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M.Ed RESEARCH REPORT

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RESEARCH TOPIC:

A SURVEY OF ENGLISH TEACHERS' OPINIONS IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA ON A LANGUAGE POLICY FOR EDUCATION IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

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A SURVEY OF ENGLISH TEACHERS' OPINIONS IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA ON A LANGUAGE POLICY FOR EDUCATION IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

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A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Education University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the Degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

The formulation of language policy in South Africa is inextricably bound up with the ideology of Apartheid. The "official" languages, English and particularly Afrikaans are associated with race-rule and the exercise of state power. Many South Africans, whose mother-tongue is neither are compelled to learn these European languages for economic reasons.

The current transitional conjuncture has created the opportunity to develop a new language policy process and to rethink the goals of language policy. It is from this process that a new educational language policy will be derived. This research report evaluates the responses of English langauge teachers to the current language policy debates. It does so within a "Gramscian" conceptual framework, i.e. a framework within which language is viewed as a hegemonic social process. It is aimed at giving teachers, who play a central role as educators, and who will have to implement a new policy, a voice.

DECLARATION

I declare that this Research Report is my own, unaided work.It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____

19.05.1993

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	-	African National Congress
CDS	-	Centre for Development Studies
DET	-	Department of Education and Training
HOD	-	House of Delegates
HOR	-	House of Representatives
LiCCA	-	Language in Contact and Conflict in Africa.
NLP	-	National Language Project
NEPI	-	National Education Policy Investigation

INTRODUCTION

1. LANGUAGE AND POLITICS: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

South Africa is currently undergoing a transition from the old race-based order to a new order, of uncertain contour. Although the terms "non-racialism" and "democracy" are sharply contested, they constitute the defining criteria of the emerging society. It is in this context of social change and social aspiration that nation-building, language rights and in particular, language policy in education, have become central concerns.

While we aspire to the new, we cannot entirely escape our past. Apartheid's historical residue of ideology and structure continue to constrain the range of possible options. The present is not being built on a "tabulae rasa". Nor should we simply expunge history without learning its lessons, particularly regarding the relationship between language, politics and social power.

It is crucial above all not to take language at its word. It is not simply a form of oral or written communication; language is also an instrument available for exploitation in the service of hegemonic political projects. In the 1930's the role played by the "Taal-Beweging" in the consolidation of the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement clearly demonstrated that language, in South Africa, has historically been a site of struggle and tied to processes of hegemonic domination. Amongst those who have attempted an explanation of the struggle to construct an "Afrikaner identity"

are Isabel Hofmeyer[1] and Marks and Trapido.[2] Central to their argument is the notion that the proponents of the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language were involved in a struggle with the English speaking business class for economic and political power. Dissatisfaction with the status of Afrikaans was manipulated to mobilize a political constituency to challenge English economic power and political hegemony. Thus, the "language divide" within the white citizenry, which was also a socio-political divide, was one of the axis in relation to which the "Afrikaner identity" constituted itself; the other was the "external", black-white divide. After their accession to power in 1943, Afrikaner nationalists turned their attention to control of the black population. After securing the hegemonic domination of the Afrikaans language, race became the defining criterion of group membership through which all whites were included in the political community of "citizens".[3]

The ambiguities manifest in the political lexicon of Afrikaner nationalism and its attempts to establish political frontiers are inherent in the Apartheid discourse; they are evident also, as will

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[1] Hofmeyer, I: "Building a nation from words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity, 1902-1924", p. 95, in: Marks, S. and Trapido, S. (ed). The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in the twentieth Century South Africa: Longman, London (1987).

[2] Marks, S. and Trapido, S. op.cit.

[3] Laclau, E: New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times: Verso, London (1990), p.139.

become clear in the following section, in attempts to give effect to this ideology in a language policy. Dr Verwoerd is widely credited with elaborating the "ethical" content and logical consequences of the Apartheid ideology in the form of "separate development". According to this theory, South Africans do not constitute a common society and potentially a single nation. On the contrary, South Africa is made up of many "nations", each an ethnic group with its own defining characteristics, including language. Yet, Afrikaans and English were uniformly "imposed" on all "nations" as obligatory languages of instruction; and attempts to develop indigenous languages were at best perfunctory. Separate then, did not mean equal.

ii. THE APARTHEID STATE'S LANGUAGE POLICY

In what follows, the content and implication of the state's language policy in schools will be briefly reviewed.

Any attempt to describe the language policy in education needs to begin with a description of state control of education.

The classic notion of apartheid education articulated by Dr Verwoerd was implemented with the full force of the law with the accession of the National Party to power in 1948. Inferior and segregated education for blacks has been one of the primary instruments for ideological control and for the promotion of divisiveness among the various racial groups in South Africa. The balkanization of education is evident in the 19 departments of education and the 15 education ministers. The four education

systems for Whites, Indians, the Coloureds and Africans (in the latter case further subdivided into ten ethnic compartments), were designed to reproduce the social relations prescribed by apartheid ideology. This also means that more money is spent on bureaucrats, which has resulted in a costly and divisive education system. This division has also been linked to inferior teaching in black schools on at least three levels: subject matter, teacher training and teaching aids. It is thus clear that education has been used as an instrument to ensure white domination over all blacks.[4] This racial segregation of education departments meant that the way in which language was experienced in these different departments was also influenced by racist policies.

The following provides a profile of language policies in the various education departments and further establishes the context within which current language policy debates are taking place.

Current state policy with regard to the medium of instruction in white schools is based on what may conveniently be termed the "dual-language" model (i.e English and Afrikaans).In terms of sections 56 and 57 of the Education Affairs Act (House of Assembly), 1988 (Act 70 of 1988) white pupils in public and state-aided schools must be instructed through the medium of an official language, i.e English or Afrikaans which ever is their mother tongue, up to and including standard seven. Thereafter, the parents have the right to choose the medium of instruction for their children. Provision is made for another language to be used as medium of instruction for pupils whose parents are not South African citizens and who are not proficient in either of the official languages, provided such conditions are acceptable to the minister. Dutch literature for example is prescribed at school, and the Dutch language and literature form a subdivision of some

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[4] 'blacks' is used here to include people classified as Coloured, Indian and African.

Afrikaans courses at South African universities. French, Italian, Portuguese, Greek and German are offered as third languages at some schools and at most universities.[5]

The following table reflects the numbers of white pupils instructed in either of the official language in each of the four provinces.

Table 1

	Natal	OFS	Cape	Tvl	TOTAL	%
English	84,269	7,948	92,671	163,675	348,563	37.0
Afrikaans	33,192	66,385	145,207	348,076	592,860	63.0
TOTAL	117,461	74,333	237,878	511,751	941,423	100.0

Source: Report of the Provincial Department of Education 1979,1987,1983,1980 respectively.[6]

From the above table one can see that Afrikaans is the language in which the majority of white pupils are instructed.[7] In Natal however, English is the preferred medium of instruction and the

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[5] Grobler, E. (et.al): Language Atlas of South Africa: HSRC, Pretoria (1990), p.17.

[6] From "A survey of language policies in education departments of South Africa - 1948-89." by Fradet, S.C. in: RESA, March 1990, occasional paper no.4.

[7] Grobler (et.al). op.cit. show that Afrikaans speakers (of all race groups) are concentrated in various parts of the Cape, Bloemfontein and the region to its south-west. Regions in the Western and Southern Transvaal, and Pretoria show a relatively higher index of Afrikaans-speaking whites.

index of English is relatively higher than in the other provinces.[8]

The Indian Education Act (No.61 of 1965) which transferred control of the education of Indians to the Department of Indian Affairs which had been created in 1961, states that in Indian schools pupils have to learn both official languages at school, English being the first language whilst the mother-tongue languages are offered as optional school subjects. The latter is however more the case in Natal schools where the Indian population is in the majority than in the Cape or Transvaal schools. English has become the general medium of communication for practical purposes dictated chiefly by the Western milieu in which the Indian people operate. The concern however to maintain a cultural identity gave rise to the creation of cultural centres throughout the various provinces, where children are able to read and write in their mother-tongue. Among the Muslims, religious instruction, particularly for the young takes place every afternoon at "madressah" (Muslim schools), and Hindu and Tamil children go to afternoon classes which combines religo-cultural activities.[9] Even though many Indian children do not speak the vernaculars as a home language they still have a good

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[8]. Grobler, E. (et.al.)., op. cit., p.9.

[9] This situation is not specific to Indians only, and is a practice among the European immigrant population as well. The Greeks for example, have a number of philanthropic and cultural clubs, each promoting the Greek spirit and culture.

command of one or more of these languages. Many of them have to start learning both official languages at school. The medium of instruction is usually the one most spoken in the region concerned.

The following table shows the: Medium of instruction (M.of.I) in schools for " Indians " by province.

Table 2

Province	M. of I.	No. of Pupils	%
Cape	Afrikaans	1,019	24.3
	English	714	17.4
	Parallel	2,466	58.3
Natal	Afrikaans	-	-
	English	146,316	99.8
	Parallel	165	0.2
Tvl	Afrikaans	-	-
	English	20,808	96.2
	Parallel	800	3.8
TOTAL		172,288	

Source: Dept. of statistics, Report on Education for Indians, 1982.[10]

The figures in the above table indicate that English is the language the majority of Indian children are taught in. Afrikaans is taken as a compulsory subject from standard 1 onwards.

According to the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act (NO 52

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[10] Taken from RESA, op. cit., p.17.

of 1968) coloured pupils can choose English or Afrikaans as their first language depending on which is the dominant language in that region. Where both English and Afrikaans predominate in a particular area then " parallel schools " should offer two sets of classes, thus providing for both languages equally.

The following table looks at: Medium of instruction (M.of I) in schools for "Coloureds" by province.

Table 3

Province	M. of I.	No. of Schools	Pupils	% Pupils
Cape	Afrikaans	1,483	360,580	77.5
	English	28	6,519	1.7
	Parallel	172	96,873	20.8
Natal	Afrikaans	52	24,508	65.7
	English	2	254	0.7
	Parallel	19	12,529	33.6
Orange Free State	Afrikaans	37	8,190	94.9
	English	-	-	-
	Parallel	3	438	5.1
TOTAL		1,854	531,052	

Source: Dept.of Statistics,Report on Education for Coloureds, 1981.[11]

From the above table it is clear that Afrikaans is the predominant language used in the schools of the Cape province, Transvaal and

[11] Ibid., p. 15.

Natal. The table has included both primary and secondary schools.[12]

In 1979, The Education and Training Act (No.90 of 1979) was adopted by Parliament, according to which all the existing legislation relating to African education promulgated between 1953 and 1978 was repealed. In schools under the control of the Department of Education and Training (DET), the medium of instruction for African pupils from substandard A to standard two is in the mother tongue. One official language (English or Afrikaans) is introduced in substandard B, and in standard one the other official language is introduced. From standard three onwards the medium of instruction becomes either the vernacular or an official language decided by the school board in consultation with the parents whose children attend that particular school.[13] This redrafting of the legislation affecting African education (1978-9) in terms of which the Department of Bantu Education became the DET was a direct response to the militant student uprising in 1976 as well as a response to meet the increasing demand by industry for a literate Western-oriented workforce.

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[12] Grobler, E. (et.al)., op. cit., p.10, show that most of the districts with more than 80 percent of Afrikaans first language speakers are to be found in the Western Cape, where a large concentration of coloured people reside and hence the large percentage recorded for Afrikaans as medium of instruction in the Cape.

[13] Behr, A.L: Education in South Africa. Origins, Issues and trends : 1652-1988: Academica, Pretoria (1988), pp. 101-103.

The following tables look at: Medium of instruction in schools under the DET.

Table 4 Medium of instruction (M. of I.) at Primary Level

M. of I.	No. of Schools
South Sotho	2,512
Zulu	1,756
Xhosa	1,115
Tswana	991
Pedi	493
siSwati	142
Tsonga	71
Venda	43
Ndebele	-
English	5,314
Afrikaans/English	119
Afrikaans	15
TOTAL	12,571

Source: Department of Education and Training Annual Report, 1986.[14]

[14] Op. cit., p. 11

Table 5 Vernacular as Subjects at Secondary Level

Subject	No. of Schools
South Sotho	263
Zulu	288
Xhosa	230
Tswana	210
Pedi	168
siswati	2
Tsonga	48
Venda	20
Ndebele	-
TOTAL	1,229

Source: Department of Education and Training Annual Report, 1986.[15]

The figures in the above tables indicate that the Nguni and Sotho languages are the languages most spoken. The tables however, indicates the medium of instruction at these schools and in the case of table 4 do not necessarily suggest that schools begin their education in the medium of English.

It is clear from this survey that the language policies implemented at schools are very different for the White, Indian, Coloured and African child, and the medium of instruction is also not uniform for all the schools. This language policy has been one strategy used by the state to help achieve the objectives of the apartheid policy. It can be said that the 19 education departments have been

[15] Ibid., p. 11

responsible for creating ethnic identities where the sense of a shared culture has been lost. Students see themselves as having a distinct and exclusive culture and language, which is not shared or understood by any other group and this has led to the articulation of identities along racial lines.[16] But more importantly, it has not been sound from an educational point of view. Despite the state's attempt to use education to control a large sector of the population, it has long been bitterly resented by subordinated groups. It is therefore not merely coincidental that in 1976 the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction " sparked-off " school-based rebellions which later developed into country-wide uprisings.

iii. LANGUAGE IN THE CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT.

In more recent times, as the global crisis of the Apartheid system has deepened and the prospects of a negotiated political solution has improved, an important shift has occurred in the orientation of oppositional forces. Briefly the emphasis is no longer one-sidedly on "pure" opposition and "protest" but on transformation and the concrete formulation of alternative policies. Language policy is no exception.

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[16] The construction of segregated and apartheid schooling structures and the constitution of racial and ethnic subjectivity is an area looked at in greater detail by Cross, M. and Chisholm, L: "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in the Twentieth-Century South Africa" in: Nkomo, M. (ed). Pedagogy of Domination: Africa World Press, Trenton (1990).

However, before one can understand the current debates around language policy and assess their transformative potential, it is important to arrive at some working understanding of what language policy means in itself. This would include an elaboration of what the mechanisms are for planning, deciding upon and implementing language policies.

Language policy may be defined as:

> "the official decision on the status of various languages spoken in heterogenous communities- e.g. which languages will be the national or official language, which languages will be used as regional languages and what their status will be."[17]

Once a government formulates a policy it is thereafter translated into a language plan and entrusted to a language planning agency.[18] The term language planning has been understood by Fishman as:

> "the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level."[19]

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[17] Cluver, A.D.de V: "First draft of a dictionary of language planning terms": University of South Africa, Pretoria (1990) Mimeo, p.8.

[18] A language planning agency is concerned with the spread of the official language, its codification, elaboration and maintenance. Its task is the same with regard to the national language. The language planning agency may serve as an arbiter on all language problems and as an advisor to educational bodies on standards of language teaching and language examinations.(Cluver, A.D.de V. ibid., p.8)

[19] cited in Paulston, C. B: "Linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in multilingual settings" in: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), (1983), p.265.

or as Alexander defines it:

> "a government authorised, long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a language, or to change a language's functions in a society to solve common problems."[20]

Cluver[21] identifies three group of possible decision makers: legal experts, politicians, and sociolinguists. Sociolinguists do not seem to have much say in deciding what language to use as official and educational languages notes Cluver. Language policy and planning is in the final instance formulated by a government and legally entrenched and will therefore support the political goals of the government. A view emphasised by Paulston who states that language planning decisions are based on political and economic factors and reflect the values of the governing group,[22]educational and linguistic criteria are very often not central to language planning decisions, resulting in policy usually being a top-down approach. This view holds true for South Africa where language policy has always been characterised by this top-down process. The white minority government and in particular the Afrikaans speaking section have chosen a particular course rooted in party-political interests and not one serving the interests of

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[20] cited in " Some Reflections on Pre-School Language Policy for a Non-Racial and Democratic South Africa " in: Language Projects' Review, vol.5, no.2, p.30.

[21] Cluver, A.D.de V: " Language Planning Models for a Post-Apartheid South Africa ": University of South Africa, Pretoria (1990) Mimeo, p.4.

[22] Cited in Cluver., op.cit., p.5.

the majority of the people. Language policy in South Africa, notes Brown,[23] has from the early twentieth century displayed a tendency to rely on the coercion of rule by the polity rather than hegemony in civil society.[24] It is because of this rule that South Africa has experienced a long history of resistance to apartheid language policies. The acceptance of English and Afrikaans as the only official languages has disadvantaged other language groups in areas ranging from the legal, educational and economic structures in society to the written and spoken forms of communication.

The question which concerns those interested in establishing true democratic practice in the formulation and implementation of any new policy is whether any future government or any one political party should have complete control over this area. In discussing language planning in Africa, Carol Eastman argues that;

> " The sociolinguist can tell the political linguist right off that state policies can have absolutely no effect on linguistic repertoires unless those state policies have,

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[23] Brown, D: "Speaking in Tongues: Apartheid and Language in South Africa", p.35, in: Perspectives in Education, 1988/9, Vol.10.No.2, 33-46.

[24] David Brown uses Gramsci's two concepts of "rule" and "hegemony" to analyse the two dominant languages in South Africa. Rule he explains is expressed in direct political terms, asserting a coercive and [illegible] power of the state over groups that resist either actively or passively.The official enforcement of Afrikaans in education is an example of rule. Hegemony being the acceptance within civil society of a dominant culture manifested here in language. Ibid., p.35.

as their primary goal, social change".[25]

The important point Eastman makes is that a language policy set out by a government, without participation from the community at large, is not likely to be successful.

Policy makers planning options for a future South Africa need to begin thinking of ways to examine and incorporate language planning initiatives from what Heugh calls non-party political structures and more important from community-based projects. Thus giving voice to those concerned with language issues in the process toward articulating policy. It is pointed out by Bamgbose[26] that much significant and sometimes much more effective work is done by non-governmental bodies such as language societies, teacher associations and broadcasters in actual experience with language development efforts.

The above has been a discussion of a conception of a language policy process, I will now turn to a descripti of the polic process underway.

At present there is a range of actors outside government proposing possible options for a language policy for a future South Africa.

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[25] cited in Heugh, K: " Implications Now for a New Language Policy: A Case for Planning from Below ", National Language Project, Cape Town, p.2.

[26] Ibid. p.2.

There has been an important intervention made with regard to the language question by the African National Congress (ANC), whose workshop held in Harare in March 1990 on " Towards a language policy for a future South Africa ", has put the language issue on the agenda of progressive organisations. The Centre for Development Studies(CDS) and the National Education Crisis Committee(NECC) were given the task of following up proposals from the workshop. It was suggested that regional structures set up language commissions, the ultimate aim of which will be to formulate a language policy for the country through consulting with a wide range of progressive and other organisations. The CDS has set up a language study commission which is based in the Johannesburg area where various individuals, linked to schools, universities, colleges of education, literacy projects and church groups, concerned with the language issue are exploring ways of improving the teaching of language within their institutions. The debates around a language policy specifically, have been initiated by the National Language Project(NLP), a community-based initiative, working on the development of language policy in consultation with other community-based structures, educational bodies, youth groups, labour and the church. It is also looking at policy in practice in the area of literacy, English as second language(ESL), Xhosa conversation and translation. The NLP also has a publication, the Language Projects' Review which serves as a forum through which a range of positions on language issues can be expressed and debated. The NLP held a conference in September 1991 at the University of

Cape Town with international participants on " Democratic Approaches to language Planning and Standardisation " with special reference to " The Harmonisation of Nguni and Sotho Languages in South Africa ". The aim was to focus on practical proposals for language planning and standardisation in a democratic South Africa. The National Literacy Co-operation is also a recent structure which aims to bring together progressive literacy projects throughout the country. They are in the process of looking at ways of developing a core syllabus for literacy learners in the country.

There are also university based structures and language associations such as the South African Applied Linguistics Association(SAALA), and the recently established LiCCA (Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa) project of the University of Pretoria, who also held a conference in April 1992, where the future status of languages in South Africa and the process by which language planning will take place was debated. The Independent Examinations Board's council for Curriculum Development is also beginning to look at the language issue for South African schools. Another important development on the language front is the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). It has set itself the task of exploring policy options from the perspective of grassroots needs and opinions. Initiated and led by the NECC, NEPI has set up research groups covering formal and non-formal education at all

levels.[27] It is not the task of NEPI to formulate policy positions but to investigate the implications of different possible solutions to present problems. Besides these various actors concerned with the language issue, there are still a number of critical constituencies notes Heugh[28] who have not yet begun contributing toward language planning development. These include teacher trainers and teachers themselves. Both these groups according to Heugh are excellently placed to be able to contribute to any debate about language issues.

These organisations and interests based in civil society[29] have an important contribution to make in the formulation of public policy which policy makers need to seriously consider, as policy in the final instance will be decided by the government. It is the options of these non-governmental organisations which policy makers need to incorporate in an effort toward decentralisation and democratisation of policy making. A trend which Alberto Melucci[30]

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[27] The sub-research groups of the NEPI Language Research Group are to look at the following areas:
1. Teacher Training 2. Bilingual learners 3. Medium of Instruction 4. Publishing and Text-Books
5. Standardization and Interpretation 6. Articulating Policy Alternatives.

[28] Heugh, K., op. cit., p.3.

[29] Civil society - understood as 'private' organisations such as the church, trade unions, political parties, the mass media, schools, and in the activities of intellectuals.

[30] Melucci, A: "Nomads of the Present", ch.8, in: Keane, J. and Mier, P. (ed). Social Movements and Individual Needs in Civil Society: Hutchenson, London (1989).

points out is taking place in post-industrial democracies or what he calls " complex societies". These public spaces which are beginning to develop in complex societies says Melluci, are points of connection between political institutions and collective demands.

Implicit in the various debates on a new language policy for a post-apartheid South Africa is the notion that language is centrally tied to issues of transformation. It is hoped that an appropriately constructed language policy should include the ideals such as unity and national reconstruction. Neville Alexander is a strong proponent of this idea that language has a vital role to play in the development of any future South African/Azanian national unity, because it is this unity he believes, which apartheid has systematically denied and discouraged through its divide and rule policies. The separate languages that have been actively encouraged and codified have made many to see themselves as separate "nations". The object of the new democratic state will be to forge a new national culture states Alexander.[31]

The various notions of nation building also impact upon the way language is viewed, and the success or failure of any language policy is dependent upon this understanding. The link between language and nation building in this research is made within this

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[31] Alexander, N: Language Policy, and National Unity in South Africa/Azania: Buchu books, Cape Town (1989).

context. The success of any nation building exercise is also dependent on how and what type of a language policy is implemented, as is shown in the international examples in section B. In this section it is clear that language is more than a matter of grammar, it is part of the political, economic and social restructuring of any society.

The discussion thus far has situated language within the changing South African political context. This approach problematises the conventional understanding of language as a mode of communication pure and simple.

Language can be looked at in a purely linguistic manner, or it could be viewed as a social process. There are three dominant ways in which language has been understood. The correspondence theory, which views language as neutral, as a medium through which pre-linguistic meanings are transmitted. The structuralist paradigm based on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, stresses that signs are representational, since they have fixed meanings prior to their articulation in any particular speech act. The third paradigm is based on the work of poststructuralists who provide a critique of Saussure's theory. This approach sees language as an active, transitive force which shapes and positions the 'subject' while always itself remaining in process, capable of infinite adaptations. Language offers the possibility of constructing a world of individuals and things, and of differentiating between

them. It is within this paradigm that the language question in this research is understood.

The position I am opting for is a Gramscian position, in which language is central to hegemony and to the creation of a collective will. Language, understood in the Gramscian sense, is a social process and part of any nation building exercise.

Language as a social process is thus centrally tied to the social, economic, and political dimensions in any society and it is in this context that the discussion on policy and planning is viewed.

iv. RESEARCH FOCUS

The aim of this report was to ascertain how a sample of Johannesburg teachers' viewed the present language policy in education for a future South Africa. It further aimed to gather what teachers' views are on the role of language in the building of national unity, and to identify the possibilities and constraints in constructing an appropriate language policy in education.

As teachers play a significant role in the reproduction of social relations via the education system,[32] it is important that we understand their attitudes and opinions with regard to education,

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[32] For a more detailed discussion of this refer to Bowles, S and Gintis, H: Schooling in Capitalist America: Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1976).

and in this instance language in education. Teachers are important actors in allowing particular languages to become dominant and in this way allow languages to reproduce themselves in civil society. Schools are important sites in which language is made culturally dominant.

Any changes in the language policy in education will in the final instance come about by political means. However those organizations and institutions involved in the language policy debate agree that language planning initiatives from "below", from non-party political structures, need to be given a voice so that policy in the final instance can be negotiated through some democratic consensus. Teachers, says Heugh,[33] are excellently placed to be able to contribute to any debate about language issues, because teachers together with their students have noted the devastating effect of a party political hold on language policy in education in South Africa during the last forty years.

While it is true that most teachers contribute ideologically to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, in South Africa it is also true that many categories of teachers are oppressed in various ways by the bourgeoisie. Many teachers may be functionally organic intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, structurally they are not members

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[33] Heugh, K. op. cit. p.3.

of the bourgeois class.[34]It is for this reason that much debate has centred around the class position of teachers. Teachers also form part of the wider practices in civil society, and are constituted as subjects of a particular historical conjuncture. They therefore occupy a;

> "...plurality of subject positions that are embodied in a concrete inter-subjective encounter."[35]

The important point to note here is that teachers as subjects construct meaning and negotiate for its dominance, and it is for this reason that their involvement in any future language policy is important.

v METHODOLOGY

In gathering the primary data I relied on interviews. The interviews essentially were based on an open-ended questionnaire for teachers.[36] The responses formed the basis of the information that the inquiry required.

The research was in the first instance restricted to thirty schools

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[34] This is taken up in more detail by Sarup, M: Marxism, Structuralism, Education: The Falmer Press, London (1984), p.118. See also Connell, R.W: Teachers Work: George Allen and Numin, Sydney (1985) and Hyman, R. and Price, R: The New Working Class? White Collar Workers and their Organisations: Macmillan, London (1984).

[35] Shalem, Y: "Educated Labour: A study of white English-speaking Teachers in secondary government schools on the Witwatersrand", Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersand, Johannesburg (1990).

[36] see appendix 1.

and two English language teachers per school. The focus on English teachers only, has its limitations in that these teachers have a vested interest in the future position of English. However, their views do afford us with an insight into their perceptions of teaching English to second language speakers and their willingness to consider changes in language policies.

Due to the nature of the schooling system it was felt that there was a need to incorporate various government schools classified along racial lines, street academies and independent schools.[37] This choice was to allow the analysis to incorporate as wide a range of opinions which may also reflect opinions based on class and race in some instances.

The mass organizations of the people play an essential part in the political and social life of the people. For this reason the ongoing debate on language conducted by a wide range of organizations, particularly the NLP, CDS, and ANC was looked at. The information for the questionnaire was gathered from secondary source material which consisted of papers and documents put out by

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37 Street Academies. These schools grew from the state's inability to provide adequate education for the majority of South Africans. This led to communities taking independent initiatives to meet their educational needs.

Independent schools. These schools were also a response to the crisis in education in the 70's. These schools had an 'open' admissions policy and which were private and/or independent of the state.

the various organizations on the language debate.

The following are some of the issues which have emerged in the debates surrounding the construction of an appropriate language policy for a future South Africa. That language must help to build national unity. That English must be the national, or the official language of communication, with an African language taught alongside it as the national language. That all languages be accorded equal status and should be developed on an equal basis.

It is clear that researching contemporary debates is always made difficult by the fluidity of the issues and their proximity to current strategic thinking. Specifically, schools are caught in an ongoing battle on various fronts. Teachers have just recently engaged in "chalk-down" action. Therefore, the research and information may have implicitly reflected these conditions, which therefore required a degree of sensitivity.

Because the study is contemporary in its focus, the issues are not clear nor completely resolved. Many of the questions raised directly affected the participants in their teaching, nevertheless many issues were not thought through, particularly in the context of the wider ongoing debate on language policy. A number of factors, including access to certain schools, particularly Soweto and certain white schools, participants not returning the questionnaire, meant that the initial number of the sample

contained a certain margin of error.

This research is specific and limited and does not claim to express the views of all teachers.

The first section of the research report describes official language policy in education in the period since 1948 and identifies the assumptions underpinning this policy. Specifically, it is argued that official attempts to create ethnic identities through a racially-based form of social engineering was divisive and motivated more by considerations of political authority than by legitimate pedagogical objectives. The current context of transition from a race-based to a non-racial and democratic system has stimulated a thorough-going re-assessment of the relationship between politics, language and education within political organizations, universities and educationalists, with a view to the formulation of a new language policy. I suggest a theoretical framework based on a Gramscian position within which to understand the terms of the debate.

The second section explores the theoretical understanding of language in more detail by basing it in discourse theory and hegemony. The third places the issue of language in the context of current nation building debates. The fourth examines language, policy and planning in the context of international examples. The fifth is an analysis of the survey done to ascertain teachers'

opinions on various issues related to language in education. The final section is based on the recommendations made by teachers on a language policy in education for a future South Africa.

SECTION A

LANGUAGE, DISCOURSE THEORY, AND HEGEMONY

> " A definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world." Raymond Williams.[38]

It is important to theoretically explain the different ways in which language is understood. I argue that language is a part of hegemony in the Gramscian sense, whi.e rejecting a formalistic view of language.

There seems to be three dominant paradigms in which language has been understood. The first paradigm is referred to as correspondence theory. This theory is based on an empiricist understanding which holds that there is a one to one correspondence between the objects in the world, the words in language, and concepts. Put more simply, using an analogy by Morgan[39],language is like a window neutrally conveying the presence of the world to us. A word is thus a mere "sign" interposed between things and our ideas of them. Language plays the role of reflecting a fixed order beyond itself, and is located beyond the speaker within social relations. Language is neutral and free of ideological content. In other words language is seen as an innocent medium through which pre-linguistic meaning passes.

The second paradigm is the structuralist approach to language emphasised in the w[illegible]of Ferdinand de Saussure. Moving away from psycholinguistic and co[illegible]respondence theories of meaning, language is viewed as a structured set of differences, i.e. a set of codes,

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38 Taken from Morgan, B: "Three Dreams of Language", A paper presented at the fourth International Conference on the teaching of English. Cerleton University, Ottawa, Canada, May 1986, p.1, in Janks, H. "Language, Ideology, and Power", English methodology readings, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1990).

39 Ibid., p.3.

and conventions, which articulate the world in particular ways. Structures and relations are what are important in understanding social formation, not individuals. Saussure theorised language as an abstract system, consisting of chains of signs. Each sign is made up of a "signifier" (sound or written image) and a "signified" (meaning). Sounds and concepts are a unified entity and thus in language one cannot divide sounds from thought nor thought from sounds. Signs are defined in relation to each other, meaning is thus a product of the internal dynamics of language itself, and is not related to the subject as in correspondence theory. In other words sounds and meaning of a language exist only in their relation to each other, meaning comes from language it does not pre-exist it. The reality which the individual experiences is therefore not shaped by them, but by the language which they speak. This is clearly shown in the way in which Saussure's theory has consequences for the understanding of subjectivity. According to structuralists only the intersubjective (language) creates the possibility of subjective experience. Individuals are dependent on language for their "being". Thus language is seen as a process which precedes and exceeds the individual subject and which allows one to experience social life as such. It offers "subject-positions" from which the individual relates to the wider world. Meaning is not owned but merely a by product of discourse per se. Structuralism see signs as producing reality not simply as reflecting it.

If we look at how Saussure sees the domain of linguistics, it is clear that he excludes the domain of language and politics from linguistics proper. This he regards as "External Linguistics" :

> " Second come the relations between language and political history. Great historical events like the Roman conquest have an incalculable influence on a host of linguistic facts. Colonization, which is only one form that conquest may take, brings about changes in an idiom by transporting it into different surroundings. All kinds of facts could be cited as substantiating evidence. For instance, Norway adopted Danish when she united politically

> with Denmark; the Norwegians are trying today to throw off that linguistic influence. The internal politics of states is no less important to the life of languages...[40]

The third paradigm is referred to as dialogism where attempts are made to link concerns, in Saussure's terms, of "internal linguistics" of those with "external linguistics". Proponents of this theory, such as Mikhail Bakhtin, do not view language as neutral, they view it as a site of struggle, where different social values intersect for recognition. It is in the social structure that meaning is guaranteed. The world is reflected inside the word and the world is filled with contradictions. The dialogists concern is in understanding the way in which language is socially constructed, produces change and is changed in human life. This dialogic approach provides a greater insight into both the speaker and the linguistic structure and their role in society. Because language is seen as a contested terrain, both Foucault and Bakhtin see in language relations of power, as well as the possibility of a "counter-discourse" which has the potential of changing the speaker's (subject) understanding of society. The language content of the discourse of change lies in the understanding of meaning. Meaning for the dialogic approach is neither "owned" nor "rented", but instead is located "in-between" interlocutors on contested terrain. It is this struggle which destabilises any sign, makes it "multiaccentual" - i.e always potentially open to changed meanings,

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[40] de Saussure, F: Translated by W.Baskin. Course in General Linguistics: Peter Owen, London (1959), p.20.

commutable. Bakhtin politicises meaning. He understands it as;

> " a form of power made between situated social groups. The differential relations between words depends upon the differential positions (race, gender, class) of those who speak them, and the degree of freedom of those who listen to transvalue such signs, to establish, if needed, 'a counter-discourse'..."[41]

Extending on the third paradigm is discourse theory. Here "discourse" is used in its most open sense, to cover all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds. Discourse theory proposes that the way in which we speak and write determines social structures and that this relation is a dialectical one. Discourses differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape, and with the position of those who speak and those whom they address. The field of discourse is not homogeneous. Discourse is about how meanings are constructed. The statement made, the words used, depend on where and against what the statement is made. Meaning is not found in "language" but is to be found in the concrete forms of differing social and institutional practices. In a dialogue, the same word may be used in a very different and conflicting context. Different social classes use the same words in different senses and disagree in their interpretation of events and situations.[42] This

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[41] Morgan, B. op.cit., p.11.

[42] The many South African examples of linguistic features provides an important understanding of the relationship between language and power in South Africa. For example nation and "volk" are words in two South African languages which hold very different meanings in the arena of the politics of a new South Africa.

understanding opens up a space for looking at the ideological role which language plays within society. In order to understand our place in society we need to look at how discourses are set up historically and socially. If discourses are themselves understood as social acts, they have the potential to restructure or reproduce the social relations and conditions which shape them.

Moving beyond Saussure's theory of an abstract system of language, but using his theory of meaning, has allowed discourse theory to build an understanding of language as competing discourses, competing for ways of giving meaning to the world, which imply differences in the meaning of social power, explains Weeden.[43] This foregrounds the explicit linking of external and internal linguistics. Whereas Crowley notes language and politics as the domain:

> " which sees linguistic history to be a varying conflictual and power-laden set of relations concerned with the intertwining of language and race, language and nationality, language and colonization, language and institutions and so on. In its broadest scope it can be taken as the history of the role of language in the construction of forms of cultural identity."[44]

Discourse theorists indicate the ways in which the influences of language on race, nationality and cultural identity, determine the vocabulary, lexicon, grammar and syntax pertinent to the domain of

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[43] Weeden, C: Feminist Practice in Poststructuralist Theory: Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1987), p.21.

[44] Crowley, T: "Introduction. Language, history and the formation of cultural identity." in: Crowley, T: Proper English? Readings in language, history and cultural identity: Routledge, London (1991), pp.1-12.

internal linguistic.

The poststructuralists provide a critique of Saussure's notion of the fixing of meaning. They argue for the plurality of meaning or changes in meaning. Saussure's theory cannot account for the way the signifier "woman" can have many conflicting meanings which change over time. The poststructuralists speak of signifiers in which the signified is never fixed once and for all, but is constantly "deferred". Drawing here on Derrida's notion of "difference", meaning for him is no longer a function of the difference between fixed signifieds.[45] There is no fixed signified, since the meaning of concepts is constantly referred, i.e every articulation of a signifier bears with it traces of its previous articulation (in other discourses). Meaning is therefore constantly open to challenge and redefinition dependent on the discursive relations at any particular moment.[46] Derrida criticizes those who stress the unity and continuity of the individual subject. He opens the way for the reconceptulization of the speaking subject, not as the intending originator of speech acts, but as an effect of the structure of language.

Thus language, if understood in a historically specific range of ways of giving meaning to social reality, offers us various discursive positions, through which we can consciously live our

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[45] Morgan, B. op. cit., p.7.

[46] Weeden, C. op. cit.

lives. This implies the possibility for differences in the organisation of social power, giving space for democratic transformation and the possibility for creating new power relations.

Antonio Gramsci's work has been concerned with this process of social change. His work, and in particular, his use of the concept "hegemony", enables us to reflect on the way in which the ruling class organizes and maintains power in society.

HEGEMONY

Gramsci's concept of hegemony is understood as the consensual basis of an existing political system within civil society. That is, it has to do with the way one social group influences other groups, making certain compromises with them in order to gain their consent for its leadership in society as a whole.[47] Hegemony involves the successful mobilization and reproduction of the 'active consent' of dominated groups by the ruling class through the exercise of moral, intellectual and political leadership. Hegemony is a coming together of diverse world views diffused by agencies of ideological control - eg. schools, churches, and the media - it socializes people in every area of daily life.[48] Hegemony is not achieved by

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[47] Showstack Sassoon, A (ed): Approaches to Gramsci: Writers and Readers, London (1982), p.12.

[48] The practice of hegemony is carried out in the sphere of civil society, which as previously indicated, is understood as 'private' organisations such as the church, trade unions, political parties, the mass media, schools, and in

way of indoctrination or coercion of one class, it is created through an articulation of the interests of other social groups to its own, by means of ideological struggle. Hegemony has cultural, political, and economic aspects. Art, literature, and language are all elements of the expression of this hegemony.

For Gramsci then it is necessary to develop a counter-hegemonic ideology that is able to provide people with an alternative view of society, thus giving them the option to challenge the existing norm and to transform it.

Gramsci saw language as part of hegemonic activity in society. He looked at the ways in which language helps to develop the hegemonic domain, the role which language plays in the cultural context, and its consequences for subjectivity. It is important to note that Gramsci's concern with language is a political one ultimately, in that he believed that in order to transform society it may be necessary to learn a new language.

The issue of language is clearly stated in a section in the Prison Notebooks titled "Language, Languages, and Common Sense".[49] Language says Gramsci, is essentially a collective term,

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the activities of intellectuals.

[49] Gramsci. A: Prison Notebooks in: Hoare. Q and Smith. G.N. (eds). Selection from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci: Lawrence and Wishart, London (1971) p. 348.

in that it is not simply an individual elaboration but a cultural manifestation. Individuals who understand each other's mode of expression in differing degrees are unified to an extent. It is these historical and social distinctions and differences which are reflected in common language. The cultural aspect is therefore important in an understanding of language. A historical act for Gramsci can only be performed by 'collective man', not by individual acts alone. There is a certain cultural unity through which:

> " a multiplicity of dispersed wills, with heterogeneous aims, are welded together with a single aim, on the bases of an equal and common conception of the world."[50]

Common sense is in this sense embedded in language. Language therefore leads to collectively attaining some cultural unity.

The whole of language is a continuous process of metaphor,[51] and the history of semantics is an aspect of the history of culture. Gramsci conceived language as:

> " a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just of words grammatically devoid of content."[52]

Gramsci argues that it is not possible to remove from language its

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[50] Ibid., p. 349.

[51] Here Gramsci probably means the way in which words take on an historical meaning, more importantly the way in which the cultural context determines one's use and understanding of a particular word. In poststructuralist theory this would mean the way in which language takes on a particular understanding in discourse.

[52] Adamson. W.L: Hegemony and Revolution: University Press, California (1980), p. 151.

metaphorical and extensive meanings, because language is transformed only with the transformation of the whole of civilisation, through the acquisition of culture by new classes and through the hegemony exercised by one national language over others. What language does is precisely to absorb in metaphorical form the words of previous civilisations and cultures. The new 'metaphorical' meaning spreads with the spread of the new culture, which furthermore also coins brand new words or absorbs them from other languages as loan-words giving them a precise meaning and therefore depriving them of the extensive halo they possessed in the original language.

Gramsci believed that one's conception of the world will also be significantly affected by the nature of the national language. The following passage explains this in more detail, and the notion of common sense is perhaps the most important to grasp here.

> " If it is true that every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture it could also be true that from anyone's language one can assess the greater or lesser complexity of his conception of the world. Someone who only speaks dialect, or understands the standard language incompletely, necessarily has an intuition of the world which is more or less limited and provincial, which is fossilised and anachronistic in relation to the major currents of thought which dominate world history. His(her) interests will be limited, more or less corporate or economistic, not universal. While it is not possible to learn a number of foreign languages in order to put oneself in contact with other cultural lives, it is at the least necessary to learn the national language properly. A great culture can be translated into the language of another great culture, that is to say a great national language with historic richness and complexity, and it can translate any other great culture and can be a world-wide means of expression. But a

dialect cannot do this." [53]

This passage further highlights Gramsci's concern with the creation of a new culture and the way in which language may be able to assist in this. Gramsci believed that those who own or manage the wealth of a nation, are the ones who also control the national language. Therefore, knowing the national language is a way of gaining access to power in any society.

It must however be borne in mind says Gramsci, that no new historical situation, however radical the change that has brought it about, completely transforms language, at least in its external formal aspect. But the content of language must be changed, even if it is difficult to have an exact consciousness of the change in immediate terms. The above phenomenon is, moreover, historically complex and complicated by the existence of characteristic cultures among the various strata of the new social group, some of whom, in the ideological field, are still immersed in the culture of the preceding historical situations, including sometimes the one that has most recently been superseded.[54] It is therefore difficult to transform language as it is not simply a manifestation of a particular society and its cultural practices, it is the ensemble of all individual philosophies and philosophical tendencies, plus scientific opinions, religion and common sense. This would mean

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[53] Gramsci, A. op. cit., p. 325.

[54] Ibid., p.453.

that in order to transform language it may be necessary to get individuals to change their perceptions of their own reality.

Languages, then, for Gramsci are hegemonic instruments which can reinforce the value of common sense or potentially transmit new ones and that national languages can exercise hegemony over other national languages. The overcoming of the limitations of common sense is more likely in some languages than in others.[55] He believed that in order to break away from 'common sense', it may be necessary to learn a new language, or to challenge the assumptions embedded in existing language. It is within the sphere of civil society then that this challenge to break away from common sense and to challenge the existing perceptions within society lay. This follows from the fact that hegemony, according to Gramsci is exercised in civil society. The process of the formation of a new hegemony, is the creation of a 'higher synthesis', not simply a class alliance with each group maincaining its own individuality,

> " so that all its elements fuse in a 'collective will' which becomes the new protagonists of political action ...during that hegemony's entire duration."[56]

The process leading to the constitution of a new hegemony is, according to Gramsci, dependent on the moral and intellectual reform of a fundamental class through the creation of a "collective

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[55] Adamson W.L. op. cit., p. 151

[56] Mouffe, C: "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in:Bennet, T.(ed). Culture, Ideology and Social Process: Open University Press, London (1981), p.185.

will", which presupposes the attainment of a "cultural-social" unity.

Language, it is clear, plays an important role in society. It is not simply a means of communication. It is as Gramsci explains, part of hegemonic activity in society and the creation of a collective will. In other words, language can lead to collectively attaining some cultural social unity in society.

SECTION B

LANGUAGE AND NATION-BUILDING.

Given the exposition that language does play an important social role, for example, by providing access to economic and political power, to the point of developing hegemony and a collective will, it follows that language is integrally tied to the issues of the nation and the nation building exercise. In addition, notions of nation building also impact upon the way language is viewed. This is clearly illustrated in the meanings of concepts like "the nation" and "ethnic group" which have long been fiercely contested, both by scholars and political actors in South Africa because of the colonial origins and racial form of South Africa's socio-economic order and its political institutions. The inauguration of a transition away from the race-based order in South Africa has focused this ongoing debate on the concept of "nation-building". On the one hand, the wide currency now enjoyed by this concept indicates a degree of consensus that South Africans, potentially at least, constitute one nation; on the other, the diversity of meanings attached to the concept indicates deep differences on the nature of the emerging post-Apartheid order. This contestation of meanings of "nation" points to the historical terrain on which conflicts in South Africa proliferate, and thus the way in which the different actors understand their place in the South African social formation.

In their book From Apartheid to Nation-Building, Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer propose a "nation-building project"[57]based on "the genuine sharing of power"[58], which has as its goal " a transcendant South African nation-hood "[59], as an alternative to what they consider to be two predominant, polarised conceptions of the Nation - the National Party's white-led multi-racial nation based on statutory group classification[60] and the ANC's conception of an " African-led non-racial nation which demands the elimination of all forms of politicised ethnicity "[61]. They argue, that in deeply-divided plural societies like South Africa, group conflicts have, in addition to a material, interest-based component, an equally important "emotional", identity component as well.[62]Liberal individualism, of the American sort, that heralds individual rights and self-mobility cannot therefore, provide the philosophical basis for nation-building in South Africa; nor can liberal democracy, represented by the British constitutional system, provide an institutional framework for an accommodation of the various groups in South Africa.[63]Successful nation-building

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[57] Giliomee, H. and Schlemmer, L: From Apartheid to Nation-Building: Oxford University Press, Cape Town (1989), p.222.

[58] Ibid., p.222

[59] Ibid., p.222

[60] Ibid., p.209.

[61] Ibid., p.209.

[62] Ibid,, p.207.

[63] Ibid., p.207.

in South Africa would require, they argue, institutions of a consociational[64] type, which accommodates the corporate-group interests[65] of the white community.

The recently published provisional Law Commission Report[66] on a future South African Bill of Rights also argue that the theory of pluralism correctly identifies the source of conflict in South Africa[67] and therefore, that the accomodation of groups must be central to any nation-building project :

> " Fair and ... ation of communities within a nation can in fa... positive role, especially in the initial ... building,...If this is not done, ethnicity ... ructive polarising factor. "[68]

Since the Report is provisional only and does not advance any specific constitutional proposals, it is not certain whether the commission will conclude, in the way that Gilliomee and Schlemmer have done, that South Africa will require a consociational constitution in order to build a nation.

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[64] Ibid., p.207.

[65] Ibid., p.224.

[66] South African Law Commission, Interim Report o Group and Human Rights, August 1991.

[67] Ibid., p.34.

[68] Ibid., p.114.

In his work on language and nation-building Neville Alexander[69] contests the "sociological pluralism" assumed by Giliomee and Schlemmer to form the necessary basis of a nation-building project in South Africa :

> " ... at this moment, building the nation means, among other things, fighting against racism and against ethnic divisions or ethnic consciousness. That is to say the promotion of non-racialism, anti-racism and anti-ethnicism or anti-tribalism is to a large extent the meaning of the phrase 'building the South African/Azanian nation'."[70]

He attacks the static "cartesian"[71] characterization of the African social structure as a community or rather many communities with separate, discreet cultures. He advances instead a universalist conception of an indivisible human culture which potentially embraces all individuals.[72]He concedes however that there are different "traditions"[73] in South Africa. Nation-building is a process which combines " all positive and constructive elements in the different traditions that constitute South Africa".[74] A democratic language policy will play a crucial role in this constitutive process. Language, for Alexander, is more

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[69] Alexander, N. op. cit.

[70] Ibid., p.8.

[71] Alexander, N: Education and the Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa: Skotaville, Johannesburg (1990), p.78.

[72] Ibid., p.76.

[73] Ibid., p.77.

[74] Ibid., p.77.

than a medium of communication. Language creates meanings and therefore different languages, by transmitting the same cultural content, can create solidarity.[75]

Pallo Jordan[76] shares with Alexander a concern for the divisive consequences of ethnic manipulation in the service of white political power. He locates the nation-building project within the context of the struggle for national liberation. South Africa, argues Jordan, is currently divided into two national blocs (composed of different classes) as a result of colonial conquest, and the racial ordering of its representative institution :

> " 1910 thus entailed the formalization of a particular conception of the 'nation', which is reflective of the ideology of the dominant classes. In its pristine form it was projected as consisting of the white minority, with the Blacks an amorphous mass of colonial subjects under its tutelage. "[77]

The struggle of the South African people is therefore a struggle for self-determination, to be realised through the institutional framework of a non-racial state based on full adult suffrage.[78]

The process of national liberation through the establishment of

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[75] Ibid., p.80.

[76] Jordan, P: "The South African Liberation Movement and the Making of a New Nation", in: van Diepen, M. (ed). The National Question in South Africa. Zed books, London (1988).

[77] Ibid., p.113.

[78] Ibid., p.111.

democratic institutions, by dissolving the contradictions between the two antagonistic blocs, is simultaneously a process of nation-building.[79]The concept of an inclusive political community of equal citizens implicit in Jordan's analysis does not necessarily exclude the legal recognition of diversity within civil society:

> " The ANC recognizes that, owing to the diverse origins of the South African population, there are inevitably and will continue to be cultural expressions of this diversity - through the arts, in language, religious practice and other cultural usages. The democratic state cannot, however, seek to legislate on such matters, any more than it should legislate on what football or tennis club a private individual should join....Hence, we would give legal protection to those who wish to give expression to their cultural uniqueness, provided that this does not entail attempts to conscript others to such efforts against their will. We see no reason why diversity should be opposed to unity. "[80]

Two notable aspects of Jordan's concept of nation-building are his emphasis on political process and his idea of an inclusive political community of equal adult citizens as a foundation of a common nation-hood. While Aggrey Klaaste, the Sowetan editor, would probably not take issue with Jordans political objectives, the concept of nation-building Klaaste developed in response to the 1984 township rebellion in his editorial column and several newspaper articles, reflect, in some ways reminiscent of Booker T. Washington, an awareness of the socially disruptive consequences of confrontations with state power and the limits of liberal legalism.

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[79] Ibid., p.111.

[80] Ibid., p.119.

He therefore emphasises the need for an accumulation of capital, skills and knowledge within the black community as a pre-requisite to political emancipation :

> " Political kingdoms do not stand up on their own, pristine, exultant as a galvanising abstraction. They are also not the result only of politicising and rhetoric. Political kingdoms to be effective, lasting and particularly democratic, need all sorts of power structures to underpin them. They need a back-up of s t r o n g p e o p l e w h o h a v e c l o u t economically,...academically, who have strength to recognise the value of a free press, who have a spiritual or a religious foundation. "[81]

Johan Degenaar shares many of the concerns of the contradictory approaches to nation-building outlined above, and yet, agrees fully with none. For him, nationalism, an ideology which asserts a congruence of culture and state power,[82] is historically contingent, not a necessary way of defining the relationship between society and the state. He rejects the ideology of primodialism[83] which naturalises group differences and the forms of state based on ethnicity, as all modern theories of nationalism which makes the sovereignty of the people absolute, submerges the individual citizen,[84] and suppresses cultural diversity. South Africa should therefore abandon "Jacobin" attempts to build a nation in favour of a project to create a democratic society based

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[81] Klaaste, A: Sowetan, 24/10/1988.

[82] Degenaar, J: Nations and Nationalism - The myth of a South African Nation, p.11, IDASA Occasional Paper, no.40.

[83] Ibid., p.11.

[84] Ibid., p.15.

on common constitutional values.[85]

How the concept of national unity is understood in the many discourses found in the South African social formation is therefore of crucial importance to any language policy debate.

Following Gramsci, language is centrally tied to the development of a new hegemony and the creation of a collective will. Put differently, language according to Gramsci, impacts on any nation building exercise because language is the central tool in any hegemonic process.

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[85] Ibid., p.15.

SECTION C

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING.

Given what Gramsci has said about hegemony and collective will, language is important socially. What follows is an international exposition of countries where language policy and planning had become an important aspect in the process of the new social processes which were underway. The examples show that language is not viewed simply as a matter of grammar, but is centrally tied to social, economic and political restructuring. These international examples are important in showing the policy implications at grassroots level. The way in which conceptions of nation imparted on language policies in other countries is a further example of the lessons we need to learn from.

1. INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

In Africa and Asia, in the post-colonial period, the desire of the newly independent states political leaders have been to make "the nation" the frame of reference for the creation of common loyalties and of a new national ideology. Where the society is plural, says Prof. Kelly,[86] with racial, tribal, religious, linguistic, and nationality groups with strong attachments to their own groups, there has often been conflict. The new nations, not only through the territorial accidents of geography and history, but also through their own policies, have faced intense minority problems.

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[86] Prof. Kelly: "Minorities and the Law", 1990. Mimeo.

The language policies adopted in these newly independent states have often been implemented with the hope to overcome these cultural and linguistic differences through a common language while at the same time recognizing the right of other languages by encouraging their use and development.

Language, according to Kelman;

> " is a uniquely p . .rful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system. " [87]

However, cautions Kelman;

> " while the development of a national language may be highly conducive to the creation and strengthening of national identity, the deliberate use of language for purposes of nat al identity may at least in a multiethnic sta' ave more disruptive than unifying consequences. "[88]

The issue of national identity becomes particularly important in a multilingual setting because the dynamic of the linguistic situation depends on how the language factor is handled in the process of nation building. Even where a new nationality has been created, notes Prof. Kelly, it is fragile and tends to break under stress of political competition amongst groups. The experiences of Canada, Belgium, India and Nigeria have shown that language attitudes of the various linguistic groups and the implementation

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[87] Kelman, H.C: "Language as an Aid and Barrier to involvement in the National System", ch.2, p.21 in: Rubin, J and Jernudd, B.H. Can Language be planned? The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu (1971).

[88] Ibid., p. 21.

of language choice have been influential in the struggle for national integration.

Conversely, in a multilingual setting the suppression or non-recognition of the minority language or the subordination of one language to another, could lead to the mobilisation of ethnic tensions and thus to the destabilisation of the nation-building project. This, notes Walters,[89] can have political and constitutional consequences which governments should not disregard. Belgium, Quebec and Wales provide strong case studies in this regard.

This point will be relevant to South Africa as it undergoes a transition from apartheid to a constitutionally-based democracy. The need to consider the language question in relation to the process of constitution-making has already received some attention. The new constitution will probably contain expressed provisions with regard to language rights. The first report of the Olivier Commission(1989) and the ANC's draft Bill of Rights, both include provisions for fundamental language rights in a new

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[89] Walters, D.B: " The Legal Recognition and Protection of Language Pluralism. (A Comparative Study with Special Reference to Belgium, Quebec and Wales. in Acta Juridica, Juta & Company ltd, Cape Town (1978. Vol.III), p. 305.

constitution.[90] The guaranteeing of linguistic freedom, which is:

" the right of every person individually or together with others to use his/her language....." (Olivier 1989:479).[91]

is the most basic principle when talking about language rights.[92] In article 5 of the ANC's draft Bill of Rights there are five clauses which deal expressly with the question of language rights, on the basis not of taking away language rights that already exist, but of giving recognition to the many South African languages that have been marginalised or recognised only in the context of Bantustans.[93]

Language rights and the constitution can very often become a

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90 Fundamental language rights are those language rights: " which the legislator grants to all the people of a country, with the provision that no legislation or executive or administrative action of any sort shall infringe them in any way, except as provided in the rest of the constitution." (Olivier, 1989:476) cited in Schuring, G.K: "Towards a new language policy for South Africa: the status of the indigenous languages". HSRC, Pretoria (1991), p.2.

91 Ibid., p.3.

92 The contradiction implicit in the notion of linguistic freedom is that this " freedom " is limited by the fact that certain language/s are designated as official.

93 Some thought is already being given to the issue of the status of the indigenous languages in the new constitution. Schuring, G.K. "Towards a new Language Policy for South Africa: the Status of the Indigenous Languages.", Sekhukhune, P.D. "Towards Status Planning of the Indigenous Languages in a New South Africa." and Heine, B. "Towards Language Planning in a Post-Apartheid South Africa." - All three papers were presented at the LiCCA conference in April 1991.

complex and difficult task especially in a country with a diverse range of language speakers such as we have in South Africa. Nigeria is a country which clearly portrays the complexity of language and the constitution in a multilingual society. It took six constitutions between 1947 and 1979 to arrive at the present official language policy in Nigeria.

Part of what makes the process of the formulation of a language policy such a contentious issue in a multilingual country is the selection of the official language, and very often becomes the task of the judiciary. One of the issues in the current language debate is the choice of the official language to be used in South Africa. By choosing one language to serve as the official language, means that the government advances one language against all other languages. In many African countries upon attaining independence, the selection of the language of the former colonial ruler, English or French, as the official language was very often due to the belief that it would serve to promote national unity because, a point Cluver[94] makes, there are various indigenous languages and none have enough prestige or the numerical superiority necessary to be official languages. The administrative, legal, and educational infrastructure is also usually well established in the colonial language. Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda and Zimbabwe therefore selected English as their official language, while French was chosen as the

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[94] Cluver, A.D. de V: "Language planning models for a post-apartheid South Africa": University of South Africa, Pretoria (1990) Mimeo, p. 12.

official language of Senegal, Zaire and the Ivory Coast. In Tanzania however, much has been done to elevate Kiswahili to national status,[95] in an attempt to promote indigenous languages. Its ability to be a vehicle of development is constantly enhanced, but where English is to be retained for participatory purposes, i.e. in activities with a worldwide orientation, like international business, diplomacy, science and technology, and university education.[96] Mazrui[97] while accepting the importance of French and English and its political neutrality in the context of Africa's multi-ethnic societies, points to the fact that they do not necessarily help to overcome the crisis of national integration, and at the grass-roots level; European languages are intrinsically

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[95] Often the terms official and national language are used interchangeably. "A national language uniquely reflects the history and culture of its speakers and can serve as a national symbol, it can also serve as an official language. A country can have various national languages." An official language "is a language used by a government for specific purposes as part of its official language policy." Taken from Cluver, A.D.de V: "First Draft of a Dictionary of Language Planning Terms": University of South Africa, Pretoria (1990) mimeo, p.12.

[96] The negative consequences for development in Tanzania with regard to having a foreign language as the medium of instruction have been looked at by Saida Yahya-Othman from the university of Dar Es Salaam, in an article titled " When International Languages Clash ", p.165, in Ngara,E. and Morrison, A. (ed): Literature, Language and the Nation: ATOLL in association with Baobab Books, Harare (1989). Her article is useful in that she examines the present socio-economic conditions in Tanzania and in this context argues against using English as a medium with which to modernise.

[97] Mazrui, A. and Tidy, M: Nationalism and New States in Africa: Heinemann, London (1884), ch.17 p.300.

and hopelessly ill-equipped to meet the challenge, and thus constitutes an impediment to the process of national integration. It is necessary therefore to have a national and a regional African language which could promote integration at two levels: horizontally among the masses of different ethnic groups and vertically to narrow the gap between the masses and the educated elite. [98]

1.(i) NIGERIA

Choosing the official language is often not easy as there is a clear tension between the choice of the official language and the promotion of a national language in many African countries. Akinnaso[99] in examining Nigeria's language policy, states that while the policy objectives, as stated in the constitution and the National Policy on Education, centre around the building of a nation and at the same time allowing for the preservation and development of the peoples' culture and language, the objectives tend to pull the policy in different directions. For example says Akinnaso, the affirmation of cultural pluralism necessarily contrasts with the call for integration into a unified national culture, just as the continued use of English as the official language of government and much of education clearly undermines the

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[98] Ibid., p.300

[99] Akinnaso, F.N: "Towards the Development of a Multilingual Language Policy in Nigeria" in: Journal of Applied Linguistics, March 1991, vol.12, no.1.

development of local languages.[100]

The language policy adopted at the national level and the choice of the official language impacts greatly on the choice of the medium of instruction at school. While the development of the indigenous languages in multilingual societies is encouraged through promoting mother-tongue instruction, the choice of the official language forces students to acquire the official language as soon as possible, as it is associated with providing access to economic and political resources.

On the other hand the language being used in the schools can be a measure of the strength or weakness of a given culture. Where a culture feels itself to be threatened, its proponents may well see the education system as an important means of survival. Quebec is a case in point where many Quebecious see their culture being threatened by the Anglophones and education has become an important battle ground for this fear.

1.(ii). CANADA.

In Canada there are two contesting languages being spoken. Since English and French alone have any official status, linguistic minority can only mean anglophone or francophone. Herein lies the

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[100] English has been retained as Nigeria's official language and without explicitly saying so Huasa, Igbo and Yoruba are conferred national status in the 1979 constitution.

paradox of the Canadian politics of language notes Martin.[101] In Canada, Quebec sees itself as the home of a threatened minority, yet within the boundaries of the province itself, French is the language of the majority.

Martin, in examining the language question in the Canadian constitution, makes certain recommendations in light of the Canadian experience for South Africa.[102] His central point is that language divisions cannot be resolved through constitutional means. That the creation of constitutional rights in relation to language will not dispel the hostilities and fears which surround its use. To formally recognize linguistic divisions in a constitution is to define them as permanent subjects of political conflict, as has been the case in Canada.

Elwyn R. Jenkins,[103] president of the English Academy of Southern Africa has made some long term observations with regard to education and the language provisions in a future constitution of South Africa. He comments that the effect of constitutional changes with regard to the legal status of the various languages and the desegregation of schools will have far reaching consequences on the

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[101] Martin, R: "Language in the Canadian Constitution: Possible lessons for South Africa." 1990. Mimeo.

[102] Ibib., p.22.

[103] Jenkins, E R: "Language and Education in South Africa." Paper presented at the LiCCA conference, Pretoria, April 1991.

teaching of languages in South African schools. The effects will be seen at all levels of education, from legislation on educational structures, teacher training and staffing, through curriculum and syllabus design, right down to teaching methodology, teachers' attitudes and behavior, and the hidden curriculum of schools. Certain aspects of a Bill of Rights will convey general expectations among people of what constitutes their democratic rights. An example of what educationalists may have to consider is the issue of compulsory language subjects. Will it only be the official language or languages. Will pupils who find themselves in the minority in a school have the right to be taught their own language. Somewhere between human rights, national legislation and local options, says Jenkins, education departments are going to have the huge task of trying to keep everyone happy and making provisions for language teaching that will be of use to citizens and the country.

It is clear that the task of language planning and policy formulation is an area which is complex and can lead to much tension in a multilingual country. Contemporary language politicians and researchers[104] have made extensive contributions

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[104] Among others: Young, D. ed. Language Planning and Medium in Education. Cape Town: The Language Education Unit and SAALA, 1987, Fishman, J.A. Language and Nationalism. Newbury, 1972, Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. ed. Can Language be Planned? Honolulu: the University Press of Hawaii, 1971, Kelman, H.C. " Language as aid and barrier to involvement in the national system." In: Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. Ibid,. p.21-25.Paulston, C.B. op. cit., Bamgbose, A. "When is Language Planning

toward language planning, especially in developing countries, and it is this wealth of information which will greatly assist those working towards a language policy for a future South Africa.

Also, noting the many problems experienced in some African countries, the language policies adopted in these countries have many lessons from which we can learn. One of them is that language diversity is a societal resource and not a problem. Dr.Hans R.Dua[105] is critical of the current language planning paradigm which considers language as a problem. Fishman whose definition on language planning, used in the introduction of this section, provides the view of language planning based on the notion of language problem. This is, notes Dua, because the current language paradigm is characterised in terms of the features of unity, assimilation, development and centralization, which often support the dominant structures of the colonial language and fails to account for the linguistic diversity and expectations of the developing languages. The recognition of language as a societal resource is based on the principles of language rights and language equality, says Dua. Language diversity is viewed not only as an

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not Planning?".Journal of West African Language, 1987. vol.xvii, no.1, Dr. Dua, H.R. "New Language Planning Paradigm: The Destiny of the Developing Languages." Paper presented at the LiCCA Conference, April, 1991.

105 Dr. Hans R. Dua: "New Language Planning Paradigm: The Destiny of the Developing Languages." Paper read at the LiCCA conference on Language Planning in a Post-Apartheid South Africa, April 1991, University of Pretoria.

instrumentally or functionally important asset but also as inherently valuable. This perspective considers language development not only in relation to socio-economic, cultural and political conditions but also the dynamic interdependence between different languages. The success of the developing languages depends on how far the developing nations succeed in the realization of this goal. Many African writers such as Ngugi wa Thiongo and Ali Mazrui, are talking about reviving African Culture. This cultural heritage which is embedded in the many languages of Africa are becoming an important vehicle for what Ngugi calls "decolonising the mind". It is hoped that this cultural revival will promote a sense of unity among the many people in Africa. In a similar vein Paulston[106] argues that the uncertainty of language planning in education will be reduced if the planners consider the social context, especially the social, cultural, and economic forces which contribute to language maintenance and shift in multilingual settings.

In contrast to what writers such as Ngugi hope to achieve in the context of multilingual Africa, recently independent Namibia has chosen English only as the language of national unity.

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106 Paulston, Christina Bratt "Linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in multilingual settings." in:Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), 1983, p.282.

1.(iii). NAMIBIA.

Namibia on achieving independence on 21 March 1990 put into effect its newly formulated language policy. Namibia like South Africa, is a multilingual country and some lessons may be learnt from their experiences with a new language policy when we begin to formulate a language policy for South Africa.

Article 3 of the Namibian constitution states that the official language will be English. It permits the use of any other medium of instruction in private or state schools, subject only to certain requirements which may be imposed by law, to ensure proficiency in an official language or for pedagogic reasons. This article further provides for the use of languages other than English for "legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in areas where such other language/s are spoken by a substantial component of the population ".[107]The constitution of Namibia does not of itself prescribe a policy notes Harlech-Jones, but provides certain Articles which have direct bearing on language and other Articles from which approaches towards language matters can be inferred.

Afrikaans and English were the two official languages prior to independance, while German retained the status of a semi-official language. Afrikaans was used by about 90% of the population as a second or third language and was effectively the main official

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107 Harlech-Jones, Brian. "A note on language policy and the constitution" in: Language Society of Namibia - News, 1990.

language in Namibia.[108] It served as the lingua franca of Namibia and was also the main language of education in most Namibian schools.

The decision to choose English as the official language of Namibia was taken in principle in a document "Towards a language policy for Namibia" published by the UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka in 1981, and by the publication of the " Report of the Seminar on the English Language Programme for Namibians " (SWAPO and Commonwealth Secretariat, 1983),[109] SWAPO used this language policy in its struggle against the South African occupation of Namibia. Afrikaans was always associated by SWAPO with apartheid and seen as a symbol of oppression. By shifting the emphasis away from Afrikaans, an attempt was made to orientate Namibia away from economic and cultural ties with South Africa. English was chosen as a "neutral" language to assist in nation-building.

Namibia's language policy was based on one of the most comprehensive language projects undertaken to date, according to Cluver,[110] who also points to some of its problems. The decision to use English as the official language has far reaching

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[108] Cluver, A.D. de. V. "The new language policy of Namibia". University of South Africa, 1990, p.2.

[109] Harlech-Jones, Brian. "The National Language Question: English and Multilingualism in Independent Namibia." in: ELTIC Reporter, Oct.'89, vol. 14. no.3.

[110] Cluver., op. cit., p. 6.

implications, knowing that less than five percent of the population speak it as a mother-tongue. That the administration and education of the country is in the colonial language and that many older Namibians may have to learn a third official language. One of the problems of the new language policy was that it was accepted too enthusiastically and various schools in Ovambo and the Afrikaans speaking Rhehoboth territory began teaching English from the very first school year. This switch to a foreign language at a very early age could have its problems. It was also found that when English was introduced as the medium of education in many schools, teachers had problems and there were insufficient education materials available. The aquiring of English may create false expectations in the economic sector, where people with a knowledge of English will expect to be appointed in the civil service or in industry. With this in mind says Cluver its implementation will require considerable commitment from the Namibian government and patience from its people.

The positive implications of this language policy is that Afrikaans will not become a dying language but will exist as a minority language alongside other minority languages. Afrikaans speakers will have the space to preserve their language, and this says Cluver, may help to reduce the distance between the various Afrikaans-speaking groups in Namibia. The commitment toward the development of indigenous languages is also important in creating positive attitudes amongst speakers of these languages.

The language policy being debated for a future South Africa will need to take seriously some of the issues mentioned with regard to Namibia's language policy.

It is clear that any language policy which is adopted by a country has to take into consideration the national goals of a country. In developing countries and newly acquired independent states, the issue of national unity seems to occupy a central focus particularly where linguistic and cultural diversity has the potential of causing conflict and strife.

Similarly, as South Africa moves towards a negotiated settlement, the question of national reconciliation is high on the agenda of all policy formulation, and language is no exception.

SECTION D

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY

The core research for this report was conducted from March 1991 to September 1991. It was conducted by means of questionnaires and interviews. Questionnaires were administered to 46 English subject teachers covering a broad cross-section of schools in the greater Johannesburg area. Schools under the four main Departments, namely: the Tranvaal Education Department(TED); Department of Education and Trai. ng(DET); House of Delegates(HOD); House of Representatives(HOR); including a Street Academy; and three Independent schools were chosen for the survey. It is hoped that the sample chosen would provide an opportunity to compare teachers views across the education spectrum found in South Africa as well as across the racial divide. Out of the 46 teachers surveyed, 13 were from primary schools. I administered the questionnaires, and I conducted brief interviews with some of the teachers when collecting the questionnaires.

Both the questionnaires and the interviews were used to find out respondents' views on the current language policy and their recommendations for a language policy for education in a post-apartheid South Africa. The claim that teachers' views be incorporated in any discussions on a future language policy is strengthened by the varied informed opinions given by the respondents. A number of teachers felt that they had not thought through the issues raised in the questionnaires and felt uncertain

about some of their responses. They however, expressed gratitude for being given a voice.

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

All 46 respondents taught English as their main subject. A total of 24% of high school teachers taught English as a second language as well. Only 4,4% of high school teachers taught English plus another subject, compared to primary school teachers who all taught English and two or more subjects. With regard to the standards being taught all the teachers taught two standards or more.

The following tables indicate the number of years the subject (English) was taught, and the age of the respondents.

Table: 6

No. of years subject taught	%
1 - 3	26.1
4 - 7	21.7
8 - 10	23.9
10 - 27	28.3

Table: 7

Age of teachers	%
20 - 25	17.4
26 - 30	26.1
31 - 35	10.9
36 - 40	21.7
41 - 50	17.4
55 and over	6.5

The above suggests that the teachers interviewed had a number of years teaching experience in their particular subject(s), as well as having been in the teaching profession for some time. It is for this reason perhaps that we need to take their views seriously.

It was found that all the secondary school teachers in the TED, HOR, and the independent schools, had English as their mother-tongue, and taught students whose mother-tongue ranged from English, Afrikaans, and indigenous languages, to Portuguese, Hindi and Italian. A similar situation was revealed for primary school teachers in the HOR schools. In the TED primary schools however, the teachers had Afrikaans, Greek and English as their mother-tongue and taught children whose mother-tongue was English or Afrikaans. In the HOD schools both primary and high school teachers spoke Urdu, Gujerathi and /or English as their mother-tongue and taught students whose mother-tongue included English, Afrikaans, an Indian language ard a range of indigenous languages.

This multilingual situation is a recent phenomenon for HOD and HOR schools, who have, since 1985, "opened" their schools under certain conditions.[111] In March 1990 the minister of education and culture(House of Assembly) announced three possible models for TED schools concerning the opening of white schools to other races. Model A allows the school to close down as a state school and to reopen as a private school. Model B allows the school to remain as a state school but with an 'open' admissions policy. Model C allows the school to be a state aided semi-private school. All these models are subject to certain conditions.[112] Two of the white schools chosen for this survey seem to have followed the Model B option.

It was found that only 15,2% of the respondents did not belong to any organisation. Teachers at TED schools were affliated to either the Federaleonderwysraad(FOR), Transvaal Teachers Association(TTA), Teachers Federal Council(TFC), or the South African Teachers Council(SATC). All the teachers at HOD schools belonged to some organisation. A large percentage of them(21,7%) belonged to the South African Democratic Teachers' Union(SADTU), while other organizations include the Lenasia English Teachers Society, Lenasia

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[111] See SAAIR, Race Relations Survey, 1980/1990. Johannesburg. 1990. p.768. Also refer to Carrim, N and Sayed, Y: "Desegregation in Coloured and Indian Schooling": Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1992

[112] See Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed, "Open schools: Reform or Transformation.", in WIP 74, 1991, p.21.

Shree Siva Temple, the ANC, Lenasia Womens League, Homestead Park Residence Association and Mayfair Literacy Group. At HOR schools 10,9% of teachers belonged to SADTU and only 2% were members of the Teachers Association of the Transvaal(TAT) and TTA. The teachers at the Independent schools belonged to SADTU, the Independent Schools Council or the South African Association of Independent Schools (SAAIS), which teachers at the Street Academy also belonged to.

TEACHERS' VIEWS ON THE PRESENT LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION.

When teachers were asked if there was a need for a new language policy for schools in a future South Africa, the following responses were recorded.

Table: 8

In favour	84.7%
Not in favour	10.9%
Uncertain	4.4%

Reasons provided for having a new language policy were firstly, that the present policy is shortsighted and outdated in that it does not take present needs into account. Here teachers were referring to the changing student population in many "open" schools. Teachers also referred to the particular bias in the present policy and felt that it does not cater for the needs of the respective communities. In this regard they strongly believed that the present policy was divisive and "discriminatory as it stands".

Many of the respondents agree that the language policy implemented for African schools in particular has been detrimental to the development of a child's cognitive and creative skills. This response from a DET teacher strongly makes the point;

> " the content and form of the language curricula is developed to disempower African people. Pupils' creative side is not taken into cognisance, it is designed for communication purposes only and to perpetuate servitude".

A similar sentiment was expressed in this response from another DET teacher who states;

> " we have seen the effects of the apartheid language policy. DET schools have not been able to recover from the devastation ".

Segregated schools which have been admitting black pupils have come to realize the problems these children have in coping with an English only medium school. As one TED teacher indicated;

> " there is a great failure rate among pupils whose mother-tongue is not English ".

The 10,9% of respondents who held views contrary to the above, came from Afrikaans medium schools. They felt that the policy was adequate, that children must be taught in the two official languages, and the other languages will " automatically fall into the second and third category of languages in a country ".

The general impression gained from the responses was that the language policy presently at work in schools is not adequate in that it has done little that is positive educationally for those

students whose mother-tongue is not English. But more importantly the present language policy is not appropriate as it is not able to meet the changing needs of schools which are becoming multilingual. These are the very concerns that have occupied organizations like NEPI, NLP and LiCCA who are debating ways of redressing the harm already done and finding a balance which will not compromise any linguistic community.

TO ASCERTAIN WHAT TEACHERS' VIEWS ARE ON THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE BUILDING OF NATIONAL UNITY.

> " ...Language policy can become an instrument to unify our people instead of being an instrument of division,...We need to make a democratically conceived language policy an integral part of our programmme for national unity and national liberation."[113]

> " It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognize the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development."[114]

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[113] Alexander, N., op.cit., p.5.

[114] ANC Constitutional Guidelines.

The ANC and Neville Alexander have the perception that language can aid in the creation of national unity. When this question was asked to teachers the following responses were noted.

Table: 9

	Yes	No
a) Do we need to build national unity?	97.8%	-
b) Can language build national unity?	93.5%	-
c) Do you see teachers as key players in creating a unified nation?	93.5%	-

It is interesting to note that there was an overwhelming agreement among teachers that we need to build national unity in South Africa and that language can aid in this process. The same number of respondents (93,5%) saw teachers as key players in creating a unified nation. Even those teachers from Afrikaans medium schools who said that we do not need a new language policy answered yes to the above questions. Although teachers supported the notion of "language and nation building " they were cautious of how they saw it working said one respondent;

> " yes language can build national unity, but it can break it if forced on a people".

It was also felt that language can contribute towards this process provided it worked in conjunction with nation building, and that as a policy option or ideal, it is fully possible. One respondent made

an important point with regard to this idea of a common unifying language by stating that a common language can build unity because it can provide a "norm" of meanings. But cautioned that this will not necessarily lead to consensus as often, the worst disagreements occur when people disagree over their interpretation of a meaning. This point is clearly illustrated in the section which analyses the various debates around the concept of nation-building in a future South Africa, where it is clear that the outcome of the nation building exercise is dependent on how the various political actors understand the concept "nation".

The above illustrates the negative image teachers have of apartheid South Africa and their commitment to a better future. It can be assumed that many teachers may not be familiar with the complex issues surrounding the concept of language and nation building, but the central ideas of academics and organisations who propound this idea were implicitly embedded in the consciousness of the teachers of this sample. This is partially illustrated by the responses given to question (b);

- " Language is a powerful tool to build national unity. "
- " A 'nation' should have land and language to share if it is to be 'one'."
- " A language in common allows people to believe that they are starting from a common point, hence being allowed equal education and economic opportunities. "

These responses illustrate the general thinking around language and nation building. The following responses seem to be close to the thinking of Alexander and Jordan in that they recognize the importance of the different cultures and the need to retain their languages but at the same time recognizing the need to find common ground as Alexander states, by fighting ethnic divisions or ethnic conciousness.

- " There is a need to strive to find common ground, we cannot afford to divide people further. We need to close gaps created by inherited historical faults. We have to lessen the gulf of separation. "

- " Language is a culture bearer. We need to forge a national South African culture instead of clinging to ethnic identities. "

In all the above responses three identifiable features can be found. Firstly, the agreement that a common language was the key to forging a common identity between the various cultures that are present in South Africa. Secondly, that effective communication was vital to build a nation, and thirdly, if we can communicate comfortably in a language mutual to all, then it is half the battle won. This point is supported by Gramsci's contention that it is at least necessary to learn the national language properly if one is to function fully in that society. English was proposed as this common language, an issue which will be dealt with later. It is clear that there is a common perception that there is no real understanding of other cultures and therefore no sense of belonging to a common country. This tendency is once again illustrated in teachers' response to the next question on whether they think the

current policy has worked against the development of various cultures in South Africa, when 71,7% of the respondents answered yes. Four of the respondents who answered no to the question, were from Afrikaans medium schools, which could suggest that the present language policy has aided in the development of the Afrikaaner culture.

POSSIBILITIES AND CONSTRAINTS.

There are various possibilities and constraints when formulating a language policy, and some of them have been identified from the literature looking at a language policy for a future South Africa.[115]

There seems to be a consensus among the various academics and organizations that English should be the lingua franca of a future South Africa. The motivation being that it is an international language, a language of higher learning, that it can serve as the linking language among the various linguistic groups and more important it is an already established language with many resources to offer. While at the same time others have recognised English as an elite language which empowers those who have access to it and serves as a barrier to those who do not, particularly people living

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[115] See Alexander, N, Op.cit., Readings from the ANC Language Workshop on "Towards a Language Policy for a Post-Apartheid South Africa", held in Harare, March, 1990, IEB Language Colloquim 3, October,1990, On going publications of the NIP and NEPI.

in the rural areas.

When teachers were asked the following set of questions, i.e.

a) What language/s of instruction should be taught at school?,

b) Should there be any one compulsory language as a medium of instruction at school?,

c) Which language/s do you see as building national unity?,

d) Do you think the aquisition of English will open ways for further educational, economic, and political opportunities?,

English was the emphatic choice, even though some respondents balanced this with other language choices. The following results emerged:

Table:10

English	%
a)	89.1
b)	73.9
c)	89.1
d)	100.0

What appears to be the most common reasons given by teachers from across the different education departments is that English is an international language thereby seeing the importance of South Africa as being part of the international world. They also see it as a language which can provide access to education, politics, and to the economic sector, i.e to better employment. As this response clearly illustrates;

> " English enjoys exceptional status in that it has international command. South Africa is a multilingual country, yet it seems inclined towards English which is an advantage in education, technology, politics and commerce".

A noticeable factor was that all teachers from DET schools motivated strongly for English to be the medium of instruction in schools and to be the national language, with a qualifying their response by arguing for the importance of mother-tongue which teachers from the other departments did. This tendency was again noted when a teacher from the Street Academy asked her students, who are predominantly black, " which language/s should be the medium of instruction at school? ", all her students opted for English according to the teacher. They saw English as a hundred percent guarantee for future success, and as the language of a future South Africa. Namibia's choice of English as the official language was based on similar reasons.

It is clear that both black teachers and students see Bantu Education, with its emphasis on mother-tongue instruction, as a deliberate attempt by the apartheid authorities to deny them access to better job opportunities. The high failure rate among DET students is attributed to problems caused by the fact that black pupils have to learn not only their mother-tongue but also both official languages as a second language, which is coupled by poor language teaching due to a lack of qualified teachers. While the other population groups have to learn only one official language as

a second language.[116]

A further common factor cited among teachers was that English was the language common to most South Africans, it is politically neutral and therefore could be the language which links people of different cultures. However, while English was accepted as the language which would build national unity, many teachers recognised the importance of the other languages spoken in South Africa. As one teacher stated, that if English were the choice "it should not deny one's first language ".

This tendency for opting for English but not at the expense of other languages was further illustrated when the issue of a compulsory language as a medium of instruction was raised. It was agreed upon by a total of 73,9% of the respondents that there should be a compulsory medium of instruction at school and English could be that language. One of the respondents felt that;

> " English may not be ideal, but we need a set medium of instruction to ensure a common link between schools in the country - otherwise there will not be educational unity ".

Another respondent suggested that it be a mother-tongue if possible otherwise it should be the official language.

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[116] See Race Relations Survey 1989/90 and also "Languages and Language Instruction ", Human Sciences Research council, Investigation into Education, Report of the working committee, 1981.

Those who answered no to the question, about 19,6%, felt that it depends on the school, and that it should be the choice of the parents and students concerned.

Once again a similar sentiment was conveyed in teachers' responses to the issue of introducing one or more indigenous languages at school, and their choice of which language/s it should be. This was a difficult question for most teachers as they were resistant to comment on a language choice. However, those who did comment suggested that the language chosen should be according to majority preference, while some respondents felt that one has to look at the needs in particular areas or regions. Many teachers felt that it should not be prescriptive at this stage, but open to debate. That a census will possibly decide which language/s should be taught, as it would be discriminating to simply choose one. Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho were seen as possible language choices, which however would also be area specific.

From the above responses it is clear that most teachers surveyed, and here one could perhaps generalise and say that most South Africans, are not fully aware of the linguistic situation in this country, i.e which are the dominant languages, how many people speak the various languages within South Africa, which languages are particular to certain areas, and so on. There seems therefor , to be a need to educate people with regard to the linguistic situation in South Africa in order for people to make informed

choices about the language issue.[117]

All this brings us to another important issue and that is the question of mother-tongue instruction in schools. It is accepted by socio-linguists universally that mother-tongue instruction provides the most favourable conditions for learning. The United Nations Charter on the rights of the child stipulates the right to mother-tongue instruction in primary and pre-primary school, the UNESCO Report of 1951 on The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education argued for mother-tongue instruction in the early years as part of the process of concept building and cultural absorption.[118]

However, in South Africa, mother-tongue instruction is stigmatised and for reasons cited by Jean Benjamin.[119]The specific history and experience of Africans have taught them that mother-tongue instruction had functioned to isolate them from other South Africans and the rest of the world. The high drop out rate and the continuous school crisis brought about by a lack of resources, further ensure that a large number of Africans are deprived of the language of wider communication, higher education, and other opportunities, notes Benjamin. Issues which have already emerged in

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[117] E Grobler (et.al), HSRC, 1990, have compiled a Language Atlas of South Africa, which is a useful guide to the language spread in South Africa.

[118] Discussed in Language Projects' Review, Vol 5, No 2, August 1990.

[119] Jean Benjamin: " Language and Nation ", in: Readings from a workshop held in Harare, March 1990.

teachers responses to many of the questions. Further evidence of this attitude was found when teachers were asked whether children should be taught in thair mother-tongue for the first six years of their primary school years, 60,9% of the respondents said no to the question and 26,1% answered yes. The other 13% said that the vernacular needs to be combined with English. Students at the Street Academy answered no to this question when asked by the teacher and wanted English from the beginning. This once again demonstrates that African children on the whole are highly motivated to learn English as they recognize that they need it in order to "survive", especially economically.

What follows is the experience recorded by the teachers surveyed with regard to teaching children who were taught in their mother-tongue, i.e students who had English as a second language. Teachers from Afrikaans medium schools observed that they had a positive experience, that many of the Afrikaans speaking children do speak some English, and further that English was only taught as a second language. Those teachers at state schools who have been admitting pupils of other races, including teachers from the independent schools, expressed negative experiences with pupils whose mother-tongue was not English. Some of the problems teachers encountered were very similar in all these schools. The most common problems were that students found it difficult to adjust to the new language of instruction, that they were not able to cope with English terminology in academic subjects and their expression ie. ability

to write exams and get their ideas across was severely hampered. One teacher remarked;

> " the disadvantage of having mother-tongue instruction with the current policy is that, although it is an affirmation of one's identity, students are examined in English or Afrikaans in matric. For the vast majority this is not their mother-tongue and therefore they are at a great disadvantage. "

There does not seem to be any significant difference in the experience of high school and primary school teachers. Problems of understanding, effective communication in both oral and written form, which all result in a lack of confidence in the pupils when using a language which is not their mother-tongue, seem to be the most obvious links. Teachers believe that children who are exposed to English as medium of instruction later in the primary school years are seriously disadvantaged in high school. " It is not just a language difference ", noted one teacher, " but also a different way of thinking which many find alien ". Children also tend to think in their mother-tongue then translate to English noted a number of teachers, which made it difficult for them to assimilate the language at a faster rate. Teachers in these "open" schools often do not speak the pupils mother-tongue and this leads to greater communication difficulties. A comparison of teachers' responses to the same question at DET schools reveal a close correlation with the responses given by teachers from other departments. As the following response from a DET teacher clearly illustrates;

> " It becomes difficult for them to change. They struggle throughout their education careers. Sentence

> construction, expression and spelling mistakes keep on manifesting themselves at various levels. The latter tendencies are not only a student problem but occurs among teachers and other professionals. This situation needs to be remedied instantly by developing programmes which will redress these historical blunders. "

This last response is a clear indication of the negative image black teachers have of mother-tongue instruction due to their sense of isolation in an English dominated world.

The issue of mother-tongue instruction at school raises the question of when the switch to English should be made. In DET schools the medium of instruction for black pupils from substandard A to standard two is in the mother-tongue. One official language is introduced in substandard B, and in standard one the other official language is introduced. From standard three onwards the medium of instruction becomes either the vernacular or an official language.

Most respondents (78,1%) felt the switch should be made earlier. If at pre-school, it should be gradual. The range of standards it was proposed the switch be made was; pre-school, grade one or two, standard one or two, 13,1% said it should be made in standard five. Some respondents also felt that both the mother-tongue and English be taught from the outset. Most primary-school respondents felt that the switch should be made earlier, i.e in grade one-two or standard one-two. One respondent felt that the child should be taught in the mother-tongue throughout.

When asked what the advantages or disadvantages were with making a switch at an earlier age the responses were that the language which will be official, should be taught as soon as possible. Teachers also felt that the period during language aquisition is when the aptitude of a child is at its greatest and thus when another language should be introduced. One respondent expressed the concern that the transition from primary to secondary school was already difficult, without introducing a new language of instruction, and it was for this reason that the switch to another language should be made as early as possible.

The responses show that teachers seem to register more advantages to making a switch earlier. The evidence does suggest a more subjective opinion which may indicate that the issue of mother-tongue instruction and the acceptable age for a switch to another language is an area which teachers do not have very informed answers to. This is possibly an area which needs to be given more specialised thought, due to its importance in a child's educational development.[120]

SHOULD ALL LANGUAGES BE GIVEN EQUAL STATUS?

One of the questions being posed by organisations and academics

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[120] The following references are useful in the area of mother-tongue learning. Bloom,L. and Lahey, M: Language Development and Language Disorders: John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York (1978). and Klein, W: Second Language Aquisition: Cambridge University Press, London (1986).

with regard to language and the constitution is whether all languages be given equal legal recognition. The following responses were noted;

Table: 11

Yes	41.3%
No	47.8%
Uncertain	10.9%

There seemed to have been a divergence of opinions on this question. Those teachers who answered yes motivated their responses by arguing that language is a means of communication and therefore one language should not have a higher or lower status than another language. That all languages have equal status by right of their existence.

What further emerged in many of the responses to this question, was the motivation once again for English to occupy a central legal status. The reasons cited earlier were once again given. The respondents who answered no, also motivated strongly for English and felt that every country needs a national language, and English was a sensible choice, and that the national language should always be given more status. They also felt that if all languages were given equal status this could lead to confusion in certain spheres, there would be problems in terms of resources and energy which has

to be put into developing them. One respondent agreed that on paper it was an excellent idea, but in practice there were many problems.

SWAPO's English-only policy at the time of Namibian independence, and the legislated removal of Afrikaans as the official language, has invoked much speculation and debate among progressive organisations, Afrikaaner academics and government officials, about the future official status of Af ans in a new dispensation for South Africa. Similarly, mixed ctions were registered when teachers were asked about the status of Afrikaans in schools. Except for one respondent who strongly felt that there should be no Afrikaans, the majority of respondents, while critical of the Afrikaans l..guage, did not advocate its exclusion from the curricula. The common response was that it should not be compulsory but a choice subject. The spondents from the Afrikaans medium schools however, felt that bilinguali.m was advisable and that Afrikaans was an official language and should therefore be taught in schools. Teachers from DET schools, where pupils have negative views concerning Afrikaans because of its political association, did not reject it outright but agreed that it should be optional if it is a pupil's mother-tongue.

These views seem to be in keeping with progressive organizations and academics who do not believe that Afrikaans should necessarily become a dying language as it is part of the heritage of a number of South Africans.

HOW POSSIBLE IS IT TO IMPLEMENT A NEW LANGUAGE POLICY AT SCHOOL?

The table below illustrates the outcome of the responses to the question on whether teachers thought it possible to implement a new language policy at schools.

Table: 12

Possible	87%
Not Possible	4.4%
Uncertain	8.6%

The above figures indicate the consensus among teachers surveyed from the different education departments including the non-state schools that it was possible to implement a new language policy at schools. However, some of the respondents did add that it should be through planning and consultation, that it should be a gradual process, and that they see it as a long term undertaking.

In terms of the factors which will hamper the process of implementing a new language policy for schools, teachers cited a combination of factors which they saw as contributing to the practical implementation of a new policy.

Table: 13

Finance	73.9%
Lack of qualified teachers	82.6%
Lack of resources	54.3%

A lack of finance and a lack of qualified teachers were the two

major factors which teachers saw as a problem for the proper implementation of a language policy as the above figures indicate. All DET teachers indicated a lack of resources as a problem in their responses. This is in keeping with the realities of apartheid education with its unequal educational and financial provisions for the different race groups.[121]

A similar picture emerged when teachers were surveyed about what factors would assist the process of implementing a new language policy for schools. Once again a large percentage (82,6%) of teachers agreed that qualified language teachers followed by finance and educational resources was the key to making the implementation of a new language policy possible. It was also agreed upon by the majority of respondents (84,8%),which included those teachers from Afrikaans medium schools who answered no to a new language policy for schools, that a new education system was needed to make a new language policy work. A single education department and a new political system were factors added as well.

There is a clear indication from the above responses that the teachers surveyed seem to be aware of the problems encountered in education as a result of their subjective experience of teaching in these schools. The present situation with regard to education has been characterised by many educationalists and politicians as

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[121] see Race Relations Survey, 1989/90. South African Institute for Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1990, for current education expenditure figures.

undergoing a crisis and it would seem that it is therefore not something exclusively experienced in DET schools but has affected all the other departments in one way or another. The survey registered a strong opinion by all the respondents (100%) that teachers should be actively involved in shaping a language policy for schools. Teachers indicated that education experts and politicians can spearhead the process and offer their expertise, but it must in the final instance involve broad-based consultation.

CONCLUSION.

The following recommendations were put forward by teachers for consideration in the formulation of a new language policy. It was felt firstly, that a new language policy in education will have to be clearly defined and should be decided on after broad consultation. This view clearly supports the aims of the organisations mentioned in this report, who are all researching possible language options with the aim to democratise the process, in order to try and redress some of the historical blunders created by the present language policy. Secondly, it was suggested that we need to look at commonly used languages (popular) regionally, nationally, internationally, before we can decide on the official language/s, and thirdly, more language choice should be available. Both these views confirm the line of thinking of Neville Alexander and the ANC. According to the ANC one of the principles underlying a national language policy should be to take into account regional, national and international needs for communication. For this reason it may be necessary to select more than one language to serve specific needs. While the ANC has left this open for further debate Neville Alexander has made some specific proposals. He suggests that official status be given to English, and regional languages be promoted for conversation and official business by developing standardised versions of Nguni and Sotho.

Teachers were concerned that with the integration of schools changes in the existing policy will have to be made,

> " as we live in a multi-lingual society, and educational adaptations need to be made accordingly. "

It was felt that any new language policy must not disadvantage pupils when being admitted to open schools. That provisions must be made " for cultural differences " to ensure " all minority groups are catered for ". In the final instance, noted one teacher, unity in education " will mean the mixing of different cultures and standards in language proficiency ". Once again this view is supported by the ANC where they state;

> " It should be policy to strive towards multilingualism so that the people of South Africa would have a better understanding of each other's languages and the cultural contributions they have made."[122]

This view of recognizing language diversity in a multilingual country is strengthened by the international examples cited in section C. Language researcher Dr.Hans, R. Dua and African writer Professor Ali Mazrui see language diversity as a societal resource which should be used to promote economic, political and cultural development.

The implications of such a policy will mean that educational

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122 " Questions and Answers about the ANC: language Policy " A brief document put out by the ANC, outlining some of the principles underlining a national language policy, which arose out of the Harare Language Workshop, 1991.

authorities will have to make pedagogical provisions for multilingual classes. A huge programme of retraining of teachers will be necessary, including teachers of other subjects who have no training in handling the language problems of teaching multilingual classes. In addition teachers themselves may need to develop a degree of bilingualism.

On the issue of English as the medium of instruction, teachers agreed on two important issues. Firstly, where English is the medium of instruction, the language policy should be orientated towards the realities of South African life. Thus a language policy must cater for the needs of a multilingual society such as ours. Secondly if English is the medium of instruction, other languages must be accorded the respect and recognition they deserve. Having looked at the historical legacy of language policy in this country it is clear that the languages of those in power, i.e English and Afrikaans, have been privileged against all other languages found in South Africa. Teachers recognize that the existing policy is inadequate and has failed to meet the needs of children from the various communities whose mother-tongue is not English.

However, English as an official language and as the medium of instruction, would require the retraining of many Afrikaans (and African) language teachers. This would entail the directing of all resources and energies for the attainment of proficiency levels in the official language - as in the case of Namibia. At the same time

teachers would also need to be trained in dealing with second language learners (L2). Educational materials such as text books would also need to be sensitive to L2 learner needs.

With regard to mother-tongue instruction teachers had the following suggestions. Firstly, it was stated that learning one's mother-tongue is necessary but knowing the official language was equally important. Secondly, it was agreed that mother-tongue instruction is essential to retaining one's cultural heritage. Thirdly, teachers felt that it may be necessary to maintain a conspicuous balance because if English is emphasised it may undermine the need to know one's mother-tongue, whereas if more emphasis is put on the latter, it could create inherited problems. There is thus a need to create a common position which will aim at satisfying all communities, irrespective of extreme culturally inherited differences.

With regard to medium of instruction in schools, it is clear that the views expressed by teachers is instrumentally tied to the issues of access and mobility. While teachers are concerned not to disadvantage any one language group, ... are equally concerned to make pupils proficient in the official language i.e English, in order for them to function effectively "outside" the school. This view of language as social process is clearly linked to Gramsci and his notion of hegemony. Teachers believe that knowing the dominant language is a way of gaining access to economic opportunities.

The question with regard to the inclusion of an indigenous language at schools and the choice of one such language, led teachers to recommend firstly that;

> " A case study or feasibility study could be done to look at the possibility of which language/s are relevant to specific areas or regions. "

Secondly, that it should not be prescriptive at this stage, but open to debate. Some teachers felt that at least one language should be compulsory, and the choice must be based on the main language in the area. This view seems to support Alexander's proposal of regional languages.

Many teachers felt that;

> " The acquisition of an indigenous language is essential if we are preparing for a new South Africa. "

A view which seems to be fairly widespread amongst those organisations debating a language policy for South Africa. The importance of indigenous languages is also well grounded in the writings of Ngugi and Mazrui, where they see indigenous languages as playing an important role in reviving African culture which the dominance of a Eurocentric culture has helped to undermine. On the importance of language and national unity, teachers felt that no one language should be forced upon a nation to build unity. Other grounds for unity can be found. In a multilingual society each person must be free to use his/her own language. However, it was felt that we need to strive for common ground, and language is one factor which may assist in this process of building unity. The

views expressed here clearly support other thinking on this issue which was dealt with in section three. The ANC and Neville Alexander share the view that while it is necessary to promote the growth of a single national South African identity, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people must be respected and allowed to develop. The promotion of a shared language, with the ultimate ambition of cultural fusion, is part of the process of national integration within the African context notes Mazrui.[123]

In South Africa however, teachers are not in a position for major expansion of the teaching of African languages, particularly to other language speakers. To remedy this, far reaching changes will have to be made. Books would have to be commissioned or translated. It would take time to develop the necessary vocabulary in African languages and to develop appropriate resources and methodologies for teachers. This may very well be both difficult and cost ineffective.

Should all languages be given equal status? The following points were made.Firstly, it was felt that a policy of unity in diversity should be adopted. That people should feel free to choose the language they want to use, because once its forced upon them there will be resistance. If a language is given inferior status then this is likely to create problems. This point has been illustrated in the Canadian and Belgian examples. Secondly, although all

[123] Mazrui, A. Op. cit., p.301.

languages should be accorded equality we still need one language for things such as road signs, office forms, etc. Otherwise the logistics are overwhelming.

Should a language policy for education be left to the "experts" and politicians to formulate? Teachers had the following to say. A language policy for education could be more effective if it is tackled by experts and educationalists in broader consultation with teachers. After all, teachers are directly affected by what is done in a rigid bureaucratic manner. Further, the efforts of those interested in developing a language policy which will serve the country must be considered. It should not be confined to any group. Views of all persons, experts, politicians, teachers, parents, students, workers, etc. should be put into one broad representative document.

The educational implications of choices of the official language and the medium of instruction entail considerations of appropriate teacher training, development of educational material, availability of requisite levels of expertise and funds.

There seems to be a close correlation between the recommendations made here by the teachers surveyed and by organizations such as NEPI, NLP, CDS language commission, LICCA and the ANC.

In summary, the overall results of this survey suggests that there are no significant differences in opinion between teachers from the various education departments including the Independent schools and the Street Academy. Teachers who have encountered second language learners share a similar consciousness with regard to the problems experienced.

All teachers showed some awareness of the limitations of the current language policy in education. The majority were certain that they wanted to see language policy changes as part of the wider processes of social transformation taking place in South Africa.

By using a Gramscian conceptual framework, which views language as part of hegemonic activity in society, helped to direct and organise the empirical enquiry. Categories that linked language to nation building, policy transformations and individual interests, were made possible by the Gramscian notion of language as a social process. The fact that hegemony is a conflictual and contradictory process also allowed the empirical enquiry to hold together differences and tensions in teachers' views. Finally, the ways in which language policies implicated particular forms of identity on micro and macro levels were facilitated by poststructuralists' contributions of linking external and internal linguistics.

APPENDIX:1

QUESTIONNAIRE:

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SECTION.

NAME OF SCHOOL:_____

LOCATION OF SCHOOL:_____

DEPARTMENT:_____

WHAT SUBJECT/S DO YOU TEACH:_____

WHICH STANDARD/S DO YOU TEACH:_____

NUMBER OF YEARS SUBJECT/S TAUGHT:

1 - 3	
4 - 7	
8 - 10	
Other	

AGE OF TEACHER:

20 - 25	
26 - 30	
31 - 35	
36 - 40	
41 - 50	
OTHER	

WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE:

_____

WHAT IS THE MOTHER TONGUE OF THE PUPILS YOU TEACH:

_____

AFFILIATION TO:

Group	
Union	
Professional Body	
Community Organisation	
Other	

1. Do we need a new language policy for schools?

Yes	
No	
Other	

2. Can you give a reason for your answer?

3. What advantages\disadvantages do you see with the current language policy as indicated below?

English is the only medium of instruction.
Afrikaans is compulsory.
Emphasis on mother-tongue instruction in school.
Other

4. Can you suggest what language\s of instruction should be taught at school? Give reasons for your choice.

	REASONS
English	
Afrikaans	
An indigenous language. If yes, specify.	
Other	

5. There are suggestions that one or more indigenous language\s be taught at school.Which one should it be?

_____

6. Should there be any one compulsory language as a medium of instruction?

Yes	
No	
Other	

7. What should it be?

_____

8. Should children be taught in their mother tongue for the first 6 years of their primary school years?

Yes	
No	
Other	

9. What has your experience been with regard to teaching English (or any other subject) to children who have been taught in their mother tongue for the first few years of their schooling

10. If a switch to English is made in the first few years of schooling,when should this switch be made?

In Std 5	
In Std 6	
Other	

11. What advantages\disadvantages if any do you see with the above policy?

12. Do you think the aquisition of English will open ways for further education, economic and political opportunities?

Yes	
No	
Other	

13. Do we need to build national unity?

Yes	
No	
Other	

14. Can a language build national unity?

Yes	
No	
Other	

15. Could you give a reason\s for your answer.

16. Do you think the current language policy has worked against the development of the various cultures in South Africa?

Yes	
No	
Other	

17. Which language\s do you see as building this unity?

18. Give a reason\s for your answer.

19. Should all languages be given equal status?

Yes	
No	
Other	

20. Give a reason\s for your answer.

21. How possible is it to implement a new language policy at school?

Possible	
Not Possible	
Other	

22. What are the factor\s which will hamper this process?

Finance	
Lack of qualified teachers	
Lack of resources	
Other	

23. What factors do you think will assist this process?

Finance	
New education system	
Language teachers	
Resources	
Other	

24. Do you see teachers as key players in creating a unified nation?

Yes	
No	
Other	

25. Do you think teachers should be actively involved in shaping language policy for schools?

Yes	
No	
Other	

26. Do you think a language policy for education should be left to the 'experts' and politicians to formulate?

Yes	
No	
Other	

27. General Comments:

THANK YOU

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