues that schools and teachers may 'unintentionally' impact adolescents' identity through selection, differentiation, teacher expectations, teaching strategies as well as peer norms. They further argue that the content, tools, norms and values presented by the school lead to development of adolescents' self understanding which can inform the adolescents current decisions as well as future goals. On understanding identity a study done by Lie (2017, p.88) revealed that "language is a site of identity discovery and transformation" from this research Lie discovered that Indonesian learners' identities were continuously being constructed and reconstructed as they were learning English. This finding was important for this study as it revealed that the identity of teenagers is influenced and shaped by the encounter with a different language/culture.

Gender is one of the key definers of identity, especially among school children. There has been a dominant view which maintains that girls and boys think and behave differently due to their biological make up which is beyond socio-cultural issues (Jantz, 2014). Further to that, Sandhu and Tung (2006, p. 29) explains that "adolescence is a pivotal stage for identity formation, as during this stage, intellectual, emotional,

physical, and societal factors are sufficiently present both to allow and demand that identity issues be dealt with.” Thus, the adolescent stage becomes a critical phase for young children in understanding and discovering themselves. Erikson (1963) argues that both boys and girls experience a crisis between identity and role confusion. This is stage five of psychosocial development, experienced during teenage years, where identity is formed through exploration; an inability to create an identity for self within a society results in confusion and poor sense of self. This means that teenage years are fundamental in identity development even though identity development continues beyond the adolescent stage. Further, trying to understand identity development, Marcia (1980, as cited in Sandhu and Tung , 2006) has identified four identity statuses to be used to further understand identity formation, namely, identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion. Identity achievement status refers to when an individual is experiencing a crisis and then makes firm commitments. In contrast to identity achievement, diffusion occurs when the individual experiences a lack of commitment. Foreclosure status refers to when an individual has made commitments but has not had a crisis and this is due to parental influence. Lastly, the moratorium status is when the individual is continuously and actively involved in an identity crisis. Within the Indian context of this research, Sandhu and Tung (2006) found differences amongst gender formation between girls and boys, highlighting in her findings that girls scored higher on moratorium status as well as identity achievement. This means that girls first experience a crisis and are able to obtain certain understanding, then achieve an identity from that understanding. Even though these may have been the findings, it is crucial to note that identity cannot be achieved as it is a continuous negotiation in relation to multiple ideas of society. Boys scored higher than girls on diffusion which is lack of commitment to an identity practice. This means that boys remain more fluid than girls to multiple practices but do not aim to commit and achieve a particular identity. Sandhu and Tung’s research was conducted within the context of career, politics and religion. This can be helpful when attempting to understand language learning by understanding behavioural patterns by both boys and girls in identity formation. Based on the findings, the study concluded that girls experience better identity formation processes than boys as they achieve an identity.

Sandhu’s and Tung (2006) framework of four identity statues are useful as analytic categories to understand particular episodes in township learners’ experiences in an

EHL classroom. However, Sandhu and Tung's notion of a commitment status assumes a stable and fixed identity, which runs contrary to post-colonial notions of a hybrid and conflicting identity. 'Committing' to an identity is problematic as identities are fluid and in constant formation. Thus for this study it was interesting to find out how language learning and identity formation is experienced by adolescents and challenges that come with 'committing' to an identity.

Another recent research by Hoffman (2017) aimed at studying identity development amongst adolescents in French schools with a European origin as well as African French adolescents from North Africa over a period of four years. It was discovered that boys experience more pressure compared to girls to conform to gender expectations, which contrasts with Sandhu and Tung's (2006) finding. This finding was interesting for this study which aimed to understand in the South African context how learners negotiate identity in language classrooms. Building from these studies, my study will provide new insight on how boys in conjunction with girls negotiate their identity in an EHL classroom.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review has reflected on the powerful position of English in South Africa which affects the curriculum since learners have to learn English in order to access opportunities. However, the study identified that learners who are not native speakers of the language struggle to learn due to resources that do not reflect learners' reality as well as pedagogy, especially code-switching, which is highly questionable and has been problematicised. Due to English being a compulsory subject, this review has revealed that previous research showed learners experiencing identity-related issues, with labelling such as 'coconut' arising within the township context. This review identified a gap where the findings from previous research focused on girls; thus this study researched both boys and girls together to understand how negotiation for both genders may be similar or differ. This review further highlighted that in some parts of the continent, including South Africa, learners struggle with learning English due to various reasons mentioned above which results in low performance from learners. To contribute to existing literature, this study examined learners' EHL learning experience from the perspective of identity negotiation.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK (CULTURAL HYBRIDITY)

3.1 Introduction

South Africa as a post-colonial country adopted English as a language of instruction in school as well as a language of communication in the economic activities of the country. Literature has shown a connection between issues of language, power and race and this study argues that learners from township communities learning EHL in ex-Model C schools come into contact with multiple cultures as the post-colonial identity is affected by interactions between different identities and cultures. Speaking about identity, Fanon (1952) argues that in the post-colony there is pressure for the African to become more like the white. Despite being in a post-colonial era, colonial ideologies and its legacy remains, leaving Africans in a position of seeking whiteness as it provides more economic opportunities. An association with black is rejected.

This study drew on the post-colonial theory to understand how learners negotiate their identities in an EHL classroom. Post-colonial theory aims at critiquing “colonial domination and the legacies of colonisation” (Loomba, 1998, p. 12). Stated differently, post-colonial theory aims at exploring the continuing colonisation in global south countries as neo-colonialism in which the historical context of colonialism still persists and is a challenge for the new leaders of the countries. Using post-colonial theory, this research focused on Bhabha’s (1994) concept of hybridity as it aimed at understanding learners’ negotiation of their identity in an EHL classroom. One can contend that post-colonialism aims at advocating for decolonisation. Post-colonialism centralises the concept of identity as it is the result of colonialism; therefore, the resistance to colonisation was relevant for the study through the lens of identity negotiation. Couze (2006, p. 43) argues that “identity is an entity that emerges in relation to an other or others; it is a plural self.” This means that identity can be shaped by colonial experience along with one’s culture and upbringing. Adding to this view, Bhabha (1994) argues that in a post-colonial context a hybrid identity emerges from the interaction of different races and cultures. This hybrid identity is not something fixed and permanent, but always becoming. The concepts linked to hybridity, which are mimicry and third space, will be further elaborated on later in this chapter. The interplay

between two cultures often results in multiple identities. In South Africa, racial difference and separation under apartheid imposed the other culture as better and superior. Through a series of educational, political as well as economic legislative laws, the blacks were consistently reminded of their subordinate position in society. In many instances the blacks accepted and internalised their servitude status. It is in this legacy of apartheid that post-colonial South Africa finds itself today. Researching how township learners experience EHL learning in a post-colony ex-Model C school will provide insight and a look into the learners' identity development.

This study assumes three categories of hybrid identity to understand learners' experience in the interaction of a black and white culture: accepting white culture and rejecting their own culture, hybrid in-between identity of black and white culture, and a rejection of a white culture. These categories are not crystal clear but overlap and also fall in between.

3.2 Hybridity

Various authors such as Subedi and Daza (2008) and Rizvi et al. (2006) agree that the purpose of the field of post-colonial studies is to question colonial domination and the legacy of colonialism. In understanding identity it is crucial to note that western culture is the culture of the coloniser, while African culture remains the culture of the colonised. This means that the colonised people's culture was inferior to the coloniser's culture dominating the colonised South. Located in the post-colonial discourse, Bhaba (1994) argues that hybridity is the mixing or mingling of Eastern and Western cultures. He maintains that the colonial experience imprints ideas of inferiority and superiority complexes of race and culture which collide with the colonised's own "displacing" it. He further argues that this encounter eventually creates a hybrid of expression of culture and belonging which challenges the beliefs and experience of the colonised (Bhabha, 1994, p. 209). Stated differently, Bhabha (1994) argues that identity does not remain static but rather fluid. In agreement, Subedi and Daza (2008, p. 5), citing Said, contend that "identities are complex constructions, are historically mediated and are discrepant ... discrepant identities are shaped by multiple cultural formations and identities continue to change as immigrant subjects travel across geographical boundaries." To add to the understanding of hybridity, one can state that identities continue to change not only across geographical space but also over time.

In understanding township learners' conceptions of themselves in an EHL classroom, this study critically analysed the cultural power relations that interact and how they influence learners' understanding of who they are.

Mimicry remains a crucial term which is closely related to hybridity as it puts forward the idea of a colonised population imitating the language, politics and culture of their coloniser. In Bhabha's (1994, p. 122) words:

Mimicry represents an ironic compromise ... colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognisable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite ... mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference ... mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal. Mimicry is, thus, the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the other as it visualizes power ... mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power intensifies surveillance and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalised' knowledges and disciplinary powers.

This quotation means that mimicry is adaptation as a way of gaining power. In post-colonialism, mimicry refers to the colonised mimicking the coloniser's culture, language and religion in order to be at an advantage when accessing power for survival purposes. However, it is crucial to note that the colonised will not be the same as the coloniser, despite the attempt. Further, the coloniser attempts to alter the colonised through dominating the coloniser's language, teaching in a colonial language, as well as through religious paths. Bhabha puts forward that there can be advantages to mimicry as it enables the colonised to have access to the same opportunities equally as the coloniser. However, the disadvantage remains that the colonised stand to lose aspects of their cultural identities. Bhabha (1994) also acknowledges that the colonised may never be the same as the coloniser, arguing that there will always be a 'slippage' which reassures the colonisers that they are above the colonised and therefore different from them and remain superior to them. In agreement, Huddart (2006) maintains that mimicry is "an exaggerated copying of language, culture, manners, and ideas. This exaggeration means that mimicry is

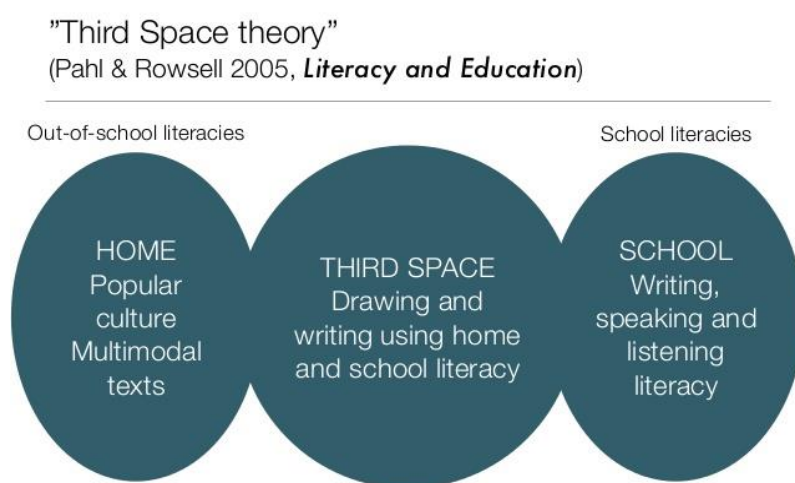
repetition with difference, and so it is not evidence of the colonized's servitude" (p. 39). This remains crucial for this study as it questions how the identity of the colonised is affected by mimicry, especially in an EHL classroom where the language, culture, ideas and values of the colonised are intentionally taught to teenagers.

3.3 Third space

Earlier in this chapter the concept of hybridity was explained as a mixture of cultures that people draw from in order to constitute their identities. In his book *Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) explains the third space as the "cutting edge of translation and negotiation between the colonizer and the colonized" (p. 38). It is a liminal space where individuals construct their identities in relation to different and often opposing systems of meaning. He argues that cultures are not dualistic where they exist separately from each other, but rather they co-exist, which opens new meaning through different interpretations. "The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space. The meaning is neither the one nor the other" (p. 53). To understand the third space concept in language learning, Pahl and Rowsell (2005, p. 65) provide a diagram that explains and captures the concept of third space where two distinct cultures are put together in the 'slippage' conceptually argued as the third space. It is in the third space where the cultures mix. One can further argue that understanding hybridity in the third space should not be confused with diversity, due to negotiation that is involved in the third space. The diagram below clearly illustrates what township learners encounter at home and what they encounter at school and placed in the middle is how the two different contexts and cultures encounter and mix in language learning.

Figure 1

Third space concept



The diagram above may be an illustration of the third space concept in the context of literacy; however, it clearly demonstrates that “hybridity is not a consequence of other, apparently 'pure' positions that have been, for one reason or another, thrust together” (Huddart, 2006, p. 23). Hybridity is rather an interaction of the two parties in the third space forming a new identity which results in them not being the same after entering the space. This interaction for Huddart (2006) is beneficial. Homi Bhabha does not argue whether the interaction is beneficial but rather contends that identity always changes and therefore will remain fluid across geographical boundaries and time. This research aimed at exploring how township learners negotiate their identities in an EHL classroom. This means that to create new meaning or identity learners borrow from home culture as well as school culture, leading to a hybrid sense of self.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical framework that was used to understand township learners’ conceptions of themselves. The concept of hybridity, third space, and mimicry were explored through a post-colonial theoretical lens from Bhabha’s (1994) perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR: OUTLINE OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study examined township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in English Home Language classrooms in two selected ex-Model C schools in Johannesburg. The main research question was: How do learners from township schools negotiate cultural identities in an English Home Language Classroom in ex-Model C schools? From the above question, four sub-questions were developed:

Research objectives:

- What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What are the new values and culture which township learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do learners engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process in ex-Model C schools?
- Which identities enable and/or constrain township learners to acquire English Home Language skills?

To address these research questions, the study adopted Bhabha's post-colonial theory of hybridity as well as a qualitative exploratory study in selected ex-Model C schools. This chapter discusses the research approach that was used to explore township learners' negotiation of who they are in an EHL classroom in ex-Model C schools. Information on the background of the study, research approach and sampling methods, participants, as well as data analysis and management are provided. The preferred research design and reasons for choosing it are explained in this chapter.

4.2 Contextual background of the study

The context of the study was Johannesburg East High schools in Gauteng province. The two selected schools were previously Model C schools; however, due to economic and political changes of democracy and readjustments in allocation of funds, the schools have turned to ex-Model C schools. They have experienced a decline in

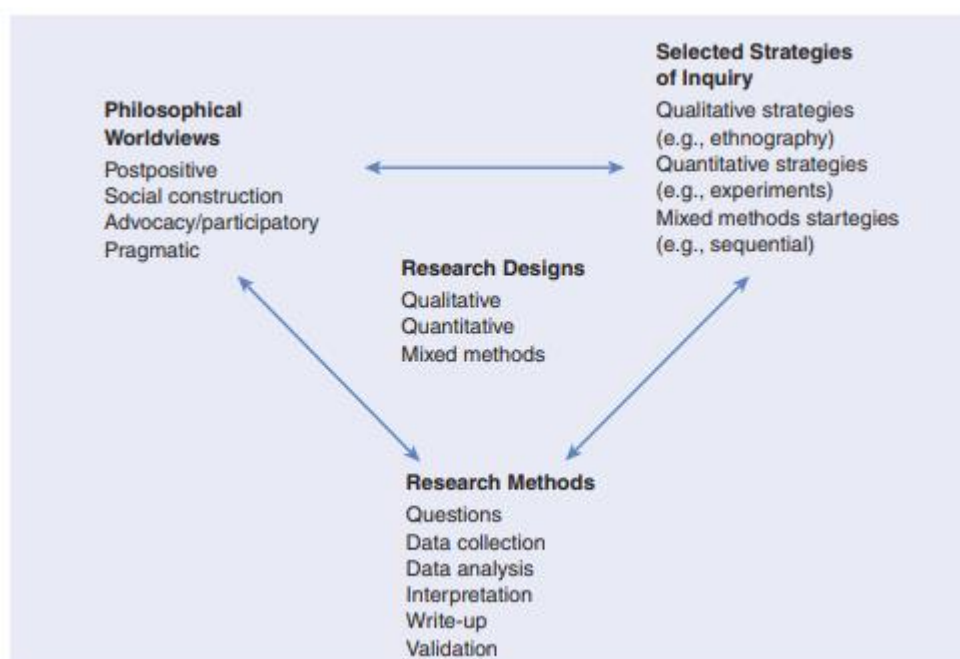
allocation of funds. During apartheid, Model C schools were funded four times more than public schools by the government as they were white-only schools. In the post-apartheid period, funding was ceased in these schools to redress past inequalities and this change in resource provision led to some resources running out. Currently, these schools have less capacity and resources compared to during the apartheid era. However, because they are located in suburban areas, they remain good schools due to their past performances in teaching and learning. Learners and parents from the township deem ex-Model C schools as better schools compared to township schools. It is for this reason township parents want their children to be in schools outside the township. This was important for the study as township learners then have to learn English at Home Language level. This study sought to understand how they negotiate their background cultural norms and the ones they find at school through first understanding the nature of the township the learners came from, which included what they were mostly exposed to.

4.3 Research Design

A research design is a framework that guides the research problem with the empirical research “procedures for collecting, analyzing, interpreting and reporting data in research studies” (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007, p. 58). Further elaborated, it “sets the procedure on the required data, the methods to be applied to collect and analyze this data, and how all of this is going to answer the research question” (Boru, 2018, p. 2). This means that a research design is a plan that provides guidelines on how a research study will be conducted. Creswell (2008, p. 5) states that “research design involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry, and specific methods.” Creswell further argues that a research design consists of a philosophical worldview, strategies of enquiry and research methods. This explanation is clearly elaborated in the diagram below:

Figure 2

A framework for research design



(Creswell, 2008, p. 5)

In order to meet the objectives of this study, a qualitative approach was used. Leedy (1997, p.195) defines research design as “a plan for a study, providing the overall framework for collecting data”. In line with the same view, Durrheim (2004, p. 29) states that, “Research design is a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution, or implementation of the research strategy.” Stated differently, the research design is the plan that guides how the entire research will be conducted, which means it acts as a framework. This research was a qualitative exploratory study as it aimed at understanding the experiences of learners studying EHL yet living in the township communities and how they negotiate their identity in an EHL classroom. Therefore, learners’ experiences which can be communicated through interviews and narratives became the core of the study.

4.3.1 Interpretivism paradigm

It can be argued that every single research consists of underlying philosophical assumptions about what is valid in its research and what is appropriate as a means of data collection. This study identified interpretivism as a valid and appropriate paradigm

due to the study being focused on learner experiences which aimed at understanding individuals' narratives about the EHL classroom experience. Interpretivism, which is often associated with constructivism, argues that reality is complex and never narrow; therefore a single phenomenon can have multiple interpretations. Creswell (2008, p. 8) affirms that "individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences ... these meanings are varied and multiple." This means that there are multiple interpretations of reality for individuals; therefore, truth and knowledge are historically and culturally situated. An interpretivist researcher looks for the "complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied" Creswell (2008, p. 8). This means that the emphasis of the research is placed on individuals participating in the research as well as how they interpret the world around them.

Interpretivism undertakes a subjectivist epistemology, where "the researcher makes meaning of their data through their own thinking and cognitive processing of data informed by their interactions with participants" (Kivunja & Kuyini , 2017, p. 33). The researcher has to engage with the participants, eliminating her own biases and assumptions to allow a deep engagement with the participants' narrative. One could further add the cruciality of the setting where the researcher engages with the participants as it plays a crucial role in understanding their experiences and therefore has to be at the participants' familiar space. Kivunja and Kuyini (2017, p. 33) further explain that the assumed relativist ontology means that "you believe that the situation studied has multiple realities, and that those realities can be explored and meaning made of them or reconstructed through human interactions between the researcher and the subjects of the research, and among the research participants." This means that the researcher understands that reality is a subjective experience. To ensure a naturalist methodology, the researcher makes use of data collected through interviews, observations, and reflective sessions, with the researcher consciously acting as an observer or participant observer to ensure there is no interference with data (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). The table below illustrates the characteristics of interpretivism as used in this study.

Table 1*Characteristics of interpretivism as used in this study*

| Characteristic | Description |
|---------------------|---|
| Purpose of research | To understand how learners from a township background negotiate conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language Classroom in ex-Model C schools |
| Ontology | <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Reality is complex and multi-layered➤ Reality is historically, culturally and socially constructed➤ Reality exists due to people's views, knowledge and experiences |
| Epistemology | <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Interpretation takes place on two levels:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Experiencing reality from the perspective of participants• Understanding participants' experiences➤ Personal interaction between researcher and participants as a means of data collection |
| Methodology | <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Data was collected through face-to-face interviews |

The key terms for interpretivist research is collaboration and engagement. Carr and Kemmis (1986, p. 88) argue that “in the interpretive approach the researcher does not stand above or outside, but is a participant observer.” This is crucial as this research did not interfere with data but I rather collaborated with the participants as an interviewer in order to get the experiences of the participants. The data was collected through face-to-face interviews with ten participants in total; eight being learners and expressing the experiences and reality of the participants in an EHL classroom.

4.4 Research Approach and Method

There are multiple definitions of qualitative research; however, Merriam (2009, p. 13) argues that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world.” A qualitative research approach consists of multiple methods of collection such as observation, interviews, questionnaires and many other forms which are non-numerical. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) contend that qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach. “This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 3). One can further add that this method is not merely about what people say and think but also about why people think and express what they are expressing about a particular phenomenon.

This study used a qualitative approach because the aim was to understand township learners’ identity negotiation in an EHL classroom. A qualitative approach using an interpretivist paradigm enables the researcher to explore the worldviews and characteristics of a phenomenon without reducing that data into numerical values (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). However, the researcher interprets and makes sense of the qualitative data in order to make meaning and make conclusions. What is then crucial and central in a qualitative study is understanding peoples’ experiences as well as behaviour from the perspective of the research participants (Mohajan, 2018). Therefore, understanding the perspectives of the participants enabled me to critically analyse how learners from township communities negotiate their identities in English home language classrooms. Data were collected through interviews with eight learners from the township in grade 10 registered in ex-Model C schools and two EHL teachers also from two selected ex-Model C schools. Due to the strict COVID-19 restrictions having been lifted, this study conducted face-to-face interviews that maintained social distancing outside the classroom as well as wearing masks and sanitising. The interviews provided insight into learners’ and teachers’ perspectives and were recorded and analysed thematically.

4.5 Research Sampling Strategy

This study used purposive sampling also known as the “judgemental, selective, or subjective method in which researchers rely on their own judgement when choosing members of the population to participate in their study” (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 22). Thus, researchers use their own expert knowledge about the population to select who participates in the study. Purposive sampling is non-probability sampling because the researcher selects the participants purposively and uses their expert knowledge to select participants suitable for the study. In this research, the participants were selected based on their experience and exposure to the township and suburban culture, and I requested the teachers who teach the learners to assist in identifying learners who would be willing to express their experiences despite their subject performance.

Purposive sampling was used to select participants that hold certain characteristics that I was looking for, which are highlighted in Table 2 below. These characteristics entailed learners who have the experience of a township culture where they speak their home language at home and white culture in the school context. The selected learners had to be learners who were willing to express their experiences. This study acknowledged that the participants needed to have particular knowledge and experience as English Home Language students, thus making it purposive. For this study learners were chosen based on their home background being the township context and studying English as a Home Language in an ex-Model C school. Learners with diverse academic performance were preferred, ranging from good to average to poor performance in the subject. In doing so the phenomenon to be studied was effectively studied as the study purposefully selected its sample. The two teachers were selected on the basis that they are qualified English Home Language teachers who were teaching grade 10 learners in an ex-Model C school. The study discovered that even though there were township learners who were exposed to the township culture, not all of them qualified to be participants as some were from the township but had been in Model C and ex-Model C schools from their primary education. The same group of learners had developed excellent EHL skills, content and culture, but even though they were from the township, they did not relate with the other group that qualified for the study.

4.6 Participants

The participants for this study comprised eight grade 10 EHL students; four being from one school and four from another school as well as one teacher per school. Each school had two girls and two boys to participate in the study. I chose to focus on four learners per school as that provided a varied narrative of identity negotiation by learners. The schools that participated in the study communicated that they received many applications from township learners. School A had 40 percent of its learners coming from the township, whilst school B had 25 percent of its learners coming from the township. Both these schools are well functioning ex-Model C schools with high fees which limits most township learners from entering the school. The study chose schools that are functioning ex-Model C schools that have a population of its learners coming from the township context. Grade 10 is the beginning of the FET phase where learners are streamed according to their desired careers; this phase is critical as learners are being prepared for higher education. Understanding learner experiences in this grade is crucial as they are in the adolescent stage and are in a critical stage of identity development. The learners were chosen according to the following criteria:

Table 2

Learner selection criteria for the study

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Level of learning English | Home language level |
| School | Functioning ex- Model C high school |
| Province | Gauteng |
| Area | Johannesburg East |
| Grade | 10 |
| Age | Adolescent (15-17 years) |
| Gender | Two boys and two girls per school |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Learner background | Township community |
| Additional information | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners spoke their home language during the interview if they were not comfortable with using English • Code-switching was allowed |

Table 3

Teacher selection criteria for the study

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Level of teaching English | Home language level |
| School | Functioning ex-Model C high school |
| Province | Gauteng |
| Area | Johannesburg East |
| Grade | 10 |

4.7 Data collection

Interviews remain a common qualitative research method for collecting data. Easwaramoorthy and Zarinpoush (2006, p. 1) argue that “interviews are an appropriate method when there is a need to collect in-depth information on peoples’ opinions, thoughts, experiences and feelings.” Stated differently, interviews allow for open-ended questions that allow the researcher to gather knowledge about the participants’ perspective of the world and how they make sense of it. There are different types of interviews such as structured and unstructured interviews. Easwaramoorthy and Fataneh (2006, p. 1) explain that structured interviews ask predetermined questions in a specific order and the interviewee is provided with answers they have to select from. Semi-structured interviews provide predetermined questions; however, the interviewees respond in their own words. An unstructured

interview, on the other hand, does not have predetermined questions, rather the participants engage in a discussion from a few broad questions provided by the interviewer. This study used semi-structured interviews as they narrow the discussion to the intended aspects of the topic while also allowing participants to express their sense of reality and how they make meaning of it. The greatest advantage of using semi-structured interviews is that they are based on open-ended questions rather than closed-ended questions. This allowed me to gain in-depth information on township learners' conceptions of themselves in an EHL classroom.

This study used the method of one on one semi-structured interviews (Appendix G and H) to interview the participants, where the interviewer and the interview schedule were crucial instruments of data collection. Interviews were recorded and I later transcribed manually. The interviews were conducted outside the classroom, with social distancing and wearing of a mask being mandatory. The learner interviews ranged from forty minutes to one hour. Interviews started with introductory questions where participants were asked questions intended to know their background and also to make learners comfortable. More intensive questions developed with the aim of collecting data. Teacher interviews were conducted outside in school B and in a classroom in school A while adhering to all COVID-19 regulations.

4.8 Data analysis

The purpose of the study was to examine grade 10 township learners' experiences of learning English at home language level in ex-Model C schools. The interview consisted of eight fifteen-year-olds who reside in the township but are in ex-Model C schools which are located in their neighbouring suburbs. In order to analyse data, interviews were separated according to gender. The first four interviews for boys were analysed and once that batch was completed I moved to the second batch of girls and the last batch to be analysed were the two teachers who were also of different genders, one being male and the other female.

In analysing the data it is crucial that the researcher avoids bias in order to present fair findings that represent a true reality of the participants which were not influenced by personal experience or opinions. Achieving this can be challenging when the collected data has to pass through the mind of the researcher before it gets on paper. Melloy as cited in Rajendran (2001, p. 3) argues that "because qualitative research requires

personal rather than detached engagement on the context, it requires multiple, simultaneous actions and reactions from the human being who is the research instrument.” In order to minimise biases, I took a stance of neutrality towards the study and used coding in order to analyse the data by highlighting the specific words used by the participants which generated findings of this research.

Research can be understood as an activity in pursuit of an answer to the research question. Wester and Peters (2001, p. 2) argue that “all steps that contribute to the formulation of an answer are, as such, analysis steps.” Therefore, a question-answer model was necessary where the question is the research question and the answer is what the researcher interprets from the data collected. Two stages of analysis took place in this study:

4.8.1 Data analysis stage 1

This study used an inductive thematic analysis which allows data to determine themes. The first step consisted of “reading the selected material from the viewpoint of certain questions” (Wester & Peters, 2001, p. 3). In order to analyse the data, highlighting the key points from each response was crucial. By doing so, I was able to identify commonalities amongst the responses of the participants as well as responses that were not common but showed difference in perspective. Those responses were coded by category with similar terms together under one theme; the uncommon and different voice was part of the second stage of analysis.

Common responses were highlighted with a similar colour as a form of coding similar ideas. Yellow was used to highlight participants’ view of language, English and their background in relation to language use; while orange highlighted language in relation to power and opportunities. Blue was used to highlight participants’ opinions on identity. However, most responses on identity overlapped and were highlighted with both colours that overlapped each other.

4.8.2 Data analysis stage 2

The second stage consisted of profiling participants as well as the questions in order to narrow down the codes. I designed a graph that reflected every question and the answer for each respondent. The table was not designed per school but for each gender with a separate one for the teachers. The table summarised the respondents’

perspectives, enabling narrowed and specified themes to develop from the responses. The tables highlighted each response for each participant per question (see Appendix J Tables 4,5 and 6). Responses could be analysed horizontally to easily identify commonalities across participants and also vertically to analyse responses per participant. It is from this level of analysis that themes were developed as it provided easy identification of recurring ideas from participants as well as unique perspectives.

4.9 Ethics

When conducting research it is crucial that none of the participants is harmed or suffer in any way as a result of the research that was conducted. For this study, it was crucial to consider the following ethical issues when conducting interviews:

- Ensured the participants were not harmed in any way
- Adhered to COVID-19 regulations
- Secure the participant's personal identifying details (Anonymity)
- Ensure the participants understand the nature of the study they were participating in.

To ensure the safety of the participants, this study provided learners with consent forms (Appendix E) that were signed by the parent as well as a detailed letter for the parent (Appendix F) and for the learner (Appendix C) explaining the nature of this study and the role of the participant. This minimised the potential risk of harm as the parent and the school principal had to give permission before the learner participated. Teachers also received a detailed letter (Appendix B) explaining the nature of the study. COVID-19 has claimed many lives and affected many people, threatening their physical health as well as mental health; the seriousness of the virus was understood and, therefore, COVID-19 rules were adhered to. I tested the temperature of the participants on arrival and also sanitized their hands. We all wore masks covering both the mouth and nose. The safe distance of two metres was kept throughout the interview either in a classroom with open windows or outside the classroom.

All participants remained anonymous and this study did not use any participants' names but rather pseudonyms such as Teacher A and Learner A (B). In this way, the participants were free to express their views without worrying about their parents or teachers, or other colleagues finding out their opinions on this topic. This further

means that all the information that the participants shared remained anonymous and was only to be shared with the research supervisor. The information was stored on a password-protected flash drive and on my Google drive which would only be accessed by myself and my supervisor. The information will be kept for five years before being deleted.

4.9 Measures to ensure trustworthiness

Streubert and Carpenter (1999) define trustworthiness as establishing the validity and reliability of qualitative research. In this study trustworthiness was maintained using the trustworthiness criteria which is dependability, credibility, confirmability and transferability. To ensure trustworthiness, all interviews were recorded, transcribed and kept safe for confirmability and credibility. Full details of the setting of where the research focused on was provided to ensure transferability. To ensure dependability all the findings of the study were interpreted and evaluated as per the data received from the participants.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data presentation and analysis of eight learner interviews and two teacher interviews. Learner participants will be presented as Learner A followed by the gender in brackets, for example learner A (B) would represent boys and Learner A (G) will represent girls as presented in the previous chapter. The interviews were conducted with the aim of answering the research questions (RQ):

RQ1: What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?

RQ2: What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?

RQ3: How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?

RQ4: How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

5.2 Themes

The study established the following themes:

5.2.1 *English as an empowering language/culture*

The findings revealed that through language culture is strengthened and further that the English culture is strengthened when it is the language of opportunities, privileged social status and better education. When learners were asked about their perceptions on learning English at home language level, as learners from the township there was consensus across the three categories of participants. Learner A (B) stated that:

I think it equips me more because like when I go to the township, the fact that like I know spoken English makes me like look smarter in a sense, but like people perceive me as smarter. So English at home language level make me smarter in a way because I can better articulate myself in English than other people in the township.

Learner A views English as an empowering subject which highly impacts his self-confidence. The learner is deemed smarter by his township peers because he can articulate himself better. This is a clear indication that the learner embraces the English language/culture as it grants him more respect from his peers. In agreement with Learner A (B), Learner B (B) highlighted that:

It was difficult at first and being introduced to other forms of English texts like Shakespeare and novels really does give you an opportunity to learn... It's a learning hurdle that we have to get through...I have no trouble in adapting to that because I was taught in an ex-Model C primary school, so I am used to advanced English until high school.

It can be argued that the two learners enjoy learning the subject: one is motivated by being seen as smart by his peers, and the other has been exposed to the subject from primary school. On the other hand, learners C (B) and D (B) did not make mention of English as empowering but highlighted that they are keen on learning the subject despite its difficulty.

Three out of the four girls contended that English is an empowering language with Learner B (G) stating that learning English at home language level is

a good thing for me because as years go by I meet different people who are in different schools so my English language or words, like the way I speak, actually is a good thing for me in the future because I don't wanna be seen as uneducated.

The learner further contended that if she did not know English she would be seen as uneducated. Learners C (G) and D (G) agreed as Learner C (G) mentioned that she enjoys learning the subject. Both teachers agreed with the learners, as Teacher A contended that English is

that one language we use every day. It's that one language that took you almost everywhere. It's that one language that helped you in your business in anything that you like in life, in anything that you're passionate about. You need to use your English to communicate with the people you're working with.

In agreement, Teacher B highlighted that

the kids are very keen on learning the language because when you go out there and can speak the language well? Well, I think it kind of puts you up there by way of status.

Out of the ten participants, eight explicitly highlighted in their responses that English is empowering, the other two boys highlighted that they are keen to learn the subject despite its difficulty. It is clear that these learners happily consume learning the English language and the values that come with it.

5.2.2 Township learners' attitudes towards the subject

All learner participants expressed an inclination to learn the subject because they argued that it provides opportunities for business, work and functioning in the world after school. This is interesting because despite Learners C (B) and D (B) expressing that the subject is difficult, they still wanted to improve their performance in the subject. This shows a positive attitude towards the subject when all participants are keen on learning the subject. Learner A (B) from school A noted that he is *"more respected because like I can articulate myself more in English"*. This view shows that English is highly valued even amongst teenagers, as one of the participants highlighted that he is well respected by his peers because he speaks English fluently.

5.2.3 Cultural differences

The study discovered that township learners encountered cultural differences and clashes in learning English at the home language level. All participants noted that in their township they are not exposed to anything that is academic; this does not mean that they are not exposed to anything that they learn at school but rather means that they are struggling to form a link between what they mostly experience at home as well as what they encounter at school. Learner A (G) stated that in the township there is *"violence, crime, partying and teenage pregnancy"* and further highlighted that

As a student, you have a lot on your plate like chores before going to school, so things like that kind of delay us. So sometimes you have to fetch your siblings from crèche, cook, clean the house, do the laundry and everything.

This shows that learners' background provides *"less school"*, in the words of Learner A (B). This means that what is taught in the classroom contrasts with what learners experience at home. However, Learner A (B) and Learner B (B) noted that they are

also exposed to different cultures, with Learner A (B) stating that he is exposed to *“different cultures and different people”*. All the girl participants highlighted that they are exposed to different languages and different cultures. In trying to understand whether exposure to different languages assisted them in learning EHL, Learner A (B) contended that *“I bring a deeper understanding because I already understand the other language so I bring deeper understanding. So English becomes easier to learn because you, already you are exposed to different languages from home.”*

Teacher B saw this as problematic arguing that

The tendency in most cases, for kids, especially when they write essays, is to imagine the story in their own language and then try to translate it into English. And that obviously creates a lot of, a lot of problems, a lot of challenges. Because when you translate, certain things aren't equivalent say in isiZulu as you'd express them in English.

This means that the teacher does not see exposure to different cultures and languages as empowering in learning the English Home Language subject, but rather sees it as adding to the challenges learners experience in learning the subject. In agreement, Teacher A noted that *“learner background has nothing to do with English.”*

Three boys out of four, as well as all the girl participants, argued that there is nothing that they can bring from home to school that can make them learn the subject better. Learner C (B) stated that *“they don't mix”*, while Learner D (G) echoed the statement by highlighting that *“they are different cultures”*. However, Learner B (B) noted that his skill of sharing stories is what corresponds with his background. In agreement, Teacher A stated that, *“In our townships, we like telling stories a lot and in English, we do that”*.

5.2.4 Identity negotiation

Accordingly, the findings have revealed that township learners do not have much that they can bring from home to improve their learning of the EHL subject. This study further discovered that township learners are in a position of negotiating their identity. When learners were asked whether learning the subject influences how they see themselves as learners, not all learner participants agreed that it changes how they see themselves. Learner A (G) highlighted that *“she only follows the rules in class”* but

further noted that *“I have to be true to who I am.”* This shows that not all learners seemed to be influenced by the subject on conceptions of themselves. On the other hand, learner B (G) stated that sometimes she feels influenced by the subject *“because if you don’t have a certain accent you just considered not to know by your peers. Adults see it as normal.”* This finding is crucial for the study as this learner argues that society has normalised a certain way of speaking and also that if you do not have a white accent you are regarded as not being smart. This statement agrees with Learner A (B) who, with regard to learning EHL, stated:

I think it equips me more because like when I go to the township, the fact that like I know spoken English makes me like look smarter in a sense, but like people perceive me as smarter. So English at home language level make me smarter in a way because I can better articulate myself in English than other people in the township.

He further expressed that *“I’m more respected because like I can articulate myself more in English.”* This means that perceptions around English deem it as a language that can gain one respect and is also associated with intellectual capabilities.

Learner A (B) further added that he is called a “cheese boy¹” when he speaks the language fluently and also because he is in a better school than his township counterparts. This labelling is symbolic of the privilege of attending an ex-Model C school as a township learner. This then shows what the learner brings from the ex-Model C school including accent - an accent that is seen as more prestigious than the township one. Unlike the coconut label which is symbolic of negotiation of one's identity and is also not well accepted when they go back to the township, the cheese boy label symbolises that one has mastered the English culture as well as his own culture, according to the participant. This is a great achievement amongst male teenagers as they can fit into both cultures without compromising who they are. The ‘coconut’ label is not well accepted as they are viewed as ‘sell-outs’; however, the cheese boy label is well accepted in township areas as most black children wish they had access to a better education, were able to express themselves in the English

¹ The ‘cheeseboy’ label is a common township term used to refer to someone who is privileged. In this study the participant highlighted being called cheese boy due to his fluency in the language which comes with the privilege of being at an ex-Model C school and further that he is not regarded as a ‘sell-out’. The participant is a great example of one that has achieved a balance between the two cultures without compromising his African identity.

language fluently and still be well accepted in the township. The same learner noted that during break at school he communicates using Tsotsi taal with his peers and not English. Tsotsi taal is a dialect of a township language consisting of English, Afrikaans and different African languages. This one boy represents a portion of other boys who have been able to understand that learning English is merely learning another culture and does not have to influence who you are and also does not deem English as prestigious but rather as another African language.

When learners were asked whether negotiation enables them to learn the subject better the same learner regarded a cheese boy - Learner A (B) did not see this as negotiation but rather as being open to learning any culture stating that

Being open minded enables me to want to learn more about English because the fact that I live in the township and there's lack of English makes me want to learn more about English...it makes me want to learn more and more, just for to secure my future.

The learner sees his openness as not only an enabler but also a motivator to learn the language subject in order to secure his future. Learners C (B) and D (B) argued that they do not negotiate who they are, with Learner D (B) highlighting that there is nothing he can bring from home to school. When asked whether negotiation enables them to learn the subject better, Learner B (B) provided a detailed response, putting forward that "Yes, it does enable one... Because if you have a neutral situation, that's when you can understand things better." This shows that the learner negotiates in order to learn the subject. However, throughout the interview, the learner argued that:

It diminishes culture when someone has to act a certain way, has to walk a certain way because one has to show what who they actually are... but whether you change it goes by what's inside the mind... because even graduates in university, some people these days don't wear suits anymore or formal suits, they wear their traditional gear with their gowns to show that it goes by what's inside the mind... the more you learn English, sometimes you're driven away from your cultures, you forget some aspects of your culture. You could get in trouble for forgetting those kinds of cultures. You have to be a hybrid. You have to know when to speak English properly, and when to accommodate your original culture especially.

This learner argues that one's native culture is important and that it can be dangerous to not know some parts of culture and further argues that one has to be able to know when to express themselves in English fluently and also when to speak their African language. However; the word choice "accommodate" is interesting in understanding the position of native languages for the participant.

All girls agreed that negotiation enables them to perform better in the subject, with Learner A (G) stating that "*If I was resistant I wouldn't have learnt anything by now, to be honest, but if I follow what they tell me to do then I progress greatly*". This despite having argued earlier that she is true to who she is. This contrast shows that the learner is in an in-between space as she tries to comprehend who she is. Even though most learner participants agreed that negotiating who they are enables them to learn better; when asked how they maintain their township identity three of the four girls explicitly stated that they compromise who they are in an English classroom. Only one girl argued that she is true to who she is.

In the boys' group, Learner A (B) stated that "*being in an English classroom changes my whole identity.*" Despite having earlier argued that he does think he is negotiating but rather is open minded. Learners C (B) and D (B) stated earlier that they try to fit in with the English context even though when asked the question they answered that they remain who they are. Learner B (B) argued that "*the new school system is supposed to have further diversity...when it comes to negotiation both races should negotiate.*" Learner B (B) argues that negotiation should come from both cultures that meet in an English classroom. On this note, the concept of negotiation is questioned by the learner as it is one sided.

Learners argued that their accents change when they speak English, with Learner C (G) highlighting that "*my tone changes*". Learner A (B) contended that when he speaks English he is well respected and deemed smart and his township friends call him 'cheese boy' because of how he speaks. This shows that culture influences learner behaviour. He further stated that:

It's like it changes my whole identity, there's no township boy in English, and I think I change... I play a certain role ... I feel like you should be like be perceived in a certain manner because like in English terms for a gentleman like you are

supposed to act in a certain manner so like in an 'English manner way' if there's such a term.

This shows the mimicking behaviour of learners in an EHL classroom.

5.2.5 Content taught in an EHL classroom

When learners' were asked whether there is any topic that they have learnt in class that makes them insecure about their background and they cannot relate to, three of the four boys highlighted that it is Shakespeare due to the language and grammar. Learner A (B) argued that

It's the paper 2 part when it came to Shakespeare, as I'd never done Shakespeare, I have never done Shakespeare in my life. So like reading Julius Caesar, the things like thy and the grammar is not like the grammar I'm used to. So like the grammar I'm reading now is like I'm reading now it's like another new level. So that's the part that showed me that I'm learning new English, a new type of English, a new culture of English, the origin of English if I may say.

It can be argued that learners found EHL challenging because they encountered Shakespearean language for the first time. However, Learner D who is a male participant provided a different book titled *The Mark*, arguing that he does not understand the book due to the language and struggles to read it at home. This view is critical for the study as it highlights that some learners find the English language challenging even with other literature - not only Shakespeare - and still find that they cannot relate to the content.

Girls also argued along the same line as boys about not relating to the Shakespearean language. Learner D (G) contended that *"most like love from Shakespeare, coming from a black family we don't experience that kind of love we learn about in the poems"*. This finding is crucial as learners highlighted that despite the language, the content also does not reflect their background and therefore couldn't relate to it. Learner A (G) highlighted that she related with the content that was close to her context stating that *"some of them are based on my township like the poem about June 16. It's there it happened so when I read it for me it takes me back. It makes me feel at home."* This clearly highlights that township learners relate to content that reflects what is relevant to their experience, history and culture. At the time when data for this study was

collected, schools were busy preparing for the June 16 historic event. The atmosphere in the townships was also tense as memories of the past were heightened.

Teacher B differed on this note, arguing for diversity in the curriculum, and stated that:

They have to understand that this is a language that Shakespeare uses. And I even go on to tell the kids that by extension, you found that the English language also adopts new words. You look at the...I think South African Oxford Dictionaries, sorry dictionaries also adopted words such as Eish, you can find it in the dictionary today. Why? Because they look at what words have come into current use and people use them, so a language evolves, certain words are dropped, and new words are adopted. And then from that perspective, it becomes relevant. And that of course, the world is not like just like our own space. The world is not about what happens in South Africa. We also need to learn about what is happening in other places, so it would make sense to do African literature, it all makes sense to do English literature. It also makes sense to do American, it also makes sense to do the Caribbean. We've even done it sometime, a novel written by someone from Afghanistan, you get to know they see this, these things, the sense of oppression that ahhh goes on between different ethnic groups. Say now, in this Islamic State, you get to know the oppression of women there, women are not allowed to enter into a stadium. See if you're seen talking to another man and you're a married woman, you could likely die because they can stone you to death. This is what the world is about. It's not only about our space, so I think it makes sense.

The teacher argued for diversity, maintaining that learners need to know what is happening in other countries as well, further noting that this increases tolerance and empowers learners, and therefore curriculum literature should remain as diverse as it is. It is therefore clear that the participants do not see identity hybridization as a threat but rather see it as an opportunity to explore other aspects of oneself.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore township learners' experiences of learning English at home language level in ex-Model C schools. This chapter discusses major findings in relation to the literature as well as theoretical framework of post-colonialism on township learners' experiences of learning English at the home language level. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study, areas for future research, as well as implications.

6.2 Overview of the study

This chapter contains a discussion that helped answer the research questions:

- What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

The preconceived problem that led to this study was that teaching of English at home language level to township learners leads to multiculturalism that can highly lead to a loss of township/black culture as learners still being teenagers are exposed to a powerful language that comes with many opportunities. This problem then led to the question how township learners in EHL classrooms negotiate conceptions of themselves. To get answers to this question one on one structured face to face interviews were conducted with eight learner participants from two different schools based in Johannesburg; four participants per gender as well as two EHL teachers. The interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed in order to identify the most

common ideas that participants expressed. The following section will discuss those findings.

6.3 Summary of the findings

Five themes emerged from the findings. Findings are discussed according to the five themes that emerged.

Table 7

Findings of the study

| Themes | Explanation |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English as an empowering language/culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language strengthens culture English is a dominant language/culture English provides opportunities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Township learners' attitudes towards the subject | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Willingness to learn the subject |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural differences | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The western culture (English) and the African culture differ |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identity negotiation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learners negotiate their identity in an EHL classroom Western culture/language overshadowing African culture/language Learners have to compromise who they are in an EHL classroom |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Content taught in an EHL classroom | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western literature (Shakespeare) Western norms and values Local content |

6.4 Discussion of Themes

6.4.1 *English as an empowering language/culture*

In understanding language, Welch and Piekkari (2006, p. 419) argue that “language is a cultural resource that reproduces the social world.” Understanding this statement in the South African context requires a critical look at the role of English in the country, especially among the black South African population. English is largely viewed as a language imposed due to the historical context of apartheid. One can argue that the continued use of English as a dominant language of communication in the public context reproduces and further maintains the dominance of the language and its culture. All participants of this study argued that they needed to learn English in order for them to communicate with colleagues and also in order to access better opportunities. It can be argued that because English is more than just a language in South Africa and rather a means to better opportunities, the subject is then compulsory as it is empowering. However, this positioning of the language subject also affects how learners see the subject - as a language of empowerment.

This study found that learners viewed English as a language of opportunities as it is used in all economic activities. This finding aligns with literature by Ndhlovu and Siziba (2018) who argue that English in South Africa is the language used in economic activities as well as in higher education. Further, that English is not only a subject but also the language of instruction. Due to the role and positioning of the language in South Africa, it serves to ensure that learners are fully competent in the English language for them to be able to participate in the world beyond school life. The Department of Basic Education (DBE, 2018b, p. 8) contends that “learning to use language effectively enables learners to acquire knowledge, to express their identity, feelings and ideas, to interact with others, and to manage their world.” The assumption is that learners are empowered when they successfully learn the English language, and adequately empowered to participate in economic activities, meaning this further supports their human rights. Khokhlova (2015, p. 985) argues that

The position of English as an international language, its adoption by the liberation movements, its widespread use in commerce and industry, and the almost exclusively Afrikaans character of government, police, and civil service during the apartheid era are all factors which have led to the perception among

many black South Africans that acquiring competence in English is highly desirable.

This societal perception has a great influence on identity development of township learners, especially those exposed to EHL. When considering learner identity, this position of English placed all learners in a position of being influenced by the subject as they contended that the subject influences how they see themselves. Learners understood that if they learn English and master the language they have more value in society and less value if they lack fluency in the language. Learning the English language relates to hybridity and the third space concept by Bhabha (1994) who argues that when two cultures come into contact a hybrid culture located in a third space emerges. In this study, most participants argued that in the EHL classroom one cannot learn and achieve great marks without aligning with the rules and values required from them which are English and, consequently, western values. Participants further stated that in an EHL classroom they have to forget who they are in order to allow learning to take place. That central point that learners have to shift towards in order to enable learning to take place is the third space. Most importantly, participants are forced to shift towards the third space as it is the third space that comes with economic and educational opportunities and advancement. Also, in this study the superior positioning of English led some learners to a hybrid identity as they mimic the white culture. Learners changed how they speak as a way of fitting into the EHL classroom culture. This aligns with Fanon's (1952) literature where he maintains that the more a black man assimilates with the cultural values of the coloniser, the whiter he becomes.

6.4.2 Township learners' attitudes towards the subject

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, English remains a dominant language in South Africa due to its role in economic activities as well as in the school context. Due to its position, English is also the language of instruction. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) argues that English in Africa is a 'cultural bomb' that further erases precolonial cultures and installs colonial dominance. He further avers that

Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other...language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves

and our place in the world...language is thus inseparable from ourselves” (p. 15).

The findings of this study revealed, interestingly, that even though English is a colonial language that is different from learners’ native cultures or languages, most learner participants are keen to learn the language due to its role in economic activities and opportunities. However, besides the economic value, English also has an influence on learners’ conception of who they are. Thus, learning English implies also negotiating a new culture and identity. Understanding learners’ positioning of themselves in relation to language and the social values they convey becomes important.

6.4.3 Cultural differences

To understand culture, Nabi (2019, p. 91) argues that “language is used to maintain and convey culture and cultural ties.” He further asserts that “everyone’s views are dependent on the culture which has influenced them” (p. 91). In a way, language expresses culture and culture forges identity. This further means that since language encompasses culture, it consequently forges how one thinks and behaves, which then provides a sense of cultural identity for the individual. Similarly, in this study cultural difference insinuated identity negotiation as most participants stated that there are no cultural values from home that they are able to bring into the classroom as they differ. Some participants expressed the need to adapt to the English cultural values for them to fully engage in the EHL classroom for academic benefit but also expressed the need to remain purely African without being diluted. A few participants expressed a firm stand against negotiation.

The study identified a specific similarity between the English culture and learners’ township culture. One learner noted that storytelling is a big part of his background and found that aspect of his culture is also shared in the English culture. One teacher also highlighted that sharing stories is similar between the two cultures. However, there is very little that learners could bring into the English class from home. Storytelling provides a pedagogical site for intervention which, if exploited maximally by educators and students, might assist learners to navigate and negotiate their identity in an English classroom. It is that opportunity where both cultures work in supportive ways that most likely allow learners to have an empowering sense of themselves. Such an understanding of cultural mutual interchange departs from the

usually accepted idea of English as a culture of privilege and power which always positions township learners as victims.

The findings that revealed that learners in this context come from a background of diversity where they speak multiple African languages. Their difficulty in learning the English language arises from the fact that they learn the subject at home language level in a formal context, they are formally assessed and therefore this comes with expectations which could label them smart or incapable. Even though learners came from a background of diverse culture and multilingualism, one of the learners highlighted that they struggle with the subject because it is different from their linguistic repertoire of African languages and therefore they cannot draw the link or find similarities between the two sets of languages. This finding echoes Sands and Gunnink (2019, p. 7) who contend that African languages are different within themselves and even have a greater difference in relation to the English language. They further argue that “African languages differ in terms of how they prefer to order subject, object and verb in a sentence” (p. 7). This example of the different grammatical structure of the African languages highlights that even though learners are exposed to diverse African languages that they speak in informal contexts, the English language still differs from their linguistic repertoire. This is because English is structured differently from African languages and therefore when it comes to the learning of English learners are exposed to a new set of grammatical structure. One of the participants explained that there are boundaries between English and her home language.

Anyiendah (2017), Barnard (2010) and Adeyemi and Kalane (2011) maintain the idea that language learning requires a lot of exposure to the language/culture as that addresses issues of vocabulary as well as basic sentence construction which are critical aspects of language learning. In line with that view, one can argue that a language spoken at home from birth is one that an individual is mostly exposed to. This means that learners that learn English Home Language and also speak the language at home have a higher cultural capital and language development from both the school and home. The cultural capital brought to school by learners who speak the same language at home then makes the learning easier with the absence of disjuncture (Bourdieu, 1986). Within the context of South Africa, Pillay (2009) argues that apartheid, racism and colonialism aimed to maintain their superiority over the

colonised by enforcing their culture through language learning. It is for this reason that learners who do not speak the language at home experience two different worlds - at home and at school.

The notion of cultural differences between English learnt in the classroom and the values learners brought from the township context resulted in more than half of the learners struggling to negotiate their identity in relation to language learning. Both teachers agreed that cultural difference has led to a point where learners develop a hybrid identity due to learners imitating the English language culture. Likewise, Bhabha (1994) explains that mimicry shows the nature of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised where the colonised subject is reproduced as “almost the same but not quite” (p. 86). What was interesting for this study was the term ‘reproduction’ of the coloniser which is further elaborated in the theme of identity negotiation.

6.4.4 Identity negotiation

Bhabha (1994, p. 1) argues that the third space is “produced on the boundaries of in-between forms of difference, in the intersection and overlaps across spheres of class, gender, race, nation, generation, location”. This means that binary categories are rejected. Similarly, in this study, some participants indicated a need for hybridisation as an enabler for learning EHL. In line with his argument, Gutierrez (2008, p. 152) further maintains that “third space is a transformative space where the potential for an expanded form of learning and the development of new knowledge are heightened.” This study found that the EHL culture is different from the participants’ home culture and has led to an identity negotiation where learners expressed an opposing identity to the one available in the English classroom culture. Firstly, the setting represents a different culture - it is formal, there is a specific way of seating and a specific way of talking and rules of what one should do if they want to speak or to leave the classroom. Secondly, the content used to teach EHL is different from the one township learners are exposed to in the township, leading to those learners not relating to the content taught. The pedagogy also stands to be challenged as there might be multiple teaching methods, but there is still a lack of pedagogy that will align with township learners’ background. However, what was most problematic was that one culture is seen as prestigious while the other is not, and as the participants were teenagers this raises

the advantage of a prestigious culture and one of opportunities having a great influence over the identity development of the teenagers. Similarly, the study revealed that learners negotiate who they are in an English classroom, with some male participants expressing that they just learn and follow the teacher's instruction because they want to pass. Other male participants expressed difficulty and discomfort with learning the new language and its culture. It was slightly different for female participants who understood learning the language as empowering. Some female participants expressed a third space identity, while one overlapped as hybridity and also rejection of white culture.

When asked whether learning the subject influences how they see themselves, some participants highlighted it does as the culture expected from them in the classroom is different from the township experiences and culture. This illustrates that some learners are willing to abandon their traditional township culture and compromise in exchange for better subject performance, with many participants highlighting that if they resist they will not learn anything. This is crucial as it highlights that participants have to compromise their township culture in order for them to reach the metaphorical third space. This argues that hybridisation that learners forge is not voluntary, but rather for extrinsic purposes of better opportunities and a better livelihood. Hybridisation is the mixing or combination of two or more cultures which leads to a shift in one's identity. Bhabha (1994, p. 112) explains hybridity as

a sign of productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities, it is the name of strategic reversal of the process of discriminatory identities that secure the pure and original identity of authority, Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects.

This argument means that hybridity is a deliberate process of shifting and changing the identity of the colonised while maintaining the culture and language of the coloniser to "secure the pure and original identity of authority" (Bhabha, p. 112). From this point one has to note that hybridisation only comes from one side, while the other resists and rejects anything that could change their culture or identity. One of the key findings from this study was how the encounter with a different language of power affects learners' identities. Some participants noted that their accent changes when they

speak English, including their body language and that they are exposed to formality such as raising your hand before speaking, a specific way of writing and also a way of talking. This influence was crucial because it entails what learners do even outside the classroom.

6.4.5 Content taught in an EHL classroom

Culture depends on geographical context, socio-political contexts and is also vulnerable to issues of power and control (Nieto, 1999). In other words, socio-political issues as well as power and control play a huge role in the establishment of culture. The first challenge with English in South Africa is that it has a colonial history where citizens had to use a foreign language that was imposed on them by colonisers and, secondly, that English has power over other languages since it is used for economic activities. What is interesting is that most learner participants of both genders expressed willingness and openness to learning a new culture/language despite it being difficult and its opposing nature to African culture. This study revealed that learners struggle mostly with Shakespeare - not only with the language, but learners do not relate to the kind of love Shakespeare portrays in his work as they do not experience it at home. Aligned with this is literature by Purewal (2017) who discussed the debates of teaching Shakespeare in schools. She explains that though Shakespeare may have relevant themes that cross culture and race; nevertheless, it alienates some learners as they struggle with Shakespeare and further that teaching it privileges the white European voice. A post-colonial discourse can further argue that keeping Shakespeare as compulsory literature in FET positions it at the top of the hierarchy of literature which reinforces the idea that English or European culture is superior to other cultures. Aligning with that idea, Balinska-Ourdeva et al. (2013) argue that Shakespearean literature has been used as a tool of power and influence and continues to symbolise Britain's ideological superiority.

Another participant raised difficulty with language from a novel by a South African writer. This was interesting as it highlights that township learners struggle with the subject - and not only with Shakespearean literature - as they lack exposure to the language at home yet still have to learn it at a home language level. Aligned with literature, Millin (2015) argues that poor literacy development amongst learners is largely due to the English language being the learners' second, third and even foreign

language; coupled with pedagogy, learners struggle with learning English as opportunities to learn are not really presented in class. This is crucial as EHL in FET focuses mostly on literary work and less on grammatical work (Moyo et al., 2011) which requires developed literacy skills in order for learners to understand the literature taught. The teacher plays a crucial role in the subject as methodology could enhance understanding or further impose difficulty with the subject.

Teacher participants highlighted that the culture of reading is vital in language learning, which learners lack. The teachers further highlighted that learners struggle with writing, with one teacher noting that FAL learners write better than EHL learners. Teachers further noted that the diverse literary work has to remain as diverse as it is and not be centred in the South African context only because learners are prepared for the international stage and not only to be efficient within the borders of the country. Both teachers noted the importance of learner activeness in the classroom, which aligns with literature by the GDE (DBE, 2018b) that learners need to play an active role in the process of learning as it enables good engagement with the content which develops better understanding. This foregrounds the importance of pedagogy in language learning for speakers who are non-native to the language.

6.5 Study implications and recommendations for teaching English HL to township learners

The aim of this study was to understand township learners' conceptions of themselves in an EHL classroom. The study assumed three categories of identity to understand learners' experience in the interaction of a black and white culture: accepting white culture and rejecting their own culture, hybrid in-between identity of black and white culture, and a rejection of a white culture. The findings of the study aligned with the three assumed categories of township learners' identity. Based on the findings these categories were not crystal clear but overlapped each other in some cases. The greatest concern which led to this research is the loss of township culture from generation to generation as some participants rejected their township culture and also some participants hybridised their identity due to the mixing of two different cultures.

6.5.1 Storytelling pedagogy

I first recommend that the similarity identified between the two cultures be used as a driving force for teaching EHL in the classroom: storytelling. Izzah and Mutiarani (2015, p. 70) put forward that “story telling promotes expressive language development in oral and written form and presents new vocabulary and complex language in a powerful form that inspires children to emulate the model they have experienced.” Storytelling provides learners with a natural language learning experience where focus is not on errors or correcting errors but the language is learned naturally, similar to how mother tongue is learned. At this point it is important to highlight that the GDE (DBE, 2018b) discusses the three approaches of teaching language that are expected from teachers. The first is the text-based approach which includes “listening, reading, viewing and analysing texts to understand how they are produced and what their effects are” (p. 11). This approach requires a critical interaction with the text which can only take place if the learners’ language skills have fully developed. The second is a communicative approach which requires learners to read and write in order to gain exposure to the language learnt. This is also a good teaching approach that, however, is limited for township learners as their English language skills still require constant monitoring when they are reading and writing. The final approach is the process approach which requires learners to read and then produce a text from what they read or their thoughts on what they read whether orally or in written form. The recommended approaches require learners to have developed their language skills in order for them to participate efficiently in the activities. This then does not include township learners who still struggle to read a text in the language learnt. It is for this reason that the storytelling pedagogy be used even at FET level as a means of inclusivity in the classroom to assist township learners in an EHL classroom. One can argue that time is restricted and storytelling will require more time. In response to that, it is crucial to note that learning is about experience. When learners are included and are enjoying the experience, they are going to learn, and therefore classroom experience plays a huge role in how much learners learn.

6.5.2 Compulsory learning of African languages

The South African language policy advocates for diversity in line with the constitution. The language policy of Section 6(1) of the Schools Act promotes multilingualism and speaks rather on language of instruction, that it should be an official South African

language. The policy does not stipulate that English should be a compulsory language but rather English is commonly the language of instruction since agreement amongst schools and the Department of Education was that English would better equip learners than any other language. Based on the findings of this study which revealed a development of a hybrid identity for some of the participants, to get rid of a superior understanding of English I recommend that all South African schools should allow learners to study only one language associated with whiteness (English or Afrikaans) and one African language, including Model C schools. Doing this will uplift the importance of African languages in the country and will work towards building a rainbow nation. Van Rooy's (2020, p. 1) study found that "contact between speakers of English and other languages potentially leads to divergence from varieties beyond South African English (SAfE) and to convergence within SAfE." This finding is crucial as it means that making it compulsory that English speakers learn African languages will improve contact and communication between English speakers and African speakers. It will further accelerate the developing reappropriated South African English. By so doing, English will no longer be an instrument of mind control and power over other languages as it will convey and reflect the culture of its context. Hybridity will be experienced not only by township learners, but rather the country will move to a central point of understanding.

6.5.3 Changing perspectives of English in South Africa

English holds a prestigious position not only in South African schools but in the whole country at large. On the debates of teaching English in Africa, Mtallo (2015, p. 119) argues that "teaching English should not be taken as an imperial instrument of oppression and therefore whoever uses it can claim the right to own it." This means that English does not have to be tied to an international perspective, but rather individuals should take it as their own. This means in learning the language it can be changed so that citizens can make it their own adequately to suit their contexts. Higgins (2009) demonstrates this notion by explaining that in Kenya and Tanzania English is a local resource that is not necessarily tied to English as an international or world language. Higgins further elaborates on the idea by explaining how East African countries often use English as a hybrid that has been re-appropriated for use in its local context. Such views on English are interesting as one can argue that this strategy would make teaching and learning EHL easier and more interesting for township

learners. For South Africa to teach its township learners English effectively without compromising learners' identity, schools and English teachers' views about English should shift from a prestigious perspective to another one of their languages that they need to learn. One could question how this can be achieved as English is a language of power and opportunities in South Africa. I suggest that this can be achieved if schools provide South African plays since EHL across FET only offers Shakespeare. Poetry should also largely be South African poetry that reflects learners' lived experiences.

6.5.4 Offer English Home Language and English First Additional language in ex-Model C schools

Various authors such as Howie et al. (2017), Nel (2011) and Steyn (2017) have revealed that language (English) is the biggest concern and challenge in South African education considering it is also the language of instruction. South African education offers learners the subject of English at home language level as well as at FAL level from primary education to high school. A learner having taken FAL in previous grades can take home language regardless of not having done it in previous grades. The DBE (2018b, p. 8), in explaining the provision of the two subjects, affirms that "the labels Home Language and First Additional Language refer to the proficiency levels at which the language is offered and not the native (Home) or acquired (as in the additional languages) language." This means that the provision is based on proficiency level and not that learners have to speak the language at home. However, literature by Bourdieu (1986) has shown that cultural capital bridges the gap between everyday knowledge and scientific knowledge. In this case learners who speak the language at home stand a better chance at succeeding in the subject due to the cultural capital they have of the language. Therefore, ex-Model C schools should be encouraged by the Department of Education to offer both EHL as well as FAL so that learners can choose the level of proficiency they want to learn the language since not all of them are native speakers of the language. Doing this will provide township learners with the opportunity of studying English as an additional language rather than home language. However, English, both FAL and HL, remains a challenge in South African education. Preparedness for higher education and training as well as grade 12 standards of learning and teaching remain questionable. This raises awareness on the quality of

teaching of the subject from lower grades to high school. Teaching can be improved through:

- Teacher training
- Provision of resources to enable different teaching styles
- Keeping language classrooms smaller by hiring more well-trained language teachers
- Implementing national assessments at the end of every phase

Doing this will improve teaching and learning which will, in turn, eradicate the common belief amongst parents and previously marginalised communities that English Home Language prepares learners adequately for higher education.

6.6 Recommendations for further research

In light of the findings of the study, further research would provide greater insight to research township parents' views on the teaching of EHL. Further research can also use a mixed research method in order to obtain a statistical understanding of learner identity negotiation.

6.7 Conclusion

This study revealed that learners either rejected their own culture, accepted the white culture or experienced a hybrid identity. I argue that hybridity is a deliberate process of shifting and changing the identity of the colonised while maintaining the culture and language of the coloniser. This means that hybridisation comes from one group of people while the other maintains and develops their own culture. In order to ensure that South Africa reaches a point of mutual understanding, I advocate for a shift in the position of the English language as an empowering language in post-apartheid South Africa. This is a challenge that should not only be questioned but also challenged. I argue that by not redefining English there is a risk of losing African culture and development of African languages as learners do not view their African languages and the English language equally. To address this challenge, I propose that every learner should learn one African language; secondly, storytelling should be used as a pedagogy for inclusive purposes. And finally, ex-Model C schools should offer both

home language level and FAL level in order to allow learners to learn the subject at their chosen proficiency level since not all of them are native speakers of the language.

Previous research has revealed that the legacy of colonialism is still rooted deeply as English remains the language of opportunities. McKinney (2017), from her vast work, has discovered that there is still a challenge with reproduction of linguistic inequalities; however, McKinney's study discovered that some learners are content with their African identities. This finding corresponds with the finding of this study which revealed that English is still a powerful language in post-apartheid South Africa, and further that not all learners aspire to be western and idolise the language. However, this study revealed that some participants exhibit mimicry as a consequence of learning EHL in an ex-Model C school, which results in the third space as a result of negotiation.

I argue that the third space is important for all races in order for the nation to achieve equity and unity. However, the negotiation should not compromise the values and culture of township learners. Therefore I maintain that there is danger of losing African culture and knowledge if ex-Model C schools do not recognise the identity of EHL township learners in EHL classrooms. I therefore argue for a middle ground as it is possible and will play a crucial role in not only maintaining but also developing the African languages. Lin (2019, p. 2) contends that "language is essential for a culture to survive as it reflects the way that people see the world." Therefore it is crucial that learners associate cruciality and power within their African languages. I further warn of the danger of disguising multilingualism and multiculturalism as diversity when within bilingualism and culturalism there is stratification based on power and influence. I advise that English should be redefined in the South African context and further that the implications of that on the curriculum will mean the literature and texts learners study should expose learners to different cultures without nullifying township learners' realities and the African culture.

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APPENDIX A: LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL

University of the Witwatersrand,
School of Education
Curriculum Division
011 717 1000

15 March 2021

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research in your organisation

My name is Nomfundo Nene and I am a full time Masters of Education degree student at the Wits School of Education. I am seeking permission to do research at your organisation.

I am conducting research on grade 10 learners' experiences in learning English Home Language in ex-Model C schools. The aim of my research is to understand the experiences of learners that come from township contexts who are not exposed to English as a first language in their homes.

The reason why your school is selected to participate in this study is that it is an ex-Model C school that now has most of its learners coming from Alexandra Township which will provide great insight to this research.

The research will entail collecting data from grade 10 English home language learners through structured individual face-to-face interviews and will only resort to telephonic interviews if the lockdown restrictions prohibit face to face interactions. The structured face-to-face individual interviews will also be audio-recorded during the interview session which will take approximately 35-40 minutes per session. In order to observe COVID-19 protocol, upon arrival participants will be sanitised and their temperature will be checked. Participants are expected to wear masks covering both the mouth and nose during the interview. A safe distance of 1.5m will be observed during each interview in an open area or a room with sufficient ventilation.

I will invite individuals from your organisation to participate in this study. The study only requires participation from grade 10 learners; if they agree, they will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview.

Participants will be asked to give their written consent before the research begins. Their responses will be treated confidentially, and identities (their names and the name of the organisation) will be anonymous unless otherwise expressly indicated. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written reports resulting from the study. The findings will be communicated on the dissertation and an electronic copy will be emailed to your school per request.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study other than being at risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher will conduct face-to-face interviews at the school in a classroom or any other productive space such as school boardroom or office. The participants will not be paid for this study.

All research data will be destroyed after five years; within the five years they will be stored anonymously on a locked memory stick. I therefore request permission in writing to conduct my research at your organisation. The permission letter should be on your organisation's headed paper, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,
Nomfundo Nene
067 735 1253
876018@students.wits.ac.za

Dr Alfred Masinire
073 585 6740
Alfred.Masinire.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX B: TEACHER INFORMATION LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



TEACHER INFORMATION LETTER

University of the Witwatersrand
School of Education
Curriculum Division
011 717 1000

15 March 2021

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Request to conduct research in your organisation

My name is Nomfundo Nene and I am a full time Masters of Education degree student at the Wits School of Education. I am seeking permission to do research at your school with the learners you are teaching.

I am conducting research on grade 10 learners' experiences in learning English Home Language in ex-Model C schools. The aim of my research is to understand the experience of learners that come from township contexts who are not exposed to English as a first language in their homes.

The reason why I selected you to participate in this study is because you are teaching English Home language in an ex-Model C school. Your experience of teaching township learners English Home Language will provide great insight into what learners from townships experience when learning the subject.

The research will entail collecting data from you as a grade 10 English home language teacher through structured individual interviews. You are invited to participate in this research as you are part of the population this study is interested in. If you agree, you will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview. The structured face-to-face individual interviews will also be audio-recorded during the interview session which will take approximately 35-40 minutes per session. In order to observe COVID-19 protocol, upon arrival you will be sanitised and your temperature will be checked. You will be expected to wear a mask covering both the mouth and nose during the interview. A

safe distance of 1.5m will be observed during each interview in an open area or a room with sufficient ventilation.

You will be asked to give your written consent before the research begins. Your responses will be treated confidentially, and your identity (your names and the name of your school) will be anonymous. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written reports resulting from the study. The findings will be communicated on the dissertation or be emailed to you per request.

You will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. I reassure you that you can withdraw your permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study other than being at risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher will conduct face-to-face interviews at the school in a classroom or any other productive space such as school boardroom or office. You will not be paid for participating in this study.

All research data will be destroyed after five years; and within the five years they will be stored anonymously on a locked memory stick. I therefore request permission in writing for you to participate in this study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,
Nomfundo Nene
067 735 1253
876018@students.wits.ac.za

Dr Alfred Masinire
073 585 6740
Alfred.Masinire.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX C: LEARNER INFORMATION LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



LEARNER INFORMATION LETTER

University of the Witwatersrand
School of Education
Curriculum Division
011 717 1000

15 March 2021

Dear Learner

Re: Request for your participation in research

My name is Nomfundo Nene and I am a full time Masters of Education degree student at the Wits School of Education. I am seeking your participation in research I am conducting at your school.

I am conducting research on grade 10 learners' experiences in learning English Home Language in ex-Model C schools. The aim of my research is to understand the experience of learners that come from township contexts who are not exposed to English as a first language in their homes.

The reason why I selected you to participate in this study is because you are a learner in an ex-Model C school coming from a township context. Your experience of learning English Home Language will provide great insight into what learners from townships experience when learning the subject.

The research will entail collecting data from you as a grade 10 English home language learner through a structured individual interview. The structured face-to-face individual interviews will also be audio-recorded during the interview session which will take approximately 35-40 minutes per session.

You are invited to participate in this research as you are part of the population this study is interested in. If you agree, you will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview. The structured face-to-face individual interviews will also be audio-recorded during the interview session which will take approximately 35-40 minutes per session. In order to observe COVID-19 protocol, upon arrival you will be sanitised and your

temperature will be checked. You will be expected to wear a mask covering both your mouth and nose during the interview. A safe distance of 1.5m will be observed during each interview in an open area or a room with sufficient ventilation.

You will be asked to give your written consent before the research begins. Your responses will be treated confidentially, and your identity (your names and the name of your school) will be anonymous. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written reports resulting from the study. The findings will be communicated on the dissertation or be emailed to your school per request.

You will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. I reassure you that you can withdraw your permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study other than being at risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher will conduct face-to-face interviews at the school in a classroom or any other productive space such as school boardroom or office. You will not be paid for participating in this study.

All research data will be destroyed after five years; within the five years they will be stored anonymously on a locked memory stick. I therefore request permission in writing inviting you to participate in this study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,
Nomfundo Nene
067 735 1253
876018@students.wits.ac.za

Dr Alfred Masinire
073 585 6740
Alfred.Masinire.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX D: ASSENT FORM



ASSENT FORM

15 March 2021

Dear Learner,

I am Nomfundo Nene, and I am a Master's student in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. I am doing a study that aims at understanding how learners experience learning English Home language, on this topic I will focus on learning active and passive voice as well as transactional texts. I am requesting your participation in my research study because your teacher recommended you for this project.

For this research, I would like to invite you to take part by allowing me to interview you telephonically and record the interview which will take approximately 35-40 minutes. However, if the lockdown is lifted, I will collect data through face-to-face interviews, but maintaining the healthy standards of social distancing and wearing a face mask. I will keep all your participation and the audio recordings private. The audio recordings will be stored in a password protected computer.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages for not participating. You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You won't get into any trouble with the University of Witwatersrand, your teacher, or your school if you choose to say no. You may stop being in the study at any time. To protect your anonymity I will be using a false name to represent your participation in my final research report.

Your parents/guardians were asked if it is OK for you to be in this study. Even if they say it's OK, it is still your choice whether or not to take part. You can ask any questions you have, now or later. If you think of a question later, you or your parents can contact me on cell: 067 735 1253, email: 876018@students.wits.ac.za or my supervisor: Dr Alfred Masinire on cell: 073 585 6740, email: marissarollnick@wits.ac.za. If you have any complaints about the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za.

Sign this form only if you:

- have understood what you will be doing for this study,
- have had all your questions answered,
- have talked to your parent(s)/legal guardian about this project, and

- agree to take part in this research
- agree to be recorded

Your Signature
(Participant)

Printed Name

Date

N. Nene _____

Nomfundo Nene _____

15 April 2021 _____

Researcher explaining study

Printed Name

Date

Signature

APPENDIX E: LEARNER CONSENT FORM



Township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language classroom in selected ex-model C schools in Johannesburg

Nomfundo Nene

I,, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

| | | |
|--|-----|----|
| I agree that my participation will remain anonymous | YES | NO |
| I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report | YES | NO |
| I agree that the interview may be audio recorded | YES | NO |
| I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained. | YES | NO |
| I agree to participate in the questionnaire and be truthful in my response | YES | NO |

..... (signature)
..... (name of participant)
..... (date)

N. Nene
Nomfundo Nene
15 March 2021

APPENDIX F: PARENT/GUARDIAN INFORMATION LETTER



PARENT/ GUARDIAN INFORMATION SHEET

University of the Witwatersrand
School of Education
Curriculum Division
011 717 1000

15 March 2021

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Request for permission to have your child participate in my research

My name is Nomfundo Nene and I am a full time Master of Education degree student at the Wits School of Education. I am seeking permission to ask your child to participate in my research.

I am conducting research on grade 10 learners' experiences in learning English home language in ex-Model C schools. The aim of my research is to understand the experiences of learners that come from township contexts who are not exposed to English as a first language in their homes.

The reason why your child's school is selected to participate in this study is that it is an ex-Model C school that now has most of its learners coming from Alexandra Township which will provide great insight to this research.

The research will entail collecting data from grade 10 English Home Language learners through structured individual face-to-face interviews and will only resort to telephonic interviews if the lockdown restrictions prohibit face-to-face interactions. The structured face-to-face individual interviews will also be audio-recorded during the interview session which will take approximately 35-40 minutes per session. In order to observe COVID-19 protocol, upon arrival participants will be sanitised and their temperature will be checked. Participants are expected to wear masks covering both the mouth and nose during the interview. A safe distance of 1.5m will be observed during each interview in an open area or a room with sufficient ventilation.

I will invite individuals from your child's school to participate in this study. The study only requires participation from grade 10 learners; if they agree, they will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview.

Participants will be asked to give their written consent before the research begins. Their responses will be treated confidentially, and identities (their names and the name of the school) will be anonymous unless otherwise expressly indicated. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written reports resulting from the study. The findings will be communicated on the dissertation and an electronic copy will be emailed to your school per request.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study other than being at risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher will conduct face-to-face interviews at the school in a classroom or any other productive space such as school boardroom or office. The participants will not be paid for this study.

All research data will be destroyed after five years, within the five years they will be stored anonymously on a locked memory stick. I therefore request permission in writing to have your child be part of my research. The permission letter should have your address and be, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,
Nomfundo Nene
067 735 1253
876018@students.wits.ac.za

Dr Alfred Masinire
073 585 6740
Alfred.Masinire.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LEARNERS



Interview Schedule for Learners

Township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language classroom in two selected ex-model C schools in Johannesburg

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS:

1. Do you understand the purpose of being at school?
2. Where did you attend primary school?
3. Did you do English Home Language in primary school?
4. Was your primary school a township school, Model C school, ex-Model C school or rural school?
5. Have you ever failed English at high school level?
6. Have you repeated a grade due to failing English in you high school years?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- What are you mostly exposed to in the township?
- Do you love your township background?
- How do you embrace it?
- What do you think about learning English at home language level as a township learner?
- Does the subject in any way influence how you see yourself e.g behaviour, accent, attitude?
- What identities and values do you think you bring to the learning of English home language in this school?
- How do you maintain your township identity in an ex-Model C school? Or how do you negotiate the identity between these two contexts?
- What new values and culture do you encounter in the learning of English Home Language in this school?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?
- Is there any particular topic that you learn in class that you feel exposes your background?
- Briefly tell me your best or worst classroom experience of learning English HL as a learner coming from the township.

APPENDIX H: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS



Interview Schedule for Teachers

Township learners' negotiation of conceptions of themselves in an English Home Language classroom in two selected ex-Model C schools in Johannesburg

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What identities and values do township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

Why did you become a teacher?

What do you like the most about teaching English HL?

What do you like the least about teaching English HL?

How long have you been teaching the subject?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- What do you think are some of the challenges that township learners encounter in learning English Home Language? You can refer to a particular topic or literature.
- What identities and values do think township learners bring to the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- What new values and culture do these learners encounter in the learning of English Home Language in ex-Model C schools?
- How do they engage with the new cultural language values that they encounter in the learning process?
- How do you think this can affect the identity of these learners in the future?
- How does the identity negotiation enable and/or constrain the acquisition of English Home Language skills?

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Teacher A: School A

Why did you become a teacher?

Well, because I wanted to do something that has to do with kids. I wanted to transfer the information I have, and also... basically to be around kids.

And then what do you like the most about teaching English?

I like that it's a language on its own. And it's that one language we use every day. It's that one language that will take you almost everywhere. It's that one language that will help you in your business in every in anything that you like in life, in anything that you're passionate on. You need to use your English to communicate with the people you're working with.

What do you like the least about teaching English?

Uhm...It's the fact that I'm teaching learners from the, from the....I mean, their background has nothing to do with English. They are from the, from the township, they from the township. They only use English in the school environment after that, it's irrelevant to them.

How long have you been teaching the subject?

Four years

Four years?

Yeah.

Okay. What do you think are some of the challenges that township learners encounter in learning English home language, you can make reference to a particular topic or literature.

Okay. Specifically, it's the fact that they can't express themselves the way they should. Because, I mean, they don't master English the way they master their native languages. And especially in literature, Shakespeare, in all the Shakespearean dramas, they don't really relate, you can find that a learner fails English as the home language, obviously, you remain in the grade, not because they didn't understand the

context, but because of the language; they couldn't express express themselves the way they wanted to.

And what identities and values do you think township learners bring in the learning of English home language? Is there anything from their background that you think they are able to use in the classroom or there isn't?

Obviously, there is. First of all, in our townships, we like telling stories a lot. And in English, we do that. And also, what is clashing is that at home, you are normally taught that you don't express yourself that much. We are, we are taught to hide our feelings. Our respect comes with hiding our feelings. But in English, they are taught not to, for example, when you are when the learner speaks to the teacher as an elder, you mustn't look at the teacher in the eye. But then, in English, you are taught to do that to show that you are honest or something like that.

Okay. And so what is new here that you think...What is it that you think it's new for the learners who come from the township in the English home language classroom? So maybe it could be the culture, way of behaving, way of speaking. But what is it that is new that they encounter?

It's not a lot, but it's there. For example, the accent is new for them. The, the environment of the classroom on its own, it changes from the way they are raised at home. In the classroom you need to, you need to sit down and listen to the teacher. Listen to what the teacher is saying. And also in the language that you are using at home. You just use the language to speak, you don't need to... We are taught that you don't need to master the language that much as long as we get the meaning from what you're saying. It's enough but then in English since they are now writing, the context must be different, the grammar must be correct and all that uhm English as a subject does not allow the learner to only transfer the meaning. I mean, everything must be correct word by word and all that, only to find that it doesn't happen easily with our learners because they don't write English at home. They don't speak English at home, they only...they normally use their vernacular.

Okay, thank you. And how do you think these learners engage with the new culture that you say they get exposed to in the classroom?

Uhm most of them are accepting because they only want to pass not because they are ok with it or they like it or they are coping with it but they just accept it for the fact that they want to go on, they want to move to another grade but some of them do resist it even if you are asking some questions in class one can just answer in his or her own home language and when you ask them to switch they won't be comfortable and they will just say I am comfortable with my language the only thing you need to hear from me is my answer not really the language. So they are resisting, some of them are resisting.

Okay, how do you think this can affect their identity, even in the future?

Mm, I think it will affect their identity a lot in a way that even the next generation may not know their culture the way they should. They won't know the basics of their culture uhm because even the people who are raising them will not know their culture because they need to switch when they go home. They practice this when they are at school, they practice this, they practice different cultures, so it will clash. So in a way they'll obviously not be interested in their culture as much as they should be interested because now it seems like their culture won't take them anywhere since like they are made to believe that if you come to school, if you pass, if you do this this and that you'll be successful as they are told that if you want to go to an interview to get that better job you need to speak English. So in a way there will be people who think that their culture is useless in a way.

Do you think that in the future we might have a problem of a group of or majority of black people who have kind of compromised who they actually are because of English and also because English is an economic language?

I believe we are on that note already. I believe that is already happening because it didn't start today, it started a long time ago. So even now they feel like it's a must when the teacher comes to class it's the correct thing to speak English. Even outside they speak English, they feel better when they speak English, better than their home language. They feel like when they are together outside during breaks this is the language that they must use. If you don't know English that much they feel like you are not smart enough. I feel like they have compromised their culture already.

APPENDIX J: DATA ANALYSIS

Table 4

Data analysis for teacher participants

| Questions | Teacher A | Teacher B |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why did you become a teacher? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge transfer | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Passionate about teaching |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do you like the most about teaching EHL? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language Empowering language Assists in business or anything you want to pursue Language of communication | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> It's just seeing learners develop different skills in a different language English is a universal language and comes with different opportunities FAL learners perform better in written language EHL learners excel when it comes to speaking the language, but writing skills are way behind |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do you like the least about teaching EHL? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learner background has nothing to do with English | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biggest challenge is essay writing Learners can't express themselves in written language |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How long have you been teaching? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 years | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 29 years 15 years teaching EHL |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do you think are some of the challenges that township learners encounter in learning EHL? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They can't express themselves the way they should Challenge with literature, especially Shakespeare They are in danger of failing the grade because of EHL | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of reading culture limits their ability to write Reading will improve their learning experience Reading enriches vocabulary They first think in their home language then transfer it into English |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What identities and values do you think township learners bring to the learning of EHL? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Storytelling Clashes come in behaviour and expressing yourself e.g., looking at one in the eye | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There's nothing much because it's second language to them and they don't speak the language at home Translating home language e.g., Zulu to English poses challenges to them |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What new values and culture do the learners encounter in the EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accent Environment of the classroom | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poetry Learners enjoy topical issues |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you think learners engage with the new culture that you say they get exposed to in the EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accept it so they can pass and not because they are fine with it or coping Some resist it, which leads to behavioural problems | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learners are keen on leaving When you speak the language well you are placed in a better stead It links with what they see on social media It's empowering when their literature is diversified Learners need to know that language evolves |

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|---|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you think this can affect their identity? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lot • The next generation may not know its culture • Lack of interest for their own culture • May deem culture as not progressive (African culture) because it doesn't come with opportunities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This means we are drifting away from African culture to western culture • Hybrid culture |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think in the future we might have majority of the black people who have compromised who they actually are because of EHL and its status? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are already on that note • Learners speak English even outside the classroom at times • They feel better when they speak English better than their home language | |

Table 5*Data analysis for male participants (Boys)*

| Questions | Learner A (B) | Learner B (B) | Learner C (B) | Learner D (B) |
|--|--|---|---|---|
| What are you mostly exposed to in the township? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drugs, partying • Less school | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence • Different cultures, different people | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime and violence |
| Do you love your township background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the background I love my township background | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes I do love it • Background defines who you are | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's nothing I love about my background because of how it is but I love my culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being together as a community |
| How do you embrace your township background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learn to adapt and just accept it • At school we sometimes speak our vernacular (tsotsi taal) amongst our peers but in class we speak English | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language - expose our language and culture • Tell stories of how our cultures began and how we grew up | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's nothing I love about my background because of how it is but I love my culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inviting others into our community |
| What do you think about learning English at Home Language level as a learner coming from the township? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It equips me more • In the township it makes me look smarter • I can articulate myself better than other township people • I'm more respected | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was difficult at first • It's a learning hurdle we have to get through | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's difficult • The language is difficult | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's hard to understand some of the things they teach us • Mostly you can't understand things we learn |
| Does learning the subject influence how you see yourself? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It does • The accent changes • Almost everything changes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The accent changes • English needs you to change the way you pronounce words • I have no trouble adapting because I was in an ex-Model C primary school | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No it doesn't • I'm still a township boy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes it changes • In class you have to listen carefully because of the difficulty of the language |

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| What identities and values do you think you bring to the EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Just that piece of humanity • Exposure to different languages make it easier to learn English | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My confidence and openness • My skills and sharing stories (novels) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They don't mix • They are too different • I try to fit in with the language and what is required in the classroom • If I take information from home it will not fit in the English classroom | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's nothing I can bring from home • Some of us don't understand what they say in class • I do feel the need to change my accent - I think it will change the way I understand |
| How do you maintain your township identity (identity negotiation)? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I spend time with my fellow peers from the township • Being in an English class changes my whole identity - there's no township boy in English • You need to act in a certain manner | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is supposed to be diversity • Both races should negotiate • Learn my language and teach me yours - find a neutral point • It diminishes culture when someone has to act a certain way • Whether you change depends on what's on the mind • The more you learn English you are driven away from your culture • You could get in trouble for forgetting aspects of your culture • You have to be a hybrid • You have to know when to speak English | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I remain who I am | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I try to be who I am but in order to learn I am forced to adapt |

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| | | properly and when to accommodate your original culture | | |
| What new values do you encounter in an EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> You learn to be a gentleman Articulate yourself better | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language Culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly rules Language |
| Does negotiation enable you to learn the subject better? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Makes me want to learn English more English is a universal language so I have to learn it I have to learn it to secure my future | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes, once you achieve a neutral point then you learn better | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I don't negotiate so it's difficult to learn but sometimes I'm forced to | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I can't relate with the content I don't want to compromise who I am I don't negotiate |
| Is there any particular topic that you've covered in EHL that made you insecure about your background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shakespeare - language and grammar | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shakespeare - language and grammar | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shakespeare | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Mark</i> – language |
| Briefly tell me your best or worst EHL classroom experience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Best experience - A great teacher 89% mark | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Best - Having mastered the content Worst - Struggling to grasp the concepts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worst - Reading Shakespeare for the first time Dropping of my marks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Best - Improving my marks |

Table 6*Data analysis for female participants (Girls)*

| Questions | Learner A (G) | Learner B (G) | Learner C (G) | Learner D (G) |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| What are you mostly exposed to in the township? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teenage pregnancy • Crime • Languages • Opportunities • Chores at home | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime • Languages - tsotsi taal • Speaking vernacular languages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tsonga culture • Subordination of women | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different home languages • No one talks in English |
| Do you love your township background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I love my township background • It has different cultures that are one unit | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not really - I'm not proud but I'm not really afraid of it | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't love that men must be respected more than women | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't like that no one speaks English |
| How do you embrace your township background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learn lessons from my township experience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I speak my home language outside the classroom | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I speak my home language outside the classroom | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I'm proud of my culture and do not hide it |
| What do you think about learning English at home language level as a learner coming from the township? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language boundaries • Our culture doesn't match English culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's empowering • I do not want to be seen as uneducated | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I enjoy it though I only speak it at school • It's difficult • Teachers don't consider that it's second language to us • Provides opportunities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's good • It helps us increase our knowledge |
| Does learning the subject influence how you see yourself? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No, I only follow the rules in class • Behaviour changes (more formal, sit up straight) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sometimes • If you don't have a certain accent you considered not knowing • Normalised by adults | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, I want to fit in • I change my accent • I behave a certain way • My tone changes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes - accent changes |
| What identities and values do you think you bring to the EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cultures are different | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's not much | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not much | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There's nothing, they are different cultures |
| How do you maintain your township identity (identity negotiation)? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have to be me in class • I'm true to who I am | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I compromise because I'm at school • I have to speak English | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's not possible • I forget I'm Tsonga and fit in | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Step back from who I am |

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| What new values do you encounter in an EHL classroom? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behaviour • Language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not much, it's not new values but my values are reflected in a different language and culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language |
| Does negotiation enable you to learn the subject better? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If I was resistant I wouldn't have learnt anything • I only negotiate during English period • It gives me the opportunity to learn the language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, it does | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, it does | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It helps some learn better |
| Is there any particular topic that you've covered in EHL that made you insecure about your background? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I can't think of one • Some of the topics relate with our township background e.g., the poem June 16 is based on an experience I can relate with | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shakespeare | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shakespeare, it's outdated | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shakespeare's concept of love, we are not familiar with it |
| Briefly tell me your best or worst EHL classroom experience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worst - Grade 8 when I was introduced to EHL, I was overwhelmed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best - Best teacher who helped me improve my grammar | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best - when I get good marks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best - When I learn poetry |

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